

World History Bulletin

Fall 2012 Vol. XXVIII No. 2



World History Association

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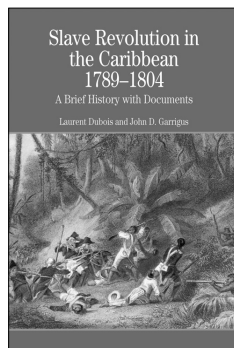
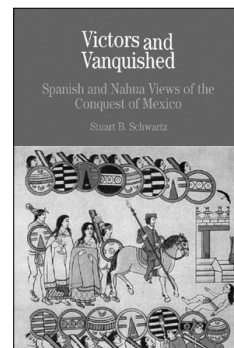
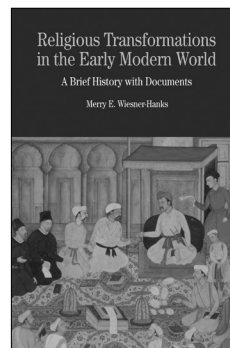
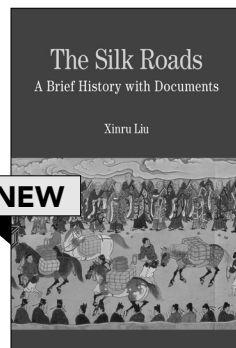
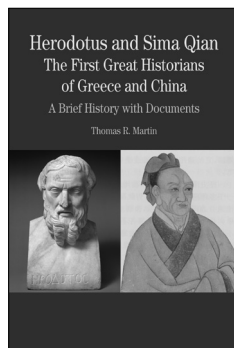
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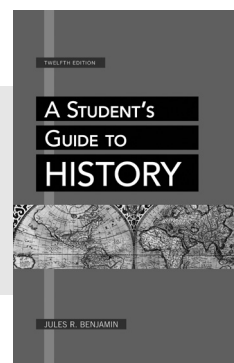
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Editor's Note:

We are excited to present in the Fall issue of the *World History Bulletin* a special section dedicated to the memory of Jerry Bentley, the founding editor of the *Journal of World History*. I am also delighted to present a special set of essays focusing on the theme of "Commodities in World History." The essays and teaching plans contained in the section offer not only a set of pedagogical innovations for how to integrate the analysis of commodities into the world history classroom, but they show a range of vital and emerging scholarship on this topic. This section of the *Bulletin* was guest-edited by Kevin Goldberg of Brown University. The richly scholarly essays and pedagogical plans contained in the special section indicate the vitality and significance of this area of world history. I deeply appreciate the thoughtfulness and richness of the section, and I thank Kevin – and the contributors – for their hard work.

As always, the *Bulletin* seeks to publish "short-form" essays on all aspects of historical scholarship including pedagogy, research, or theory. Topics may include the prehistoric, ancient, medieval, early modern, modern, and contemporary periods. Articles may include model syllabi or assignments, if applicable. Or, if you would like to guest-edit a selection of essays on a particular theme, please contact me at jpoley@gsu.edu.

With all best wishes,

Jared Poley

World History Bulletin

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Letter from the Executive Director of the World History Association

Winston Welch

Dear WHA Community Members,

It is my pleasure to continue to serve as the Executive Director of an organization whose members truly exemplify the best in volunteer service for a higher good. I have been consistently amazed at the level of dedication shown by so many individuals who come together for this noble purpose of promoting the field of world history.

Special thanks goes out to our incredibly hard working Executive Council officers and members, who very seriously take their responsibilities of directing the WHA to be in the best position it can be. We also owe a great deal to those who work tirelessly on one of our many committees that make our community so rich. These include those who serve on the Conferences Committee, the Conference Program Committee, the Teaching Committee, the Teaching Prize Committee, the Student Paper Prizes Committees, the Membership Committee, Nominations Committee, the Finance Committee, Book Prize, World Scholar Fund Prize Committee, and the Graduate Student Committee. The recently formed Publications Committee will guide us through the best options as we make our way forward in our various media, including our official journal. There are those like Jared Poley, who serves as Editor of this *Bulletin*, Connie Hudgeons, who served as Chair of the LAC in Albuquerque, Carter Findley, who has deftly managed our Endowment, and Maryanne Rhett, who is our Conference Program Chair and a list moderator at H-World—all of these good people do so much for the WHA. That is quite a list, and not even comprehensive, but it gives you some idea of the tremendous contribution individuals make for the good of this association. Please give your appreciation for those who serve on these committees when you have the chance to interact with them, and for all those who have served in any capacity, I offer my genuine thanks.

The important issues for the organization faces are being sorted out by some of the various committees above. Given the talent and dedication of all those who contribute to the WHA, I know that the WHA will always come out in the best position possible.

A special thank you is in order for all those who have contributed to the WHA over the past year in a financial capacity—your extra gifts are essential to the operations of the association and sincerely appreciated. Finally, we all owe our deep gratitude to Jackie Wah, our amazing Conference and Membership Specialist.

We have some exciting conferences and symposia planned, first in Minneapolis in 2013, so make your plans now for that conference. Please also check online to find out more about our upcoming events in Perth, Taipei, Barcelona, Hanoi, and others as news is announced.

As always, we welcome your thoughts and suggestions on how we may improve the association.

Collegially,
Winston Welch, Executive Director



Letter from the President of the World History Association

Marc Jason Gilbert, Hawaii Pacific University

Vide Albuquerque, e Viva!

Since the last *Bulletin*, the World History Association's annual meeting was held in Albuquerque, New Mexico (June 27 - 30, 2012) and was a great success in terms of content and attendance. It offered a number of "firsts" worthy of review for those who were not able to attend, and these might serve to encourage members to join in future meetings.

The opening reception at the Albuquerque Museum of History and Art was as collegial as our very collegial association has ever been, with WHA's elected officers spending time at each table welcoming new members and greeting old friends at the Conference Orientation and following Opening Reception. That sense of collegiality deepened when a number of WHA members spontaneously volunteered to form car pools to assist participants making their way from various hotels to the official hotel and conference site. This provided an unexpected opportunity for members to make new friends and colleagues, which suggests we should make this a regular part of WHA events no matter how splendid formal provisions for such transportation are made by our local hosts. The keynote presentations on the dual conference themes by Glenabah Martinez (*Indigenous Peoples in World History*) and David Romo (*Frontiers and Borders in World History*), were treasured by the audience all the more for being deeply rooted in the locality of these meetings as well as world history, a goal often sought by organizers, but not always possible to achieve with as much success as at Albuquerque. Many attendees used Albuquerque as a jumping off point for touring the Southwest. Before the meeting, I scouted possible sites for a symposium on the "American Southwest in World History" which would include a tour of Pecos Pueblo, with its fine ancient site and museum tracing contacts between indigenous peoples, the Spanish, Mexicans, Santa-Fe Trail merchants, and U. S. territorial officials; a visit to the Las Vegas, New Mexico home to Billy the Kid-era Anglo-Irish range wars; and an exploration of the Ludlow Massacre Memorial site drawing attention to pitched fighting between mine owners and workers along the Front Range for more than a month.

Albuquerque was also the site of many events that were designed to energize the teaching of world history at all levels of instruction. Please contact the Chair of the WHA's Teaching Committee, James Diskant (james.diskant@verizon.net) and share your views and development ideas with him. Our conference would not have been such a success without the dedication of many people, including our Conferences Committee members, our Conference Program Committee members, our Local Affairs Committee members, and our two WHA staff members in Honolulu, Jackie and Winston. My warmest

thanks goes to all of the people who contributed to making this conference such a great event.

The WHA mourns the death of the *Journal of World History*'s Founding Editor, Jerry H. Bentley, which occurred shortly after the annual meeting. The seriousness of his condition was known at the meeting itself and there was a great outpouring of love for him and recognition of his great contributions to the WHA. Some of the most moving testimonials offered were about how Jerry sought out young world history scholars at conferences and offered them encouragement and support, like one world scholar at the meeting who shared that Jerry followed up one such encounter with him when he was a graduate student by writing a letter of recommendation that he was certain led to his initial appointment in the position he now holds as a full professor. I personally can recall many such instances of his generosity to students of history at local events in Hawaii, all the more noteworthy because they were not students in his own program. His accessibility, his energy and force of character are forever imprinted on the DNA of the WHA and it was with great pleasure and respect that the Executive Council conferred upon him the title of Editor Emeritus of the *Journal of World History*, and steps were undertaken to arrange many other significant honors.

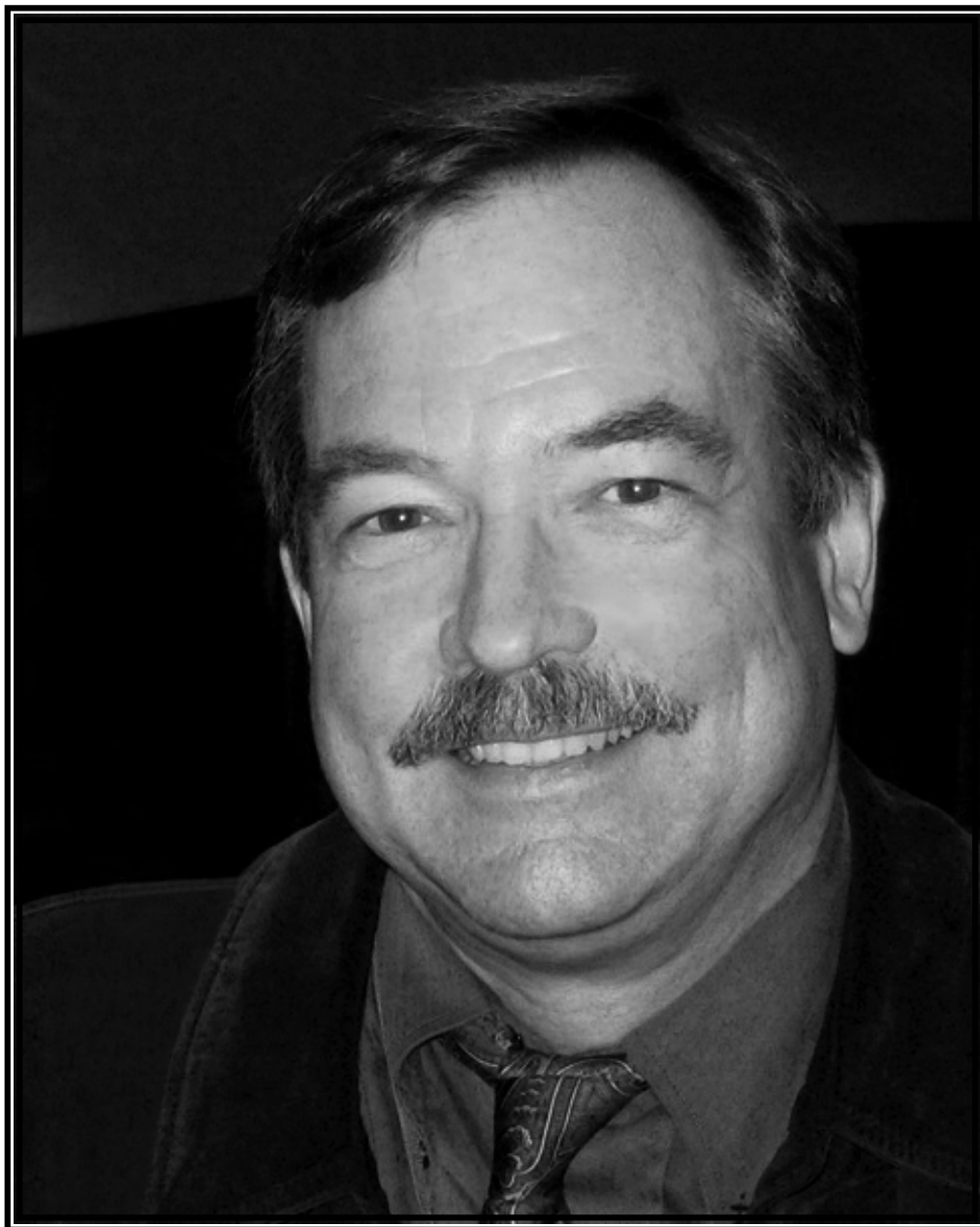
The tasks of arranging affairs at the *Journal of World History* after Jerry's passing and a major overhaul of the association's finances have occupied your officers to the level of a day job ever since, with their efforts expected to bear fruit later this fall. Thereafter, I expect to initiate a review of the WHA's constitution to bring it into the electronic age. We now conduct much of the WHA's business via e-mail and the Executive Council Listserv. This will, as time passes, allow for even more efficiency, and even transparency, than face-to-face meetings, though at the price of the usual misunderstandings electronic communication breeds. Fortunately, the level of camaraderie among your elected officers is well up to that challenge.

The WHA is growing, and there will be growing pains, but members can expect to continue to derive great value from their participation in and support of the association.

Collegially,

Marc Jason Gilbert
President, WHA

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Jerry H. Bentley
1949 - 2012

As we reel from Jerry's tragically premature death, our thoughts naturally turn to erecting a suitable monument to his memory. This is no easy task given Jerry's many achievements and contributions. I would suggest that whatever we might devise, Jerry has left behind his own legacy. As the ancients said, "Si monumentum requiris, circumspice" (If you seek a monument, look around you).

-- David Northrup, past President of the World History Association

My Encounters and Traditions with Jerry Bentley at the University of Hawaii

When I arrived in Hawaii in the summer of 1980 to assume my position as an assistant professor in modern (and largely twentieth-century) European history, Jerry Bentley had already amassed four years of experience in that field at the University of Hawaii, albeit at the other temporal end of European modernity – the Renaissance and Reformation. Given our mutual areas of academic and teaching interest, we became fast friends and friendly colleagues, and our connections deepened as a result of our encounters both outside and inside the sphere of the Department of History. Our tradition of playing tennis and drinking beer every Friday afternoon morphed into further sociability, and evenings together led to deep conversations over the relative quality of various cognacs – and over the relative merits of the textbooks we assigned to our classes in what was at the time termed the “World Civilizations Program” at the University of Hawaii.

As junior faculty members in a department tasked with running one of the largest and most comprehensive world history programs extant in the United States at the time, Bentley and I had been assigned to teach multiple sections of History 151 and 152, surveys of world history to and from the year 1500. The intent of these courses, which all students at the University of Hawaii were required to complete, involved fostering a global perspective on early and modern history that reflected the breadth and diversity not just of world societies but of the students in Hawaii themselves, whose roots traced largely to Oceania and Asia. In spite of our own intellectual grounding in European history, and in part because Hawaii’s Department of History embraced wide-ranging fields of history from the Pacific Islands to southeast and east Asia, we appreciated this opportunity to globalize our own perspectives. Over the years – indeed, decades – Bentley and I continued to teach these courses and continued to be less than satisfied with the available world history textbooks, which remained somewhat mired in Eurocentrism despite their globalized claims and despite the growing acceptance of the notion of globalization that characterized the world as much more economically and culturally integrated.

In conjunction with editors at McGraw-Hill, Jerry Bentley and I embarked on what proved to be a monumental and time-consuming project: the creation of a new and different sort of world history textbook, one that took shape on the assumption that the modern integrated world was not in fact a recent phenomenon but one that had deep and long historical precedents. This approach demanded a fully global history that avoided as much as possible the Eurocentrism of existing texts while avoiding any other form of ethnocentrism. This meant we decided to eschew the value-laden term “civilization” (and the Department of History’s world history program has likewise been refashioned), and we determined to integrate the experiences of diverse peoples and societies through the key analytic lenses of traditions and encounters. The first edition of the thus aptly named *Traditions & Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past* appeared in 2000, and it has since gone through five editions.

The researching, writing, and revising of the textbook has been a rewarding if grueling process; there were fewer and fewer sessions of tennis and beer, and more and more sessions disputing the relative difficulties of our collaborative tasks and responsibilities (I may have felt a bit aggrieved at times because I had the larger role in revisiting time and again the most recent decades of the global past). That said, and that aside, at the time of his death on 15 July 2012, Jerry Bentley and I were contemplating plans for another edition of *Traditions & Encounters*. Having been Jerry Bentley’s friend, colleague, and collaborator for over thirty years, I find it hard to imagine the world – let alone the field of world history – without him. Through our co-authorship of *Traditions & Encounters*, I came to appreciate very much his dedication to fostering global perspectives in history—a dedication that for Jerry Bentley went well beyond our textbook. He exhibited an admirable dedication to expanding the historical understanding of world societies and cultures, and at least part of that legacy lives on through his contributions to *Traditions & Encounters*.

Herbert F. Ziegler
University of Hawaii at Manoa

Jerry Bentley

Jerry Bentley was a good friend, and it was truly shocking to hear of his death as a result of contracting one of the most brutal of all cancers. I saw him in Beijing at the WHA conference in July 2011, and he seemed in great shape. At that conference he was honoured, as he really deserved, as one of the great pioneers of world history. I remember telling him how much I enjoyed watching him squirm as he stood on stage while Al Andrea sang his praises, and he responded to my teasing with his usual cheery grin. Jerry was actually much more interested in doing the work of writing and supporting world history than in being praised for it. He could be a tiger in defence of world history; but more often he was the diplomat. Sometimes his gentle, smiling presence seemed everywhere, behind the JWH, at

the conferences, at the AP readings, bumped into unexpectedly at conferences, in emails asking for reviews. His impact on scholars, students, teachers, and even outside the field of world history was colossal.

I think his impact on non-world-historians was immensely important for the field. At a time when world history was struggling for recognition, Jerry’s calm professionalism was one of the things that ensured wider recognition for the journal and for the field of world history amongst historians who had previously been sceptical of the very possibility of world history becoming a serious scholarly field. If our work as world historians is taken seriously today outside the field, we owe that at least in part to Jerry’s role as a sort of roving ambassador for world history. And rove he did: I remember once hearing him list the travel he’d done in the last six months, all to support

the cause. I don't remember the details but I remember I was exhausted by the time he finished counting the number of times he'd flown out of Hawaii in the previous few months.

I was a beneficiary of his scholarly generosity and I suspect my story is fairly typical. I started teaching big history in 1989 and at the time I thought of it as an intriguing experiment in seeing if it was still possible to teach universal history. At the time, I knew hardly anything about world history, as little was taught in Australia. Jerry heard about my big history course, thought it might interest world historians, and asked me to write about it. And it was that commission that forced me to think up a label for what I was doing, so I called it, slightly facetiously, 'big history.' I benefited enormously from the support of Jerry and many other world historians, as I got deeper and deeper into a project that, without their support, might have been utterly marginal.

Apart from the extraordinary quality of his own

scholarship in world history, I most admired his sheer professionalism. That showed up in the simple efficiency with which he ran the *Journal of World History* from the moment of its founding. No glitz (I think the cover hasn't changed since the first issue), but very good articles, often improved as a result of Jerry's own suggestions (again I say this from personal experience). The amount of reading he must have done of half-finished scholarship is staggering!

Jerry really should have hung around for at least another twenty years. I will miss him very much indeed as will everyone in the world history community who knew him or had any dealings with him. He was a warrior for world history, but also one of the most decent people I knew.

David Christian
Macquarie University, Sydney

On Jerry

The most telling comment I've ever heard about Jerry is one that I overheard about a decade ago in the women's restroom at the Advanced Placement World History reading in Lincoln, Nebraska: "I just realized Jerry Bentley is at my table! And he just acts like an ordinary person!" In order to explain how this captures Jerry, I need to set the scene: Advanced Placement courses are taught by trained teachers to high school students, using college-level materials. At the end of the course, students take an exam, and if they score well on the exam, they can receive college credit or advanced standing. The essay portion of the exam is scored at what is termed a "reading" by college and university faculty and high school teachers who teach the course. A small group of people decide how the questions will be scored, teach this scoring rubric to a larger group of experienced readers called "table leaders," and then these table leaders teach it to the rest of the readers. The table leaders, who are high school teachers as well as university faculty, make sure that the readers stay on standard and do not just use their own grading scheme.

Because AP world history is often regarded as a daunting subject to teach, it is frequently assigned to relatively young teachers. This means that a male university faculty member at the reading might be required to take direction from a female high school teacher twenty years his junior who is his table leader, an experience that is unlike any that male faculty member would otherwise go through. If he does not get on standard, she has to correct him. If he refuses to get on standard—which happens occasionally, especially with male university faculty who feel their own grading standards are far superior to those the group has agreed on—she has to send him up the chain of command for further correction or dismissal. If he feels slighted in some other way, he can complain up that chain of command, a complaint that often begins, "Perhaps you don't know who I am...."

That's the institutional framework in which the excited comment that I overheard emerged, but the physical setting is also important: The reading for AP World History initially took place on the grounds of the Nebraska state fair in Lincoln, and readers stayed in the dormitories of the University of Nebraska.

World History was the new kid on the block in terms of AP exams—the first exam was in 2002, whereas those in other subjects had been around for decades—and its reading was in a metal building that generally held goats and sheep. The reading for European history, by contrast, was in a stately old red brick building. Because it is hot in Nebraska in the summer, the goat building had giant air-conditioners hung from the ceiling that blasted out cold air. Thus depending on where one was sitting, it could easily be 60 degrees, with a fairly strong breeze, and many readers sat in stocking caps and gloves. Jerry, coming from Hawaii, wrapped himself in a hooded sweatshirt.

It was Jerry's way of being more than his clothing that kept his identity hidden, however. Jerry was the author of one of the best-selling textbooks in world history, *Traditions and Encounters*. This was the textbook that many of the readers chose for their students in high school AP or university classes, and may have been the textbook used by the woman I overheard. He was the author of one of the most influential books in world history, *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times* (1993). Many of the readers had read this in world history classes they had taken or workshops they had attended; many assigned it or parts of it to their classes. This may have been how this woman had encountered Jerry's work. Jerry himself did workshops throughout the country helping history departments, school districts, and others internationalize their teaching and research and develop new models of understanding global developments. He came to Milwaukee for such a workshop in 2000, as we were planning both our first world history survey and a new Ph.D. program in global history. There he shared his ideas about how these could be done most effectively, welcoming us into the world history fold. The woman I heard may have seen Jerry first at a workshop like this.

Given who he was in the field of world history, Jerry had more cause than anyone else at the reading to ask for special treatment. He had literally written the book on the subject, and his insights shaped—and continue to shape—the exam being graded. He had helped the world history community grow through tireless travel and personal outreach. But instead he sat bundled up in the freezing cold goat building, taking direction from his table leader, playing tennis with readers when the

work day was over, and walking down the hall to the dormitory bathrooms. He came back to the reading every year, becoming everyone's favorite table leader. As the woman I overheard said, he acted like an ordinary person. But he wasn't.

Merry Wiesner-Hanks
University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee

Remembering Jerry Bentley

Jerry Bentley was in the prime of his career, and perhaps the best-liked and most respected member of the world history community, when he passed away in July 2012. He was also perhaps the most important contributor to the enterprise of world history, involved in nearly every facet of teaching, writing, and promoting the field. Few of us have been so engaged in so many diverse ways, and hence few of us have influenced such a large audience. And yet, despite his achievements Jerry was the most modest of men.

Some probably knew Jerry mainly through his prolific writings. He began his academic career as a scholar of Renaissance Europe but soon developed broader interests after joining the University of Hawaii History faculty. Among his many scholarly works I would highlight several that exemplified his ability to synthesize a vast literature and make it accessible to a wider audience while also contributing to scholarly knowledge. Clearly influenced by seminal world historians such as Philip Curtin and William McNeill, Jerry's book, *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times* (Oxford University Press, 1993), fleshed out many of the themes that were beginning to shape the study of world history in North America, in the process inspiring many of the scholars who followed. He followed this up with an influential article, "Cross-Cultural Interaction and Periodization in World History," *American Historical Review* (1996). This stimulating centerpiece of an AHR Forum, an acknowledgment by the nation's leading history journal of scholarly excellence, offered a provocative proposal for resolving the problem of periodizing world (as opposed to regional) history, generating spirited discussion. Jerry's *Shapes of World History in Twentieth-Century Scholarship* (1996), which first appeared as a pamphlet in the AHA's Global and Comparative series, provided an excellent summary of the rise of the world history field.

In addition to his many writings, the *Journal of World History*, which Jerry founded in 1990 and edited until his death, has played a central role in the intellectual life of world historians while raising the profile of our field of history. His editorial skills also enriched other projects including the five-volume *Berkshire Encyclopedia of World History*, which he co-edited with several colleagues. His last major book before his death, *The Oxford Handbook of World History* (Oxford University Press, 2011),

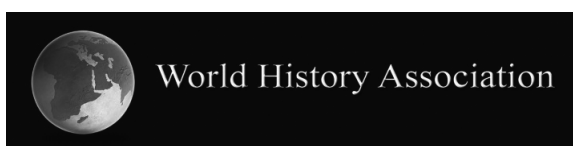
well reflected Jerry's contributions to the understanding of world history. A handy reference, this edited collection includes thirty-one essays by some of the most prominent scholars (including Jerry), divided into sections on concepts, themes, processes, and regions. Jerry also played a central role in the World History Association, contributing to Executive Committee meetings in his capacity as editor of the JWH. In these sessions I found Jerry to be a wise councilor and diplomatic in making his points. Given his many contributions it seems fitting that he earned his own Wikipedia entry!

However much we professional historians admired Jerry's scholarship and editing, it was the best-selling textbook he co-wrote with his UH colleague Herb Ziegler that achieved the most renown. *Traditions and Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past* (McGraw-Hill), first published in 2000 and now in its fifth edition, is widely used in colleges and also in AP world history courses. Interestingly, while rival textbook authors in some fields of history have been noted for chilly relationships with each other, this has been less true in world history. Jerry was on very cordial terms with many of us who wrote competing textbooks.

The success of the Bentley-Ziegler text in secondary schools undoubtedly owed much to Jerry's early and active participation in the AP program. Jerry has been a regular at the annual reading of AP world history exams and was one of several people who recruited me to this grueling but rewarding labor. Jerry loved to engage with the teachers of world history at all levels and generously shared his time with both teachers and, often, their students, very much furthering the integration of world history in academic curriculums. Indeed, this outreach was international in scope as Jerry actively promoted world history abroad, especially in an annual teaching stint at Capital Normal University in Beijing.

For me Jerry was most of all a friend with whom I enjoyed many informative conversations since we first met in the mid-1980s. We all owe him a debt of gratitude for his contributions to, and engagement with, the life of our world history community and will miss him terribly. But I think he would want us to honor the spirit of his career and carry on with the task of teaching, writing, and promoting world history.

Craig A. Lockard
University of Wisconsin-Green Bay (Emeritus)

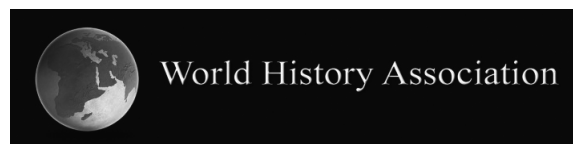


The American Historical Association invites donations to endow a Jerry Bentley Book Prize in World History, which will honor Professor Bentley's tireless efforts to promote the field of world history, and his signal contributions to it, over a career tragically cut short by his recent death.

Over the past twenty years, the field of world history has developed into one of the most vibrant and energetic areas of the discipline--with a growing volume of books and monographs published in the field, and an expanding presence in history departments and doctoral programs. Professor Bentley played an indispensable role in the development of the field. He began his career as a scholar of Renaissance Italy, but quickly became one of the leading figures in the world history movement of recent decades. He was the founding editor of the *Journal of World History*, and served as its editor from the first issue in 1990 until shortly before his death. He wrote one of the landmark works in the field in 1993, a study of cultural interactions within Eurasia entitled *Old World Encounters*. Through his work with the World History Association, the College Board Advanced Placement program, and his teaching at the University of Hawaii, he helped to elevate world history into a thriving field of both scholarship and pedagogy.

The Jerry Bentley Prize Book in World History will be awarded to the best book in each calendar year in the field of world history. Any book published in English dealing with global or world-scale history, with connections or comparisons across continents, in any period will be eligible. As with all of the book prizes that the American Historical Association awards, its elected Committee on Committees will choose members of a distinguished review panel to review all books submitted for the prize. Most books will be submitted by their publishers, but anyone can submit a book for consideration. The prize will be awarded at the AHA's annual meeting in the first week of January, as part of the Association's awards ceremony.

Donations can be submitted either online <http://www.historians.org/donate/> or by check made out to the AHA and mailed to Bentley Prize c/o Robert B. Townsend, Deputy Director, American Historical Association, 400 A St., S.E., Washington, DC 20003. For further information, contact the fundraising co-chairs appointed by the AHA, Alan Karras (karras@berkeley.edu) or Merry Wiesner-Hanks (merrywh@uwm.edu). All contributions are tax deductible.



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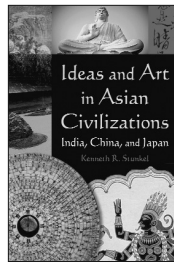
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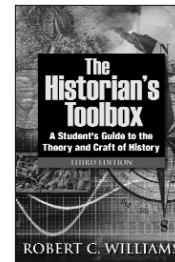
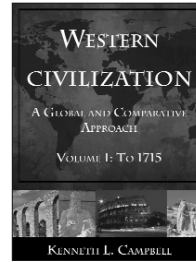
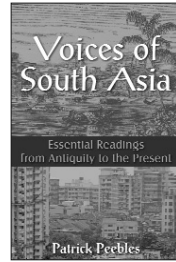
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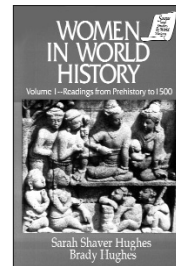
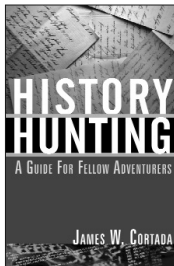
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Special Section: Commodities in World History

Commodities in World History: A Non-Commoditized Approach

Kevin Goldberg
Brown University

This special issue on “commodities in world history” carries an immediate paradox. On the one hand, the commodity and its history have long been embedded within an American-European context; from Marx to the Modern, the commodity form is paradigmatic of western capitalism’s *modus operandi*. On the other hand, practitioners of World History take seriously the destabilization of Western hegemony in its lived and interpreted forms, explicitly challenging notions of universal applicability and the smooth exportation of ideologies and practices across continents. It would seem, then, that a project on “commodities in world history” is, at best, a call for historians to amplify (and exaggerate) cases of non-Western singularity or, at worst, an endeavor that unintentionally serves to diminish very real histories of global oppression, servitude, and economic expropriation.

This seeming paradox is highlighted by the disconnect between conflicting methods of analysis. To take a straightforward example, World Systems Theory—with its surrendering of cultural ideology to economic determinants—differs radically from Postcolonial Theory—with its investment in indigenous constructions of culture, especially in the face of imperial intervention.¹ But in spite of the gulf separating what we might generalize as “core” and “periphery” points of view, principally as it pertains to economic questions, there have recently been gestures at building bridges. For instance, in his admirable study of Borneo’s smallholding rubber producers, Michael Dove situates local production within extra-local political and economic systems while simultaneously mapping wider, global systems onto local actors.² Similarly, the ongoing acceptance of interdisciplinary work among scholars in the social sciences and humanities has opened up more possibilities for breaking out from limiting, single-discipline molds.

In fact, it is often scholars willing to permeate disciplinary boundaries or offer comparative perspectives who have been most influential in both World History and commodity studies. Kenneth Pomeranz’s *The Great Divergence* has become required reading for anybody grappling with a comparative economic study—historical or contemporary—of Europe and China.³ The work of anthropologist Arjun Appadurai has been instrumental in demystifying the demand side of economic life, helping to balance-out the “social life” of commodities.⁴ Part of this “social life” entails the spatial movement of commodities and the unevenness of geographical development left in their wake—an important line of thinking which theorist David Harvey has popularized among non-Geographers.⁵ Embedded into all of this is a critique of the “temporal delay” once thought to define the relationship between non-European societies and Europe.⁶ This diverse and cross-disciplinary methodology captures the mood here.

The following essays vary widely in period, place, and scope, undoubtedly influenced by the interdisciplinary bent of commodity studies. Some contributors put their emphasis on methods of production while others engage more with the commodity form itself. Still others focus on networks of trade and the people who populated them. All of the essays, however, draw on established historical research in addition to more recent scholarship. The range of topics demonstrates the remarkable breadth of the field, whether geographical, temporal, theoretical, or thematic. While such variety makes uniformity in argument unlikely, it certainly makes clear the fact that commodity history is as vibrant as ever.

With such vibrancy comes responsibility in the way we research and teach world history. Thus, I have asked some contributors to write a few words about how commodities enter into their lectures and discussions with students. As categories such as “globalization,” “capitalism,” and “world history” become more and more relevant inside and outside the classroom, it is absolutely essential that we, as historians, be in a position to participate in and inform the debates. The reasons for this hardly need to be mentioned, but a certain self-reflectivity goes a long way towards the creation of lucid and reasoned discursive models.

So where do commodities fit into World History today? To draw an analogy from physics, the positive curvature of the historical discipline has the improbable effect of allowing two parallel threads—in this case commodity history and World History—to intersect at an opportune time and place. That time and place is now, as global economic synchronicity has largely relegated political boundaries to the space of the historical-imaginary. This tension underlies much of economic history’s resurgence, including among non-economic specialists. Thus, whether interested in pedagogy or research, the reader will find much value here.

1 I am indebted to Ania Loomba for this important insight.

2 Michael Dove, *The Banana Tree at the Gate: A History of Marginal Peoples and Global Markets in Borneo* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2011), 247.

3 Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000).

4 Arjun Appadurai, “Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,” in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai, Ninth Printing (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 56-58.

5 David Harvey, *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development* (London and New York: Verso, 2006).

6 Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000).

Special Section: Commodities in World History

Enterprise in Latin America: Teaching About Commodities in Latin America in a World History Context

Lisa M. Edwards

University of Massachusetts, Lowell

Many courses on world history since 1500 introduce the themes of imperialism, cross-cultural contact, and the globalization of trade by discussing European exploration into the Atlantic and the Spanish and Portuguese colonization of Latin America. During the colonial era, the Iberians gained tremendous wealth from the natural resources and tropical commodities that could be extracted or produced, and this wealth was spread through trade to Europe and, directly or indirectly, to Asia. These themes remained important long after Latin American independence in the early nineteenth century. The combination of existing infrastructure and established markets, policymakers' preferences, and the availability of technology and investment capital led to a continuing reliance on an export-driven economy in much of the region during the nineteenth century and, for some nations, well into the twentieth. Even today, Latin America is a significant exporter of many commodities important in the global marketplace, including coffee, sugar, and copper.

The "Enterprise in Latin America" course I taught in the spring 2012 semester focused on the region's economic development and links to the global economy. An M.A.-level course cross-listed in the History department and an interdisciplinary Master's program in the Economic and Social Development of Regions, it introduced students to the economic history of Latin America through four case studies and a research project. Because of the nature of these programs, I did not require or expect any prior coursework in Latin American history, but spent some time at the beginning of each unit contextualizing the topic and identifying the main questions that historians ask about it. Although the course was focused around economic enterprises, it also incorporated aspects of political, social, labor, and environmental history.

My approach was guided by the idea of the commodity chain. Steven Topik, Carlos Marichal, and Zephyr Frank's edited volume *From Silver to Cocaine: Latin American Commodity Chains and the Building of the World Economy, 1500-2000* provided the theoretical basis for this approach as well as the historical analysis of some of the commodities we studied in class. Additional chapters from the book provided a comparative view and models for analysis, particularly for students' research papers. As the editors note, "Each of the essays in this volume argues that studying the interlocking processes of production, transport, commercialization, and consumption of export commodities requires an analysis that transcends national histories. Latin America has been closely linked to Europe and the United States by commodity chains that stretch back to the sixteenth century (for Europe) but have become progressively more important and complex over time."¹

For this first iteration of the course, I chose the Potosí

silver mines, coffee in nineteenth-century Brazil, the United Fruit Company in Guatemala (bananas), and twentieth-century Chilean copper mines for our case studies. This combination allowed me to introduce a wide range of readings and discussion topics across time periods and across the region geographically. Each of these products also played an important role in connecting Latin America to the global economy. What follows is a brief overview of the course with some suggestions for adapting it for students at more introductory levels or for those with more background in Latin American history. I have included the course's reading list at the end.

The first unit of Enterprise in Latin America examined the silver mines of Potosí in colonial Peru (present-day Bolivia). Discovered in 1545, the silver extracted at Potosí proved a tremendous boon to the Spanish and Spanish colonial economies, especially after the introduction of bureaucratic and technological innovations like the *mita* (a draft labor system) and amalgamation. During this section of the course, we discussed the establishment of the Spanish colonial bureaucracy and economy, including the Crown's monopoly on mercury (necessary for amalgamation), race and ethnicity, transportation and trade, workers' health, and internal and global markets. Along with readings on Potosí and silver mining specifically, we began David J. McCreery's *The Sweat of Their Brow: A History of Work in Latin America*, which we read throughout the semester. The 2005 documentary *The Devil's Miner*, which follows an adolescent miner working in Potosí just a few years ago, effectively concluded this unit and raised questions about poverty, race and ethnicity, education, and opportunities in Bolivia today.

Our second case study was based on Stanley Stein's classic *Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850-1900*, which examines the economic, social, and environmental changes that coffee engendered in southern Brazil through the lens of plantation life just before, during, and after the abolition of slavery in 1888. During this part of the semester, we discussed slavery and abolition, the economic ramifications of export-oriented agriculture, railroad construction, and the environmental consequences of coffee monoculture. We also discussed nineteenth-century economic policies and development in Latin America more broadly, including high levels of European and U.S. investment in the region. Victor Bulmer-Thomas's *Economic History of Latin America Since Independence* served as a guide to the nineteenth- and twentieth-century for the region as a whole and provided detailed economic analysis, discussion of economic and development theories, and contextualization for our case studies. While it is probably overly difficult for most undergraduates, it could be replaced by additional readings on specific topics or comparative studies. In this unit, for example, students could be assigned additional readings on coffee production in another part of the world, or on studies of coffee marketing and consumption.

In this part of the semester, I also reserved time to discuss the research paper and the approach that we were using to examine economic enterprises. As a group, the class brainstormed the factors that an entrepreneur or policymaker needs to consider

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in establishing a successful enterprise and which contribute the most to an enterprise's success or failure. I also spent some time highlighting some possible research topics from different areas and time periods in Latin American history, since students were not especially familiar with the region's history. In a lower-level class, it might be useful to have several shorter assignments rather than a lengthy research paper. In a class with advanced students, especially with those who read Spanish or Portuguese, research on a broad range of topics, including sugar, wine, oil, and nitrates, would be manageable in the course of the semester. There are also, of course, non-commodity-based enterprises that are also fruitful topics for either an additional or alternate case study or student research project, such as the Panama Canal, textile manufacturing, or efforts to develop heavier industries in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

As we concluded our discussions of coffee and students began to work on their research projects, we also began to talk more about foreign investment, especially the role of the United States in Central America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The third unit of the course was on the U.S.-based United Fruit Company in Guatemala, with an emphasis on the maneuverings of UFCO's leaders in relation to Guatemalan politics on the local and national levels. Private and public investment in transportation and communications infrastructure, working conditions and unionization, and U.S. military intervention on behalf of American enterprises in the region were some of the topics we focused on during this part of the semester. We also discussed the role of science and technology in agriculture, since UFCO and other banana producers had to address banana plant disease to maintain profitability and some of the preventive measures against banana diseases had environmental and health effects.

Our final case study was the Chilean copper industry in the twentieth century. Many scholars have focused on the miners and their families, the foreign investors who initially built the industry, and the process of nationalization in the 1960s and 1970s. Revenues from copper mining continue to provide the largest single source of government income in Chile, and this fact has had broad ramifications for the Chilean economy at large. The intersections of labor interests, government policy, and world markets received the majority of our attention during this final section of the course.

By the end of the semester, students generally agreed that they had gained a broader and deeper understanding of Latin American history and of how regional processes were closely linked to global ones. They also began to understand the complexities of enterprise when labor, infrastructure, government policies, markets, and other factors are taken into account. While these four case studies worked well together for a semester-long course, it would not be difficult to incorporate one or two case studies into a more general course in Latin American or world history. Encouraging our students to examine the connections between regional and global processes more deeply and more frequently can only benefit them in our increasingly interconnected world of the twenty-first century.

Enterprise in Latin America

Required Readings, in order used

McCreery, David J. *The Sweat of Their Brow: A History of Work in Latin America*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2000.

Clayton, L.A. "Trade and Navigation in the Seventeenth-Century Viceroyalty of Peru." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 7, 1 (May 1975): 1-21.

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1 Steven Topik, Carlos Marichal, and Zephyr Frank, eds., *From Silver to Cocaine: Latin American Commodity Chains and the Building of the World Economy, 1500-2000* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 8.

Skins in the Game: The Dutch East India Company, Deerskins, and the Japan Trade

Michael Laver

Rochester Institute of Technology

Commodities can be used as an object of historical scrutiny to reveal certain characteristics, values, and connections in any given culture in any given time and place. Perhaps perversely, given the topic of this special issue, one way in which commodities can be viewed is as a means to an end, or put another way, as a sort of commercial façade, masking the primary objectives and values of both the buyers and sellers. In the case of deerskins, I would argue that while the skins themselves may have held inherent, utile value, it was the underlying motives of both Japanese consumers and foreign merchants that added "ulterior value" to the deerskins. The Dutch used them as a way to tap into the incredibly rich and abundant supplies of Japanese silver with which they were able to fund a great deal of their seventeenth century activities across Asia, and the Japanese used deerskins as a luxury item with which to demonstrate status in a society that was eminently conscious of status and hierarchy. The trade in commodities such as deerskins ultimately held much deeper meaning for both merchants and consumers in early modern Japan.

Introduction

The Dutch East India Company (VOC) faced a fundamental problem in its first few years of the East Asian trade: the company had no reliable access to Chinese luxury goods with which to exchange for Japan's abundant precious metals. The Portuguese, the main rivals of the Dutch, enjoyed a steady trade with China on the island of Macao, and the Spanish were able to use their settlement at Manila to trade with Chinese merchants. The Dutch, on the other hand, were left to scrounge what Chinese goods they could from captured Iberian ships, or captured ships from China, causing the company to be viewed by many in the region as pirates. While the former course of action could be considered a normal activity of war, the second had obvious repercussions for any legitimate trade the Dutch hoped to conduct with the Chinese.

The company's fortunes changed, however, in the mid 1620s when the VOC established a settlement on the southwest coast of Taiwan. While the trade in Chinese silk proved to be a

great boon to the company, another luxury good also presented itself on Taiwan: deerskins. As this brief essay will demonstrate, for a couple of decades in the seventeenth century, the trade in deerskins was second in value only to silk in the VOC's trade with Japan and the profits derived therefrom helped make the factory in Japan one of the most consistently profitable in all of Asia.

The Background

In 1622, the Dutch, vying with the Portuguese for supremacy in the waters of Southeast Asia, attempted a massive attack on the Portuguese settlement at Macao. Led by Cornelis Reijersen, the attack had as its primary aim the ouster of the Portuguese from the lucrative trade in Chinese goods, which they imported to Japan in exchange for the silver that Japan was then mining in extraordinary quantities.¹ After three days of hard fighting, however, the Dutch were forced to retreat after suffering significant losses. After tense negotiations, a settlement was reached with the local Chinese government in which the VOC agreed to remove its forces to the island of Taiwan, and, in return, Chinese merchants would be allowed to trade with the company on the island. In 1624 the Dutch constructed Fort Zeelandia and promptly began to integrate Taiwan into their Asian trading network.²

Taiwan was initially conceived as a trading post at which the VOC would be able to obtain Chinese silk, and, indeed, the connections made with Chinese merchants such as Zheng Zhihlong made the factory in Japan truly profitable for the first time. Two other products, namely sugar and deerskins, however, also turned out to be in high demand, and so by cultivating sugar and harvesting the deer that were indigenous to the island, the VOC was able to greatly expand their profits in Japan. The trade in Taiwanese deerskins is instructive in that it demonstrates how profitable even a niche item could be in early modern Japan. It also demonstrates the profoundly changing nature of Japanese society in the seventeenth century from a predominantly rural society into a society in which political and economic power came to be increasingly concentrated in the "castle towns," including the great commercial cities of Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto.³ These urban centers became great centers of wealth and consumption, and deerskins were just one product that consumers were eager to snap up in the international trade that the VOC facilitated.

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The Trade

Deerskins were consistently one of the most valuable items imported into Japan. The number of skins arriving at Nagasaki often reached hundreds of thousands, a remarkable number considering that the skins were harvested by hunting rather than through raising deer.⁴ Apart from Taiwanese skins, deerskins were also procured in Southeast Asia, mainly at the Dutch factory in Siam. When six Japanese ships arrived in Siam and bought 70,000 deerskins, Martin Houtman, the head of the VOC factory, recognized the demand and wrote to his superiors advocating company involvement in the trade. Again, in January 1625, Governor-General Peter de Carpentier reported to the *Herren Zeventien* that Siam exported 250,000 deerskins per year, most of which found their way to the Japanese market.⁵ It is this great demand for deerskins that caused the Dutch to initially begin exporting Taiwanese deerskins to Japan.

John Sheppard notes that in the seventeenth century, Taiwan was home to huge herds of several thousand deer.⁶ The natives of the island had hunted the deer for centuries, and the Dutch simply tapped into this system, offering a variety of goods in exchange. With the arrival of the company, however, the hunting of deer shifted from a limited harvest to a full-scale industry: the skins were sold and shipped to Japan, while the meat was primarily sent to China on Chinese junks.⁷ In 1642, for example, ninety-seven Chinese ships arrived in Nagasaki bringing a total of 52,950 deerskins, many of them obtained on Taiwan.⁸ The following year, the Chinese sent their ships to Cambodia whence they shipped 50,000 deerskins to Japan in three ships.⁹ That number had fallen somewhat by 1650, but was still relatively high at 38,773.¹⁰ With only a cursory glance at these statistics, therefore, we can see that the Chinese were a considerable source of competition to the VOC. In the same way the Japanese were a great source of competition on Taiwan before the *sakoku* edicts of the mid-1630s prohibited Japanese from traveling overseas. Despite the fact that the Dutch tried to limit Japanese purchases, direct Japanese trade only really stopped from the mid-1630s,¹¹ and only from the 1640s were the Dutch able to bring Chinese smuggling under control, mostly by levying a tax on deerskins and by issuing licenses to aboriginal hunters of deer.¹²

In 1656, the king of Siam granted the Dutch a monopoly on the export of deerskins, a concession that allowed them to exclude their Chinese rivals from this lucrative trade. The monopoly lasted until 1688, and during the entire thirty-two year period the Dutch jealously guarded this right by sending frequent ambassadors to the Siamese court in order to remain in the king's good graces.¹³ Because of the VOC monopoly, Japanese silver was sent to Siam either directly or (more often) through the company's factory on Taiwan. In return, Siamese deerskins and other exotic goods were shipped to the Japanese market via either Batavia or Taiwan.¹⁴ As an indication of how large the trade in deerskins could be, in 1637 the chief merchant on Taiwan complained to company directors that in that year the company would not be able to send any more than 61,000 deerskins to Japan because of problems between the Dutch and the Siamese authorities!¹⁵

1656 was the high point in the deerskin trade with a total of 195,574 hides sent to Japan from various regions.¹⁶ This number fell drastically, however, when the Dutch lost Taiwan to the forces of the Zheng family in 1662. Moreover, after trade with Cambodia was suspended in 1667, Siam became the sole provider of deerskins to the VOC. Because the Dutch now had no other source for this commodity, they tried repeatedly to exclude Chinese and Siamese ships from trading directly with Japan. In 1663–1664, for example, the Dutch set up a blockade of Siamese ports specifically to stop these ships from traveling to Japan. The situation was finally resolved when a treaty between the king and the VOC was signed whereby the Siamese agreed not to employ any Chinese as pilots on their ships to Japan.¹⁷ When the forces of Zheng Chenggong overran the VOC position on Taiwan, the Chinese on the island gained unfettered access to the deerskin trade causing the Japanese market to soon be glutted, thereby driving down the price. Nonetheless, throughout the seventeenth century deerskins remained a profitable venture, and for the Siamese it represented a valuable source of much needed Japanese copper for use in their coinage.¹⁸

The Deerskins

The deerskins that were exported to Japan were used primarily by the large samurai class, whose armor, at times itself constructed out of the tough hide of the deer, was not particularly comfortable. Since the deerskins were soft and absorbed moisture, warriors used them to fashion undergarments.¹⁹ Deerskins were also used to make *tabi*, or the two-toed socks that were worn throughout Japan as well as *hakama*, the traditional Japanese divided skirt.

Apart from their military uses, deerskins were also used to make a variety of commercial goods such as bags. The material for these bags was constructed out of a lacquered deerskin, known in Japan as *koshu inden*. The skins themselves were smoked and stretched out on a drum-like apparatus after which a thin layer of lacquer was applied that enabled the craftsman to decorate the bag with a whole host of designs. The material was then stitched together into items such as coin purses (called *hayamichi*) that were highly sought after in the urban environments of Edo Japan. And finally, because of the non-abrasive qualities of the outer deerskins, they could be used as wrapping for storing such things as rifles.

The market for deerskins was facilitated by the *Eta*, the caste of people in Japan who were considered to be ritually unclean because of their involvement with occupations such as butchery and leatherworking. Francois Valentijn, in his account of Japan, describes the *Eta* merchants flocking to the Dutch factory during the sale of deerskins and buying them in huge quantities, after which they would fashion the skins into a variety of products.²⁰

The Decline

The large-scale shipment of deerskins from Taiwan began to decline as early as the 1640s. In 1640 the company was obliged to ban hunting for one year in response to a drastic drop in the population of deer.²¹ Although hunting resumed the next

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year, the levels of export never returned to what they had been. This was in part because traditional forms of hunting gave way to the use of pitfalls to trap deer, a method that allowed hunters to harvest deer at a greatly expanded rate. The Dutch in response instituted a hunting season in an effort to relieve the wholesale slaughter although, despite limited successes, deer populations continued to decline.²² The company further advised that hunting be suspended every third year from 1645 in an effort to stabilize the deer populations. These efforts seem to have worked to a certain degree as the downward spiral in deer populations leveled off in the 1650s.²³ However, because the Dutch were kicked off of Taiwan in 1662, and because the Chinese in Siam and Cambodia began to offer stiff competition in the export of deerskins, the Dutch deerskin trade in Japan became relatively insignificant compared to preceding decades. The Japanese, for their part, however, continued to consume deerskins. Ships from Siam, for example, continued to visit Nagasaki in relatively large numbers until, in 1715, the shogunate limited the trade to a single ship annually.²⁴ In addition, the Ainu peoples of the northern island of Ezo, in a lopsided trading relationship with the Matsumae family, began to ship “tens of thousands” of deerskins to the Japanese market, and this trade lasted for the majority of the Edo period, although again, by the eighteenth century, the imports diminished dramatically because of over-hunting.²⁵

Hui-wen Koo, in recent research, makes the interesting observation that the Dutch on Taiwan were aware of the effects of over-hunting and so were initially assiduous in managing the herds of deer. Koo claims that the real culprit in the decline was not so much over-hunting, but rather the increased migration of mainland Chinese to the island and the resultant apportionment of land to these migrants as farmland. In this scenario, “the scarcity of deer was the result of habitat loss, the primary threat to wild animals nowadays, rather than unregulated over-hunting.”²⁶ In the end, the issue of deer populations on Taiwan was a moot point for the VOC as Fort Zeelandia suffered a prolonged siege by the forces of Zheng Chenggong who, because of several military reverses on the mainland against the invading Manchu, was obliged to look for an alternative base of operations on Taiwan.

In February 1662, the Dutch, having held out against impossible odds, signed an eighteen-clause treaty of surrender that allowed them to leave the island peacefully, but which required the cession of all of the wealth of the factory.²⁷ These losses, which were not overly significant in terms of overall company profits, were held against Frederick Coyett, the head of the VOC factory, as was the failure to defend the island against the invaders. The full wrath of the VOC was subsequently brought to bear on the unfortunate Coyett regardless of the fact that he held out on Taiwan as long as possible against an impossibly superior enemy, given the meager provisions and defenses at his disposal. For this perceived failure, he was recalled to Batavia in disgrace and, after a swift trial, sentenced to death for his crimes. In an act of leniency, however, the council at Batavia commuted his sentence to banishment.²⁸ According to Coyett, the role of petty intrigue in the highest echelons of the VOC administration played a major role in the company’s failure to heed his warnings about the danger of the Zheng. In a memoir entitled *Neglected Formosa*, he blames above all the

very company officials who condemned his actions, writing, “It is very sad that, by reason of mutual disputes and disturbances among their servants, the company lost such a precious treasure as Formosa...”²⁹

1 An account of the battle can be found in Charles Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550-1770* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948).

2 For a good account of the Dutch on Taiwan, see Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

3 Hayami Akira, “A Great Transformation: Social and Economic Change in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Japan,” *Bonner Zeitschrift für Japanologie* 8 (1986), 3-13. James McClain, in “Castle Towns and Daimyo Authority: Kanazawa in the Years 1583-1630,” *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 6 (1980), 267-99, identifies the period 1580 to 1700 as “one of the most extraordinary periods of urbanization in world history.”

4 For an overview and a comprehensive discussion of the numbers, although each scholar’s numbers differ somewhat, see Nakamura Takashi, “The Production and Export of Taiwanese Deerskins in the Seventeenth Century,” *Taiwan Bank Quarterly*, X (1956), Nagazumi Yoko, “Formosan Trade in the Seventeenth Century: With Dutch Sources,” in *Essays in Chinese Maritime History*, ed. Tang Shi-yeoung (Taipei, 1999), and Hui-wen Koo, “Deer Hunting and Preserving the Commons in Dutch Colonial Taiwan,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 42: 2 (Autumn, 2011).

5 W. Ph. Coolhaas, ed., *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, Deel I: 1610-1638* (’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960), Jan. 17, 1625.

6 John Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 37-38.

7 Iwao Seiichi, *Nihon no Rekishi 14: Sakoku* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1966), 269.

8 Yamawaki Teijirō, *Nihon Rekishi Gakkai Henshū 6: Nagasaki no Tōjin Bōeki* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1964), 244.

9 Leonard Blussé and Cynthia Viallé, eds., *The Deshima Dagregisters, Vol. XI* (Leiden: The Netherlands Institute for the History of European Expansion, 2001), Aug. 11, 1643.

10 Murakami Naojirō, *Nagasaki Oranda Shōkan no Nikki* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1956), 321-323.

11 Nagazumi Yoko, *Nihon Rekishi Sōsho 60: Shuinsen* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2001), 174-175.

12 Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 74. Shepherd notes that the Dutch charged native hunters one *real* a month for deer caught with snares, and fifteen *reals* a month for pitfalls. For an example of a Dutch attempt to limit the Chinese trade in deerskins, see Leonard Blussé, M.E. van Opstall, and Ts’ao Yung-Ho, *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan: Deel I, 1629-1641* (’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), 194.

13 George Vinal Smith, *The Dutch in Seventeenth-Century*

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Thailand (Northern Illinois: Center for Southeast Asian Studies Special Report, 1977), 46.

14 The existence of a monopoly did not mean that all Chinese competition came to an end, however. In January of 1651, for example, the Governor-General at Batavia noted that in the previous year, ten Chinese ships took away a considerable number of deerskins from Siam to sell in Japan. If this was indeed the case, it represented a gross breach of the VOC's monopoly. Coolhaas, ed., *Generalle Missiven, Deel II*, 448.

15 Ibid, 358.

16 Yamawaki Teijirō, *Nagasaki no Oranda shōkan* (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōronsha, 1980), 79.

17 Dhiravat Pombejra, *Court, Company, and Campong: Essays on the VOC Presence in Ayutthaya* (Phra Nakhon Sri Ayutthaya: Ayutthaya Historical Study Center, 1992), 27.

18 Ibid, 80.

19 Yamawaki, *Nagasaki no Oranda Shōkan*, 79.

20 Francois Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (te Dordrecht: Joannes van Braam te Amsterdam, 1724-1726), 40.

21 Sakurai Eiji and Nakanishi Satoru, "Bōeki no Tenkai," in *Shintaikei Nihon Shi 12: Ryūsū Keizai Shi* (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2002), 361.

22 Tonio Andrade, "Pirates, Pelts and Promises," 305.

23 Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 75-77.

24 Dhivarat na Pombejra, "Ayutthaya at the End of

the Seventeenth Century: Was There a Shift to Isolation?" in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power and Belief*, ed. Anthony Reid (Cornell, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 266. See also Nagazumi Yoko, "Aytthaya and Japan: Embassies and Trade in the Seventeenth Century," in *From Japan to Arabia: Ayutthaya's Maritime Relations with Asia* (Bangkok: Printing House of Thammasat University, 1999).

25 John F. Richards, *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 189. See also Brett Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion, 1590-1800* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001).

26 Hui-wen Koo, "Deer Hunting and Preserving the Commons in Dutch Colonial Taiwan," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 42: 2 (Autumn, 2011), 203.

27 Both the *Tokugawa Jikki* and the *Edo Bakufu Nikki* report the loss of Taiwan to Zheng. Apparently, two Dutch ships arrived in Nagasaki after the cession of the island, prompting the Nagasaki *bugyō* to report to Edo on Kambun 1/4/2 why there were two unexpected ships in Japan.

28 Inez de Beauclair, *Neglected Formosa: A translation from the Dutch of Frederic Coyett's Verwaerloosde Formosa* (San Francisco, CA: Chinese Materials Center, Inc., 1975), xv.

29 Ibid, 70.

"A World of History in Your Cup":¹ Teaching Coffee as Global Commodity c. 1400 – 2000

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Over two billion cups of coffee are consumed around the world daily. Coffee is a mass-market global commodity, and in recent decades it has commonly been the second most traded good on world commodity markets after oil. The coffee trade involves over sixty-five exporting countries on five continents across the world's tropical zone. It employs as many as 100 million people, and, as of 2006, it was worth \$140 billion per year.²

Coffee has been many different things over the past six centuries: tropical plant, bean, crop, resource, export, import, drink, medicine, drug, luxury, and commodity. Thus, a mundane cup of coffee allows a world history class to explore many centuries of history, including topics such as capitalism, colonialism, globalization, the environment, science, medicine, slavery, revolution, war, gender, sociability, civil society, and democracy.

My approach is to explore how "Atlantic Europeans"³ gained control of the coffee trade and how this long-term process was connected to the growing importance of global transoceanic commerce in the early modern (c. 1450-1800) and modern (c. 1800 to present) eras. After all, in 1500, Yemen, in the Arabian

Peninsula, controlled 100% of the emergent coffee trade whereas in 1900 it produced less than 1% of the world's coffee. Moreover, by the late twentieth century the international coffee market was – and still is – dominated by four multinationals: Kraft, Nestlé, Procter & Gamble and Sara Lee, all with headquarters in the United States or Western Europe.⁴

A number of basic questions will help get students thinking about coffee and their world on a global scale, thereby gaining perspective on present-day issues. How did coffee – a plant and drink indigenous to Arabia and the Horn of Africa as *Coffea Arabica*⁵ – become a global commodity? Who benefitted from coffee going global? Who suffered? How is the process related to the growth of global transoceanic commerce, colonialism and the rise of capitalism after 1500? Why has coffee been a target of the Fair Trade movement since the 1970s? To borrow a phrase from Antoinette Burton, the history of coffee offers "pathways into and out of 'the global.'"⁶

Coffee is a particularly interesting commodity because it is "one of the few holdovers from the era of the spice trade and mercantilism."⁷ This allows for the possibility of doing history over long timelines and broad geographies and across conventional historical periods. Burton calls this "economic time,"⁸ but we could also call it "commodity time." Similarly, Steven Topik, William Clarence-Smith, and Mario Semper examine the coffee commodity chain to highlight the complex links between producers, intermediaries, and consumers from the local to the global, across regions, continents, seas, oceans and

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hemispheres.

There has been a rise in the number of global commodity histories since the 1980s, including anthropologist Sidney Mintz's landmark study of sugar, *Sweetness and Power*; as well as journalist Mark Kurlansky's work on cod and salt.⁹ A number of popular works on coffee have also been published, such as Mark Pendergrast's *Uncommon Grounds* and Antony Wild's *Coffee: A Dark History*.¹⁰ Some of these studies could be accused of lacking scholarly rigor, but they are affordable, accessible, and entertaining. In my class I have recently used Tom Standage's *A History of the World in 6 Glasses* – with two chapters on coffee – as a supplement to the brief edition of *Traditions & Encounters*.¹¹

While the commodity chain approach is very informative and useful for upper-year undergraduates, graduate students, and instructors, it is too specialized for students in a world history survey. It also leans strongly in the direction of economic history with its focus on inanimate structures over people. Popular history “trade books” appeal to students because they are strong on narrative and feature lots of human drama.

Antoinette Burton's notion of genealogy is more relevant for world history survey classes. Burton's genealogy takes us “backstage” into “the history of how X or Y came to be or emerged.” It is a device that she fine-tuned through conversations with her world history students in an effort to develop their sense of the importance of the past and what counts as global.¹² As Burton states, everything has a genealogy and she highlights the usefulness of commodities such as tea, sugar, silver, indigo, and coffee for world history pedagogy since they “have transnational histories and global pathways attached to them, even as they arrive at our sightline in the present shorn of those genealogical traces.”¹³

The course that I teach runs for a full year (two thirteen-week terms) and meets twice per week for eighty minutes per class. The history of coffee usually forms an in-depth case study over several classes. On the syllabus, coffee follows classes on the Indian Ocean world, oceanic navigation and voyages of exploration and discovery after c. 1400, the Columbian Exchange, the Atlantic world, and the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal empires.

Coffee first began trading as a commodity in Yemen during the fifteenth century, soon becoming an export commodity. Until the mid-eighteenth century, Arabs – Muslims, Jews and Christians – dominated the coffee trade and had a virtual monopoly on coffee production, though Indians and Chinese were also important coffee traders. The port of Mokha was a key center of the trade and Muslims in southwest Asia (the Middle East) constituted coffee's principal market until the eighteenth century. European interest in coffee as a social drink began in earnest after 1600 and generally spread from the south (Italy and France) to the northwest (the Netherlands and England). For most of the seventeenth century, however, Europeans obtained their coffee beans from Arab traders in Alexandria and other depots in the eastern Mediterranean. A taste for coffee spread among Muslims in the Indian Ocean world too.

Direct European access to the heart of coffee production in Yemen began around 1615 when Dutch (VOC) and English

East India Company (EIC) ships started arriving in Mokha, while the French Compagnie des Indes Orientales (CdI) followed about 1710.¹⁴ By the 1650s the Dutch were trying to grow coffee in Ceylon and by the 1690s cultivation was underway in Java. Despite a late start in the coffee trade the French CdI started commercial coffee production in Réunion (formerly Île Bourbon), off the east coast of Africa by 1715, and Martinique in the Caribbean by 1725. The English became coffee growers in Jamaica by 1730.

Europeans broke the Arab quasi-monopoly on coffee production in the seventeenth century by stealing fertile coffee beans and coffee plants from Yemen. This meant that Europeans became coffee producers rather than simply coffee buyers dependent on merchants and traders in Yemen. By 1750 the French were selling coffee from their Caribbean plantations to Arabs. Coffee markets in Mokha and the Arab world began to decline to the extent that Yemen's share of the global coffee market dropped to 3% by 1840 and 1% by 1900.¹⁵

Open-ocean navigation was the key to Europeans' gaining control of the coffee trade. From 1650 onward East India Companies made regular trips around the Cape of Good Hope and through the Indian and Atlantic Oceans to supply the growing European demand for coffee.¹⁶ By doing so, they cut out Arab, Turk, and European middlemen in the Mediterranean. Sea power was also crucial to the Europeans' ability to move coffee plants across seas, oceans, and hemispheres to new parts of the world from 1650 onward. Coffee seedlings were transported to botanic gardens in Amsterdam, Leiden, Paris, and London and new plants could then be moved to colonies and settlements where Europeans controlled production, usually using slaves or some other form of coerced labor.

Frenchman Gabriel Mathieu de Clieu famously obtained two coffee seedlings from Louis XV's Jardin des Plantes in the early 1720s, which were offshoots of Dutch plants from Amsterdam, and successfully transplanted one of them in Martinique after crossing the Atlantic on the *Dromadaire*. De Clieu's tree then provided seedlings for Guadeloupe and Saint-Domingue (Haiti). At the time of the French and Haitian Revolutions the French supplied nearly 70% of the world's coffee. Europeans also shipped plants to the Caribbean, Central, and South America, and Brazil became the world's major coffee exporter after 1820.¹⁷

De Clieu's exploits are significant because they show how coffee became part of a “hemispheric transfer” from “Old World” Asia to the “New World” of the Americas, thanks to new possibilities of transoceanic navigation.¹⁸ In other words, coffee became part of the Columbian Exchange, which of course continued long after Columbus' renowned sea voyages of the 1490s.¹⁹ While the Dutch VOC had moved coffee cultivation further east into the Indian Ocean world, the French were the first to grow coffee in the Atlantic world successfully.

Ecological imperialism – gaining control of the cultivation of plants for profit and power – is crucial to this story. Europeans broke the Arab monopoly not just by stealing coffee plants in the seventeenth century, but by studying *Coffea Arabica* in their botanic gardens before shipping them to plantations in overseas colonies. After all, De Clieu acquired his plants from

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the King's garden, which was in turn connected to Dutch botanic gardens. Britons such as Joseph Banks were doing the same thing at Kew's Royal Botanic Gardens.

The story of de Clieu interests students because of the human element, but it also offers a "pathway into the global." The local example of de Clieu in Paris, Martinique, or even onboard the *Dromadaire* can easily be connected to broader world history issues of ecological imperialism, emergent capitalism, and the growing importance of transoceanic commerce in the first age of globalization. As with Antoinette Burton's example of nineteenth-century tea drinkers, the tale of de Clieu and his coffee plants represents an opportunity to "pivot" from the local and intimate to the global.²⁰ Instructors can connect de Clieu to the French botanist Antoine de Jussieu and Jean de la Roque. The latter's *Voyage to Arabia Foelix* (1715) is a primary source suitable for discussion in class.²¹

Coffee's tale takes us into the Indian, Atlantic, and Pacific Oceans, as well as the Red, Mediterranean and Caribbean Seas, so it offers an opportunity to stress the importance of water in world history. Despite the fact that oceans and seas account for 70% of the world's surface most historians focus on land and big terrestrial states. Coffee could not have become a global commodity without a revolution in the technologies of shipbuilding and navigation in the early-modern era, and without a willingness to take risks in return for potential profits.²² Therefore, the emergence of coffee as a global commodity controlled by Europeans is directly related to a major shift in world history from land-based power to sea-based power and the rise of capitalism.

The big three East India Companies – the Dutch, English and French – were among the prime beneficiaries of this early modern shipping and maritime revolution, simultaneously spreading commercial coffee cultivation throughout the Indian Ocean. The EIC and VOC were also multinational companies that sought to make profits for their shareholders, and all three EICs were involved in the establishment and maintenance of European colonialism in Asia. Coffee is a *colonial product* that has been associated with no less than ten empires.²³ The EICs were also part of the first global economy, which was lubricated by another important commodity - silver. Clearly, coffee does offer a pathway into "the global" and to major issues and processes in world history.

A second maritime and communications revolution in the late nineteenth century helped secure coffee's place as a global commodity into the modern era. The rise of steamship navigation after 1840, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and the laying of transoceanic submarine cables for telegraphic communication in the 1870s supported the "coffee boom" and the development of a huge global coffee market. With more reliable and accessible information coffee became a "pure commodity" that could be traded on futures markets.²⁴ Coffee exchanges opened in New York, London, Le Havre, and Hamburg - all major port cities and all centers of transoceanic commerce. It is not surprising, then, that multinational firms based in Europe and North America came to dominate the coffee trade by 1970. Even the "specialty coffee purveyor" Starbucks has acknowledged "the romance of the high seas and the seafaring tradition of the early

coffee traders," though the company's statement regarding ethics, responsibility and "fair trade" also speaks to coffee's colonial past.²⁵

The history of coffee provides a great many opportunities to explore significant issues in world history, and I have only noted a few. Links can be made to other commodities, as we have noted in the case of silver. In fact, the histories of sugar, chocolate, and tea could be united with coffee under the rubric of the Hot Drinks Revolution.²⁶

Though my examples demonstrate the growing power of Atlantic Europeans since 1500 it should be stressed that the history of coffee or any other commodity need not subscribe to an outdated "rise of the West" narrative. On the contrary, European reliance on Arab pharmacology and Afro-Asian trade networks shows the importance of cross-cultural exchange. So does European indebtedness to Arab, Jewish, and Chinese seafaring knowledge. Lastly, Arab, Indian, and Chinese merchant communities were extremely important in the emergence of the global coffee economy – and they remain relevant today.²⁷

1 The full quotation is "There is a world of history in your cup," in William Gervase Clarence-Smith and Steven Topik, "Introduction: Coffee and Global Development" in William Gervase Clarence-Smith and Steven Topik, eds., *The Global Coffee Economy in Africa, Asia, and Latin America 1500-1989* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 1.

2 For statistics see Bee Wilson, "Bean Counters: Vices of the coffee trade and coffee house: exploiting the growers, sleeping in Starbucks, quackery and gabbling", review of *Eighteenth-Century Coffee-House Culture*, by Markman Ellis, *The Times Literary Supplement*, Nov. 2, 2007, pp. 3-5, Antony Wild, *Coffee: A Dark History* (New York & London: W.W. Norton and Company, 2004), pp. 1-2 and *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, eds. Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (Houndmills & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), s.v. "Drink", p. 296.

3 The phrase "Atlantic European" is used in J.R. and W.H. McNeill, *The Human Web: A Bird's-Eye View of World History* (New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003), pp. 163-64 and *passim*.

4 Wilson, "Bean Counters", p. 3.

5 *Coffea Arabica* is the scientific name for the coffee genus that originated in Ethiopia and/or Yemen. It defines superior coffee today – which is why quality coffees like to emblazon "100% Arabica Coffee" on their packaging – despite great variations in taste and quality depending on where it is grown and how it is roasted. The other main genus is commonly referred to as *Robusta* (*Coffea canephora*), which became part of the global trade in the late nineteenth century. It is the more robust and disease-resistant coffee used in cheaper blends and instant coffees.

6 Antoinette Burton, *A Primer for Teaching World History: Ten Design Principles* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2012), p. 2 and *passim*.

7 Clarence-Smith and Topik, "Introduction: Coffee and Global Development", p. 2.

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- 8 Burton, *Primer*, p. 19.
- 9 Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York & London, etc: Penguin Books, 1987), Mark Kurlansky, *Cod: A Biography of the Fish that Changed the World* (New York: Walker and Company, 1997), and *Salt: A World History* (New York: Walker and Company, 2002).
- 10 See Mark Pendergrast, *Uncommon Grounds: The History of Coffee and How It Transformed Our World* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), Wild, *Coffee: A Dark History*.
- 11 Tom Standage, “The Great Soberer” and “The Coffeehouse Internet”, *A History of the World in 6 Glasses* (Anchor Canada, 2006), pp. 133-72, Jerry H. Bentley, Herbert F. Ziegler and Heather E. Streets-Salter, *Traditions & Encounters: A Brief Global History*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2010).
- 12 Burton, *Primer*, pp. 2, 73-80, 120.
- 13 Burton, *Primer*, p. 78.
- 14 VOC is the acronym for *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or United East Indies Company, one of about sixteen European East India companies that were founded after 1600. On the VOC, EIC, and Cdl in Yemen, see Anthony Farrington, *Trading Places: The East India Company and Asia* (London: The British Library, 2002), pp. 64, 110, K. N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company 1660-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 359-83, and R. J. Barendse, *The Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of the Seventeenth Century* (Armonk, New York & London: M.E. Sharpe, 2002), pp. 39, 69, 172-76, 448-49.
- 15 Topik, “Integration”, pp. 28-29, and Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik, *The World That Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy 1400 to the Present*, 2nd ed. (Armonk, New York & London: M.E. Sharpe, 2006), p. 83.
- 16 Chaudhuri, *Trading World*, pp. 359-60.
- 17 Information in this paragraph is from William H. Ukers, *All About Coffee*, 2nd ed. (Mansfield Center, CT: Martino Publishing, 2010 [1935]), pp. 1-5 regarding “The History of Coffee Propagation”, Topik, “Integration”, Pendergrast, *Uncommon Grounds*, Standage, *History of the World in 6 Glasses* and Vantal, *Book of Coffee*.
- 18 The phrase “hemispheric transfer” is from Topik, “Integration”, p. 28.
- 19 See Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1972), pp. 208-21. Crosby mentions coffee specifically on pp. 68 & 211.
- 20 Burton, *Primer*, pp. 52-54, 120 and *passim*.
- 21 De la Roque’s *Voyage de l’Arabie Heureuse* has been available in English since 1726. A substantial excerpt can be found in Markman Ellis (ed.), *Eighteenth-Century Coffee-House Culture*, vol. 4, *Science and History Writings* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006).
- 22 On the early modern maritime revolution see chapter six “Spinning the Worldwide Web 1450-1800” in J.R. and W.H. McNeill, *Human Web*, especially pp. 163-67.
- 23 Clarence-Smith and Topik, “Introduction: Coffee and Global Development”, p. 2.
- 24 Topik, “Integration”, pp. 39-40.
- 25 Starbucks (founded in 1971) took its name from a character in Herman Melville’s *Moby Dick* (set on the high seas), used a mermaid as company symbol and was founded in a port city – Seattle – on the Pacific Rim. Starbucks website, “Our Heritage” and “Responsibility: Ethical, Local, Global”, (<http://www.starbucks.ca/about-us/our-heritage>), accessed July 29, 2012. See also Pendergrast, *Uncommon Grounds*, pp. 309, 367-88.
- 26 On the Hot Drinks Revolution see Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, *Near A Thousand Tables: A History of Food* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, Ltd., 2002), p. 181, and *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History* s.v. “drink”, p. 295.
- 27 See Michel Tuchscherer, “Coffee in the Red Sea Area from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century” in *Global Coffee Economy*, p. 63, William Gervase Clarence-Smith and Steven Topik, “Conclusion: New Propositions and a Research Agenda” in *Global Coffee Economy*, pp. 399-400, Pomeranz and Topik, *World That Trade Created*, p. 81, and Barendse, *Arabian Seas*, pp. 39, 69.

Invisible Commodities in World History: The Case of Wheat and the Industrial Revolution

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Introduction: What is an invisible commodity?

If I asked you to envision the commodity chains that underpinned England’s Industrial Revolution what would you see? You may think first of cotton, flowing from the American South to New York City and thence across the Atlantic Ocean past Liverpool to a cotton spinner in a Manchester mill. You may think next of coal, mined in Wales and carried by rail or canal to that very same mill. You may then make the jump to tea or sugar flowing out of China and the West Indies respectively. I would be willing to bet, however, you would only then – if at all

– think about the vast wheat fields of Southern Russia, Argentina, Australia, Canada, and the United States. I want to emphasize in this article, however, that wheat was an essential component of British industrialization. By extension, I want to make the case for the utility of researching, analyzing, and teaching about “invisible commodities” in world history.

Historians tend to pick a commodity characteristic of a particular place or economic system and build their analysis from this “keystone commodity.”¹ In certain respects, this allows the historical community a shorthand way of describing some of the more important relationships of their study unit. It seems natural to focus on cotton and sugar as underpinning the plantation system. You cannot have factories if you do not have copious amounts of fossil fuels to burn and power them.

Commodities with significant human relationships, however, do not always make it into the historical record, survive,

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or receive their due emphasis. It is these commodities I term “invisible.” Keystone commodities, conversely, are emphasized highly within the field – such as cotton, sugar, coal, oil – to the point where historians have created subfields for them. By using the term keystone instead of staple, I am speaking more about awareness in the historical field, rather than how arrangements were historically constructed.²

An overemphasis on particular commodities in a particular place, however, can obscure larger relationships that ripple outward and attain significance. To underscore this point, I will briefly detail how industrialization in England spurred an explosion of wheat agriculture in Russia, Argentina, and the United States.³ In addition to coal and cotton, the keystone commodities of industrialization, wheat subtly but profoundly influenced economic developments and social relations, affecting everything from the factory to a laborer’s dinner table, to ocean steamers, railroads, and ultimately the wheat farm itself.

Wheat and Industrial Production

Wheat is structured energy. The plant itself takes solar energy, water, and nutrients from the soil and constructs an elaborate cellular structure that stores the energy and nutrients for further growth. Humans have given shape to the ways in which wheat plants store this energy by ensuring that the berry holds the majority of the energy and nutrients, devising new ways of structuring the energy so the plant can grow in different environments, and by engineering the agroecosystem around wheat plants to provide an environment geared toward the greatest possible collection of energy.⁴

Historians tend to think of industrial Britain as primarily a fossil-fuel energy economy.⁵ Coal, or perhaps water or wood, powered machines that enabled an enormous work output, simultaneously producing new types of labor, wealth, settlement patterns, and consumptive behaviors. I want to shift that emphasis by asking historians to focus not on the energy that powered machines, but the energy that powered humans. People, after all, are the primary actors in history and, if the history of technology tells us anything about machines, it is that they are produced socially, by human hands and from human minds.⁶ If the machines that (perhaps rightly) receive so much attention in analyses of the industrial revolution were the product of much larger human and social forces, what were the energy regimes underpinning that human activity? This question leads us to wheat, and the question of how modern food systems were developed the world over in the nineteenth century to feed industrial labor in Europe. It is a story that links natural processes to consumptive patterns in industrial cities, far flung regions like California, Argentina, and Southern Russia, and back to Liverpool and London.

Let me begin in the 1810s. Britain’s world-supremacy - solidified in the wake of their victory over the French following two decades of war - seemed threatened by volatility at home due to high bread prices. Beginning in 1812, the price of wheat rose to unprecedented levels in the British Isles.⁷ As more individuals moved to the city, their dependence on the price of bread rose. They used their wages to buy bread, eat it, and expend that energy at work. Thus, the price of bread was a determining factor in the economic plight of the English working class.⁸ When prices rose, so too did volatility. Thus, we should not see, say,

the Luddite Revolts or the Peterloo Massacre as abstract means of “fighting industrialization” or “forging a class consciousness.” Rather, we should see them as a collective action by people hoping to improve their material existence by demonstrating their need for cheap bread. The infamous Peterloo Massacre began, in part, as a demonstration against the high price of bread.⁹

Illustrative of how commodity networks can shape and be bound within larger historical processes, the grain trade provided a spark to the political ascendancy of economic liberalism in the 19th century.¹⁰ Richard Cobden, John Bright, and Charles Villiers oversaw the repeal of the Corn Laws – the first major political victory for free trade – because they all envisioned the importance of wheat flows for industrialization.¹¹ Most in the movement were merchants or factory owners, but all argued that the price of bread was a major factor in working class volatility: as prices rose, so did incidents of riot. Arguably the most important liberal legislation of the nineteenth century (at least in the strict economic sense) came out of a desire for cheap wheat. The Corn Laws were about wheat and calories, and the forging of a contested commodity that had resonance precisely because it was food, and thus a matter of the most immediate concern.

A World of Wheat

And so, by the 1840s and 1850s, merchants who sought to import grain from around the world had built a series of relationships in both England and abroad that primed the flow of inexpensive wheat. In doing so, they contributed to important political-economic reforms in England, while they were also key players in the economic development of wheat-producing regions around the globe. Let me briefly outline three places where this investment took place: Southern Russia, Argentina, and California.¹²

The plains region that feeds into the Black Sea port of Odessa had long produced large quantities of wheat. Beginning in the 1500s, settlers from the northern, forested sections of what would become Russia and the Ukraine began to slowly displace the resident horsemen of the southern Steppes.¹³ These peasants planted a mix of grains that, like those of the American prairie, did well in the deep black soil of the grassland. Soon, this region (due to a lack of transport to the inland north) oriented southwards toward the Black Sea ports. In the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth, Greek merchants began to consign grain from the Black Sea ports to London.¹⁴ Throughout the early nineteenth century, the trade with Southern Russia and the Baltic made up the majority of grain imports into London.

Increased British trade with wheat merchants of southern Russia brought investment in transportation and land.¹⁵ Beginning in the 1860s, and coinciding with the freeing of the serfs, British investment flowed into southern Russia via the port of Odessa. Railroad networks were constructed in a pattern familiar to other cases of British “railway imperialism”: first a series of trunk lines were built to connect major cities, then, in the 1880s and 1890s, a web of branch lines connected many wheat fields to primary and secondary markets.¹⁶ Just as in the American Midwest, this railroad network favored the middlemen and export merchants who benefited from decreased travel costs and used their business connections to find the best prices for their wares. By the 1890s, southern Russia was a major wheat producing region that competed with the United States in terms

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of volume exported to Great Britain. Though a series of poor harvests in the early 1890s crippled the region for some time, by the early 1900s, southern Russia was again one of the great wheat-producing regions of the world, crisscrossed by a network of railroads, served by excellent port facilities in Odessa, and worked by an intricate web of merchants who brought the wheat from the peasant farm to the London table.

Argentina served this demand for bread in slightly different ways. Until the 1840s and 1850s, agriculture in Argentina operated on a largely subsistence fashion. The mixed husbandry system that grew out of the Roman and Spanish traditions served mainly local markets.¹⁷ While the British had invested in Argentina since the ill-fated South Sea Company was formed to import slaves into the region in 1711, there was little sustained interest until the region's break from the Spanish Empire.¹⁸ Following independence, the newly-formed Argentine Republic looked primarily to Britain to fund its development. On the shoulders of large public and private loans from the British, the Argentine Republic began to build its railroad and port infrastructure beginning in the late 1860s and 1870s. While the primary interest of both Argentine producer and British merchant was cattle, wheat proved to be a simpler method of earning a profit because it took a longer time and more money to begin a successful ranching operation, and settlers in contested regions found that it was more difficult for Indians to destroy their wheat crop than it was for them to abscond with a portion of their herd.¹⁹ As in southern Russia, the primary impetus for the growth of commercial wheat agriculture was British investment in railroads and port facilities; the vast majority of Argentine railroads were constructed using British capital.²⁰

Unlike Russia, the largely-immigrant wheat farmers in Argentina were quick to adopt a style of commercial agriculture that resembled the expansive wheat culture then developing on the American Plains. These farms were capital intensive, land extensive, heavily mechanized and railroad-dominated.²¹ Increased wheat exports to Great Britain in the 1880s and 1890s coincided with vast streams of capital flowing in to Argentina from London banks such as Baring Brothers and Company. A series of financial panics (began by the near-failure of Baring Brothers due to overextension in Argentina), an increased devotion to cattle farming, and military coups squeezed production. Argentina's wheat exports began to drop off in the late 1890s - only to rebound again in the late 1900s and 1910s.²² During this period, Argentine farmers developed a mixed style of agriculture that combined the traditions of Spain with the new extensive techniques developed to feed the world economy. Ranchers tended cattle as their primary money-making venture, but also devoted considerable land to a rotation of wheat and fodder that both amplified their income and fed their stock.²³

Finally, the most curious region dominated by British investment in wheat agriculture and commerce: California. Despite a nearly 17,000 nautical mile trip from San Francisco to Liverpool, California sent between 80 and 98 percent of its total exports to the English port in the 1870s and 1880s.²⁴ Indicative of this convergence, Liverpool and San Francisco were the only two major ports in the world to use the cental as a measurement for grain.²⁵ Between the gold rush of the 1850s and 1860s and

the rise of irrigated horticulture in California in the 1890s, the port of Liverpool dominated commerce with San Francisco through a network of local and international merchants whose primary responsibility was to export wheat via a growing transportation and information structure.²⁶ Men like Isaac Friedlander – the “Wheat King of California” – purchased wheat from vast inland farms and either consigned or shipped via his own account directly to Liverpool. British capital flowed into San Francisco in reverse, primarily through the Anglo-American Bank and the Bank of California.²⁷

A new kind of farming developed throughout the Central Valley of California in response to this export network. Farmers who had parlayed gold earnings into land investments in the 1860s quickly planted their holdings – in some cases upward of 40,000 acres – with wheat.²⁸ At a time when local consumption was negligible and only small quantities were shipped to the East, these so-called bonanza farms could not have developed were it not for an international network designed to feed British laborers with cheap bread.

California is a particularly interesting case because it highlights wheat's primary influence on economic development, but also its relative invisibility to historians.²⁹ Such dominance should be illustrative of a staple commodity, yet wheat production in California is usually seen as ancillary to gold mining in the 1850s and 1860s and horticulture beginning in the late 1880s. Though California's wheat boom was sandwiched between these two more familiar economic phases, its importance lies in its connection to the British market, allowing British money to flow into California even after the gold stopped flowing out.

These three examples highlight both the local complexity and international systems that influenced the growth in grassland agriculture during the second half of the nineteenth century. And all three were intimately connected to the industrial economy of Britain. All three developed their wheat commerce along different lines, but all fed into the need for human labor in England. So it turns out that a need for industrial calories in Great Britain after 1800 radiated outward to produce economic development, ecological change, and new social relationships in grasslands around the world.³⁰ By focusing on agriculture alone, or on “industrial” commodity chains, historians would lose this story. The experiences of the steppes, pampas, and prairies were tied together not only through their environmental similarities, but through political-economic relationships that radiated outward from industrial England.³¹ We miss this story, however, if we talk about the industrial revolution only through coal and cotton. We need to add calories.

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- 2 Harold Adams Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930); Harold Adams Innis and Daniel Drache, *Staples, Markets, and Cultural Change: Selected Essays* (Montreal; Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).
- 3 Thomas Finger, "Harvesting Power: American Agriculture, British Industry, and the Labor of Human Bodies, 1776-1918" (PhD Diss., University of Virginia, forthcoming).
- 4 Rudolph Peterson, *Wheat: Botany, Cultivation and Utilization* (London: L. Hill Books, 1965).
- 5 See Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus*; Joel Mokyr, *The Lever of Riches: Technological Creativity and Economic Progress* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); E.A. Wrigley, *Continuity, Chance and Change: The Character of the Industrial Revolution in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); E.A. Wrigley, *Energy and the English Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- 6 Wiebe E. Bijker, Thomas Parke Hughes, and Trevor J. Pinch, *The Social Construction of Technological Systems: New Directions in the Sociology and History of Technology* (MIT Press, 1989).
- 7 Donald Grove Barnes, *A History of the English Corn Laws from 1660-1846* (New York: Crofts, 1961), 90-92.
- 8 The price of bread was a major component of the "moral economy" of the English working-class according to E.P. Thompson. See E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), 60-69; E. P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past & Present*, no. 50 (February 1, 1971): 76-13.
- 9 Francis Archibald Bruton et al., *Three Accounts of Peterloo by Eye-witnesses: Bishop Stanley, Lord Hylton, John Benjamin Smith*, Historical Series XXXIX (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1921), 64-65.
- 10 C. Schonhardt-Bailey, *Free Trade: The Repeal of the Corn Laws* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1996); A. Marrison, *Free Trade and Its Reception, 1815-1960* (London: Routledge, 1998); C. Schonhardt-Bailey, *From the Corn Laws to Free Trade: Interests, Ideas, and Institutions in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2006).
- 11 Codben was himself an investor in the Illinois Central Railroad, an important player in the development of the Iowan wheat frontier. See Nicholas C. Edsall, *Richard Cobden: Independent Radical* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 316-319, 320, 366, 376.
- 12 These regions were picked both due to their geographic scope and their importance to the British wheat trade. Regions not discussed here of importance to the world wheat trade include the Eastern and Midwestern United States, Canada, Chile, Australia, India, and Prussia.
- 13 David Moon, "The Environmental History of the Russian Steppes: Vasilii Dokuchaev and the Harvest Failure of 1891," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 15, Sixth Series (January 1, 2005): 149-174.
- 14 Morton Rothstein, "Centralizing Firms and Spreading Markets: The World of International Traders, 1846-1914," *Business and Economic History* Volume Seventeen, Second Series (1988): 105.
- 15 A. J. Christopher, "Patterns of British Overseas Investment in Land, 1885-1913," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 10, no. 4, New Series (January 1, 1985): 452-466.
- 16 C.B. Davis, J. Wilburn, and R.E. Robinson, *Railway Imperialism* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991); Jacob Metzger, "Railroad Development and Market Integration: The Case of Tsarist Russia," *The Journal of Economic History* 34, no. 3 (1974): 529-550.
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- 18 Ibid., 19.
- 19 Ibid., 38-39.
- 20 Ibid., 55.
- 21 H. S. Ferns, "Investment and Trade Between Britain and Argentina in the Nineteenth Century," *The Economic History Review* 3, no. 2, New Series (January 1, 1950): 203-218; John H. Hubback, *Life in Argentina* (Liverpool: Northern Publishing, 1908).
- 22 Brian Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 101-102.
- 23 H. S Ferns, *The Argentine Republic, 1516-1971* (Newton Abbot, UK; New York: David & Charles; Barnes & Noble, 1973), 62.
- 24 Horace Davis, "California Breadstuffs," *Journal of Political Economy* 2, no. 4 (1894): 530; Rodman W. Paul, "The Wheat Trade Between California and the United Kingdom," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 45, no. 3 (December 1, 1958): 396.
- 25 George Broomhall and John Hubback, *Corn Trade Memories Recent and Remote*. (Northern Publishing Co. Liverpool 1930.: Northern Publishing Co., 1930), 20-24.
- 26 Rodman W. Paul, "The Wheat Trade Between California and the United Kingdom," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 45, no. 3 (December 1, 1958): 391-412.
- 27 Ira Cross, *Financing an Empire: History of Banking in California* (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Pub. Co., 1927); Alfred Bannister, "California and Her Wheat Culture," *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* n.s., no. 12 (July 1888): 65-70; Rodman Wilson Paul, "The Great California Grain War: The Grangers Challenge the Wheat King," *Pacific Historical Review* 27, no. 4 (November 1, 1958): 331-349.
- 28 Charles McComish, *History of Colusa and Glenn Counties, California* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Co., 1918), 441.
- 29 Most histories of California emphasize the mining, ranching, and irrigated horticulture industries. See Donald Pisani, *From the Family Farm to Agribusiness: The Irrigation Crusade in California and the West, 1850-1931* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Steven Stoll, *The Fruits of Natural Advantage Making the Industrial Countryside in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); David Igler, *Industrial Cowboys: Miller & Lux and the Transformation of the*

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Far West, 1850-1920 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Andrew C Isenberg, *Mining California: An Ecological History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005).

30 David Moon, "The Environmental History of the Russian Steppes: Vasilii Dokuchaev and the Harvest Failure of 1891," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 15, Sixth

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31 For an example of histories that adopt a pan-grassland perspective, see Carl E Solberg, *The Prairies and the Pampas: Agrarian Policy in Canada and Argentina, 1880-1930* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1987).

Exploring Diversity: Teaching the History of Sugar in Latin America

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Sugar cane was first carried to the New World by Christopher Columbus in 1493. The best example of an Old World crop that could be much more effectively cultivated in the New World, sugar became the first tropical commodity of the western European capitalist economy and played a critical role in the Atlantic economy and global capitalism. It generated great wealth, contributed to the largest forced migration in world history, incorporated vast areas of the Americas into the emergent international economy, irreversibly altered ecosystems, provoked profound social changes, and determined foreign and domestic policies. Alongside coffee, tea and chocolate, sugar revolutionized patterns of consumption and resulted in profound changes with long lasting effects on those economies and societies that produced it.

Portuguese and Castilians should be credited with the establishment of the sugar industry in the Atlantic islands of Azores, Madeira, Canary, and São Tomé. The sugar plantation complex was tried and perfected in those areas before carried to the Americas, where the best lands for cane cultivation are located. The roots were initially planted in Hispaniola (Santo Domingo) and before long cane cultivation was introduced into the Greater Antilles, Mexico, Perú, and Paraguay. Despite its pioneering role, Spanish sugar was quickly surpassed by other producers. The Portuguese brought cane from Madeira to Brazil during the early 1500s. The industry developed rapidly, especially in Bahia and Pernambuco. From around 1550 to 1650 Brazil became the largest sugar producer and exporter in the New World. The increasing profits generated by sugar led the British, French, and Dutch to establish plantations in their own colonies during the seventeenth century as well. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, Jamaica was producing over 60,000 tons of sugar while Saint-Domingue reached an impressive 80,000 tons. In Cuba, sugar growing acquired particular importance during the late eighteenth century. Even though sugar production started in the island at a relatively later time, Cuba was to become the world's largest producer during the nineteenth century, rapidly surpassing Brazil and the rest of the Caribbean.

This essay seeks to propose one way to teach and think about the history of sugar in Latin America. Although in its final form all sugars look alike, methods of production reveal significant disparities, even within the boundaries of one nation. Since 2005 I have taught a graduate seminar that seeks to uncover this diversity using a comparative approach that focuses on selected sugar producing areas in Latin America. The seminar

attempts to uncover the local and particular by addressing the topics that have been central concerns to scholars of sugar. In the past decades, studies on tropical export commodities have somehow lagged behind despite the sharp increase in publications devoted to Latin America. Nevertheless, because of its association with African slavery and the trans-Atlantic slave trade as well as its participation in the world market, of all the tropical crops sugar has received the most attention from historians of Latin America. However, while interest among Latin Americans remains strong, fewer scholars in the U.S. commit themselves to the study of sugar. In terms of areas of study, as a result of their primary role as producers, a vast majority of the existing studies in English address Brazil and the Caribbean. Other regions with smaller sugar economies, such as Mexico, Peru and Argentina, have not garnered the same attention from English speaking scholars. The available literature in English limits the potential areas of study in the seminar.

Students taking the seminar are expected to participate actively in discussions. The readings focus on a subset of the literature that is representative of both traditional and recent studies to expose the major themes and questions that have organized the scholarship while uncovering the diversity that characterized sugar production. Most of the literature on sugar has made the nation/region the preferred category of analysis precluding a more comprehensive comparative analysis. An alternative approach is to concentrate on the commodity itself as a means to expose local variation and account for disparate outcomes. Besides participation in discussion, the seminar includes two different written assignments. The first one consists of an in-class written exercise in which students are asked to examine one topic (such as labor arrangements, land tenure patterns, organization of production) from a comparative perspective. It is a challenging intellectual exercise that forces students to move beyond the nation/region and to focus on the commodity in order to find patterns, commonalities, and differences. The second assignment consists of a traditional historiography paper addressing one sugar area chosen from the ones discussed in class. For this research assignment, students are expected not only to incorporate the materials discussed during the semester but also to conduct additional research in order to produce a thorough literature review.

Since there is no requirement to have any previous background in Latin American history, the first week is devoted to a presentation of relevant historical processes in connection to the development of sugar production in the region. After this selective and brief introduction to the history of Latin America, the second week focuses on the place of sugar in modern history and its role in the Atlantic economy and global capitalism. This first discussion serves as a general introduction to the topic per se. It gives students a better understanding of the position

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of sugar as a commodity in the global economy. It also helps them to start thinking about the different aspects involved in its production and consumption. The following weeks are organized by sugar-producing area for a total of five different areas. The regions of Bahia, Pernambuco and Cuba have become permanent features in the seminar because of their role in the international market. Argentina has also turned into a constant feature as it provides an example of a sugar industry that produced mostly for the domestic market—it is also my area of expertise. The fifth region is chosen by the students and changes every year. For every case study, students are required to read between two and four monographs (usually traditional studies are paired with more recent ones) and a few articles. The combined discussion of classic and modern works produces stimulating results as students get a more thorough understanding of sugar while acquiring a sense of the methodological changes experienced by the field. The remainder of the essay will briefly address the permanent features of the seminar, Bahia, Pernambuco, Cuba, and Argentina, by discussing the readings that have had the most success in discussion.

A foundational study for Bahia's sugar industry is Stuart Schwartz's *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835*, which has become a point of reference for all sugar scholars, not only those devoted to Brazil's sugar industry.¹ This superbly researched study focuses on the sugar industry in Bahia from its early origins in the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. A major underlying theme of this work is the role of sugar and slavery in shaping social relations in Bahia. As Schwartz has convincingly argued, understanding the conditions of slaves is the key to understanding the society that grew from sugar production. Rich in quantitative data, the study examines the organization of sugar production, the different groups involved in it and their interactions, the international sugar market, the role of the Portuguese Crown, and the structure of Brazilian slaveholding, with emphasis on slave demography, family life, and resistance. A more recent study, B.J. Barickman's *A Bahian Counterpoint: Sugar, Tobacco, Cassava, and Slavery in the Reconcavo, 1780-1860*, integrates the analysis of the production of foodstuffs with that of the export economy, thus providing a complementary analysis that moves beyond the organization of sugar production and slavery.² The author rejects the plantationist perspective that depicts slavery, monoculture, export agriculture, and large plantations as the defining features of Bahian economy. Focusing on Bahian agriculture between 1780 and 1860, the study clearly reveals that it was far more diversified and complex than has been previously suggested. Barickman's analysis of tobacco growers underscores the existence of viable alternatives to the large sugar plantation whereas his analysis of the cassava local market reveals the complementary relationship between the export economy and the internal market. The author convincingly argues that the production of these crops expanded simultaneously and was mutually sustaining. The study emphasizes the relationship between the export economy, the internal economy and slavery thus providing an invaluable point of departure to delve further into the development of Brazilian economy and society while challenging general assumptions about sugar production in Bahia.

Besides Bahia, Pernambuco was a major sugar exporter from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The region produced about a third of Brazilian sugar exports at the time that Brazil constituted the third largest exporter in the world. Peter Eisenberg's *The Sugar Industry in Pernambuco: Modernization without Change, 1840-1910* focuses on the second half of the nineteenth century, a period characterized by deep crises in the international sugar market, the abolition of slavery, and the establishment of the republic in Brazil.³ In his work Eisenberg addresses Pernambuco's sugar industry's responses to this critical period. It focuses on the organization of production, the abolition of slavery, the sugar international market, state policies, and the different social groups involved in Pernambucan sugar economy. As the title indicates, Eisenberg argues that modernization, understood as technological innovation, did not provoke real change as it failed to alter the power structure in society or improve the standard of living of the majority. The author makes a substantial contribution to the historiography of nineteenth century Brazil by drawing attention to a region that was not as well-explored as Bahia. Focusing on the same area, Thomas D. Rogers's *The Deepest Wounds: A Labor and Environmental History of Sugar in Northeastern Brazil*, brings labor and the environment into the center of discussion of sugar production.⁴ His attention to soil, climate, ecological relationships and laborers fills in some of the gaps left by Eisenberg's work. In this study, Thomas D. Rogers uncovers the changes experienced by Pernambuco as a result of sugarcane expansion over a period of four centuries. By addressing particularly the period that extends between the 1870s to the late twentieth century, the author provides a dynamic picture that focuses on landscape discourses, the interrelations between agro-environmental change and social processes, and state policies and labor practices. This study tells the story of sugar workers in Pernambuco and their agro-environment. By combining the study of labor, politics and environment, Rogers has provided an original, comprehensive and well-researched study with long lasting value for its major contribution not only to the literature on Brazilian sugar but also to environmental history.

Cuba became a major sugar producer during the nineteenth century. Because of its close ties to the US, the literature on Cuban sugar is vast. One classic work is Ortiz's *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*.⁵ First published in 1940, the book presents a historical analysis of tobacco and sugar as the central agricultural products of the Cuban economy. Ortiz argues that the development of the Cuban economy was based on the counterpoint between sugar and tobacco production and that Cuban society was shaped by these two extremely disparate crops. His narrative contends that the essential differences between both crops lay in the system of production, the unit of production, and the different technologies. These differences, in turn, gave rise to specific cultural and social systems. Notwithstanding its rather negative portrayal of sugar, depicted as the crop that brought latifundia, mass production, slavery, standardization, and foreign exploitation to the island, this study provides a solid foundation to understand the Cuban sugar industry. Another foundational study for Cuban sugar is Manuel Moreno Fraginals' *The Sugarmill: The Socioeconomic Complex*

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of *Sugar in Cuba*.⁶ The study explores the sugar industry from the point of view of production. It is an exhaustive and well documented analysis of the development of the Cuban sugar industry, the transformations experienced by the Cuban economy, and the international sugar market from 1760 to 1860. Moreno Friginals examines the changes experienced by the Cuban sugar industry, the different groups involved in its production, the role of the international market, and the role of the colonial state. In his analysis, the author is mainly concerned with the sugar industry but has integrated his discussion with social, political, ecological, technological, and cultural aspects of Cuban history. Although some of the arguments presented are dated, in particular the assertion that slavery and technology are incompatible, the work offers an excellent study of the evolution of the sugar industry in the island thus making this study a landmark in Cuban history.

More recent works have added much nuance and substance to our understanding of the Cuban sugar industry. Allan Dye's *Cuban Sugar in the Age of Mass Production* focuses on the role of American capital in the modernization of the Cuban sugar industry with particular emphasis on economic and technological factors.⁷ Using the tools of the "new economic history," the book offers new explanations for the role of American capital in Cuban sugar development, mainly the result of technological innovations and the intensification of capital demands. The author convincingly argues that the infusion of U.S. capital was not predatory but a result of the economics of the central mill. In turn, these changes placed Cuban sugar at a more competitive level in the international market. Dye offers a sophisticated analysis of the emergence of the modern central, the role of *colonos*, the regional disparities in Cuban sugar production, investment and managerial decision-making, economies of scale and capital, and the role of international players. Furthermore, the analysis presents Cuban sugar industry in the context of the development of industrial capitalism in the periphery thus making this book a major contribution to the larger literature on Latin America. Gillian McGillivray's *Blazing Cane: Sugar Communities, Class, and State Formation in Cuba, 1868–1959* uses sugar production as a lens to understand Cuban political history, labor relations, and issues of class and state formation.⁸ The author examines the interactions between sugar producers, mill owners and the Cuban state from 1868 to 1959. Two groups occupy a central position in this analysis, workers and colonos. The author identifies three main periods or "compacts" in the political development of Cuba from an exclusive to a more inclusive state, and persuasively argues that workers and colonos had a significant participation in the changes experienced by the Cuban state. As the title indicates, burning cane was a common occurrence in Cuban sugar fields. Cuban farmers and workers burned cane for a number of reasons. However, as the author pointedly asserts, the most common reason for the fires in Cuba was political protest. McGillivray's in-depth examination of colonos, Cuba's rural middle class, shows that this group was one of the most influential social classes in Cuba. The exhaustive analysis of the Tuinucu and Chaparra mills provide additional insight into the lives of men and women living and working in sugar communities. McGillivray's work is a major contribution to the literature on

Cuba as it offers a more comprehensive understanding of Cuban sugar, national politics and the different groups involved in it.

For Argentina, Donna Guy's classic study *Argentine Sugar Politics: Tucumán and the Generation of Eighty* established the baseline for subsequent work.⁹ The analysis focuses on the interplay between national and local politics in the consolidation of the sugar industry in Tucuman from the mid-nineteenth through the early twentieth century. Guy places the analysis of the development of sugar production in the broader process of state formation and argues that the development of the industry should be understood as a symbol of Tucumán's successful integration into the national pact. The study examines a number of important aspects of Tucuman's sugar industry such as the organization of production, labor, credit and business institutions, railroads, the national refinery, and markets. At the same time, the analysis provides insights into the bargaining process between national and local elites over issues of tariffs, taxation, and credit. The book represents the first in-depth study of the sugar industry in Tucumán and a pioneering effort to study the interior regions in Argentina. Following on the path of Donna Guy's political analysis, Patricia Juarez-Dappe's *When Sugar Ruled: Economy and Society in Northwestern Argentina, Tucumán, 1876-1916*, is concerned with the changes experienced by Tucumán's economy and society during the four decades that extend between 1876 and 1916.¹⁰ The study argues that sugar expansion provoked profound changes in Tucumán's economy and society. Specialization replaced the diversified agrarian structure that had transformed Tucumán into the most prosperous economy in the Argentine Northwest during the 1850s. However, unlike other sugar economies, cane expansion did not produce massive land dislocation in Tucumán but instead reinforced preexisting patterns of landownership. The analysis uncovers the consolidation of a heterogeneous and socially differentiated class of independent planters. The arrival of thousands of workers from neighboring provinces to work in the harvest transformed Tucumán's rural society even more profoundly. The emergence of sugar towns in the immediacies of sugar mills changed the physiognomy of rural Tucumán. As the most dynamic sector in Tucumán's economy, the industry's influence extended beyond the sugar zone itself. The analysis uncovers that sugar gave Tucumán the possibility to partake in Argentina's nineteenth-century transformation although in its own terms, i.e., through encouraging the development of a high return commercial crop to supply the demands of the domestic market.

So far, the seminar has received positive reviews from graduate students for different reasons. By addressing sugar, this course has become an especially useful entry point for understanding Latin American and world history themes. The production of sugar in Latin America spans several hundred years and encompasses many regions that include former Spanish, Portuguese, British, Dutch, and French colonies. The seminar illuminates broad structures of colonial and modern Latin America and highlights both the uniqueness and peculiarities of all these regions. Although the seminar's readings are organized by nation, students are required to make the shift from a nation-centered to a commodity-centered approach through a comparative analysis. A commodity-centered approach uncovers

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the variation that existed within countries and regions. It allows students to understand the ways in which local conditions shaped differences by uncovering the particular and the unique but also provides a starting point for them to find patterns and to start thinking about broader social and economic implications.

- 1 Stuart Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of the Brazilian Society, Bahia, 1550-1835* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- 2 B.J. Barickman, *A Bahian Counterpoint: Sugar, Tobacco, Cassava, and Slavery in the Reconcavo, 1780-1860* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).
- 3 Peter Eisenberg, *The Sugar Industry in Pernambuco: Modernization without Change, 1840-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).
- 4 Thomas D. Rogers, *The Deepest Wounds: A Labor and Environmental History of Sugar in Northeastern Brazil* (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

- 5 Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (New York: AA Knopf, 1947).
- 6 Manuel Moreno Fraginals, *The Sugarmill: The Socioeconomic Complex of Sugar in Cuba* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974).
- 7 Alan Dye, *Cuban Sugar in the Age of Mass Production* (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press, 1998).
- 8 Gillian McGillivray's *Blazing Cane: Sugar Communities, Class, and State Formation in Cuba, 1868-1959* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009).
- 9 Donna Guy, *Argentine Sugar Politics. Tucumán and the Generation of Eighty* (Arizona: The Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, 1980).
- 10 Patricia Juarez-Dappe, *When Sugar Ruled: Economy and Society in Northwestern Argentina, Tucumán, 1876-1916* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2010).

Maps as Commodities in Modern World History

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One of the easiest and most effective ways to teach students about commodities in world history is to use maps. Maps are world historians' and world history teachers' stock-in-trade. They cover the wall space of K-12 classrooms, decorate the dust jackets of monographs, illustrate as well as interrupt the narrative within those monographs, and remain standard features of world history textbooks at all grade levels. Such maps are usually commissioned by an author or publisher to reinforce or illustrate textual information in an accessible and readily understood visual medium. They are sources that generally align in deliberately uncomplicated ways with authorial narrative or state curricular standards, and it is this view of maps as transparent, relatively uncomplicated media that makes them an essential part of classroom décor, textbooks, monographs, and articles.¹

It is likely that every teacher reading this article has used maps in this way, as a visual aid constructed in the present to help clarify a point in a lesson or lecture (like the creation and circulation of commodities). However, historic maps, maps produced in past eras, often make better teaching tools because they have lost their once-transparent quality. More "opaque" than "transparent"² to students' modern (or post-modern) gaze, historic maps are not straightforward or self-explanatory visual aids but visual puzzles that call for deciphering. Historic maps are rich sources of information. When students engage historic maps they engage visually dense primary sources that kindle interest and imagination, promote individual insights, hone critical-thinking skills, advance thoughtful group interactions, and encourage thoughtful essays. Their opacity means world historians and teachers should treat such maps differently from the usual didactic maps found in classrooms, textbooks, and monographs; that is, not as transparent and readily understood

adjuncts to lesson plans, lectures, and textual arguments, but as cultural objects produced, circulated, and embedded in a specific time and place that need to be unpacked and interpreted. Particularly helpful in students learning about the creation and circulation of commodities in modern world history are the early eighteenth-century maps which the prolific Anglo-German cartographer, Herman Moll (ca. 1654-1732), compiled, engraved, and published. Consistent with the mercantilist ethos of his era, Moll regarded his maps as commodities whose market value depended on their aesthetic beauty and the thoroughness with which they identified and located commodities which British (and European) merchants and consumers desired. While deriving new information from French and Dutch maps and English privateers, Moll published his maps in English only and sold them in central London and Westminster and by subscription to market-oriented nobility, gentry, merchants, and print- and book-sellers. As Geographer to the King after 1714, he had a ready market for his cartographic products and a "royal seal of approval" that only increased his reputation and sales. The general reading public became familiar with his engraving style once he created the maps for Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726). It is not known whether his original maps became "collectibles" during his lifetime but his maps' value seem to be confirmed by the fact that they continued to be a "hot commodity" and were republished unchanged until the early 1780s.³

Case Study of Maps as Commodities: The Maps of Herman Moll

Of course, to interpret any primary source fruitfully, a student or historian needs to place it within its historical context. While my discussion below derives from college courses I teach, the general process should be applicable, with appropriate modifications, to other grade levels. I spend some initial time in class having students identify, based on course readings and lectures, key features of mercantilism,⁴ commodities and the commodity form,⁵ and maps.⁶ From course readings and

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lectures, students learn that economic developments in Western Europe led to the increasing commodification of many goods and services after 1450 with the decline of rural subsistence economies⁷ and that English philosophers, “economists,” and journalists in the 17th and 18th centuries (William Petty, John Locke, and Daniel Defoe) began to define what a commodity was based on its possible uses (“advantages”) and market value (“price”).⁸ As a case study of this process I explain to students how a market in maps developed, and how maps became objects of international economic exchange. I have students analyze Moll’s cartography because he was very conscious of his maps’ commodified nature, and expressed it proudly in their content. As a cartographic entrepreneur who was sensitive to market trends, Moll’s cartographic output was impressive: he produced over two dozen geographies, atlases, and histories in a forty-year period (ca. 1690-1732).⁹

The Assignment

I ask students to analyze Moll’s cartographic representations of the whole globe and one region within it of particular concern to British mercantile and imperial interests, the East Indies, from his most famous atlas, *The World Described* (1715). The maps’ short titles are “A new and correct map of the world, laid down according to the newest discoveries, and from the most exact observations” and “A map of the East-Indies and the adjacent countries.” Once students understand the historical context of the maps and their cartographer, we scrutinize the maps. The maps are digitized so students need access to a computer or smart phone with Internet connection. Access can take a number of forms. In onsite classes I can take them to a computer lab and break them into small groups to examine the maps. Alternately, I can let students have the questions and URLs for the maps ahead of time and have them examine the maps on their own as homework or I can use the classroom’s computer to bring up the images from the Web and project the maps onto a screen for all students to see. In online classes students can view the maps on their own and then discuss them in synchronous or asynchronous discussion boards or live in a virtual meeting space. Whichever method I use, it culminates in a class discussion of the maps based on questions I posed to the students to guide their initial analysis. The questions are broad and open-ended to encourage critical analysis, synthesis, and connections with the course readings, lectures, and discussions. They are questions that could be asked of any map, not just maps as commodities. It is critical that the maps students analyze are available in digital format¹⁰ which allows students to “zoom” in and see features in extremely magnified detail.

I pose the following questions to students as they examine the maps: 1) Who is the mapmaker, and what do we know about the person? 2) What is the complete title of the map? What does it tell you about the cartographer’s purpose in creating the map? 3) Who do you think was the audience for the map? 4) What features do you notice first on the map? 5) What features do you notice subsequently? 6) How do the map’s features create the map’s meaning? 7) In what ways does the map relate to what you know about the time and place in which it was produced?

The Discussion

I will reprise the main elements of a typical discussion with my students. To answer the first question, they rely on a brief reading¹¹ and a short lecture I give on Moll. I tell them enough to get started but not enough to answer the other questions. If needed, I fill in more details about him and his *oeuvre* as the discussion develops. I do let them know that London was one of four centers of the early-modern European map trade which included Paris, Amsterdam, and Nuremberg,¹² and that the market for printed maps was quite competitive in early 18th-century Europe.¹³

The world map I have students analyze is a large double-hemisphere map entitled, “A New and Correct Map of the World Laid Down according to the Newest Discoveries, and from the Most exact Observations, By Herman Moll Geographer.” Students comment that the title appears to be a marketing device, with accuracy and immediacy as the map’s selling points. In thinking about question 2, they notice that, visually, the world ocean dominated the map. In looking more closely at the world ocean they comment on the arrows and lines etched across its surface and wonder what they are. After scanning the map further usually one or more students notice that Moll explained in a long note to the west (left) of the North Pole that the arrows and lines represented the general or prevailing trade-winds of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans between the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn while in the Indian Ocean they represented the monsoons or the shifting trade winds. Near the arrows indicating the direction of the monsoons he wrote the months in which they blow northward and the months in which they blow southward.

After some discussion, students usually conclude that the inscription of “trade winds” conveyed the impression that the world’s oceans, while separating major land masses, also facilitated connections and commerce between them. They notice that the imagery surrounding the dedicatory cartouche (at the bottom of the map between the two hemispheres) reinforced this idea. From their readings, the students know that trade generally meant armed trade in the age of mercantilism, which they see in the spaces around the dedicatory cartouche.¹⁴ In the background a strong wind drove two fleets away from the viewer and towards the horizon. Blowing into large conches, sea sprites in the foreground celebrated the mass departure of British merchant ships and men-of-war to the far reaches of the world. On the left side of the cartouche stood Poseidon, mythical lord of the sea, holding a standard emblazoned with English, French, Scottish, and Irish royal symbols. Some students figure out the imagery on their own while others need some assistance. Even though the song “Britannia Rules the Waves” was still decades away, the cartouche conveyed the sentiment.

After the expanse of ocean, trade winds, and dedicatory cartouche, the students notice the colorful boundary lines etched across the hemispheres. In its design, the map proclaimed the eminence of the sovereign territorial state, a vital component of mercantilist doctrine. As we discuss the map and what students know about the period, they conclude that the map promoted the idea that oceans were conduits for moving commodities great distances, and that knowledge of wind patterns and trade routes was crucial for merchants, investors and insurers to understand

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how, when, and where commodities could move.

Students are a little surprised when they find a notation underneath the western hemisphere that condemned the longitudinal reckonings of renowned French royal cartographer Nicholas Sanson (1600-1667). According to Moll, Sanson's longitude was off between 10 and 25 degrees. Students conclude that Moll's audience for the map, anyone conducting, insuring or investing in trade, understood the message: one's cargo would likely never reach its destination, or end up at the wrong destination, with potentially ruinous consequences in either case. Glancing up at the map's very large title, it dawns on students that Moll's map was a cartographic commodity asserting its greater value due to its superior integrity, quality, and exactitude. Moll reinforced this idea in a related notation under the eastern hemisphere where he condemned Dutch cartographers who copied his maps and sold their "inferior copies" in Britain for their own profit and to his financial harm ("defrauding of us"). He asked his map readers to subscribe to him directly to guarantee that they received excellent quality maps that were "correct" and without parallel and to help him uphold his reputation, his business, and the market value of his maps.

With some insights gained from analyzing Moll's world map, we turn to "A Map of the East-Indies and the adjacent Countries; with the Settlements, Factories and Territories, explaining what belongs to England, Spain, France, Holland, Denmark, Portugal, etc., with many remarks not extant in any other Map. By H. Moll, Geog." Under the title Moll inscribes the following dedication: "To ye Directors of ye Honorable United East-India Company. This Map is most Humbly Dedicated by your most Obedient Servant Herman Moll Geographer." The first things that grab students' attention are the cartouches containing the map's title and dedication, the views of harbors, and the numerous notations written across the Indian Ocean. Showing where his and his customers' sympathies lay, Moll dedicated the map to the United East India Company (UEIC), an aggressive British mercantilist company. Sitting atop the cartouche was the UEIC coat of arms. I translate the Latin inscription on the coat of arms for students (*Auspicio Regis et Senatus Anglia*), "By the Command of the King and Parliament of England." As students work to reduce the opacity of the map, what usually emerges in memorable visual form is the nexus between map, mercantilist imperative, and willingness of the English to use state power for economic ends.

Along the left-hand side of the map Moll placed inset views of major European strongholds or "factories" in India and Indonesia: Bantam (Dutch), Goa (Portuguese), Madras (British), and Batavia (Dutch). The views of these enclaves occupy nearly one fourth of the map's surface area. Students notice them immediately and conclude that their prominence is a strong clue that Moll meant them to be a major focal point of the map. Students generally interpret the prominence of large European ships in the estuaries and ports as signifying great commercial activity as well as prosperity and profit, and they interpret the fortifications as assuring Moll's merchant-adventurer customers that trade was secure, lively, and lucrative.

As students read Moll's notations on the map, they note that he indicated the location of major European and indigenous emporia (trading centers with warehouses) and production or

extraction centers of East Indian commodities. For instance, to the west of the Indian subcontinent he wrote: "The Town of Surat is of ye Greatest Trade and Note in India. The Staple for all the Commodities of Europe, India, and China, and has English, French, and Dutch Factories." Students count forty-four European enclaves that dotted India's shoreline from the Indus to the Ganges and another seven that stretched up the Ganges.

I ask students why India and Indonesia (Dutch East Indies) dominated the map visually. Their response is that these two areas were sources of high-value commodities in Europe: cotton, silk, indigo dye, saltpeter, and tea. They also notice that Moll located the commodities desired by the British (and their competitors) on the map of the Indian subcontinent with notations regarding the sites of gold, diamonds, copper, tin, silver, iron, sugar, silk, pepper, pearls, fish, and tropical hardwoods. Moll also made notations across Southeast Asia, Indonesia, New Guinea, and the Philippines. In Southeast Asia, he indicated the location of iron, lead, and tin mines, red amber, musk, silk, and forests (wood); in Indonesia he inscribed the known locations of gold, diamonds, pepper, cinnamon, ginger, sugar, nutmeg, cloves, rice, diamonds, sulfur, frankincense, ambergris, birds, and fish. He noted the location of these commodities, and the forts of the Dutch and other European powers, with great exactitude. It dawns on students that no one reading the map has to guess where to find these commodities. They conclude that Moll's map of the East Indies is an elegant depiction of early-modern political economy: its cartography of commodities and strongholds could be used by investors in the UEIC or by private merchants or shippers to gauge key aspects of the India-to-Britain or intra-Indian-Ocean trade. Students come away with little doubt that access to Indian Ocean commodities and commodity circuits animated the map, and that the map highlighted production and commodity zones and the competitive territorial claims of European companies and states in the region.

What students begin to understand from these two maps is that Moll placed commodities and the overseas territorial claims of Europe's imperial powers in relation to each other so that groups promoting British political-economic expansion could readily grasp its dimensions.¹⁵ They appreciate that placing commodities in such a geo-political framework would increase the use and exchange values of the commodity that Moll values most, his maps. I ask students to comment on the maps' aesthetic appeal. Most find his engraving style clean and elegant and his placement of cartouches and views effective. The consensus is that images, map, and text are nicely balanced. Students relate Moll's aesthetic sense to his ability to sell maps.¹⁶ Students also learn the dangers—particularly problematic in Moll's day—of necessarily associating beautiful imagery with accurate and intelligible geography.

Students come away from our discussion understanding that Moll's atlases and maps were highly marketable commodities which compiled and presented a vast array of knowledge. As large-sheet maps with images, notations, and places on Mercator and other projections, they were the ultimate geographical commodity: a comprehensive, portable, beautiful, reproducible, updatable, and revisable geographic reference work.¹⁷ Moll's maps were multilayered, which make them excellent primary

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sources for students to analyze.

There are, of course, other ways to interpret Moll's maps. That is part of their beauty (and utility). Students can play with these maps for hours and come up with new insights and conclusions regarding their purpose, design, and inter-textual complexity. I encourage them to do so. I frame the exercise to encourage individual insights, hone critical-thinking skills, promote group discussion, and encourage thoughtful essays. When I create an essay assignment to analyze a historic map, I always have some preliminary discussion in class to prime students' analytical interests and provide a modicum of direction. All of the assignments ask students to compare what they are learning in their readings with the information displayed on historic maps. The exercise in primary-source analysis of the map outlined in this article can be replicated using maps from the 17th to the 21st centuries in Europe, including other maps by Moll. There are a couple of limitations to keep in mind, however. First, not all maps were commodities. Many manuscript maps were not produced, and did not generally circulate, as commodities. A teacher can still use many parts of the above analysis for manuscript maps but a second hindrance might be language. Most maps manuscript and printed from the 10th to the 16th centuries in Europe have Latin place names and text. Maps from other parts of the world have vernacular languages as text so students need a reading knowledge of those languages (or translated text and place names) to participate in the analysis of such maps. Finally, as I indicated earlier, it is critical that the maps students analyze be available in a digital format which allows students to "zoom" in and see features in extremely magnified detail. Below, I list some of the map libraries that scan their maps into a digital format with a "zoom" feature.¹⁸

Selected Online Map Libraries ("zoomable" digital maps)

Bodleian Library Map Room at Oxford University

Temporal scope: 14th-century to 20th century. Geographic focus: comprehensive cartographic collection of most world regions with emphasis on British Isles, British Empire and Commonwealth, Europe, the Americas, and the World.

<http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/guides/maps/mapcase.htm>

Boston Public Library Norman B. Leventhal Map Center

Temporal scope: 15th century to 19th century. Geographic focus: New England, American Revolutionary War period, and world urban centers.

<http://maps.bpl.org/>

British Library Maps and Views

Temporal scope: 11th century to 1950. Geographic focus: comprehensive cartographic collection of most world regions with emphasis on British Isles, Europe, South and East Asia, Africa, the Americas, and the World.

<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/mapsviews/>

California State University, Fullerton, Roy V. Boswell Collection for the History of Cartography

Temporal scope: 16th through the 19th centuries. Geographic focus: North America, Europe, Asia, South America, the Mediterranean, Africa, Australia, the Pacific Ocean, and California as an island.

<http://boswell.library.fullerton.edu/default.php>

David Rumsey Map Collection

Temporal scope: 17th through 19th centuries. Geographic focus: North America, South America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and the World.

<http://www.davidrumsey.com/>

James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota

Temporal scope: 16th century through 18th century. Geographic focus: World, Europe, Asia, and Africa.

<http://www.lib.umn.edu/bell>

Harvard Map Collection: Digital Maps

Temporal scope: 16th century to 20th century. Geographic focus: New England, the United States, England, China, world urban centers, and geographic information systems (GIS) layers.

<http://hcl.harvard.edu/libraries/maps/digitalmaps/>

Library of Congress Map Collections

Temporal scope: 14th century to 20th century. Geographic focus: comprehensive cartographic collection of most world regions with emphasis on North and South America and the World.

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/>

National Library of Australia

Temporal scope: 17th century to mid-20th century. Geographic focus: Australia/Oceania, British Empire and Commonwealth, Pacific Ocean, Asia, and World.

<http://www.nla.gov.au/what-we-collect/maps>

Perry-Castañeda Map Library University of Texas

Temporal scope: 17th century to mid-20th century. Geographic focus: Texas, U.S. Southwest, the United States, Africa, the Americas, Asia, Australia and the Pacific, Europe, Middle East, Polar Regions, Russia and Former Soviet Republics, and World.

<http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/>

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University of Alabama Map Library

Temporal scope: 16th century to mid-20th century. Geographic focus: Alabama, the United States, Canada, World, Western Hemisphere, Eastern Hemisphere, and Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans.

<http://alabamamaps.ua.edu/index.html>

University of Georgia: The Hargrett Library Rare Map Collection

Temporal scope: 16th century to mid-20th century. Geographic focus: Georgia, U.S. South, the United States, World, and Europe.
<http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/maps/index.html>

University of Southern Maine, Osher Map Library

Temporal scope: 16th through the 20th century. Geographic focus: Maine, New England, North America, World, and Europe.

<http://www.usm.maine.edu/maps/>

Yale Map Collection: Online Maps

Temporal scope: 16th through the 19th century. Geographic focus: the United States, New England, the Americas, Middle East, Far East and Pacific, Africa, Europe, and World.

<http://www.library.yale.edu/MapColl/oldsite/map/online.html>

Selected Map Meta-Websites

Map History/History of Cartography

<http://www.maphistory.info/sitemap.html>

Maps GPS Info

<http://www.maps-gps-info.com/>

1 See, for example, the statement on page xviii of Jerry H. Bentley and Herbert F. Ziegler's *Traditions & Encounters*, 4th ed., v. 1 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2008): "**The entire map program has been revised** for clarity, greater detail, and more topographical information." [emphasis in original]

2 My use of the terms "transparent" and "opaque" derive from Christian Jacob, "Toward a Cultural History of Cartography," *Imago Mundi*, 48 (1996): 191-198. "To understand the concept of a transparent map," Jacobs wrote, "think of the screen in a film theatre. Like the screen on to which the film is projected, a map vanishes behind the information it displays... It involves a belief in the map as a neutral, purely informative device." An opaque map, however, calls attention to "the way it displays information. Such a perspective opens a wide range of research opportunities." (191-192).

3 For a detailed analysis of Moll's maps as commodities, including who bought them and why, see Alex Zukas, "Commodities, Commerce and Cartography in the Early-Modern Era: Herman Moll's World Maps, 1700-1730," in *Global*

Economies, Cultural Currencies of the Eighteenth Century, AMS Studies in the Eighteenth Century, No. 64, ed. Michael Rotenberg-Schwartz (New York: AMS Press, 2012), 1-35.

4 For background on the period see David R. Ringrose, *Expansion and Global Interaction, 1200-1700* (New York: Longman, 2001) and the first half of Robert B. Marks, *The Origins of the Modern World: A Global and Ecological Narrative* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002). On the role of European mercantilism in the formation of the modern world economy see Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750* (New York: Academic Press, 1980). On the importance of maps for understanding and organizing long-distance commodity trade in the early-modern period, and on the extensive commodity trade itself, see Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997). On maps as commodities in the early-modern period see Mary Sponberg Pedley, *The Commerce of Cartography: Making and Marketing Maps in Eighteenth-Century France and England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

5 As I note in a recent article, "In the simplest terms, a commodity is anything produced for sale or exchange that has at least two properties: it satisfies some human want or need (it is useful or has use value) and commands other commodities (or money) in return (it has exchange or market value)." See Zukas, "Commodities, Commerce and Cartography," 2. On commodity forms and definitions, see Howard J. Sherman, et al. *Economics: An Introduction to Traditional and Progressive Views*, 7th ed. (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2008), chapters 8, 10 and 20, as well as the entries by Duncan Fahey on "Commodity," "Money," and "Use Value" and the entry by Simon Mohun on "Value" in *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought*, Tom Bottomore, ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 86-87, 337-340, 504, and 505-511. See also the extensive discussion of the commodity form in the classic study by Ronald L. Meek, *Studies in the Labor Theory of Value* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1956) and in the more recent study by Moishe Postone, *Time, Labor and Social Domination: A Reinterpretation of Marx's Critical Theory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

6 Jacob, "Toward a Cultural History of Cartography," has a good discussion of principles of map analysis.

7 Chapters 22 and 23 in Jerry H. Bentley and Herbert F. Ziegler's *Traditions & Encounters*, 5th ed., v. 1 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2010) and Chapter 17 in Richard W. Bulliet, et al., *The Earth and Its Peoples: A Global History*, 5th ed., v. II (Boston: Wadsworth, 2010) help students broadly understand these changes. Depending on grade level, some of the works in note 4 could be assigned as well.

8 For extensive discussions of numerous commodities and how they were defined as useful or "advantageous," and how they were exchanged in the early-modern world see Kenneth Pomeranz and Steve Topik, *The World That Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1999), esp. xiv-xvi, 6, 78-80, 84-86, 109-116.

9 The best book on Moll is Dennis Reinhartz, *The Cartographer and the Literati: Herman Moll and his Intellectual*

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Circle (Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1997).

10 Digital versions of the maps referenced in this article, “A new and correct map of the world, laid down according to the newest discoveries, and from the most exact observations” and “A map of the East-Indies and the adjacent countries,” are readily available online. Typing the map’s short name into a search engine is all one needs to do. A quick search using Yahoo turned up digital versions at the California State University, Fullerton, Roy V. Boswell Collection for the History of Cartography, <http://boswell.library.fullerton.edu/detail.php?Databasenum=1373> and <http://boswell.library.fullerton.edu/detail.php?Databasenum=67> and The National Library of Australia <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-nk4625> and <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-rm285>, respectively.

11 Dennis Reinhartz, “Cartography, Literature, and Empire: Herman Moll, His Maps, and His Friends,” *Mercator’s World* 4, no. 2 (March/April 1999): 32-39.

12 J. B. Harley, “Power and Legitimation in the English Geographical Atlases of the Eighteenth Century” (1997) in J. B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 124; Pedley, *Commerce of Cartography*, 14, 201.

13 On competition within the London map trade, see Sarah Tyacke, *London Mapsellers, 1660-1720* (Tring, Hertfordshire: Map Collectors Publications Ltd., 1978), xi-xxiv, and Catherine Delano-Smith and Roger J. P. Kain, *English Maps: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 101-109. On the competitive nature of the European map trade, see Pedley, *Commerce of Cartography*, 9-10.

14 Cartouches often expressed relationships of power and assumptions about the natural and cultural attributes of geographic regions. See C. N. G. Clarke, “Taking Possession: The Cartouche as Cultural Text in Eighteenth-Century American Maps,” *Word and Image* 4 (1988): 455-474. In terms of maps as commodities, Pedley observed that “The choice of a well-known designer for a cartouche could only add to the value and attractiveness of the map” but the cost of a cartouche ranged from 25% to 65% of the cost of engraving the whole plate. See Pedley, *Commerce of Cartography*, 59, 63.

15 Chandra Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York: Columbia University Press,

1983), 81, argues that European maps were a special kind of commodity. As “innovations in material culture” they were economic tools, a form of capital good like ships, wharves, navigational charts, and compasses. On the specific demands of “commercial cartography” and the intentional creation of maps as commodities for the marketplace, see Pedley, *The Commerce of Cartography*, 9-10.

16 Delano-Smith argues that even the most useful, utilitarian maps held “value” or could be “esteemed” in non-utilitarian terms, that is, in terms of aesthetics or “commodiousness.” While commodiousness could be seen as a form of use value (it satisfies a human need or want), her expansion of use value beyond strict utility helps explain the wide appeal of Moll’s maps where their commodious, non-instrumental aspects also helped him make a sale and turn a profit in an internationally competitive map market. See Catherine Delano-Smith, “The Map as Commodity,” in *Plantejaments i Objectius d’una Història Universal de la Cartografia [Approaches and Challenges in a Worldwide History of Cartography]* eds., David Woodward, Catherine Delano-Smith, and Cordell D. K. Yee (Barcelona: Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya, 2002), 91-108. On Moll’s entrepreneurial and personal success, see Reinhartz, *The Cartographer*, 23-25.

17 For a good discussion of the atlas as the consummate cartographic commodity and cartographers’ awareness of its tremendous marketability, see Brotton, *Trading Territories*, 38-42, 170-177. On atlases as significant reference works, see Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps*, 105.

18 On the pedagogic possibilities of “next generation” 3D GIS mapping for the classroom see David Rumsey and Meredith Williams, “Historical Maps in GIS,” in *Past Time, Past Place: GIS for History*, ed. Anne Kelly Knowles (Redlands, CA: ESRI Press, 2002), available online at <http://www.davidrumsey.com/gis/ch01.pdf> (accessed April 30, 2012). While 3D GIS mapping is expensive for classroom use, and requires specific software as well as training and skill to master, David Rumsey’s Map Collection website has excellent demonstrations of how 3D GIS mapping can be used to bring new interest and interpretive dimensions to historic maps. Teachers can link to these demonstrations to show students how new technology like 3D GIS is changing an old discipline like cartography and creating new primary sources for students to interrogate.



World History Association

Special Section: Commodities in World History

From Chocolate to Coffee: A History of Tropical Commodities in the Americas

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Seattle University

Soon after accepting a teaching position at Seattle University a dozen years ago, I began to think about designing a course on the history of the beverage readily associated with the city. Study of the cultivation, production, and consumption of coffee could serve as a useful way to explore key topics in world history, and might be of particular interest to students immersed in Seattle's caffeinated culture. The recent revision of our university core curriculum finally compelled me to offer such a course. Given my own research interests, I decided to adopt a more narrow regional focus on Latin America and the Caribbean while also introducing the history of sugar as a counterpoint to coffee. As I incorporated a comparative perspective to the study of tropical commodities in the Americas – and became acquainted with the wide range of secondary and primary source materials related to commodities besides coffee and sugar – the scope expanded even further. In its current iteration, the course examines the history of chocolate, tobacco, sugar, coffee, and bananas (with brief coverage of other products such as cochineal, indigo, and cocaine) and is organized along general chronological lines based on when a given commodity first became important to the export economies of Latin America and the Caribbean.

The main questions we consider when exploring how tropical commodities have shaped the history of the Americas are broadly comparative. We begin by looking at different analytical approaches to understanding the role of commodities in world history. The collection *From Silver to Cocaine* emphasizes political economy through commodity chains, for instance, while Sidney Mintz's classic *Sweetness and Power* stresses the importance of issues of food consumption, culture, and identity (while not ignoring economic and political factors).¹ For each of the commodities under study, we briefly examine plant botany and cultivation to consider how the environment may have served to shape economic activities. As we progress through the academic term, we then assess how production and consumption have varied from one commodity to the next and, in turn, how they have influenced colonial and national historical trajectories. Has the large-scale and essentially industrial nature of the sugar plantation system, for instance, shaped social structures, political systems, and international relations differently from areas where the production of other crops based on smaller-scale farming predominated? We also compare production systems for a particular commodity from one country to the next. Coffee in particular has been characterized by wide geographical distribution throughout Latin America and a variety of landholding patterns and particular processing techniques, yet significant differences have existed along the lines of land, labor, capital, markets, and politics for all crops, including sugar cane.

As an "Inquiry Seminar in the Humanities" in our university core curriculum, this course is intended for first-year students and is expected to contain four main pedagogical

elements: 1) the direct analytic examination of primary texts; 2) multiple writing assignments, including at least one option for revision; 3) an oral presentation; and 4) a research assignment designed to help students learn to find, use, and properly cite appropriate scholarly sources. As indicated in the syllabus, each of these objectives is central to the course design and together they form a significant part of the graded work. In introducing students to historical methodology, we examine a range of different types of primary sources, including travel accounts, paintings, photographs, quantitative data, business records, television advertising, and song lyrics. For the main paper assignment, students are expected to pursue one of the lines of inquiry suggested by Topik, Marichal, and Frank in the introduction to their edited collection on commodities in Latin America.² Possible questions include: What were the relative roles of producers, intermediaries, and consumers in creating a global market for a commodity? How important were class, ethnicity, gender, nationality, and racial divisions and unities in shaping production, marketing, and consumption? How has a given commodity chain changed over time and what factors help to explain major shifts? How have production and consumption interacted? Has consumption generated or shaped production as well as vice versa? These are questions that can be examined for individual commodities as well as in comparative perspective using our assigned course materials. In line with the objectives of the university core curriculum, however, I do require students to incorporate some additional research (including at least one academic book and two journal articles) into their papers. They receive feedback (as well as grades) on an initial draft, present their findings to the rest of the class during the final week of the term, and then submit revised versions of the papers.

The assigned readings consist of two monographs, three edited collections, and a series of short primary source selections. We begin with *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures*, which allows us to address two key commodities in comparative perspective through a single reading and offers an in-depth account of the cultural exchange between (Mesoamerican) production and (European) consumption.³ As an alternative, I have considered using *The True History of Chocolate* for the first assigned book (and currently do have students read the first chapter on the botany, cultivation, and processing of cacao) but find that the comparative perspective provided by Merton's monograph suits my particular teaching purposes more effectively.⁴ We do not have a textbook per se, although we do read various chapters from the Topik, Marichal, and Frank collection throughout the term. As noted above, its focus on the political economy of Latin American commodity chains complements the works by Norton and Mintz which pay greater attention to cultures of consumption. The remaining two collections on coffee and bananas also emphasize production, trade, and state policy, but each contains a valuable chapter exploring marketing and consumption habits for these products.⁵ It should be noted that Seattle University operates on a ten-week quarter system, which, in my experience, places more intensive demands upon students' time. This (along with the fact that the course is currently geared at a first-year level) has prompted me to permit students to select portions of these last two assigned books, rather than read them in their

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entirety. During class time, students report on the chapters they chose to read, which provides them with some public speaking practice before their graded presentations at the end of the course. I also have scheduled more than a week of videos near the end of the term so that students can focus on preparing their class presentations and revising their research papers without having to devote additional time to assigned reading.

Since this is a university core course that enrolls a wide range of majors, our exploration of the history of tropical commodities in the Americas is interdisciplinary and open to multiple lines of analysis. The video documentaries we view and discuss allow us to draw upon a historical perspective while considering a number of relevant contemporary issues in terms of sustainable development, organic production, and free/fair trade. We also take advantage of opportunities in the Seattle area for instructional field trips, including a lesson in cupping (tasting) at a local coffee shop and a tour of Theo Chocolate, “the first organic, fair trade, bean-to-bar chocolate factory in the United States.”⁶ These trips enable students to learn firsthand about production and consumption practices and serve the additional purpose of demonstrating to new students that a range of exciting – not to mention tasty – learning opportunities exist throughout the city beyond the confines of campus.

FROM CHOCOLATE TO COFFEE: A HISTORY OF TROPICAL COMMODITIES IN THE AMERICAS

Course Description

Chocolate, tobacco, sugar, coffee, bananas, even cocaine – all of these products are consumed widely in the United States, yet they (or the raw materials from which they are made) are mainly cultivated in the tropical regions of the Americas and other parts of the world. This “Inquiry Seminar in the Humanities” explores how these and other tropical commodities have shaped the history of the Americas from the fifteenth century to the present. Our course is organized along both thematic and chronological lines, since we study particular commodities in the order in which they became important to the export economies of Latin America and the Caribbean. We begin with chocolate and tobacco (both indigenous to the Americas), briefly consider cochineal and indigo, and then turn to the rising importance of sugar in Europe after 1650. As coffee, bananas, and cocaine emerged as key commodities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the U.S. market became more important. To understand how tropical commodity chains have linked producers in Latin America and the Caribbean with consumers in the Atlantic world, we consider each commodity in terms of its cultivation, transport, processing, advertising, and consumption.

Required Readings:

Mintz, Sidney W. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Penguin Books, 1986.
Norton, Marcy. *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World*. Ithaca:

1 Steven Topik, Carlos Marichal, and Zephyr Frank, eds., *From Silver to Cocaine: Latin American Commodity Chains and the Building of the World Economy, 1500-2000* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), esp. 1-24; Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), esp. 3-18.

2 Topik, Marichal, and Frank, “Introduction: Commodity Chains in Theory and in Latin American History,” in *From Silver to Cocaine*, 16-17.

3 Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

4 Sophie D. Coe and Michael D. Coe, *The True History of Chocolate* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996).

5 Michael F. Jiménez, “‘From Plantation to Cup’: Coffee and Capitalism in the United States, 1830-1930,” in William Roseberry, Lowell Gudmundson, and Mario Samper Kutschbach, eds., *Coffee, Society, and Power in Latin America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 38-64; John Soluri, “Banana Cultures: Linking the Production and Consumption of Export Bananas, 1800-1980,” in Steve Striffler and Mark Moberg, eds., *Banana Wars: Power, Production, and History in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 48-79.

6 <http://www.theochocolate.com/>

Cornell University Press, 2008.
Roseberry, William, Lowell Gudmundson, and Mario Samper Kutschbach, eds. *Coffee, Society, and Power in Latin America*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Striffler, Steve, and Mark Moberg, eds. *Banana Wars: Power, Production, and History in the Americas*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

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

Course Outline and Readings:

Week 1: Course Introduction: Botany, Desire, and Commodity Chains

Class #1 History, Historiography, and the Historical Method
Read: “How to Read a Primary Source”

Class #2 Themes in the History of Tropical Commodities
Read: *From Silver to Cocaine*, 1-24; *Sweetness and Power*, 3-18

Class #3 Botany, Cultivation, and Processing: The Case of Cacao
Read: “The Tree of the Food of Gods”

Week 2: Chocolate and Tobacco: (Pre)-Colonial Encounters

Class #4 The Sacred and the Social in Pre-Columbian Mesoamerica

Read: *Sacred Gifts*, 1-43; Codex Mendoza and

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Florentine Codex images

Class #5 Colonial Contradictions
Read: *Sacred Gifts*, 44-83; Benzoni, *History of the New World*

Class #6 Colonial Trajectories
Read: *Sacred Gifts*, 84-106

Week 3: **Chocolate and Tobacco: Atlantic Commodities**

Class #7 Colonial Science and Commodity Discourse
Read: *Sacred Gifts*, 107-140

Class #8 Conquest of the European Market
Read: *Sacred Gifts*, 140-172; Gage, “Concerning Chocolate and Atole”

Class #9 Globalization, Commodity Chains, and Chocolate Today
Read: *Sacred Gifts*, 257-266
Class trip to Theo Chocolates

Week 4: **Sugar and Slavery in the Making of the Modern World**

Class #10 Colonial Counterpoints: Cochineal and Indigo
Read: *From Silver to Cocaine*, 53-92; “The Evils of Cochineal”

Class #11 Sugar and the Origins of the Atlantic Slave Trade
Read: *Sweetness and Power*, 19-73

Class #12 No reading assignment
Paper proposal due

Week 5: **Sugar and Slavery in the Making of the Modern World**

Class #13 From Luxury Good to Dietary Staple
Read: *Sweetness and Power*, 74-150; “The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database” (<http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces>)

Class #14 The Political Economy of Sugar’s Rise
Read: *Sweetness and Power*, 151-186; “The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas” (<http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/Slavery/index.php>)

Class #15 The Power of Eating and Being
Read: *Sweetness and Power*, 187-214

Week 6: **The Long Coffee Century in Latin America**

Class #16 Coffee and Consumption in the United States
Read: *Coffee, Society, and Power*, 1-64; “This Is Coffee!” (1961)

Class #17 Coffee Production in Latin America
Read: Two chapters of your choice from *Coffee, Society, and Power*

Class #18 The Tasting Experience
Read: One chapter of your choice from *Coffee, Society, and Power*
Class trip to local coffee house for cupping demo

Week 7: **Banana Republics: The United States, Central America, & the Caribbean**

Class #19 The Global Banana Trade
Read: *Banana Wars*, 1-47

Class #20 Production and Consumption
Read: *Banana Wars*, 48-79; United Fruit Company correspondence

Class #21 Banana Split
Read: Two chapters of your choice from *Banana Wars*

Week 8: **Contemporary Issues**

Class #22 Sugar and Chocolate
Video: “Big Sugar” (2005)
First draft of research paper due

Class #23 The War on Drugs: Cocaine as Commodity
Read: *From Silver to Cocaine*, 321-351

Class #24 Coffee
Read: “The Starbucks Experience”
Video: “The Coffee Addiction” (2011)

Week 9: **Contemporary Issues**

Class #25 Tobacco
Video: “Cigarette Wars” (2011)

Class #26 Bananas
Video: “Banana Split” (2002)

Class #27 Debating Free and Fair Trade
Read: TBA

Week 10: **Tropical Commodities in Comparative Perspective**

Class #28-30 Student Presentations (10-15 min. each)

Colonial North America and World Histories of Power

Dylan Ruediger
Georgia State University

A principle difference between the new world history and its predecessors is the desire to avoid Eurocentrism and the fear of reifying the “rise of the west.” These are laudable goals, but at times they have had the unfortunate effect of encouraging some world historians to attempt to bracket power relationships as outside the bounds of world history. For example, Patrick Manning has opposed narratives of power to those of “interconnection” and “complex interactions” between peoples, and urged world historians to think in terms of community and neighborhood. World historians, he argues, should “go beyond dominance” and “focus on interaction.”¹ Yet the historical connections between peoples across the globe have been built on webs of power. Conquest, empire, and conflict are the sinews connecting far-flung peoples.² At times, these are relationships of brute strength, but even in the absence of such naked forms of power, we should be wary of creating binaries between dominance and interaction, as though power is something that is either present or absent, something imposed from outside the realm of connection and community. In this essay, I will use the history of colonial North America to suggest that understanding power as a field of interaction and form of connection opens the space for a more generative historiography of empire, capitalism, and the development of the modern world system.

Opposing power to community is what I would describe as a “flat” way of conceptualizing power. “Flat” theories of power underpin several influential world historical efforts to grapple with the question of large scale systems of power. Immanuel Wallerstein’s “world systems” approach is perhaps the most prominent of such theories. In Wallerstein’s account, the spread of the capitalist world system develops in a near vacuum as it extends itself throughout an expanding world-economy. While individual states, companies, and other social actors may contend for power within the world-system, the system itself expands with little apparent contestation, negotiation, or reinterpretation. It is sovereign, pure, and indifferent.³ In such a flattened landscape of power, capitalism and western dominance occur mystically and unilaterally. It is precisely this dulling of power and contestation that has lead critics to charge that Wallerstein’s ideas leave the narrative of the “rise of west” intact, despite Wallerstein’s contention that his ideas emerge from a critique of Eurocentrism.⁴

Significantly, Wallerstein dates the development of the world-system to the sixteenth century and links it to the European conquest of the Americas, which is presented as both a milestone in the globalization of the emergent world-system, and a paradigmatic example of the ease with which the system spread, even in its infancy. A disconcerting number of world historians have similarly framed power relations in colonial America as essentially relations of domination and submission. For instance, Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels Petersson have described the “destruction of indigenous political structures,” and suggested that power relations in North America had reached “irreversible stability” by the seventeenth century.⁵ In the *Oxford Handbook of World History*, Native Americans scarcely exist, and when they do make a cameo appearance, it is very much in the guise of the

“vanishing Indians” of nineteenth century historiography.⁶ The difficulties world historians have had in retelling the history of colonial North America as something other than domination has led Manning to broach the possibility that the history of Europe and North America might be “outside the scope of world history.” For Manning, the new world history comes into being through the opposition of the history of “connections and global patterns” with the history of power as the history of Eurocentrism.⁷

I would like to suggest that flat theoretical conceptions of power have kept world historians from recognizing what colonial North America can contribute to world histories of power, empire, and capitalism. Over the past several decades, scholarship on colonial America has substantially challenged the myth of the vanishing Indian and its close kin, the myth of the Indian as pawn in European imperial struggles. The narrative of conquest has given way to a new understanding of empire which stresses the ways in which Indians shaped the contours of the colonial encounter. As Pekka Hämäläinen and Samuel Truett have observed, “early America . . . was less colonial and more native than formerly assumed. Engaging Europe from within networks of indigenous power, Indians played a decisive and frequently unexpected role in the movements of empires and the rise of modern nations.”⁸ Most of this scholarship has been content to frame itself within the historiography of American or Atlantic history, and has not sought dialogue with historians from other fields.⁹ However, it is linked to the work of scholars of other colonial borderlands and “peripheries” of the world-system in that it seeks to comprehend power relationships in colonial settings as fields of mobile and transitory contestation, an immanent “multiplicity of force relations.”¹⁰ This broadly Foucauldian understandings of power complicates flat notions of power and opens new possibilities for interpreting colonialism, capitalism, and the history of globalization. First, it demands that we consider power as a relationship rather than an object: “power is not something that is acquired, seized, or shared, something that one holds on to or allows to slip away,” but a name which marks a complex and contested network.¹¹ A second implication is that power relationships produce more than surplus value.¹² If colonialism is a name for a network of multidirectional contestations, then we need to ask how the world-system itself is produced through these contestations.

No short paper can hope to do justice to such a large question. My intention here is to identify several major facets of colonial North America, with the aim of understanding what they reveal about the dynamics of power in the construction of a shared, if unequal, world. In particular, I will focus on the practices of trade and the languages of diplomacy. Both were significant arenas of colonial interaction in North America, and each offer clues about how power relationships effected the “local” constitution of the world-system.

Trade relations were among the first and most durable cross-continental ties between the old world and the new, especially in North America, where the trade in pelts, skins, and slaves brought Indians and Europeans into contact. Over the long-haul, and especially where alcohol became a major trade good, this trade would become a major mechanism of dependence and cause considerable damage to native cultural and political autonomy.¹³ However, dependency can be a two-way street, and in the crucial first half-century of colonization,

Europeans depended at least as much on the trade as did Indians. Cross-cultural trade was the “economic backbone” of many English and French colonies well into the eighteenth century.¹⁴ The initial survival of New York, Pennsylvania, Canada, Carolina, and the New England colonies depended on the profits of the fur trade. In New York and Pennsylvania, peltry formed the majority of exports until the 1720’s and 1730’s, and in the south, the deerskin trade continued to be a large volume economic activity deep into the 1750’s.¹⁵ These profits, of course, depended on the extraction of surplus value, and can be readily seen as an instance of “unequal exchange.”¹⁶ But value is perspectival, and to the Ottawa or Shawnee trading a bundle of pelts for a rifle, powder, blankets, knives, beads, and cloth, the trade may have seemed equally lopsided. Even if we restrict our discussion of trade to narrow economic terms, trade between Indians and Europeans is ill-defined as a straight-forward path to dependence and exploitation.

More importantly, cross-cultural trade in North America did not function as an economic exchange in any simple way, despite concerted European efforts to constrain it within such a narrow field of signification. As Philip Curtin noted long ago, the fur trade was never conducted according to the economic logic of supply and demand, but instead operated within a field of political, religious, social, and cultural meanings.¹⁷ That trade occurred within this broad field of signification is itself a mark of how deeply Native American norms shaped the meaning of cross-cultural exchange. While trade involved numerous compromises between Native and European ideas about commerce, Europeans came to accept that trade would be conducted through the language of gift-giving and reciprocity, and that the “elaborate arranging of a social space and the establishment of social relationships within it were inseparable from the trade.”¹⁸ The form of trade is ultimately a question of power, and what we see in North America is that capitalism, as practiced in the colonial context, was not a unilateral imposition of an emerging world-system, but instead a hybrid economic form.¹⁹ Trade in the woodlands was a site of contestation between native systems of reciprocity and the logic of market forces, and was conducted within the sphere of politics and alliance. Global capitalism, the avatar of the modern world-system, is of little use in understanding these transactions, and in fact actively obscures the power dynamics at play in North America.²⁰

Throughout North America, Indians insisted on linking trade with diplomacy, as a single system of reciprocity between real or fictive kin.²¹ While much trade in the Americas consisted of individual Indians and traders bargaining over the value of small amounts of goods, the broader economy of exchange moved through the channels of diplomacy. Gift giving, the ritual exchange of often significant quantities of trade goods between peoples, as opposed to individuals, linked exchange to ideas of reciprocity, and the practice of diplomacy and alliance. Diplomacy was at the center of colonial power relationships, which above all depended on the politics of alliances between the native peoples who controlled access to valuable trading goods, and provided the military power with which Britain and France jockeyed for imperial bragging rights. A full century after North America emerged as a central site of imperial contestation, Europeans exerted direct control over only a small fraction of the eastern part of the continent. The horizon of power was hegemony not dominance, and diplomacy (intimately bounded

as it was with economics), not demography or superior military power, was the principle battleground in the struggle to define relations between peoples.

Diplomacy marks the intersection of two major types of power relationships, the linguistic and the institutional, and it is significant that the major diplomatic structures of Native/European diplomacy during the entire colonial era were largely Indian in both form and content. The most impressive and well-known example is the covenant chain, an Iroquoian system of metaphors, rituals, and institutional structures through which the complex interactions between the British empire and Native peoples throughout the woodlands negotiated war and peace. The metaphoric conventions of the covenant chain shaped European and Native political relations as consensual and balanced, rather than hierarchal and subordinate, and the rituals of the covenant inscribed diplomacy within the realm of reciprocity and generosity, even while they developed the intercultural ambiguity of meaning that allowed all sides the diplomatic fictions of contrasting interpretation. The “covenant chain” certainly paid benefits to the English and French, as it helped to establish at least the promise of centralizing order over the clan and village-based politics of the woodlands. Yet, it was the Iroquois, whose diplomatic traditions framed the covenant chain, who were its prime beneficiaries. The covenant chain provided the mechanism through which the Iroquois leveraged their strategic location between French and British colonies into a central role in the power politics of the eastern continent, and outlasted the Dutch, Swedish, and French colonies in the north east.²² Though the covenant chain is the most well-known native diplomatic structure, Indian forms of diplomacy were widespread throughout the continent. In the southeast, the Choctaw, Creek, Cherokee, and Chickasaw all managed to establish the parameters of diplomatic relations. Along the Mississippi and its tributaries, the calumet ceremony set the conventions of native and European diplomacy.²³

Attention to the actual practices of trade and diplomacy suggests the limits of understanding colonial power primarily as an imposition. Neither natives nor newcomers were autonomous in this colonial world. In the eastern half of the continent, the Seven Years War and the American Revolution would shatter the geopolitical context that had allowed Native Americans to maintain a measure of cultural and political strength by playing European empires against each other, despite the disastrous demographic consequences of the Columbian exchange.²⁴ Yet, even as native power in the east plummeted at the end of the first colonial era, a new imperial struggle was dawning west of the Mississippi river. Three European powers would seek riches, bragging rights, and hegemony in the Great Plains. The Plains, however, remained Indian country until the era of industrialization, in part because of the rise of nations like the Comanche, Sioux, and the Osage, whom historians are increasingly inclined to see as having built their own empires. Native ideas about trade and diplomacy and the flexibility of native political organization, combined with the adoption of European technologies such as the horse and the gun, made the Great Plains less a terrain of a “struggle for subjugation, survival, and territorial control,” than “a multilayered, essentially imperial rivalry over political sway, the control of labor and resources, and spheres of cultural influence,” generally at the expense of European powers.²⁵ Pekka Hämäläinen has argued persuasively

that considerable areas of New Spain were in effect colonized in the eighteenth and well into the nineteenth century by the Comanche, and Kathleen DuVal has argued that the Osage carved a similarly native empire in the Northern Plains.²⁶

Hybrid economic and diplomatic forms, middle grounds, and the native hegemony of the Great Plains cannot be understood if one imagines the world system as a unilateral spreading of power from core to center causing “the elimination of other world-systems as well as the absorption of remaining mini-systems.”²⁷ Wallerstein, of course, recognizes that cores, peripheries, and semi-peripheries are both relative and competitive, but capitalism itself is understood consistently as having spread inexorably and unchanged. The world-system transforms those polities with which it interacts, but is not itself transformed by its incorporations. Historians of colonial North America, like historians of other colonial “peripheries,” have increasingly turned away from such flat theories of power, and are developing new ways of understanding the power relationships through which empire and capitalism formed. To date, the possibilities of the new histories largely remain locked within discrete regional historiographies. But, it has become clear that the time of the world system is not empty and homogenous, but is instead fractured by innumerable local and regional struggles.²⁸ These contestations are neither incidental to the history of large-scale systems, nor are they a uniquely postmodern phenomenon: they are at core of how world-historical structures come to be.²⁹ World historians need to begin the difficult work of framing new global histories of capitalism, colonialism, and modernity as the products of these “local” histories of power.

1 Patrick Manning, *Navigating World History: Historians Create a Global Past* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), xi, 289.

2 Among the many sources on empire as a mechanism of cross-cultural contact, see Thomas Allsen, “Pre-Modern Empires,” and Prasenjit Duara, “Modern Imperialism,” in Jerry Bentley, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) and Daniel Headrick, *Power over Peoples: Technology, Environments, and Western Imperialism, 1400 to the Present* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

3 Wallerstein’s most recent overview of his theory can be found in Immanuel Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004). His most direct discussion of power can be found on pages 53-59. Ranajit Guha’s work on the history of capitalism and colonialism in India challenges Wallerstein’s account of the history of capitalism, but like Wallerstein, he conceptualizes colonial power in terms of imposition and domination. Ranajit Guha, “Dominance without Hegemony and Its Historiography,” in Ranajit Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies VI: Writings on South Asian History and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

4 Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Capitalist World-Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 55. For critiques of Wallerstein as Eurocentric, see among others, Andre Gunter Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 30, and Dominic Sachsenmaier, “World History as Ecumenical History,” *Journal of World History* 18:4 (December, 2007), 476.

5 Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels Petersson, *Globalization: A Short History*, trans. Dona Geyer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 45.

6 See Edward Davies, II, “The Americas, 1450-2000,” 509-510, and Alan Karras, “The Atlantic Ocean Basin,” who argues, with no apparent irony, that “the process of decolonization in the modern world began in the Americas, ca. 1776.” (537) Both essays are in Bentley, ed., *Oxford Handbook of World History*.

7 Manning, *Navigating World History*, 102, 104.

8 Pekka Hämäläinen and Samuel Truett, “On Borderlands,” *Journal of American History* 98:2 (September, 2011), 347.

9 This may explain why it has had relatively little impact on world history. A search of keywords within the *Journal of World History* shows very little engagement, other than the odd book review, with the work of prominent Native American ethno-historians.

10 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Vol. 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1990) 92, and more broadly, 92-102. Given the different temporal and geographic locations from which they have emerged, and the idiosyncrasies of the regional historiographies with which they are engaged, this body of scholarship is as diffuse, mobile, and contested as the general model of power which they share. A highly abbreviated list of these scholars would include: Africanists such as Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) and Frederick Cooper, “What is the Concept of Globalization Good For? An African Historian’s Perspective,” *African Affairs* 100 (April, 2001), 189-213, members of the subaltern studies group, who have stressed the fractured and multiple histories of modernity and capitalism, such as Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 3-20 and in his own way, Guha, “Dominance Without Hegemony,” and Pacific historians such as Nicholas Thomas, *Islanders: The Pacific in the Age of Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), and many of the contributions in Robert Borofsky, ed., *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2000). While my interest here is primarily in identifying a certain broadly similar idea of power relations, it is ultimately the differences as much as the similarities between local colonial encounters that makes possible the type of new world histories that I suggest towards the end of this paper.

11 Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 94. See also in this regard, Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, “Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda,” in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 6, and Frederick Cooper, “Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History,” in Arif Dirlik, et al, eds., *History After the Three Worlds: Post-Eurocentric Historiographies* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 157-90.

12 The major positive production of Wallerstein’s system is the endless accumulation of capital, which is extracted on the backs of peripheral areas as they are stripped bare. Wallerstein,

World-Systems, 24, 59. This idea is even more clearly expressed in the dependency theory of Andre Gunder Frank, who describes the exploited landscape of colonial dependencies having been simplified, mined of surplus-value, and then left to wallow in their underdeveloped state. See Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," in James Cockcroft, Andre Gunder Frank, and Dale Johnson, eds., *Dependence and Underdevelopment* (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1972).

13 Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 83-6, 121-2.

14 Colin Calloway, *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 14-15.

15 Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 127; Daniel Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: the Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 270; Calloway, *New Worlds for All*, 16; Kathryn Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1993).

16 Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis*, 18; Wallerstein, *Capitalist World-Economy*, 14-15, 18, 71.

17 Philip Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 226.

18 White, *Middle Ground*, 99; Matthew Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 154-179.

19 Peter Coclanis, "Beyond Atlantic History," in Jack Greene and Philip Morgan, eds., *Atlantic History: a Critical Appraisal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 348.

20 In this sense, I agree with Curtin's implicit that capitalism emerged only in the industrial age, when it displaced the more localized "middle ground" economies of the trade diaspora. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade*, 230-54. Curtin's work, however, is usefully complicated by the work of C.A. Bayly, among others, who pose complex questions about the nature of the commodity form, and the relationship between commodities, signification, and economic systems. See, C.A. Bayly, "The Origins of the Swadeshi (home industry): cloth and Indian society, 1700-1930," in Arjun Appaduri, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 285-321.

21 James Merrell, "Our Bond of Peace: Patterns of Intercultural Exchange in the Carolina Piedmont, 1650-1750," in Gregory Waselkov, Peter Wood, and Tom Hatley, eds., *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 267-304.

22 On the covenant chain, the most important sources are:

Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from its beginning to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744* (New York: Norton, 1984); Daniel Richter and James Merrell, eds., *Beyond the Covenant Chain: the Iroquois and their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987); Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, esp., 134-144.

23 See, for example: Gregory Evans Dowd, "Insidious Friends: Gift Giving and the Cherokee-British Alliance in the Seven Years War," in Andrew Clayton and Fredrika Teute, eds., *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 114-150; Ian Brown, "The Calumet Ceremony in the Southeast as Observed Archaeologically," in Waselkov et. al, eds. *Powhatan's Mantle*, 371-419; Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2006), 89-90.

24 Daniel Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 164-74.

25 Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 201. A similar dynamic may well have been at play in Chile. See Headrick's provocative comparative account of the Plains Indians and the Araucanians, Headrick, *Power Over Peoples*, 115-23.

26 Hämäläinen, *Comanche Empire*, 181-238, 349-50; DuVal, *Native Ground*, 103-127.

27 Wallerstein, *Capitalist World Economy*, 27. Mini-systems is Wallerstein's term for the economies of "very simple agricultural or hunting and gathering societies." These mini-systems, he argues, cease to exist at the moment they become tied to empire and lose their self-contained division of labor. Wallerstein, *Capitalist World Economy*, 5.

28 The phrase is Benjamin's, who links the concept of empty, homogenous time to the ideology of progress as inevitable and unmarked by struggle. Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1988), 261. On this point, see Marshall Sahlins, "Cosmologies of Capitalism," in Nicholas Dirks, Geoff Eley, and Sherry Ortner, eds., *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 412-15.

29 For suggestions that "networked" forms of power are essentially postmodern phenomenon, see Michael Geyer and Charles Bright, "World History in a Global Age," *American Historical Review* 100:4 (October, 1995), 1045, 1049. See also Bruce Mazlish, *The New Global History* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 8, 17, and Osterhammel and Petersson, *Globalization*, 9, 32.



World History Association

Asian Migrations and Diasporas since 1500

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Given human migration's crucial role in world history, the Asian migrations of the past half millennium and resulting diasporas are an important topic, with impacts in many parts of the globe. Even a North American heartland city like Green Bay, Wisconsin is home to over 5,000 Asians, predominantly Hmong but also including Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, South Asians, Vietnamese, Lao, and Filipinos, alongside long-established Lebanese families. Hence I include material on Asian migrations in my world history textbook.¹ One of the pioneering world historians, William McNeill, argued that contacts and collisions between peoples and societies are a major force for change. When people encounter each other sparks can fly between brains as well as between swords. Migration can also result in a trans-regional redistribution of peoples. Population movement spreads cultures, stimulates invention, and in some cases fosters long term diasporas of people sharing the same ancestral heritage and many common customs.

Some of the population movements after 1500 CE have been extensively studied, such as the migration of millions of Europeans to the Americas, Oceania, and southern Africa, and the transport of many enslaved Africans across the Atlantic.² The less well-known and studied migrations of Asian peoples also began early and has continued down to today. This essay briefly surveys the history of the Asian migrations, discusses the concept of diaspora, and then offers a case study of the Chinese.

Some Diaspora Experiences

Some thumbnail sketches, mostly drawn from my own experiences as a student, researcher, and academic interested in emigrant Asians and their adaptations, can indicate some of the diversity of Asian diaspora experiences:

§ In 1963, following a year of undergraduate study in Hong Kong, I visited Taiwan, rooming in a student hostel with a young Chinese from South Africa who was studying Chinese culture and language. Victor's South Africa-born parents had been Anglophiles, but he hankered to know the China of his grandparents. Yet he was a stranger in Taiwan and struggled with the sociocultural differences, concluding ruefully that he was more South African than Chinese. But this also dissatisfied him. Returning to Apartheid-era South Africa and its bizarre racial laws meant that, as a Chinese, he was considered an "Asian" and hence legally inferior to whites, while the Japanese businessmen who sojourned in South Africa were considered "honorary whites."³

§ As a graduate student in the 1960s researching an M.A. thesis on the Chinese community in the Malaysian state of Sarawak, I met an elderly but vigorous Hakka Chinese whose ancestors settled in western Borneo in the late eighteenth century, well before Western colonization of the island. Lo spoke flawless English and Malay as well as two Chinese dialects. A highly honored civil servant, very Malaysian but also proudly Chinese, he had little interest in visiting China itself but planned to start a farm raising Malaysian fruits for Malaysian Chinese emigrants to Australia, among them his own children. Lo was a great example of what sociologists term a "bicultural broker" linking various cultures.⁴

§ When my wife Kathy (then doing her Ph.D. research)

and I lived in Kampala, Uganda in the early 1970s several of the best local restaurants as well as the main auto dealerships and service departments were owned and operated by Chinese, most of them migrants from the Indian Ocean island of Mauritius, whose large Chinese community began forming in the eighteenth century. They were good examples of "secondary migration and acculturation". Of course, most of the commerce in Uganda was dominated by Indians who numbered nearly 100,000 before most were expelled by President Idi Amin in 1972. With Amin gone many have since returned to Uganda.⁵

§ In 1985, while traveling around the emigrant zone of southeastern China I visited the old trading port of Shantou (Swatow), from where many Chinese left for Southeast Asia between 1850 and 1940. There I became acquainted with an "ABC" (Australian-born Chinese) teenager from suburban Sydney, stuck in China for the summer while her China-born parents visited relatives there. She spoke little Chinese, her China relatives no English. She was like a duck out of water, Australian to the core, and an example of assimilation triumphant.⁶

§ In the 1980s I became acquainted with a Peruvian-Chinese artist operating a gallery in Green Bay, his wife's hometown. He struck me as the perpetual stranger, neither completely at home in Lima, in Hong Kong (where his Peru-born father had relatives), or Green Bay, although I think he did root for the Packers!

§ When traveling in Ireland in 2006 I noticed the growing Chinatown and the many Indian "cornershops" in Dublin as well as the fact that virtually every town had a Chinese "carry-away" restaurant and often an Indian or Thai restaurant. Several years ago the *New York Times* had a long review of the best Thai restaurants in Berlin, Germany, a great example of globalization and trans-regional connections.⁷

§ In 2007 I visited the old Vietnamese seaport of Hoi An, where much of the population traces their ancestry to Chinese merchants and a smaller number of Japanese families who settled there in the seventeenth century. The local culture, language, and food became a mix of Chinese and Vietnamese.⁸ Hoi An's hybrid cuisine reminded me of the hybrid cuisine in New York restaurants operated by Cuban Chinese immigrants, as well as the mixed Chinese-Malay cuisine known as Nyonya or Straits cooking that developed in the Malayan port city of Melaka during 400 years of cultural blending.⁹

§ During the 1960s Chinese Jamaicans helped establish the recording industry on the island; their capital and technical expertise provided some of the business context for the rise of reggae, the folk-pop music that has come to symbolize the energy and the concerns of Afro-Caribbean culture. Bob Marley owed a small part of his career start to Leslie Kong. Kong was, like so many Chinese in the diaspora, a great example of adaptation and enterprise. Even one of the longtime top dance bands in Jamaica, Byron Lee and the Dragonaires, had a strong Chinese component.¹⁰

§ I should also note here several other Asian diaspora contributions to world pop music. The late Freddie Mercury, the lead singer of the 1980s British rock group Queen, was born on the East African island of Zanzibar to Parsi Indian parents before moving to London. The Parsis are, of course, a quintessential diaspora people, descendants of Zoroastrian Persian immigrants to India centuries ago. The musicians who founded the American rock group Van Halen are from a Dutch-Indonesian family who

first left Indonesia for Holland in the 1950s and then later settled in my hometown of Pasadena (California), which was already the home of many of the 10,000 pro-Dutch Indonesians who came to the United States as refugees after Indonesian independence.¹¹ And Indian immigrants in Britain created some of the most exciting dance music of the 1990s and after, *bhangra*, a potent mix of rock, electronica, and Punjabi folk music that enjoyed wide popularity in Europe, North America, and especially the South Asian diaspora around the world.¹²

§ One of the more useful books on global migration and diasporas was edited by Wang Gungwu, a well-published Malaysian Chinese historian specialized on China, Southeast Asia, and the Chinese overseas.¹³ Wang's valuable introduction integrates the study of migration and globalization into his own restless sojourning and diaspora experience. Born in colonial Indonesia to immigrant Chinese parents, Wang was raised in Malaya and educated in Malaya, China, Singapore, and London before pursuing a distinguished academic career with lengthy stops in Kuala Lumpur, Canberra, Hong Kong, and, most recently, Singapore.¹⁴ Spending much of his life in places with substantial or predominantly immigrant populations has understandably enhanced his appreciation for the importance of migration as a theme in world history.

§ Today, among many others, Americans, Canadians and Australians live in increasingly multicultural nations, filled with immigrants and their descendants from the four corners of the globe. They are rapidly transforming cities like Los Angeles, Seattle, Houston, Miami, Vancouver, Toronto, Honolulu, and Perth into internationalized hubs of world culture and commerce while even bringing Latin American grocery stores, Southeast Asian restaurants, Japanese factories, Caribbean music, and African art galleries into once provincial heartland towns like Green Bay. And the towns and neighborhoods dominated by immigrants from particular groups are growing. Today both metropolitan Los Angeles and New York each have three pronounced Chinatowns and several Little Indias. The L.A. area also has a Little Tokyo, Thaitown, Koreatown, Little Saigon, and several heavily Filipino and Iranian neighborhoods. South Asians operate many of the hotels and motels in the U.S.; Gujaratis control some 42 percent of the hotel/hospitality business, their holdings collectively worth \$40 billion.¹⁵ There are also some 40,000 Chinese restaurants in the U.S., more than all the McDonald's, Burger Kings, and Kentucky Fried Chickens in the U.S. combined!¹⁶

These thumbnail sketches attempt to place the study of social groups in a more personal context; there are individuals and communities behind the generalizations. But they also raise for the scholar of world history perpetual questions of identity, cultural maintenance, assimilation, discrimination, enterprise, and the role of migration and diasporas in establishing and maintaining transregional connections, in this case involving people with roots in Asia.

The Long History of Asian Migration

Various Asian peoples were among those on the move between 4000 BCE and 1500 CE, including the ancestors of today's Chinese, Korean, Central Asian, Indonesian-Malay, Polynesian, Thai, and Indian peoples. Indian merchants and priests have been migrating in small numbers to Southeast Asia for two millennia, often intermarrying with local people. Indian settlers also helped shape the culture and commerce of the East

African coast while Indonesian migrants helped forge societies on Madagascar. By the 1400s and 1500s more Chinese and some Japanese sailed to Southeast Asia, chiefly as merchants, some sojourning and others settling permanently. In the fifteenth century the major Southeast Asian port, Melaka, contained some 15,000 foreign merchants from all around the Indian Ocean basin and Southeast Asia, China, Okinawa, and Japan. Two centuries later the major Thai city, Ayutthaya, had substantial communities of Chinese, Japanese, Arabs, and Persians mostly living in their own neighborhoods and administered by their own leaders.¹⁷ Chinese merchants also settled in trading ports in Japan and Korea.

In the eighteenth century, and partly in response to the globalization of capitalism, migration of peoples from eastern and southern Asia accelerated, mostly by sea to distant shores, as people were pushed by necessity and drawn by opportunity. The emergence of capitalism in Europe and the formation of a truly world economy played a role. Between 1500 and 1914, in a quest for resources and markets to be exploited, Western nations colonized most Asian, African and American societies. Thanks to improved transportation, such as newer and faster ships, and new economic incentives, both positive and negative, large-scale migration was central to fashioning the nineteenth century world and its empires and economies. Deteriorating economic conditions, sometimes combined with violence from wars or unrest, in countries like China, Indonesia, and India fostered a willingness to seek a better life elsewhere. Some colonial powers, especially Britain, France, and the Netherlands, looked to the densely populated Asian societies to provide a labor force for the plantations and mines in their colonies which supplied much wealth to Western governments and businessmen.

During the past several centuries millions of eastern and southern Asians relocated temporarily or permanently, some to nearby countries, others to faraway lands, making these migrants and their descendants a visible and vital presence in the world economy and in the population of many nations.¹⁸ Every migrant connects a point of origin and a destination. As Patrick Manning put it, at the end of a pathway lay a beachhead.¹⁹ Philip Kuhn proposed the model of "corridors" and "niches" to characterize Chinese migration. Corridors linked emigrants and their original home communities while niches describe the way migrants fit into the venue society.²⁰ Many emigrants relied both on connections to local communities and to networks linking them with families and contacts elsewhere, including their ancestral homes, to achieve success. Today there are some 20 million refugees (many of them Asians) and 100 million migrants in the world, many of them living far from their ancestral roots.

But this migration led many places to fear of a "Yellow Peril" and hence to a "great wall" of restriction (such as late 19th to mid-20th century anti-Chinese laws in Australia, Canada, the U.S., South Africa, and the U.S.-ruled Philippines) as well as stronger notions of national borders as labor markets tightened and receiving societies saw themselves overrun by aliens. The result was a global network of barriers that discouraged immigration and weakened diaspora-homeland links at the same time that supplying countries faced even more severe social and economic dilemmas.²¹ However, times change. In more recent decades many Asians, some middle class, some refugees, and others impoverished workers seeking low-wage jobs, have migrated legally or illegally and fostered some newly hyphenated groups

such as Korean-Venezuelans, Cambodian-Swiss, and Vietnamese-Australians.²² For example, the explosive growth of the Asian population in the U.S., many of them immigrant professionals and shopkeepers, has given Asian communities greater visibility in American society. Japanese and Indians especially developed reputations as “model minorities” since they were mostly law-abiding, well-educated, and economically successful. But Asian success was not limited to the United States. Men of Indian ancestry have become presidents or prime ministers in Trinidad, Guyana, Suriname, Fiji, Singapore, and Mauritius. The “great wall of restriction” for Asians has diminished in recent decades. Hence, in 1999-2000 Canadians chose a Chinese woman as Governor General (or head of state) and elected a Sikh immigrant as Premier of British Columbia, a province with nearly 600,000 residents of Chinese or Indian ancestry.²³

Today perhaps 40-45 million people of Asian origin or heritage live outside, and often thousands of miles away from, their ancestral homelands. Chinese and Indians account for the great majority of Asian migrants. Many settled in Southeast Asia but the two groups also established significant communities in the Americas, Europe, Pacific and Indian Ocean islands, and parts of Africa. Just as Chinatowns arose in cities all over the world, “Little Indias” flourish from Durban and Nairobi to Singapore, Fiji, Toronto, and Trinidad.²⁴ Meanwhile Japanese²⁵, Koreans²⁶, and Filipinos²⁷ settled chiefly in the Americas and Hawaii; Indonesians²⁸ moved to several Pacific islands, Suriname, and Malaysia; and Lebanese and Syrians migrated to the Americas and, mostly as merchants, to colonial West Africa. In the past forty years several million Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians fled war and repression for new homes elsewhere, particularly North America, Australia, and France.²⁹ The varied diasporas of eastern and southern Asian peoples constitute one of the more important social and economic developments in modern world history.

Diasporas

Our concept of diasporas (or dispersals) -- a Greek word -- derives from Babylonian times, where “Babylon” became a code word among Hebrews for oppression and forced exile, a concept reinforced for Jews after the Romans forced many out of Palestine. Millennia later some African-American and Afro-Caribbean peoples adopted the same notion of forced exile from the homeland, Africa. Yet, diaspora is a disputed concept, in part because it has expanded in usage and definition over time. To some observers it refers narrowly to a forced banishment and consequent trauma of groups such as Jews, Palestinians, and Armenians who dispersed all over the world. To other scholars it signifies migration and colonization. As Constance Lever-Tracy argues, in this perspective diaspora is a collective noun, referring to people who have been scattered from their place of origin and broadly share an identity and culture.³⁰ Adam McKeown adds that, used as an adjective rather than a noun, diaspora focuses on geographically dispersed communities, institutions, and discourses beyond local and national frameworks, held together by common networks and shared institutions stretching across oceans and continents.³¹ Ien Ang offers a useful definition: “diasporas are transnational, spatially and temporarily sprawling sociocultural formations of people, creating imagined communities whose blurred and fluctuating boundaries are sustained by real and/or symbolic ties to some original

homeland.”³² As Robin Cohen wrote, “one dreamed of home but lived in exile.... the ‘old country’ always had some claim on their loyalty.”³³

Today the term “diaspora” and especially “diasporic community” is increasingly used as a metaphoric designation of several categories of people whose members share certain characteristics, including political refugees, immigrants, and ethnic and racial minorities.³⁴ Sunil Amrith contends that the concept is most useful when it addresses the kinds of connections migrants have maintained with both their homeland and with others of shared origins spread around the world. It describes a process of migration and dispersal as well as the condition of diaspora life.³⁵ Diaspora then offers a useful perspective to focus on transnational links and flows by grouping people together across geographical and political boundaries. Hence, it contains two divergent ideals: exile and diversity.³⁶ Some diaspora communities maintained a collective memory, vision, or myth, often unrealistic, about their country or origin and of an eventual return to it. Many people continued to relate to their homeland in one way or another. Symbolic, emotional, and/or material ties to the homeland held the diaspora together and distinguished the diaspora communities from other groups, which may have political implications for the diaspora. As in the case of, among others, Chinese, Indians, Pakistanis, Koreans, and Japanese, the governments of the ancestral home could exploit diaspora sentiments for their own purposes.³⁷ Yet, some diasporic Asians embrace a kind of flexible citizenship, in some cases even holding two or more passports or legal residence status. Immigrants are also shaped by local circumstances. Among diaspora people ancestral and local cultures can be transformed, rejected, or replaced by a new one emphasizing cross-connections rather than roots.³⁸

Depending on the dominant mode of life and circumstances of migration, diasporas can be subdivided into several categories, including the two most characteristic of Asian migrants between 1800 and 1940, labor diasporas and trade diasporas (sometimes termed entrepreneurial networks). Scholars sometimes describe the Chinese diaspora as forged by “sweat and the abacus” (the traditional Chinese calculator used by merchants).³⁹ Anthropologist Abner Cohen described a trade diaspora as “distinct as a type of social grouping in its culture and structure. Its members are culturally distinct from both their society of origin and from the society among which they live....”⁴⁰ Members of trade diasporas often serve a middleman function. Anthropologist Lloyd Fallers put it another way: “The immigrant trader is commonly an essential economic link between the village community... and the outside world. As a result, he is often *in* the community, but he is seldom really *of* it. Economically he is a member, but culturally he is not.”⁴¹ The Indians of Uganda in the early 1970s, most of them engaged in commerce, provide a case in point. Disliked by many Ugandans, they tended to live in their own neighborhoods, supported their own community and religious institutions, rarely intermarried with local Africans, and (perhaps wisely) sent their money abroad as a hedge in case anti-Indian sentiments exploded (as indeed they did when Idi Amin seized their property and ordered them out of the country).

A common culture and often religion keeps the diaspora network together and gives it its ethnic identity. If the diaspora is only marked by shared memories and attitudes, the participants

are less likely to pass along their language and culture and more likely over time to assimilate to the dominant community. On the other hand, continuing transnational communication and flows, such as through the long distance connections of trade diasporas, promote continuity.⁴² There is, however, the danger of essentializing diaspora communities, subordinating the very real differences within and between them to a common heritage and patterns.⁴³

Some historians argue that, contrary to many observers, the integration of the world economy and the globalization of modern economic life does not owe its present character solely to colonialism and imperialism by the West, which disrupted and transformed societies like China, India, Indonesia, and the Philippines, prompting many to seek a better life abroad. Trade and labor diasporas, often the consequences of Western imperialism, were also important.⁴⁴

Chinese Emigration and Diaspora Society, 1400-1945

The remainder of this essay examines the largest, most widespread and influential Asian diaspora group, the Chinese.⁴⁵ They accounted for some two thirds of the long distance Asian migration between 1750 and 1940, and a large share of it in the past seventy years, and hence merit detailed attention. This emigration has a long history. Chinese merchants have sailed to Southeast Asia to trade for over a thousand years. By the fifteenth century Chinese trade networks linked Southeast Asian trading ports to each other as well as to China and Japan.⁴⁶ Chinese immigrants founded two Vietnamese dynasties and the Thai kingdom of Ayutthaya. Beginning in the later 1500s Chinese settlers became dominant in the commercial sector in most Western colonies in Southeast Asia, including the Spanish-ruled Philippines and Dutch-ruled Java. Major ports like Melaka in Malaya, Batavia (Jakarta) on Java, Hoi An in Vietnam, Ayutthaya in Siam, and Manila in the Philippines had large Chinese merchant communities. Hence, a Dominican friar wrote of mid-seventeenth century Manila: "A surprising thing that we see in this land is that although the city is small, and the Spaniards few, nevertheless, they require the services of thousands of Chinese... who earn a living from these services..."⁴⁷ Between 1750 and 1850 many Chinese settled in Thailand, Malaya, and, like my Sarawak friend Lo's ancestors, islands like Borneo to trade, farm, or mine for tin or gold, sometimes establishing their own self-governing communities. One of the most important Chinese pioneers in West Borneo wrote in the late 1770s that "Gold borne by the earth, Riches hidden in mountains, Only hard work can earn us, A livelihood from mines."⁴⁸ The present royal family of Thailand descends from an eighteenth century Chinese immigrant.

During the later 19th and early 20th centuries, wars with the Western nations and Japan, rebellions, corruption, population explosion, growing landlessness, and natural disasters in China prompted millions to emigrate, mostly to places where Western colonialism and capitalism were opening new economic opportunities. Some ninety percent of the emigrants came from two impoverished and overcrowded southeastern coastal provinces, Fujian and Guangdong, which were particularly hard-hit by China's growing problems, among them the Western military and economic intrusion. Between 1880 and 1930 several hundred thousand people a year left China, chiefly from the ports of Hong Kong, Amoy (Xiamen), and Swatow (Shantou), for

foreign destinations. Singapore served as the main transit and distribution point for Chinese who were eventually shipped to many Southeast Asian destinations while Port Louis on Mauritius served a similar function for the western Indian Ocean and southern Africa.

Many were recruited into the notorious "coolie trade," which operated from the 1820s into the 1920s.⁴⁹ Under this system, desperate peasants become workers (known pejoratively as "coolies") in faraway places, especially Southeast Asia, various South Pacific and Indian Ocean islands, Hawaii, Australia, Peru, Cuba, California, British Columbia, and South Africa. In order to repay their passage, the Chinese signed contracts, mostly to work as plantation laborers, miners, or railroad builders, for a fixed period of time, often 5 or 10 years. The system invited exploitation in an alien environment, where the laborers who survived the difficult voyages in crowded ships faced discrimination and harsh working conditions.

Not all Chinese emigrated as part of this trade. Some paid their own fares, usually to join relatives in business enterprises. For example, one Chinese merchant, Ong Ewe Hai, left Xiamen by boat and arrived in Sarawak's main town, Kuching, in 1846, when he was 16 years old. He obtained some merchandise on credit for sale and also rowed a small boat up and down the river to collect jungle products from the local people, Malays and Dayaks. Eventually he became one of Sarawak's wealthiest and most influential merchants, and his oldest son followed in his footsteps as community leader. His great grandchildren remain prominent in local politics and society.⁵⁰ Like Ong Ewe Hai, the Chinese were, in general, adaptable and resourceful. An 1879 book by a British colonial official listed dozens of occupations pursued by the Chinese in the Straits Settlements (Singapore, Penang, Melaka), from bakers and barbers to bookbinders and carriage makers.⁵¹ In contrast to Indians, who often emigrated as families, the Chinese emigrants were mostly men, since before the 1920s few women were allowed to leave China. Chinese also faced dangers when local peoples viewed them as competitors or governments viewed them as a threat. At various times Chinese were massacred in colonial Indonesia and the Philippines. Some Chinese were lynched and Chinatowns occasionally destroyed in the western United States in the later 19th century. Massacres of Chinese also occurred in Mexico, and in 1931 all the Chinese were expelled from a northwestern Mexico state.⁵²

Most immigrants dreamed of returning to their native village wealthy, and some did. Others moved back and forth, linking two societies. But many stayed overseas permanently, some because they had failed to achieve their dreams, others, like Ong Ewe Hai, because they had established successful businesses with their savings, marrying local women or bringing families from China. A study of the Chinese commercial elite in Sydney at the beginning of the 20th century concluded that they "pined for a homeland and yet lay rooted in Australian soil."⁵³ A Chinese man who settled in New Zealand in the 1920s recalled the hard work that brought him success: "My generation really worked for a living. We had to open the shop at 7 a.m. and we closed at 1 a.m. Then we had to clean the shop. It was seldom before 2 a.m. before we got to bed."⁵⁴ But even those who settled abroad often sent money back to their home villages or invested in China, an example of transnational connections. Today the Overseas Chinese are an important source of capital for China.⁵⁵

Before 1945 most Chinese emigrants spoke one of a half dozen quite different southern China dialects such as Cantonese, Hakka, Teochiu, or Hokkien. Hence, there has often been disunity among Chinese in various communities due to the cultural diversity. For example, in Sarawak the Hokkien, Teochiu, and Foochow have often been fierce competitors for commercial dominance. But wherever they settled, Chinese formed their own schools, temples, business associations, and social organizations, fostering considerable cooperation and solidarity, which has helped sustain the Chinese communities in so many diverse environments. Some institutions, such as the Chinese Chamber of Commerce or Mandarin-language schools, helped bring the various rival dialect groups together.

Over time, many of the Overseas Chinese were transformed from sojourners into settlers. Through enterprise, organization, and cooperation many Chinese in Southeast Asia became part of a prosperous, urban middle class that controlled retail trade. A few became fabulously wealthy businessmen or industrialists. Complex Chinese commercial networks extended into the smallest towns. For example, many Chinese shops in small towns in Malaya or Sarawak were linked through firms in larger towns to big companies in Singapore, and these companies often had ties to enterprises in China or Hong Kong. Singapore, with a mostly Chinese population, became the major hub of Chinese economic and social networks in Southeast Asia, although Bangkok, Jakarta and Saigon also played important roles. But some Chinese remained poor, eking out a living as commercial fishermen, smallholding rubber growers, rickshaw pullers, or day laborers. For example, the men who pulled the rickshaws in the steamy tropical heat of Singapore and Malaya faced a difficult life and often died young, sometimes from suicide.⁵⁶

Scholars have been fascinated with the varied ways that Chinese have adapted to local environments. Many assimilated over several generations. Since the 1400s some have mixed local and Chinese customs, beliefs and languages. These people formed what the anthropologist G. William Skinner termed “intermediate creolized societies,” distinct sub-groups such as the Peranakans of Java, the Straits Chinese of Malaya, the Chinese Mestizos in the Philippines, the Sino-Thai of Thailand, and the Catholicized Tusans of Peru, who linked the Chinese and local peoples and moved between both worlds.⁵⁷ But many Chinese, especially those who immigrated after 1900, maintained their language, customs, religion, and identity. Many such people live in or near the large Chinatowns of cities such as Kuala Lumpur, Manila, Sydney, Vancouver, San Francisco, New York, Lima, and Liverpool. Nonetheless, even among those who generally maintain Chinese customs and language, local environments shape their culture and identity, fostering clear differences between the Chinese in, for example, New York, Portugal, Suriname, Mauritius, Burma, and the Philippines.

The Overseas Chinese Communities Since 1945

More than 30 million people of Chinese ancestry or ethnicity, often known as Overseas Chinese, live outside of “Greater China” (China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau) today. Over 20 million of them reside in the varied nations of Southeast Asia. As a result, some 7 or 8 percent of all Southeast Asians have some Chinese ancestry. Chinese constitute three quarters of Singapore’s population, a quarter of Brunei, a third of Malaysia,

and thirteen percent in Thailand. Three countries- Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand- each contain at least 4 million Chinese.⁵⁸ Over two million Chinese live in the United States. By the 1990s several dozen nations or colonies outside of Southeast Asia also had sizeable Chinese communities, ranging from hundreds of thousands to a few thousand. These include Japan, India, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, as well as ten nations in Latin America and the Caribbean, five in the South Pacific islands, four in Africa and the Indian Ocean islands, and six in Europe. But most nations in the world, like Uganda, had at least a few Chinese-run restaurants or other businesses, making the Chinese diaspora one of the world’s most dispersed.

Today the majority of Chinese in Southeast Asia, as well as in Japan, the South Pacific and Indian Ocean islands, South Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America, are engaged in commerce and finance. The ethnic Chinese have constituted the most dynamic economic sector in Southeast Asia, with their money and initiative the basis for recent rapid economic growth in Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines. In North America and Europe many also opened businesses, often family-run restaurants, but many of their children gravitated to the professions or the high technology industries where some developed leading companies.⁵⁹

In the second half of the twentieth century many men and women, seeing themselves more as settlers than sojourners, fled communism in China or lack of opportunity in Taiwan and Hong Kong for new lives in North America, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Latin America, or Europe. Most, especially the well-educated, found success in their new homes, transforming the Chinese into one of the most affluent ethnic groups in these countries. But pockets of grinding poverty also remained, such as the badly exploited immigrant workers, many recent arrivals (often illegal) from Fujian, in the small textile factories of crowded urban Chinatowns.⁶⁰

Many people in Southeast Asia, the South Pacific, and the Americas resented the Chinese because of their enterprise, economic power, desire to preserve their language and culture, and their continuing ties to families or hometowns in China. Before the 1930s most Chinese in colonies like Malaya and Cambodia were administered through their own leaders, usually powerful merchants, planters or mine owners, perpetuating their separateness from local society. Sinophobia and conflict between Chinese and non-Chinese has remained common in Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines in recent decades, occasionally leading to anti-Chinese violence.⁶¹

Since 2000, as China has become deeply involved economically and politically with varied African, Latin American, and South Pacific nations, hundreds of thousands of mostly poor and less-educated Chinese citizens have migrated to these countries as small merchants or laborers for Chinese companies. But these operations have caused growing local resentment by local politicians, unions, and traders in the past decade. In places like Papua-New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Angola, and Zambia, anti-Chinese violence, including murderous attacks and burning down Chinatowns, raises questions about the durability of this recent settlement.⁶² In some places, such as Suriname and Peru, Chinese who have lived there for decades or generations also resent the newcomers for their aggressive tactics and stirring up Sinophobia.⁶³

Some governments have restricted Chinese political

rights or curtailed economic activity. In the late 1970s many Chinese left or were expelled from Vietnam. Some of them joined a steady stream of Southeast Asian Chinese, especially from Malaysia and Indonesia, moving to North America, Europe, Australia, and New Zealand in the past several decades for better opportunities or to escape discrimination. For example, by 2001 nearly ten percent of the 68,000 Chinese living in Auckland, New Zealand, were born in Malaysia or Singapore.⁶⁴ But Chinese leaders govern Singapore and have also played an active role in Malaysian politics. Politicians of Chinese or part-Chinese ancestry have led Thailand and the Philippines at various times, as well as Papua-New Guinea, Guyana, Suriname, and French Polynesia.

The turbulent history of mid-20th century China, including the Japanese Occupation of World War II, the Communist-Guomindang civil war of the later 1940s, and then the founding and subsequent anti-Western policies of the People's Republic of China cut off many diaspora Chinese from their formal links to China. This forced most to have to choose between identifying with China or with the countries where they lived, which had consequences for many aspects of life including citizenship, education, and language. But over the past thirty years, as China restored its links to the rest of the world, the diasporic networks to China have been transformed.⁶⁵ For example, large Malaysian or Singapore Chinese corporations operate not only in Southeast Asia, China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong but also around the world. When I traveled in China's emigrant zone in Fujian and Guangdong provinces in the 1980s I met Chinese from Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines visiting their ancestral land, and also saw many fine homes built with remittances from overseas.⁶⁶

The Chinese and the Diaspora

Like other Asian emigrants, wherever they have settled, Chinese have had to choose how much to adapt or assimilate to local societies, how much to emphasize their ancestral identity, and how much to stress their global connections as transnational brokers.⁶⁷ Chinese, like other diasporic subjects, have to invent and re-invent themselves through their contact with local societies, which requires crossing boundaries. Lynn Pan argues that "Chineseness" is not a fixed or bounded category, that many are "Chinese more or less."⁶⁸ Some Chinese resent the notion of being part of a diaspora since they fear that may compromise their hard-won local position. For everyone who has rediscovered his or her Chineseness, others, like my South African friend Victor, found China or Taiwan to be culturally strange and foreign. Those used to greater political freedom in the diaspora often find China uncomfortably repressive.⁶⁹

Even the question of whether to refer to these communities and individuals as Overseas Chinese, Chinese Overseas, ethnic Chinese, Chinese Abroad, people of Chinese descent, or something else is hotly debated.⁷⁰ Noting their entrepreneurial energy and that many Chinese have assimilated or acculturated to local cultures, Ronald Skeldon questions whether diaspora really describes the global network of heterogeneous overseas Chinese communities today.⁷¹ Wang Gungwu also has reservations about the diaspora concept and treating the Overseas Chinese as a coherent group, because these Chinese are so diverse and spread over so many distinct societies. Yet, he

concludes, "If we admit that there are many kinds of Chinese... then we should have no difficulty with the idea that there are times when diaspora should supersede other terms in comparative studies.... After all, there are already many kinds of diasporas."⁷² Of course the wider its use, the more diluted and murky the term becomes.

Clearly many Chinese born and raised outside of China, Taiwan, or Hongkong have struggled with questions of identity. Canada-born Josephine Khu has collected stories about the search for Chinese roots and ethnic identity. Her informants came from many countries- Australia, Colombia, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and the U.S.- and all visited or lived for a time in China or Hong Kong as adults, allowing them to trace family connections. Some found a sense of belonging, one writing that "My roots are no longer blowing in the wind. Their long-time search for fertile earth to sink into has finally come to an end." Others embraced a bicultural perspective: "home is really where one's family is living at the moment. But I also feel the need to nourish both the old and new roots of the family.... I have come to realize and accept that my ears are attuned to two cultures." Indeed, several now viewed themselves as citizens of the world. Some concluded that "identity... is a complex and multifaceted issue... [and] is capable of being constructed, invented, and manipulated."⁷³

The emigrant flow from East Asia, Southeast Asia, and South Asia to the Americas, Oceania, Europe and the Middle East continues today, as people seek better economic opportunities, political stability, or personal security, continuing a human behavior- migration- that has a long history. But most migrants face the challenge of adjusting to their new home and often cosmopolitan influences, many maintaining ties- strong or weak- to their ancestral homeland. Indeed, transnational networks flourish.

The Singapore Chinese Dick Lee, a flamboyant multi-talented singer, composer, theater stalwart, and choreographer, has specialized in creating a distinctively Singapore sound integrating Asian genres into his commercial but jazzy mix of popular music. His 1989 song, "The Mad Chinaman," explored the sometimes contradictory and bewildering feelings he felt toward multiethnic Singapore and the mix of eastern and western influences in the city: "Traditional, International/ Western feelings from my oriental heart/ How am I to know, how should I react?/ Defend with Asian pride? Or attack? The Mad Chinaman relies/ On the east and west sides of his life."⁷⁴ Another Lee composition, "Flower Drum Song," combined a Chinese folk tune with mid-tempo fusion melodies conveying a sense of losing and finding an identity and roots. In a dreamlike state he hears flower drums playing in his head, calling him home: "We'll bring the people home/ The flowers will lead/ show them the heritage they don't know they seek." The chorus was in Mandarin, which allowed him to come to grips with his Chinese ethnic heritage.⁷⁵

Lee's songs well represent the transnational character of diaspora society, torn between the ancestral homeland and the land of domicile while engaging with the clash between Western and Eastern ideas and cultures. These diaspora experiences are the result of centuries of migration, usually spurred by economic conditions and the hope for a better life, from Asian homelands to other countries or regions of the world. And they were aided by the ability of Chinese, like many other Asian emigrants, to

cooperate through connections and networks. Today the ethnic Chinese have strong economic and sometimes even political roles in several dozen countries around the world, and provide a link between these countries and a rapidly developing China, making them both a symbol of, and a force for, globalization. As Philip Kuhn concluded, “emigration has been inseparable from China’s modern history.... Neither Chinese history lacking emigration nor emigration lacking the history of China is a self-sufficient field of study.”⁷⁶ Similarly Asian migration is inseparable from world history.

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12 On bhangra see, e.g., Sanjay Sharma, et al., eds., *Dis-Orienting Rhythms: The Politics of the New Asian Dance Music* (London: Zed Books, 1996); Timothy Taylor, *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets* (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 147-172.

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16 Jennifer Lee, *The Fortune Cookie Chronicles: Adventures in the World of Chinese Food* (New York: Twelve, 2008), p. 9.

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37 Safran, "Diasporas," pp. 83-84, 93.

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Cross-Fertilizing the Botanical Sciences: Japan's Role in the Formation of Disciplinary Science

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Because the transfer of plants and their systematic study were the project of botanical gardens, many have focused on the correlation between economic botany and imperialism where the often public institution presented and then preserved the legacy of empire.¹ Yet interpretation of that heritage and its meaning vary, ranging from the linkage of science with the market to create a monopoly of information--a world-wide botanical cartel--² to the view that synthetics replaced an earlier reliance on natural commodities thereby maintaining international relations of dependency.³ No matter their focus, these views emphasize botanical information as a facet of a larger, much more connected technological complex where information was coupled with application and industrial production. However botanical exchange and plant transfers were not only exchanges orchestrated by a metropole between itself and its peripheries, or among its peripheries. Within the university system they were fundamental in the development of disciplinary science; in application they were a basis for the formation and validation of scientifically trained experts; and in Japan, as well as in the United States, they were integral to internal colonization. These dynamics in connection with botanical gardens and empires encompassed an ever-changing, polycentric population of gardeners, researchers, agricultural and mechanical colleges, plant hunters, shippers, and distributors as well as subsistence and amateur cultivators who were not of one nationality, culture or outlook.

In Japanese history botanical exchange was a component of long-term diplomatic, political and economic relationships. As of the Yayoi era (900 B.C.E. - 250 C.E), contacts with China, Korea and Southeast Asia furnished contributions such as crop varieties, luxury goods, intellectual traditions and government structures that were amalgamated with Japanese world-views and practices. From that ability to accept foreign inputs and rework them to domestic needs, the people of Japan succeeded in receiving and adapting several views of scientific reasoning. That should not be too shocking, however, for Japan was perpetually connected to the happenings and developments of the region. In fact, serious contributions were made in the midst of a period deleteriously treated as 'closed-door' or 'closed country'. During Japan's period of alleged 'isolation' (*sakoku*) perpetual relationships between specific, designated families, as well as the Tokugawa *bakufu* (shogunate), maintained connections with Korea, the Ryūkyū islands, the Ainu (and through them the Russians), the Chinese and the Dutch.⁴ While these encounters were relegated to specific places of exchange they merely limited direct foreign contact without eradicating influence. Moreover, constraints on foreign interface could not remove the impact of centuries-long interaction with China and Korea or the meaningful contributions of European merchants and missionaries before the Tokugawa era (1603-1868). The policy of 'isolation' therefore succeeded in restricting foreign access but

did not separate the islands from Asia or the world. If anything, the most effective consequence of Tokugawa government policy was the prohibition on Japanese travelling abroad,⁵ a limitation that denied Japanese scholars, pilgrims, merchants and travellers an opportunity to interact and learn within other contexts.

Ultimately, it was Japanese *involvement* in the Asian regional economy which maintained a milieu of cross-cultural interactions and an exchange of information as well as stimuli for commercial and political decisions that impacted industry, agriculture and science. In the Tokugawa period, Japanese commercial connections were the cause of a nearly unstoppable outflow of precious metals that threatened the monetization of the economy. Therefore the *bakufu* aimed to restrict the amount of permissible trade, but regulations in 1685 on the amount of silver traded abroad, as well as an attempt to replace silver with copper, dried abalone, shark fins and sea cucumbers, and the eventual ban on gold exports in 1695 were not successful. In exchange for Japanese metals, Chinese and Dutch merchants exchanged goods such as silk, ginseng and sugar; and when sufficient quantities were not available, individual domains practiced import substitution.⁶ This development perpetuated commercialized agriculture and market integration within Japan, adding more cultivars to dynamics of regional specialization and economic interconnection that now included domestically-produced as well as imported varieties of the same commodity. The success of such a venture was dependent on efficacious plant transfers as well as experiments in cultivation techniques with attention to differences in climate, product quality, consumer preferences and market price. But this was not a difficult task, for many Japanese agriculturalists were already involved in observing, recording, publishing and/or reading cultivation information in agricultural manuals and botanical texts.⁷ Plant transfers, in this instance, therefore, provided an opportunity to experiment with species that were not native to Japan as well as to integrate and adapt their products towards specific economic ends.

The effort to cultivate foreign varieties corresponded with the articulation and collection of information as well as the cataloguing of native species. With the acquisition of Korean ginseng in 1718 by Japanese contacts in Pusan, the Japanese interviewed Chinese and Dutch merchants concerning its cultivation while Japanese agrarian scholars, already familiar with Chinese agronomical studies, continued to search mainland sources for data. Meanwhile a survey of Japanese fauna that included the islands of Hokkaido and Honshu was initiated in 1722.⁸ This survey, like many of the botanical studies, natural histories and agrarian treatises of the time, sought to place Japanese agriculture and natural resources in relation to an increasing corpus of technical literature. And in contrast to largely commercial agronomical texts which emphasized particular cash and industrial crop cultivation and processing like wax trees, cotton, and oil-bearing seed,⁹ the survey aimed to establish what was already available in Japan, not necessarily as anything uniquely Japanese, but as a means of recording and processing data, and likely with future economic aims in mind.

Without doubt, Japanese agronomy and botany were influenced by Chinese and Dutch conceptualizations but experience and differences in view necessitated that neither

Chinese nor Dutch systems would be replicated exactly. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Japanese scholars utilized foreign sources to launch their own studies and inquiries. For agriculture, Miyazaki Yasusada's (??-1697) *Nōgyō Zensho* (Complete Collection Concerning Agriculture), published in the year of his death, blended a scholarly review of Chinese agronomical texts with nearly forty years of personal experience to elucidate what is indisputably a Japanese agronomic system.¹⁰ Miyazaki's work proved to be the first of many texts that sought to clarify and expand on agricultural techniques to the benefit of farmers as well as the prevention of famine. Importantly, his work became a platform for the future study of a Japanese agricultural methodology; a foundation with direct and meaningful linkages to Chinese ideas and practices but with its own characteristics and existence.

In the natural sciences, Kaibara Ekiken (1630-1714) accomplished a similar result when, in 1705, he published the *Yamato Hanzō* (The Plants of Japan). Contemporaneous with Carl Linne, the work is a taxonomy that generalized and systematized natural history, created a system of classification outside that of China, provided Japanese names for life forms and products made in Japan (contained 358 items not produced in China), included references to the works he consulted and was written in an easily readable style. Far from the first work of natural history in Japan, Ekiken's tome was a 16 volume study of 1,362 separate species.¹¹ While it has been commonly considered accurate that the Japanese received "modern science" via the Dutch it is important to understand that Ekiken, as but one Japanese scholar articulating alternative methodologies to dominant Chinese modes, presented an approach of his own invention. As a development that came more than a hundred years before the introduction of the Linnaean system to Japan,¹² Ekiken's system demonstrated the scientific capacity of Japanese scholarship, a potential that may have proved conducive for the interpretation and modification of European norms, but an element of a tradition that is important to acknowledge.

Nearly a century after Ekiken's and Miyazaki's publications, introductions via the Dutch came to percolate within Japanese intellectual and commercial society as serious contributions to Japanese practices. Primarily in medicine, employees of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), especially ship physicians, inspired the establishment of institutions, some brief and others enduring,¹³ that prompted serious revisions in medicine and a reexamination of the place of Chinese medical knowledge. Such was the conclusion of the founder of *Rangaku* (Dutch Studies), Genpaku Sugita (1733-1817), who wrote of a dissection he witnessed in 1771 as the moment he realized the limits of his own knowledge; for standing before an opened body with both Dutch and Chinese medical texts open, it was the Dutch work that corresponded to the viscera before him.¹⁴ For Genpaku it was that experience that prompted two important reactions: the learning of Dutch, along with the systematic translation of Dutch books, as well as ongoing dissections and continuing observations;¹⁵ these were natural responses but nonetheless reactions that came before an intimate knowledge of Dutch or an appreciation for the Western "empirical spirit" developed.¹⁶

It is of note that Genpaku's dissections included the use of a microscope, first recorded in Japan in 1765, though likely introduced some time earlier. The microscope, like the arquebus before it and the railway and university later, came to

be a potent symbol of modernity. As a gift originally given to Japanese officials by VOC representatives, it became an object of mass appeal not necessarily for its medical and scientific applications. Indeed, the microscope came to be so popular that in 1805 a "how-to" manual for its use was published. Yet as a physical good whose purpose was to expand the capacity of the human eye to view the material world, the microscope deeply impacted Japanese consciousness, revealing intricacies through the examination of tissues and fluids or formerly invisible details of the physical world that came to manifest themselves in art, theory and knowledge.¹⁷

Rangaku and the microscope were but pieces of the various European scientific practices that reached Japan in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In fits and starts, a string of ship physicians-cum-botanists who collected Japanese flora for both entrepreneurial gain as well as study introduced aspects of botany. One physician, Carl Thunberg (1743-1828), whose professional career was launched with the publication of *Flora Japonica* (1784),¹⁸ was a student of Carl Linne and likely introduced his teacher's methodology during his 1775-1776 stay. Linne's system, proposed in *Genera Plantarum* (1737), put forth the binomial order of genus and species as a method for organizing the material world. At that time, Linne's system was but one of many and it was not until sometime later, likely with the acceptance of the German university system within Europe in the 1850s, that it became something of a norm.¹⁹ Indeed, differences in measurement and taxonomy were not only diverse within Europe at this time but different measurement systems were symbolic of local autonomy and national pride.²⁰ Thus what arrived in Japan was not some universal European scientific tradition, which did not yet exist, but pieces of a developing schema. It is therefore meaningful that the Linnaean system, which quickly replaced Ekiken's,²¹ was introduced as an alternative methodology and was embraced volitionally, at roughly the same time that the Linnaean system supplanted other systems within Europe itself.

While Dutch contacts certainly provided fundamental ideas and systems for consideration by Japanese scholars, it was with the signing of the first unequal treaty in 1854 and exchange with multiple European powers, all competing for a now more accessible Japanese economy, that elements of an ascendant modern science could be ferreted out from many languages, nations and contexts to be pieced together within a Japanese milieu. In light of the Opium Wars, strengthening European commercial and military presence in Asia and the Pacific, and the immediate, in some ways devastating, integration of Japan's full economy into world trade, the *bakufu* established several programs that served either as precedent for the Meiji state or as embarrassments and encumbrances prompting celeritous revision. The final years of the Tokugawa regime were a time of foreign loans, indemnities and reparations, an increasing reliance on foreign experts and the admission that Japan's place in the world was being threatened--not by an Asian, regional power-- but by various peoples, their machines and world empires. These shifts and renegotiations were formative for their technical and economic components as much as for their injection of nationalistic objectives into Japanese discourse.

Although there is evidence for earlier forms of nationalistic thinking,²² the nationalism of the late Tokugawa era was reactive;²³ it was a nationalism responding to the threat of

invasion, eradication and assimilation. It was this nationalism, born of fear, anger and frustration, which prompted the Meiji Restoration. Within the early years of the new era, approximately 270 individual and largely autonomous domains were replaced by a centralized government that relegated specific powers to the prefectural and local level offices. This “new” Japan, in response to the particular nations of Europe and the United States, was the expression and definition of a government that drew intentionally upon the language and behaviors of international imperial politics, not to mention the Enlightenment, in such a way as to deny formal European occupation through institutionalized mirroring. To this extent, emulation of Western institutions was intended to mask initial weaknesses for the sake of making immediate revisions to the unequal treaties.²⁴ Thus the primary point of these endeavors was to earn Japan acceptance within an international community while securing definitive borders.

Of all the boundaries the northern frontier, which included Hokkaido, the Kuril Islands and Karafuto (Sakhalin), was the most important, having been a source of anxiety since Russian exploration and expansion began in 1712. Even so, it was not until Russians opened trading posts on Hokkaido itself, around 1798, that the Tokugawa government devised a military colony, complete with roads and detailed maps. However, by 1821, the ensuing sacking and raiding of Japanese settlements as well as the standoffs regarding captured Russians and their vessels revealed this program to be a failure. As such, the northern territories continued as a zone of potential conflict. When settlement resumed in the 1850s, following the conclusion of several treaties which established Hokkaido as a place of foreign interaction, Japanese settlers were centered in only a few discontinuous regions while Russian military presence continued to amass nearby. Despite more effective policies of colonization and defense under the Meiji government, by 1875, to avoid war, Japanese territorial claims on Karafuto were ceded to Russia in exchange for the Northern Kuril Islands.²⁵ Even this, however, did not alleviate the tensions between Russia and Japan in the region.

The threat of Russian invasion was therefore quite real; and, with Hokkaido as the gateway to heavily populated islands to the south, a European foothold was to be denied, even at great cost. Yet the emphasis on development was not only one of “national” defense. With key emphasis on extracting the material resources and potential of all lands within the empire, experiments in Westernization and mechanization as well as technological, social and governmental expansion were organized under the Kaitakushi (開拓使),²⁶ referred to by English-language contemporaries as the Colonization Commission or Development Agency.²⁷ Drawing heavily on the experience and findings of Japanese technical missions and bureaucrats abroad, the Kaitakushi did two things of note: it initiated policies of settlement and defense while selecting American “experts” in agriculture, botany, metallurgy and mechanical engineering to develop infrastructure through the expansion of fisheries, farms, factories, the construction of roads and docks and the erection and operation of an agricultural college. These projects were intended to bring settlers to the land, develop its industrial and agricultural potentials and intensify a military presence; however, they also held the added outcome of linking Hokkaido’s educational and technical institutions to the rest of the empire as well their developing counterparts in Europe and the United

States.

In the 1860s and early 1870s, when the United States had only recently emerged from civil war and held only nominal sway internationally, the selection of American advisers flummoxed the British, the leading faction of foreign contributors in Japan.²⁸ Moreover, considering the place of American agriculture within the findings of the Iwakura Mission (1871-1873) – deemed the lowest in per acre productivity and the most extensive model²⁹ – the use of Americans might have seemed a step in the wrong direction. But it was precisely because of the parallels between the American experience of frontier and the “wilderness” that the Japanese perceived in Hokkaido that Americans were preferred. It helped that the director of the Kaitakushi, General Kuroda Kiyotaka, was impressed with the culture of the United States and had asked Ulysses S. Grant for the most capable advisers.³⁰ Eventually, the serving head of the recently formed USDA was selected to head the American mission. This man, Horace Capron (1804-1885), who had been the US representative at the London Exposition of 1850, served as an officer in two separate agricultural societies, and operated several successful cattle farms,³¹ would oversee one of the largest, successful botanical transfer and acclimatization projects of the modern era.

Capron’s strategy for the development of Hokkaido was one that, although at times critiqued by British and Japanese newspapers of the time,³² deeply colored the culture and characteristics of Hokkaido’s agriculture and industry. While awaiting the results of a climatological and geographic survey, he established acclimatization stations where American plant varieties could recuperate from their voyage and Western machinery and techniques could be demonstrated. This began in September of 1871 when three separate, and formerly private, estates in the Tokyo area totaling 114 acres were purchased and designated as farms.³³ Eventually the farms would employ nearly 800 people, only a handful of whom were foreigners. Visited in 1873 and 1874 by the Empress, they functioned as places of exhibition, as well as scientific study. Over time their role swelled such that, in March of 1875, they were labeled experimental stations and increased in size.³⁴

The eventual expansion of the agricultural testing stations’ role and their increasing impact on agriculture and commerce led to their physical and national extension – but not under Capron nor under any other Western adviser. In October and November of 1893 six additional branch sites were opened; but even still, increasing amounts of research prompted three additional sites in 1896. By 1897 there were 38 experimental farms in operation and the Head Farm, what had been Capron’s Farm One, oversaw research and experiments in seed quality, rice cultivation, and improvements in buckwheat varieties; acclimatized fodder-grasses; improved the size and shape of transplantation beds; amended drainage, enriched insect control; released information on vegetable health and disease; informed farmers regarding fertilizer application, timing and quality; and collected reports and published them through the Japan Agricultural Society as well as held lecturing tours and responded to queries. Connected to the state sites were 37 experimental farms at the prefectural level, maintained at local expense, as well as 110 sub-stations at the city and village levels.³⁵ Nonetheless, the peak in expansion appears to have occurred before 1906 when, largely because of funding concerns, three main state

branches were closed and four years later the technical staff was reduced from 86 to 72.³⁶ Even with this reduction, the agricultural testing network within Japan seems quite progressive. In 1880 there were approximately 150 experimental stations in all of Europe;³⁷ and because the Hatch Act (1887) had not yet passed, only a few were in operation in the United States.

Capron's original farms were planted in March of 1872 following the arrival of seeds and supplies, including over one thousand fruit trees, from the United States. At that time Farm One, of roughly 30 acres, was planted with fruit, especially apples and grapes, as well as vegetables; Farm Two, approximately 35 acres, was planted in grains and other farm staples, including sugar beets; and Farm Three, 65 acres, was designated for dairy farming, animal breeding and pasturing.³⁸ By 1873 over 32,000 trees had been gathered at the Tokyo farms to be shipped to Hokkaido.³⁹ In preparation for this shipment three model farms were established at Nanae, Sapporo and Nemuro. The first farm, a site of some 2,450 acres, had been formerly the possession of a German farmer, R. Gaertner, who had entered into an agreement with the Tokugawa *bakufu* in 1865 for the property under the arrangement that he provide instruction in Western techniques for three years, have 12 associates and employ 50 laborers. In 1870, because Gaertner had sided with the Tokugawa in the civil war surrounding the Restoration, his lands were purchased by the Kaitakushi.⁴⁰

In Hokkaido the three model farms were, as with the Tokyo sites, dedicated to particular crops and practices. Nanae became the site of fruit, cattle, horses and sheep whereas at Sapporo it was vegetables, fruits and forage and at Nemuro fruit, cereals and timber.⁴¹ Through the stations in Tokyo and Hokkaido Japanese agriculture received American crop varieties⁴² including the impressive assortment of 75 varieties of apples, 52 of pear, 30 of grape, 25 of cherry, 14 of plum, 14 of raspberry, 10 of current, 8 of gooseberry, 5 of blackberry and several varieties of apricots and peaches. Moreover, government nurseries propagated and then distributed these varieties to farmers throughout the islands, both through centers in Hokkaido and the Tokyo farms. Other introductions, via the Kaitakushi, included celery, lettuce, asparagus and rhubarb.⁴³ In addition, under the management of Edwin Dun, an Ohioan rancher, experimental farms of roughly 37,500 acres at four separate locations in Hokkaido oversaw stud farming that emphasized the breeding out of weak horses and a beef and dairy industry to improve the Japanese diet. Whether or not an immediate success, it surely was connected to the 1,396 slaughterhouses in operation by 1900 and the 1.7 million cattle butchered within Japan from 1893-1902.⁴⁴

Outside of the acclimatization stations, Kaitakushi policies, as Meiji policies in general, built upon Tokugawa programs and initiatives. During the last decade of the Tokugawa era, formal embassies had been sent to the United States in 1860, to Europe in 1862 and to France in 1864 and 1867. But they were political shows and a means of cultural investigation. The Iwakura Embassy of 1871-1873, on the other hand, proved to be a matter of technical observation and information gathering.⁴⁵ With 46 members of average age of 32, the Iwakura Mission traveled to both the United States and Europe with the explicit purpose of documenting the extent of development, comparing the qualitative differences and advantages that particular nations held over each other, recording those advances, especially those of importance to Japanese development, as well as laying

a foundation for the renegotiation of treaties. The members of the Embassy amassed great statistical records, quantifying population, livestock and annual agricultural production in addition to recounting conversations and observations concerning botanical gardens, museums, libraries, parks and zoos. It was the finding of this Embassy that Japan was something of the order of 40 years behind Britain⁴⁶ and 30 behind the US and the rest of Europe.⁴⁷

Among their many accounts and commentaries it is the Embassy's dichotomization of the East as a land of human labor and the West as a place of machine⁴⁸ that contextualizes both a Meiji focus and a Kaitakushi line of reasoning. Indeed, it was because of the crop rotations of the United States and Europe, which relied heavily on livestock and the application of great quantities of fertilizers, that caused the members of the Embassy to question wet-land cultivation, to support dry-land cereal cultivation, to call for institutions of practical and theoretical agricultural learning, most especially agricultural societies, and to become devoted fans of exhibitions and displays as well as intra-national agricultural and industrial competitions.⁴⁹ While many of these components were not necessarily new within Japanese systems of production and exchange, the Embassy was enamored with their simultaneous operation, whose byproduct was the perpetual technological, structural and ideological reinforcement that made Western scientific practices seem progressive.

Towards these ends the Meiji state continued the two-pronged Tokugawa program of hiring foreign specialists and sending students abroad. These specialists, the *oyatoi gaikokujin* (foreigners employed by the government),⁵⁰ were selected according to the specialties that the Japanese state associated with their nation, beginning with Dutch instructors in naval affairs from 1854-1859.⁵¹ It was the British, however, who rather quickly became the technical heavyweights, dominating rail, telegraphy and lighthouse construction – the most important infrastructural goals – while the French developed shipbuilding and the US participated, outside of the Capron mission, in education.⁵² From the 1850s through 1899, when the last government-employed foreigner left Japan,⁵³ over 5.6 million dollars had been spent on the salaries of some two-thousand professionals⁵⁴ (this figure does not include any of the Chinese laborers also hired during the period).

The purpose of the *oyatoi* was to train and educate their Japanese replacements⁵⁵ through the establishment of associations, and systematic study, which institutionalized Western modes of thinking. Consequently, the goal of their employ was to abbreviate reliance on the West and inculcate technological self-reliance. Yet they were typically paid a great deal more than their Japanese counterparts. Sometimes, their wages even exceeded the total cost of student tuition at the schools of their employment.⁵⁶ The *oyatoi* were therefore an expensive investment. But what the Meiji state purchased was in reality the time that Western societies had spent, experienced and learned from industrial society. In total these foreign experts contributed over 9,500 man-years of service to Meiji development.⁵⁷

The institutions *oyatoi* replicated or designed were to be imbued with Western skills, for the purpose of instructing Japanese successors without physical Western presence. This was the planned construction of a bureaucratic, secular infrastructure along Western values that could be swiftly and completely staffed

with trained Japanese personnel. It was also the avoidance of perpetual relationships of dependency. The Japanese would rely on the West only to the point of breaking even with their development; from there they would rely on themselves.

Foreign experts were but one part of this process. With the importation of foreigners the Japanese state could not be sure that it received the most cutting edge technology and knowledge; the West could, after all, be holding back. For this reason, students were sent abroad to learn the same skills and technologies the *oyatoi* provided yet from the “insider’s” perspective. Moreover these students would receive the most up-to-date information and absorb the findings of Euro-American research and development, which greatly surpassed the financial capacity of the Meiji state at the time. They would then bring these discoveries back with them to continue, if not to reinvigorate, Japanese institutions. This began in 1862 with students sent to Holland and continued in 1865 and 1866 to Russia and Britain, respectively. Individual domains also participated, there being 280 domain schools many of which had the means to send students abroad.⁵⁸ But it was through the Meiji state that the number of students overseas increased rapidly, from 170 in 1870 to 411 in 1871. Although there are some examples of students failing to obtain degrees, a majority of them attended upper tier institutions and returned around 1880 to replace foreign instructors and technicians.⁵⁹

The three threads that have been up until now touched upon, botanical exchange, disciplinary science and encounters between and among Japanese and the West, tie together with the establishment of Sapporo Agricultural College (SAC), which has been remembered within Japan and abroad most famously through William Smith Clark (1826-1886) and his famous departing words, “Boys, be ambitious!”, a phrase that is included on the college coat of arms.⁶⁰ It was Clark’s short yet powerfully impactful nine-month stay that inspired and in many ways directed the trajectory of the college. For this reason he has been presented as the leading Western contributor in the history of Hokkaido, more prominent than Capron or any of the associates who not only remained longer in Japan but arguably accomplished greater, more important tasks. Clark, a graduate of Amherst College who earned his Ph.D. in Germany and returned to a professorship at his alma mater,⁶¹ was one of the founding figures behind the Massachusetts Agricultural College (MAC), an institution with which the Japanese ambassador to Washington was greatly taken.⁶² It is for this reason, nearly above all others, that Clark was employed to establish a facsimile of MAC in Japan.

In Hokkaido, Clark operated as more than a professor or curriculum planner; he served the Kaitakushi as technical adviser, scientist and missionary and in so doing conjoined the Japanese frontier with the diverse communities of Euro-American education, the morality of Christianity and the underlying cultural norms of United States agricultural development. Yet he and the three MAC graduates who accompanied him came to Japan to accomplish specific goals identified by Japanese leadership: establishing the curriculum, designing the grounds, and initiating the practices of an agricultural college. With these goals in mind, the MAC professors unsurprisingly embarked on a campaign of replication where model barns, crop experimentation, stud breeding, dairying, a meat industry, scientific silviculture,

greenhouses, botanical gardens, laboratories, student publications, popular education campaigns, public lectures and agricultural fairs - all of which had a precedent at MAC⁶³ - were meant to develop a practical and theoretical agricultural program within an environment of communal support and mutual benefit for Japanese settler-farmers.

While the Kaitakushi had outlined specific goals for institutional and curricular development, the American professors saw their reasons for employment as identical to reworking Japanese agricultural practices. The *First Report of SAC*, provided by Clark in 1877, declared as much when it stated that “the agriculture of Japan greatly needs improvement and the value of its agricultural products should soon be largely increased.”⁶⁴ To provide this increase Clark prescribed the introduction and improvement of animals, the cultivation of maize and fodder-grasses and improving living arrangements through the erection of stone homes and barns.⁶⁵ While these may appear reasonable, the first two recommendations, if carried out, would have inculcated dependency. Because Clark prescribed that seed should, every year, be imported from the US,⁶⁶ Hokkaido would require constant injections of foreign botanical materials to maintain its support. Considering that 1,200 pounds of seed were ordered from America in that year,⁶⁷ acclimatizing grasses to Hokkaido’s environment and developing seed processing and storage facilities should have been chief concerns in Hokkaido’s long-term self-sufficiency. Relying on grass seed imports meant that, in terms of practice, farmers would not be allowing established grasses to reproduce themselves. Each successive planting thereby incorporated the risk that new seeds would fail and farmers would require fodder imports for their livestock. One bad year could result in the need to replace part, if not most, of a herd.

That being said, most of Clark’s recommendations were taken seriously. The report, which had deemed Hokkaido to be a place of rich soil, good climate, cheap labor, low fuel prices, plentiful water and easily obtainable lime was considered the ideal location for sugar beet production, a then thriving industry in Europe and a topic of much interest at MAC itself.⁶⁸ In fact by advocating this position Clark drew on his knowledge of five years of beet sugar research,⁶⁹ which had included extensive surveys and analyses of sugar content,⁷⁰ and relocated that goal to SAC. Even after Clark left, research on sugar beet cultivation continued under Professor Penhallow, who was deeply ridiculed by the *Japan Gazette* for his failure to produce a competitive crop.⁷¹ And although a beet industry was never successfully developed in Hokkaido, the research that was positively transferred and conducted there manifested itself on other Japanese islands, where the sugar-beet industry continues today.⁷²

Ironically, at the same time that he had come to change Japanese agriculture, Clark returned to America with praise for Japanese agricultural practices. During his 1879 speech, “The Agriculture in Japan,” he stated “in practical agriculture the Japanese are remarkably skillful, and have numerous methods and customs *which might well be imitated by us*. There cannot be found in any other country extensive fields which produce more human food to the acre, or which are more free from weeds, or which maintain their fertility from generation to generation...”⁷³ And while Clark did not go so far as to recommend or describe how Japanese practices might inform American agriculture

specifically, it is notable that he did not come away from his time in Japan thinking of these practices as “backwards,” “inefficient” or “primitive.” To the contrary, they were worthy of emulation.

Clark’s involvement and opinions are illustrative of the exact dynamic and relationship that Japan came to occupy through the *oyatoi*: Japan had received pieces of Euro-American modernity but in so doing had deeply impacted the experts who had modeled Japan. Upon their return this experience was disseminated and inserted into scientific projects abroad. Whether that was the result of mutual research, exchange, correspondence, discovery or observation, it indicates that Japan was beginning to transition away from the oft-presented ‘passive receiver’ of Western presence into an entity that could contribute to global development, even if that had to be communicated, for the moment, through Western delegates. As such, Clark’s speech is but one of the formal linkages between Japanese practices and a wider context.

Nonetheless, a clearer and more important example of Japanese contributions exists through the *Journal of the College of Agriculture (of SAC)* which was exchanged among 160 universities in 24 countries, including 65 institutions in the US. Through this journal SAC faculty and students participated in and made contributions to agricultural science; moreover, they also submitted their work to foreign journals, in English, German and French, as early as 1903.⁷⁴ By this time SAC was also overwhelmingly a Japanese institution - staffed by Japanese, extended and expanded by state policies and no longer reliant on foreign professors. The 1893 faculty list indicates this. Founded with a staff of four Americans, the faculty now included eight professors, seven assistant professors, ten instructors and three lecturers – with only one foreigner.⁷⁵

As the history of SAC suggests, the development of an internally-staffed university system in Japan was nearly simultaneous with that of the United States and Europe. Indeed, the majority of the foreign specialists were not the sort of “specialists” we think of today, people who have attained degrees via certified, regulated programs and detailed, original research. The *oyatoi* were overwhelmingly people who had developed skills through application and experience or people whose skills were the products of private, personally financed study and discovery. The *oyatoi* were generally not Ph.D. holding experts yet they were integral in the development of Ph.D. certification as much for Europe and the United States as for Japan.

When we think of the vast amount of people who were involved in botanical exchange within colonial empires, the people who catalogued, conveyed, and processed cultivars, explored their conditions for growth, and proscribed specific ways to care and cultivate them, it is necessary to note few, if any, could have held advanced degrees before the 1850s. Even Linne and Darwin were the product of the “old” university system, with its emphasis on the humanities and its neglect for the hard sciences and laboratory practice. Like Bacon, Newton and Pasteur, they were “amateur” scientists - for their works were not done in laboratories attached to research institutions. And yet “amateurs” such as these drove the formulations, voiced the criteria and eventually structured the means through which the “new” university system would develop into a place of research, regimentation, and professionalization.

There appear to have been two models for the modern

university system in the nineteenth century which were, in themselves, emerging alternatives to medieval scholasticism. The French model of specialized colleges and state controlled curriculum was gradually undermined by the German model which privileged intellectual freedom in the context of a secularized, bureaucratic structure. Where the French model produced public servants, in the German model the university professionalized careers.⁷⁶ The transformation in the German system began with the establishment of the Berlin University in 1810 in concert with the ideas of Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) who emphasized the relative independence of the university, the importance of academic freedom, the union of research with teaching and the political relevance of education.⁷⁷ Nonetheless, it was not until the 1830s that this ideology became a centerpiece of the German university system and in so doing replaced Paris as the scientific and medical research center of Europe.⁷⁸

The ascendancy of the German model attracted nearly ten thousand American students to German universities by the end of the nineteenth century;⁷⁹ and was transformative in the establishment of research centers and laboratories as separate institutions and as modifications to existing colleges in the United States. Indeed, Germany’s role in the burgeoning scientific community prompted one contributor to the *Botanical Gazette* to write an advertising essay on the various scientific resources of the United States to deny the need for American students to study abroad.⁸⁰ That such an article exists demonstrates to what extent the United States was itself developing, both in terms of political and scientific positions. But it also speaks to the great national competition that was underway with institutional science and its products as the measurement of success and stature.

Surprisingly, the term scientist did not exist until 1833,⁸¹ in spite of the no longer new schools in Mining, Veterinary Science, Architecture and Agriculture in operation in Germany since the 1770s,⁸² the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew (1759) or the Jardin Du Roi (1635). What had changed that now particular practices associated with specific people and precise locations required a new name? Outside of the university system the commercialization of agriculture had emphasized new farming practices and incentivized changes in land tenure, fertilizer use, and shipping and processing that placed greater focus on cooperative efforts. Local and regional labors were ameliorated through agricultural societies and, in time, with scientific societies. Starting with the Accademia del Cimento in Florence (1657-1667) and including the London Royal Society, established November 1660, and the Académie des Sciences in France (1666-1793),⁸³ various societies were engaged in the gradual development and improvement of what would become the physical, mathematical and agricultural sciences. To varying degrees, they possessed laboratories, designed apparatus, issued correspondence with other organizations and published their findings – but none of them were attached to universities. In fact, it was the methodologies and contributions of the scientific societies that would eventually turn universities into promoters of the experimental sciences.⁸⁴ Yet before disciplinary science, in the context of the then stale university system, the reagent for modern scientific practice and discourse flowed from the association of amateurs conducting experiments, verifying findings and engaging in correspondence and publication.

At the same time that these societies were in operation, various medical and scientific botanical gardens gave birth to the economically motivated garden of applied botany. Thus far the most face time has been given to those established throughout Europe and its colonies though study of applied botany in other regions of the world, especially in the autonomous empires of Asia should be considered (for instance, two gardens for medicinal herbs were established in Tokyo in 1638 and were subsequently expanded with plants from around the country by the Tokugawa shogun).⁸⁵ In general, world-wide botanical gardens were not places of teaching; they existed for the promotion of national and colonial economies.⁸⁶ Knowledge therefore had a commercial value – by increasing the production of a plant, by generating more efficient methods of processing, there was more profit to be had. These factors would logically be in operation wherever commercial impulses drove innovation and production. As discussed previously, in Japan where ginseng, sugar and tobacco demand outstripped supply the impetus for economically incentivized botanical study was not meek.

Nonetheless, the complex of colonial gardens, agricultural societies, experimental centers and research laboratories could not have functioned without the circulation of cultivars and cultivators, as well as the information they produced. Whether they were private individuals, trained gardeners from Kew or the consuls and naval officers directed by John Quincy Adams in 1796 to collect seeds and improved breeds of animals and have them sent home,⁸⁷ people and plants moved together, dependent on each other, replicating previous relationships and establishing new ones all with the purpose of economic gain and/or the production of knowledge which might provide profit later. It was that drive for financial gain that prompted standardization of information and method – so that what was done successfully in one location could be replicated in another. The drive toward regulation manifested itself in many places but in the same way, like that of the Royal Geographical Society of London's perpetually reprinted 1854 publication *Hints to Travellers* which provided advice for the selection and maintenance of equipment as well as standards for collecting information.⁸⁸

Considering the future impact of scientific regimentation, it is important to acknowledge when the Western system of modern science came to be paradigmatic. Let us therefore consider that the German university system had only begun to permeate Europe and the United States in the 1850s, that acclimatization societies had been established in France and England in 1854 and 1860, respectively,⁸⁹ that the USDA was founded in 1862, along with the Land-Grant College Act, but that the Hatch Act which provided the means for experimental stations that were in part federally subsidized was not passed until 1887⁹⁰ (though the first experimentation station had been established in Connecticut in 1875).⁹¹ In terms of popular education, an agricultural short-course was first proposed by Michigan Agricultural College in 1867 but was not normalized throughout the States until 1914.⁹² It therefore seems accurate to conclude that institutions of modern science came to be firmly established *throughout* the West in the late nineteenth century. Perhaps it is merely a coincidence that the timing for the evolution and development of similar institutions in Japan is identical.

The dynamics that led to the coalescence of economic botany, amateur science and the disciplines were furthered by the development of scientific institutions, but the institutions themselves masked the purpose and simplicity of scientific, economic study with a complexity of objective truth and a cultural norm by which some were deemed advanced and others deemed inferior. There is a significant problem with a seemingly objective system which functions as the poster child of industrial society, establishing judgments as facts. Yet because science, as with military and industrial power, came to be viewed with the capacity to solve particular social problems⁹³ it became a stand-in for modernity, a means of expressing the innate potential of humanity rather than the mentality of a particular society. This may be hard to swallow; but what is purposefully forgotten in discussions of science is how objective norms are manufactured and by whom they are produced. Modern science is a set of practices, concepts, theories, instruments and methods⁹⁴ – a paradigm,⁹⁵ a construction⁹⁶ – that is practiced daily by individuals. Those practices might very well occur in similar facilities, within similar institutions, but they function within varying contexts and environments which are *all* human-centered complexes. As such, science occurs in a social setting; it is dependent on human observers, with all their mortal flaws, not to mention cultural outlooks. And yet in order to process and to understand data, to formulate results, scientists necessarily reject alternative interpretations in order to construct and project facts.⁹⁷ These behaviors have been deemed objective as the scientific method. In the humanities and “social sciences” we have mirrored ourselves on scientific practices allowing science, and its history, to permeate the historical record in such a way as to obscure reality, ignoring that the truism “what we see depends upon where we stand”⁹⁸ applies also to the scientific community as much as to anything else. Moreover, by allowing the assumptions latent in scientific study to go unquestioned we forget that modern science is the product of inter-civilizational encounters, the assemblage of methodologies, discoveries, ideas, practices and cultural norms into an ever more universally available package⁹⁹ which exists as a self-affirming, self-perpetuating community. Additionally, we lose sight of how science is itself a product of historical change, of altered emphases, of new focuses, the child of a relatively new demand for academic freedom within the university setting.

The evolution of disciplinary science in Europe was an outflow of economic exchange concerning limited agricultural commodities. Because demand could not be limited, human reason became the next exploitable crop. For this reason, the gradual accumulation of botanical knowledge, which was necessary for the increasing exploitation of tropical plants by peoples of temperate clime, developed gradually into systems of knowledge. It was the economic pressure, however, that encouraged the accumulation and processing of this knowledge. And it was the unique pressures of colonialism and imperialism that drove “science” into the hands of technical experts instead of the amateurs who had been its caretakers until then. Examples abound, from how the craving for sugar prompting the earliest case of European imperialism in the Atlantic¹⁰⁰ to the Spanish empire's attempts to cultivate sufficient quantities of spices they could not gain access to via the market¹⁰¹ or botanical gardens experimenting with increasing yields and decreasing acreage.¹⁰²

The drive to world-wide economic botany was one based on commercial factors and the trajectories of supply and insatiable demand. Yet these dynamics were not one and the same nor were they one sided – they did not come from only a European core. The experiences of cultivators abroad, in communication with those in other locations, synthesized local knowledge with transferable skills and techniques. Additionally, by moving a plant and its products the human behaviors that revolved around it required modification. The acclimatization that followed was as much about the plant itself as the human practices which surrounded it.

By understanding these processes in connection to the timeline of disciplinary science we can better understand the limitations in the current view of institutional histories of science in terms of and separate from Japan. In the case of German-style botany it was not until the 1870s and 1880s as more American scientists returned bearing German degrees or read and cited German botanical works that it began to integrate into American academia.¹⁰³ This “new” botany with its emphasis on instruments, materials and laboratories therefore arrived in Japan and the US at the same time, but was German botany only the product of German endeavors? Who, what, and where were involved in the experiences, findings, data and sources that came together to formulate the nice, neat package of German botany? And why is it that Japan and other imperialized or nearly-imperialized countries inherited “Western” science when members of the West, i.e. Britain, France and the United States, also received facets of “their” science from other regional and interregional players?

In Japan, scientific agriculture was used to expand and develop a frontier zone, as much as it was used to “develop” the intensive agricultural methods of mainland Japan. The initial project was one of internationalism, to place Japan into a wider community, to establish autonomy and ability, so as to prevent foreign aggression. The initial efforts established Japan within a community, however, that was simultaneously developing and thus granted Japanese science the opportunity not to be behind the West but to advance with it. The botanical transfers that occurred in Meiji Japan were a means of this connection. Scholarship has devoted more time to steel, rail and factories – because industry is what industrialism favors – but the story of the industrialization of Japanese agriculture, and the place of Japan’s flora in that narrative, comes first. Japanese industrialization came on the back of the colonial project in Hokkaido and the development of nationwide controls on sericulture and agriculture, and from those revenues the state could afford the costs of industry.

With the Russo-Japanese War, Japan’s inclusion in the international technical community was affirmed. Now Asian countries looking to develop could send their students to Japan as well as Britain, France, Germany and the US; and it was Japan’s potentiality as an alternative to the West that enabled industrializing nations to contemplate alternate modernities. Such was at least the statement of Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore’s 1916 visit in which he advocated for the unity of Asian civilization towards the regeneration and salvation of modern society.¹⁰⁴ But it also undergirded the foreign students attending Japanese universities who now emulated a Japanese model of industrialism and science.

In the end, eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century

trans-global exchanges manipulated the organisms of specific natural environments to fashion simulacra of an ideal, human-centered ecology. Through the lens of burgeoning scientific disciplines such as botany, chemistry and entomology, the “messiness” of the natural world came to have an order, more often than not utilizing the economic and commercial value of a given plant to place it in relation with other plants and human society.¹⁰⁵ For Japan, agricultural experimental centers were the chief means through which the Meiji state sought to increase production in order to finance policies of industrialization. To do this the Japanese state, at all levels of government, initiated programs of development through the exchange of information, the training of specialists and the building of institutional, disciplinary science. These projects sent students overseas, hired foreign experts, initiated technical missions and imported specific technologies including plant and animal species. The result was the simultaneous production of constantly changing migrant communities that included Japanese abroad, foreign nationals within Japan, and the plants transferred to and from the archipelago. It was these communities that formulated contemporary scientific agriculture in Japan while initiating the nation as an autonomous participant in an international community; in so doing Japan was connected with disparate scientific organizations assisting with the amelioration of data and discovery, the standardization of methodology, and the production of a scientific culture where a multiplicity of practices had existed before.

1 Mary Soderstrom, *Recreating Eden* (Ontario: Véhicule Press, 2001), 39-43.

2 Lucile H. Brockway, *Science and Colonial Expansion: The Role of the British Royal Botanic Gardens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 83, 198.

3 Daniel R. Headrick, “Botany, Chemistry, and Tropical Development” *Journal of World History*, 7: 1 (1996).

4 See: Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), 52; Robert I. Hellyer, *Defining Engagement, Japan and Global Contexts, 1640-1868* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 1-16.

5 David L. Howell, *Capitalism from Within: Economy, Society, and the State in a Japanese Fishery*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 34.

6 Hellyer, *Defining Engagement*, 53-59.

7 This point is seemingly controversial. Discussions of the matter center mainly on the definition and articulation of the *rōnō* (expert farmer) and *gōnō* (wealthy farmer), as well as examinations of their land holdings, practices and interactions with other strata of Japanese agriculturalists. Perhaps the best way of approaching the topic is to examine Mitsuo Oka’s *Nihon Nōgyō Gijutsushi* [A History of Japanese Agricultural Techniques] (Kyoto-shi: Mineruva Shobo, 1988), 269-272 for a discussion of the skills and knowledge of the typical expert farmer or to see Thomas C. Smith’s study of the work of the *rōnō* which can be found in *The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan*, Chapter 7, as well as in *Native Sources of Japanese Industrialization*, Chapter 8.

8 Hellyer, *Defining Engagement*, 68-69.

9 Ōkura Nagatsune’s (大蔵永常) works are often

selected to represent Japanese commercialized agriculture in its textual form. These three crops, the subject of separate treatises, were all utilized by Nagatsune to explain and recommend how particular changes in farming practices could yield greater individual farming family income.

10 Ōnishi Goichi, *Nihon Rōnō Den* [A Report Concerning Japanese Agricultural Experts] (Tōkyō: Kuresu Shuppan, 2007), 255-264.

11 Tuge Hideomi, *Historical Development of Science and Technology in Japan* (Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1968), 35-36.

12 Brett L. Walker, *The Lost Wolves of Japan*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005) 27.

13 Tuge, *Historical Development of Science and Technology in Japan*, 76; Masayoshi Sugimoto and David L. Swain, *Science and Culture in Traditional Japan A.D. 600-1854* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1978), 316-334.

14 Genpaku Sujita, *Dawn of Western Science in Japan* (Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, 1969), 30-31.

15 Ibid. 36

16 Ibid. 25.

17 Timon Screech, *The Western Scientific Gaze and Popular Imagery in Later Edo Japan: The Lens within the Heart* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 194-208.

18 Timon Screech, ed. *Japan Extolled and Decried* (London: Routledge, 2005), 15-16.

19 Brockway, *Science and Colonial Expansion*, 65-74.

20 David N. Livingstone, *Putting Science in its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 176.

21 Walker, *The Lost Wolves of Japan*, 36.

22 Mark McNally, *Proving the Way: Conflict and Practice in the History of Japanese Nativism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).

23 B. K. Marshall, "Private Entrepreneurs of the Meiji Government" in *Political, Economic and Social History 1868-1912*, Vol. 1, ed. Peter Kornicki, (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 284.

24 *The Iwakura Embassy 1871-1873: A True Account of the Ambassador Extraordinary & Plenipotentiary's Journey of Observation Through the United States of America and Europe*, Vol. 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), xvi.

25 John A. Harrison, *Japan's Northern Frontier* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1953), 12, 29-33, 51-56; David Forsyth Anthony, *The Administration of Hokkaido under Kuroda Kiyotaka 1870-1882* (Ph.D. diss., Yale, 1951), 58-59.

26 The literal meaning of the characters is quite helpful: the bureau responsible for "opening/unfolding" and "clearing of the land."

27 "Agricultural Education in Japan," *Japan Gazette*, Vol. XXVI, No. 11. November 25, 1880; Howell, *Capitalism from Within*, 27.

28 Hazel L. Jones, *Live Machines* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), 145, 148-149.

29 *The Iwakura Embassy 1871-1873*, Vol. III, 110.

30 *American Influence upon the Agriculture of Hokkaido, Japan* (Sapporo: Tohoku Imperial University, 1915), 1-2.

31 Horace Capron, *Memoirs of Horace Capron*, Vol. 1.

Department of Agriculture Library, Washington D. C.

32 See: Japan Gazette for a representative example. In this particular release the British press mocked the report of then President William Wheeler showing a clear bias against American appointments and utilized this position to deem nearly everything at the college a failure, the one notable exception being the brewery.

33 Anthony, *The Administration of Hokkaido under Kuroda Kiyotaka 1870-1882*, 49.

34 Ibid. 85-92

35 Haruki Yamawaki, *Japan in the Beginning of the 20th Century* (Tokyo: Japan Times, 1903), 134-145.

36 James R. Bartholomew, *The Formation of Science in Japan: Building a Research Tradition*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 121.

37 "Agricultural Education in Japan," *Japan Gazette*, November 25, 1880

38 Harold S. Russell, *Time to Become Barbarian* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2007), 103; *Foreign Pioneers: A Short History of the Contribution of Foreigners to the Development of Hokkaido* (Hokkaido: Hokkaido Prefectural Government, 1968), 8.

39 Russell, *Time to Become Barbarian*, 129-140.

40 Anthony, *The Administration of Hokkaido under Kuroda Kiyotaka 1870-1882*, 83-84; Russell, *Time to Become Barbarian*, 101-102.

41 Anthony, *The Administration of Hokkaido under Kuroda Kiyotaka 1870-1882*, 93.

42 One might notice among the immense assortment of cultivars the heavy emphasis on fruit. This was due to almost universal agreement among Western visitors that Japanese fruit was with little exception inedible, especially when raw. For examples see: Edward S. Morse, *Japan Day by Day, 1877, 1878-79, 1882-83* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917), 197-198; Rutherford Alcock, *Capital of the Tycoon: A Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in Japan*, Vol. I. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1868), 286.

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44 Walker, *The Lost Wolves of Japan*, 141-143.

45 Ishizuki Minoru, "Overseas Study by Japanese in the Early Meiji Period." in *The Modernizers: Overseas Students, Foreign Employees, and Meiji Japan*, ed. Ardath W. Burks (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985), 162; Masao Miyoshi, *As We Saw Them: The First Japanese Embassy to the United States (1860)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

46 *The Iwakura Embassy 1871-1873*, Vol. II, 59.

47 *The Iwakura Embassy 1871-1873*, Vol. I, xix-xx.

48 *The Iwakura Embassy 1871-1873*, Vol. II, 418.

49 See: *The Iwakura Embassy 1871-1873*, Vol. I 69-70, Vol. II 411-412, Vol. III 61-62, 282, Vol. IV 251-253 and Vol. V 202-206.

50 John S. Maki, "The Japan Helpers," in *Aspects of Meiji Modernization – The Japan Helpers and the Helped*, ed. Clark L. Beck and Ardath W. Burks (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1983), 22.

51 Ardath W. Burks, "The West's Inreach: The Oyatoi Gaikokujin" in *The Modernizers: Overseas Students, Foreign*

- Employees, and Meiji Japan*, ed. Ardath W. Burks (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985), 189.
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What Really Made the World Go Around? *Indio* Contributions to the Acapulco-Manila Galleon Trade

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This paper concerns the largely unacknowledged contributions made by the native *indios* of the Philippines to the trans-Pacific galleon trade from the late sixteenth century through the eighteenth century.¹ Through its entire 250-year history the annual Manila-Acapulco galleon voyages depended upon a local infrastructure of indigenous knowledge, skills, materials, and labor at all levels of operation. *Indios* were forced into service on land as well as sea, serving as laborers, shipwrights, mariners, navigators, deckhands, and soldiers—taking on the duties that the Spanish were either unwilling or, in many cases, unable to fulfill. The extent of the *indios*' involvement with the galleon trade extended across the Pacific, as is evident with the diaspora communities of *indio* shipwrights, merchants, and runaway crewmen that emerged along the coasts of México and California as early as the late sixteenth century. To date, histories of the Manila Galleons have focused on the global economic significance of the trade, namely the exchange of silver for silk, and the fiscal and commercial impact this trade had upon the kingdoms of Spain and China.² This paper offers a new social history of the Manila-Galleon trade by focusing on the indigenous population of the Philippines and the roles they played in keeping the trade operational. Thus, the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade will be taken out of its global economic context in order to make way for a more careful examination of the logistics and the supporting infrastructure that made the galleon trade possible.

The importance of the Manila-Acapulco trade to the development of the early-modern world economy is undeniable. Recently, many historians, foremost Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, have convincingly argued that the arrival of

the first Spanish settlers to the Philippines and the opening of the port of Manila in 1571 marked the inception of a globalized world economy.³ One of the many immediate consequences of the forging of the trans-Pacific trade route, which connected Spanish America directly to the markets of Asia, was that Manila developed into a center of global trade. As early as the 1580s the port city had become a veritable clearinghouse for goods from all over East and Southeast Asia. Spices, porcelains, gunpowder, rice, fruits, exotic birds, silks, and gold ornaments converged on Manila Bay, as did Spanish, Malay, Japanese, and Chinese merchants.⁴ However, the bulk of the trade centered around the exchange of Spanish silver for Chinese silks, with as many as thirty to forty Chinese junks arriving annually at Manila to trade during the seventeenth century.⁵ Though the exact figures are impossible to calculate, it is likely that Spaniards unloaded as much as 2,000,000 pesos (51.12 tons) of silver at Manila annually in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶ Such numbers have led many world historians—Flynn and Giráldez especially—to view silver as a commodity of upmost importance to the early modern world economy. For Andre Gunder Frank, silver was a catalyst for the formation of a global economic network, and “silver money was the blood that flowed thorough its circulatory system and oiled the wheels of production and exchange.”⁷ In short, “Money went around [the world] and made the world go round.”⁸ The galleon trade was in many ways the center of this global silver exchange, connecting the rich mines of the New World to the silver-hungry markets of East Asia. These macro-economic studies are appreciated and important for an understanding of the galleon trade. However, this paper looks past the economic approaches and the global ramifications of the galleon trade and instead examines what made the galleon trade possible in the first place. Understanding how Spain was able to overcome the tremendous logistical obstacles to establish and maintain a foothold on the far side of the Pacific is just as important to the history of the galleon trade.

Many histories that investigate the economic and global

aspects of the galleon trade treat Spain's success in colonizing the Philippines and bridging the Pacific as foregone conclusions. While there can be no mistaking the fact that it was the Spanish who provided the impetus in inaugurating the trans-Pacific trade by setting out across the *Mar del Sur* and establishing a colonial presence at both ends of the route, one must resist viewing the Acapulco-Manila galleon trade as wholly a Spanish enterprise. Likewise, one must not allow the big picture, in this case the global trade in silver, to overwhelm the smaller scales of history. While historians such as Frank, Flynn, and Giráldez have a right to draw our attention to the global dimensions of the Acapulco-Manila trade and its place in the early modern world economy, this paper offers a new point of focus that reveals the deeper social dimensions of the galleon trade.

Indio Shipbuilders

Because of the immense distance and attrition involved in crossing the Pacific, Spaniards in the Philippines were constantly short of food, supplies, money, and manpower throughout much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In order to sustain their colony the Spanish relied upon Chinese traders for imports of food and vital supplies, and on the *indios* of the Philippines to fill an ever-widening labor gap. This labor gap was a result of the fact that there simply were never enough Spaniards in the Philippines to maintain the colony; some estimates put the total Spanish population of Manila in the early seventeenth century at a mere 300, and prior to 1700 Spaniards never numbered more than 2,000.⁹ But to maintain a foothold in the East Indies required a strong navy, which required a large workforce. The need for ocean-going vessels was all the more great in the Philippines, an archipelago of hundreds of islands. To maintain a fleet as large as Spain needed in the Philippines required thousands of laborers. After the arduous crossing of the Pacific, a distance of roughly 9,000 miles, most galleons that survived to reach Manila Bay from New Spain were in no condition to attempt a return voyage, with their hulls split, swollen, and worm-eaten, and the rigging and sails rotted. Galleons looking to make the return voyage to Acapulco either faced months of extensive renovations, or were scrapped, and any useful materials salvaged were put towards the construction of an entirely new vessel. It was the *indios*, organized through the *polo* labor system imposed by the Spanish, who felled and transported the timber, manned the shipyards, conducted repairs, and built the majority of Spain's trans-Pacific galleons as well as inter-island craft. Such duties required far more than simple muscle—ship repair and construction required a wealth of knowledge. Thus, *indios* were exploited both for their labor and their skills.

The practice of utilizing local Southeast Asian labor and craftsmanship to repair Spanish vessels was begun from the very start of Spain's presence in the East Indies. The first expedition to bridge the Pacific from New Spain was that led by Alvaro de Saavedra Cerón, who departed the port of Zihuatanejo on 31 October 1527 with three ships and 115 men.¹⁰ The practice of sending ships to the East Indies from the Pacific coast of New Spain, rather than from Seville, was introduced out of necessity. Prior to Saavedra's departure, there had been three expeditions, totaling eleven ships, dispatched from Seville with orders to make for the Moluccas (Magellan in 1519, Loaysa in 1525, and Cabot in 1526). Of these, only one ship with a surviving crew of nineteen men had met with success, making it to the East

Indies and returning to Spain. This was of course Sebastian del Cano's *Victoria*. This failure rate is not surprising; voyaging to the Moluccas from Spain essentially entailed sailing halfway around the world *and back*, far too great a distance for a sixteenth century galleon and her crew to endure. So it was that in 1527 Saavedra inaugurated the outbound leg of what was later to become the Acapulco-Manila galleon trade route.

Unfortunately, the infrastructure, materials, and skilled craftsmen required to manufacture quality vessels capable of enduring a Pacific crossing were not present in México in the 1520s, and would not be until well into the eighteenth century. As such, Saavedra's three small ships, the *Florida*, the *Santiago*, and *Espíritu Santo*, which were sloppily constructed in New Spain at the exorbitant cost of 60,000 pesos, were literally torn apart in the Pacific. A mere fourteen days into the voyage the flagship began taking on water to the extent that thirty *quintales* of food rations had to be thrown overboard to keep the vessel afloat.¹¹ Pushing on, it was less than a month later when a storm ran the *Santiago* and *Espíritu Santo* aground somewhere in the Marshall Islands, destroying both ships and leaving no survivors.¹² Once the leaky *Florida* reached the Moluccas a complete overhaul was required if the vessel was to have any chance of making the return voyage. Saavedra's starved crew, now numbering only thirty, relied on the aid of the small Spanish garrison on Tidore and the labor and skilled craftsmanship of the natives. The *Florida* was beached, and during the course of ten weeks the rotted planking was replaced with local hardwood, the hull was re-caulked and sealed with a mixture of beeswax and coconut oil, and the ship's rigging was refitted with fresh cordage.¹³ Thus began a 250-year long dependence upon local labor and materials, which would ultimately prove decisive in maintaining Spain's Pacific operations and would carry over to Spain's colony in the Philippines.¹⁴

Following Saavedra, it would take two more trans-Pacific voyages before Miguel Lopez de Legazpi managed to establish a permanent Spanish settlement in 1565. Equally important, Legazpi successfully returned a ship to New Spain eastward across the Pacific. With this done, the eastbound trans-Pacific link was established, and Spain's newly founded colony in the Philippines could be resupplied by roundtrips into and out of the Pacific ports of México. But as a flourishing global trade opened at the port of Manila, most every ship that the Spanish sent to the Philippines, upon arrival in Manila, was unfit for a return voyage. How then were the Spanish to overcome this problem? How did Spaniards manage to maintain a presence in the Philippines with the trans-Pacific voyage being so detrimental to ships and their crew? While trade at Manila boomed, and the port developed a reputation as the "Venice of the East" and "la maravilla y perla del Oriente," the Spaniards were still struggling to overcome the logistics of reaching the Philippines safely and regularly.¹⁵

Although his mission was ultimately a failure, Saavedra hit upon the ideal solution by relying upon native labor, material and craftsmanship in the East Indies to repair and rebuild his vessel. The success of Spain's Philippine colony would become entirely dependent upon the *indio* population as a means to keep their ships seaworthy and keeping the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade running. Until the mid eighteenth century New Spain would continually prove unable to produce durable trans-Pacific galleons for the Acapulco-Manila trade, which only increased

the dependence upon native shipwrights in the Philippines. The *San Jeronimo* serves as a typical example of the damage a single Pacific crossing could inflict upon a New Spanish galleon. In 1566 the *San Jeronimo* arrived in the Philippines to support Legazpi's colonizing efforts, having departed México in a fair state only a few months prior. Upon inspection of the *San Jeronimo* by Legazpi's men, it was decided that the ship was in such a poor condition that it would have to be dismantled, even though the Spanish were in desperate need of vessels. The official report of the inspection states that,

...the ship, *San Jeronimo* had come from Nueva España lately, leaking very badly and is maintained with great difficulty by the people. Through diverse means they have tried to plug the holes, drain the ship of water but have not succeeded [illegible] either from the inside or the outside. Instead, each day, it seems that the water increases.¹⁶

The *San Jeronimo*'s problems, as were typical, stemmed primarily from the rotting of the hull. The pilot of the *San Jeronimo* testified that the vessel was

...very worm eaten...it leaks very much and each day it grows worse...they had tried to drain the water from it but they had not succeeded because it had been destroyed by worms...If it was to sail, it was necessary that a new keel be made... And the seams of the planks are more than three-fingers apart which is very dangerous. Furthermore, even if it were still in good condition it was unrigged. It lacks anchors and cables and so it does not have what are needed to sail.¹⁷

Much of this damage inflicted on Spain's trans-Pacific galleons came not just during the crossing, but from the harsh Southeast Asian climate. Frequent rains and high humidity quickly warped wood and frayed ropes and sails.¹⁸ Worst of all for Spain's vessels (as was clearly the case with the *San Jeronimo*) was the damage wrought from worm infestation. Shipworms (*broma*) were a common blight for wooden vessels operating in warm waters, particularly in the Caribbean and Southeast Asia. Unfortunately for the Spanish, the Pasig River at Manila Bay was a great source of shipworms.¹⁹ Those ships built in Europe destined for service in the Indies commonly had their hulls reinforced with layers of tarred cloth and lead sheathing for added protection against shipworms.²⁰ These materials were not readily available in the Philippines however.

The lowland *indio* population of the Philippine archipelago proved to be the solution to Spain's problems, as did the indigenous timber of the archipelago, which was ideal for ship construction. The lowland *indios* of the Philippines were a people intimately linked to the water that surrounded them. Most every native coastal settlement was wholly dependent upon fishing and maritime trade. The smallest native watercrafts were simple large canoes, some with keels and plank benches.²¹ However, the largest of their ships were double-decked vessels with oarsmen and sails, capable of entering the open sea. Antonio de Morga observed the variety of native ships in the Philippines at the close of the sixteenth century:

...*vireyes* and *barangayes* which are slender, light, low-lying boats held together with small wooden bolts and as narrow at the stern as at the prow. These carry a large number of oarsmen on either side who row the vessel with paddles...Above the oarsmen is a platform, or gangway, made of cane upon which the fighting-men stand...There too they hoist the sail, which is square and made from linen, upon a support made from two thick bamboos which serve as a mast...These ships have been used throughout the islands from earliest times; they have others, larger ones called *caracoas*, *lapis* and *tapaques* for carrying merchandise, which are very suitable indeed since they are roomy and draw little water...All the natives know how to row and manage these boats. Some are big enough to carry one hundred rowers each side and thirty soldiers besides. The most usual sort of boats are *barangayes* and *vireyes* which carry smaller crews and fewer people. Many of them are put together with iron nails instead of wooden bolts and splices in the planks.²²

It was this knowledge and skill in ship design combined with the superior timber of the Philippines that enabled the Spanish to begin constructing vessels capable of withstanding the grueling trans-Pacific voyage as well as the tropical Southeast Asian climate.²³

The timber on hand in the Philippines proved to be far superior to anything available in Europe or the Americas for ship construction. Where teak was used as the frame of the galleons, "the ribs and knees, the keel and rudder, and inside work" was fabricated from Philippine *molave*. The planking outside the ribs were of *lanang*, "a wood of great toughness, but of such peculiar nature that small cannon balls remained embedded in it, while larger shot rebounded from the hull made of this timber."²⁴ There was *maria*, which the *indios* introduced to the Spaniards. Maria was reportedly so strong that "once a nail is hammered into it, it is impossible to withdraw it without breaking it."²⁵ Antonio de Morga was impressed with the woods of the Philippines as well.

This wood is suitable for houses and buildings as well as for constructing large or small boats. There are in addition many stout, straight trees which are also light and pliant and can be used for making mats for ships or galleons. Thus any sort of vessel may be fitted with a mast made from a single trunk from one of these trees, without there being any need for splicing or fishing; to make them up from different pieces. For the hulls of ships, for keels, futtock- and top-timbers, and any other kinds of futtocks, breasthooks, *puercas*, transoms, *llaves*, and rudders, all sorts of good timber can be found easily. There is also good planking of quite suitable timber for the sides, decks, and upper works.²⁶

These excellent hardwoods combined with the skilled craftsmanship of the natives yielded galleons of unparalleled strength and durability. Spanish ships constructed in Europe were made largely of oak and pine, woods well suited for maritime applications, but not as durable as *molave* or *lanang*.²⁷ Another Philippine timber known to the *indios*, *laguan*, proved decisive in the battle against shipworm infestation. *Laguan* was far more

resistant to shipworms than anything available in Europe and was used in the construction of nearly every galleon produced in the Philippines.²⁸

But no doubt, the greatest advantage the forests of the Philippines offered was the abundant supply of masts. The masts of a sail ship were the most crucial unit, having to be of a single piece of timber of great strength. By the seventeenth century, the Iberian Peninsula was already running short on trees suitable for masts, forcing Spain and Portugal to import costly Prussian pine.²⁹ But in the Philippines the Spanish had a fresh supply of mast timber, which grew straight and tall enough to form the mainmasts of up to seventy-two *codos* long.³⁰ And in addition to the fine woods of the archipelago, the Philippines also had *acabá*, a hemp-like material that was ideal for making rope. The need for rope, which deteriorated rather easily during the course of a Pacific voyage, was prevalent from the outset of Spain's presence in the Philippines. One of the first official requests for men and materials to be sent to the Philippines from New Spain in 1568 lists first—above food and craftsmen—“30 quintales of cordage.”³¹ *Acabá* would prove vitally important as cordage imported into the Philippines from Europe via New Spain was heavily worn and had often rotted beyond any usefulness by the time it arrived.³²

Because of its proximity to the city of Manila, the safety of its harbor, and the abundance of timber and local labor, the majority of shipbuilding was conducted at Cavite in Manila Bay. However, many other locations throughout the archipelago met these basic criteria, and by the mid seventeenth century, smaller shipyards could be found on the islands of Panay, Albay, Marinduque, and along the Pangasinan coast north of Manila.³³ These shipyards produced many smaller inter-island craft like the *vireyes* and *barangayes* described by de Morga in addition to the famous trans-Pacific galleons.³⁴ During the brief tenure of governor Juan de Silva (1609-1616), Captain Sebastian de Pineda recorded the completion of the galleons *Espiritu Santo* and *San Miguel* at Cavite, the *San Felipe* and the *Santiago* on the island of Albay, the *San Marcos* on Marinduque, the *San Carlos* and the *San Jose* in Pangasinan, the *Salvador* in Masbate, and the *San Juan Bautista* in Mindoro.³⁵ Such output required a tremendous amount of labor.

The labor at Cavite, as in the other shipyards, was organized under the *polo* system, which was modeled off the *repartimiento* system in México.³⁶ Every *indio* of working age, excepting the chieftain of each *barangay*, was obliged under Spanish rule to contribute labor in any number of capacities for a fixed amount of time each year. *Indios* were enlisted into the *polo* system in various roles, including crewmen on galleons, as domestic servants, or put to work in the shipyards. By far the greatest number of *indio* laborers were dispatched into the interior as woodcutters, where they were made to gather timber for the construction of galleons. The felling of timber was arduous and grueling work. The gangs of woodcutters (*Cagayan*) numbered well into the thousands, sometimes reaching 8,000.³⁷ Conscripted from the lowlands, the *indio* woodcutters were forced to march far into the interior where the timber was located, meaning workers spent many months away from home, laboring in an unfamiliar climate. The poor working conditions were aggravated by the meager ration of four pesos worth of rice each month.³⁸ Conscripted into a woodcutting gang was a death

sentence for many *indios*. Suffering was most acute in the first half of the seventeenth century however, when constant war with the Dutch forced shipbuilding in the Spanish Philippines into overdrive. The report of Ciriaco Gonzalez Carvajal is particularly illustrative of the *typical* conditions experienced in woodcutting gangs. A sample of Carvajal's writing as late as 1782, a year of no extraordinary pressure on the woodcutting industry, demonstrates the grueling conditions under which the *indio* woodcutters labored:

The cutting of wood is the most difficult and arduous of labors because they work from four in the morning to eight at night. They are not given time to eat and rest, are poorly fed, exposed to the sun and wind in unpleasant, harsh and mountainous areas without any comforts, defenses or shelter for the few hours they are allowed to sleep. They must pay for the threshing of their rice and for the water buffalo which bring it to them, and, then, if they do not fall ill and are fortunate enough to complete the thirty days of work which is required of them, they end up with a salary of only thirteen reals, and for the water buffalo some of them must provide to haul the wood, they are only paid seven reals, which is only a *quartilla* a day, despite the regulation that they are to receive one-half a real a day.³⁹

Underpaying and overworking the *indios* yielded tremendous benefits for the Spanish who could now construct ships in the Philippines at a fraction of the cost in Europe or the Americas. Alonso Sanchez's 1589 report to King Philip II revealed that *indio* woodcutters and shipyard laborers received only four *reals* a month, when “at least forty *reals* a month were needed to keep body and soul together.”⁴⁰ And in 1619, Sebastain de Pineda reported that the common *indio* woodcutters still only received seven to eight *reals* a month while those *indios* of greater skill who took part in the design and construction of vessels earned a meager twelve *reals* per month.⁴¹ In contrast, Spanish carpenters working in shipyards on Spain's northern coast in the early seventeenth century earned around 135 *reals* per month. In Seville the price for a single carpenter ran to eight *reals* per day.⁴² And in New Spain, the cost of labor, including carpentry and shipbuilding, was roughly double that in Spain.⁴³ Thus, while *indios* suffered greatly under the *polo* system, their skill and hard labor made the Philippines the cheapest place within Spain's vast empire to build vessels.

In 1586 a 600-ton ship was built for “little over four thousand pesos.”⁴⁴ Compare this figure with a report of the same year that claimed two ships, the *San Martin* and the *Santa Ana*, were built in New Spain for “more than 140 thousand ducats,” which is roughly equivalent to 70,000 pesos.⁴⁵ If it were not for the supply of cheap yet highly skilled *indio* laborers, supplying the distant Philippines with enough vessels to defend and run the trans-Pacific trade would have meant securing vessels from New Spain, which would have cost the crown dearly, and would have more than likely made the venture financially unfeasible.

Spain's exploitation of *indio* workers reached its height during wartime. From 1609 to 1649 the Philippines were under nearly constant attack from the Dutch, who were hoping to gain control over the lucrative trade at Manila. On many occasions

the Dutch blockaded Manila and attacked key settlements and shipping throughout the archipelago. During this period Spain needed ships in the Philippines more than ever, both to protect the treasure-laden galleons—which some years did not sail at all due to the Dutch threat—and for the defense of the colony itself. As such, *indio* labor was exploited to the fullest under the harsh rule of Governor Don Juan de Silva, who took office just as the Dutch conflict began. De Silva oversaw the construction of several new shipyards to meet the growing wartime demand for more ships. Complaining of Governor de Silva's harsh policies of excessive taxation, forced labor, and seizure of native foodstuffs, Fray Pedro de San Pablo of the San Gregorio province wrote in 1620 that "in the space of ten years, did the country become in great measure ruined. Some natives took to the woods; others were made slaves; many others were killed; and the rest were exhausted and ruined."⁴⁶ Governor de Silva reported in 1619 that the *indio* population of the Philippines was in decline as a result of the high fatality rates in both the shipyards and woodcutting gangs.⁴⁷ A pre-war census records a growing *indio* population of 590,820 in the year 1606.⁴⁸ In 1655, immediately following the Dutch conflict, the population had dropped markedly to 505,250.⁴⁹ Work in the shipyards and woodcutting gangs became so oppressive that it was not uncommon for those *indios* with enough money to hire replacements, or, as was more often the case, desert; still others sold themselves into slavery to pay their way out of cutting timber.⁵⁰ The cost to buy one's way out of woodcutting was too great for most *indios* to afford. In 1782 it was estimated that "each tribute [*indio*] who does not want to go to the mountains must pay five pesos and three *reals*, as well as the ration and salary, in order to have someone else take his place."⁵¹ The province hardest hit during the early seventeenth century was no doubt Pampanga. Adjacent to Manila, Pampanga was not only readily accessible to the Spanish but boasted expansive rice fields and superior stocks of timber. These factors made it a prime target for Spanish exploitation. Akin to the forced labor of the *polo* system, the *vandala* was implemented to force *indios* to relinquish a portion of their food and trade goods to the Spanish in exchange for IOUs. The *vandala* became a critical means of supporting the Spanish colony in the face of Dutch blockades, when food was scarce and/or too expensive. By 1616 the Spanish government owed the natives of Pampanga 70,000 pesos in payments for goods forcibly repossessed. By 1660, Pampanga was owed 220,000 pesos. *Indio* rebellions protesting both the *polo* and *vandala* were common during much of the seventeenth century.⁵² Nevertheless, both these systems of oppression were instrumental in making the Philippines a sustainable venture for the Spanish.

Suffering and abuses aside, the native labor and high-quality raw materials that went into Spain's shipyards in the Philippines yielded ships of remarkable durability and strength. In the mid sixteenth century most ships were only capable of sailing one trans-Pacific voyage before deteriorating, as was the case with the *San Jeronimo*. But by the mid seventeenth century the galleons produced at Cavite were routinely making multiple round-trip voyages between Manila and Acapulco. More remarkable still, when pitted against Dutch and English attack, the Manila galleons proved to be nothing short of floating fortresses. Woodes Rogers' 1709 attack on the 900-ton galleon *Begoña* serves as a prime example. Ambushing the galleon off

the coast of New Spain, and with the superior firepower of the *Duke* and *Dutchess*, Rogers was unable to inflict any significant damage upon the *Begoña*, which had just completed the long voyage from Manila. And although Rogers had managed to capture the *Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación y Desengaño* days earlier, that galleon too was unscathed—indeed it was sailed by her captors all the way to England as a prize. Rogers came away from the encounter with great respect for the strength and craftsmanship of the Manila galleons: "These large ships are built with excellent timber, that will not splinter...they have very thick sides, much stronger than we build in Europe."⁵³

As we have seen, a number of factors combined to make the Philippines a center for shipbuilding. Firstly, the Philippine archipelago possessed a ready and abundant supply of some of the best timber in the world for the construction of ships. But it was the *indio* labor organized through the *polo* system that proved the key factor. The *indios* of the Philippines had centuries of experience in navigation and shipbuilding from which the Spaniards were able to draw and exploit. The result was not only an abundant labor force, but a skilled labor force as well. The result was durable vessels at a relatively low cost. And it was the Philippine's effectiveness as a center of shipbuilding which enabled Spain to maintain its hold on the archipelago and keep the galleon trade running.

Indios at Sea

Indio participation in the galleon trade was not confined to the Philippines. As we will now see, natives of the archipelago, particularly in the early years of the Acapulco-Manila trade, were forced into service as crewmen on the galleons. Fatality rates were particularly high in the early galleon trade with starvation and scurvy the leading causes of death for sailors on the open Pacific. Therefore, Spain needed a ready and abundant source of skilled crewmen to fill the ranks aboard the trans-Pacific galleons. Vessels departing New Spain in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century would often arrive in the Philippines with only a portion of their crews still alive. Thus Spaniards in the Philippines found it increasingly difficult to man galleons making the return voyage to Acapulco. And it was not just the galleon trade that forced *indios* to the sea; many thousands of natives were drawn into service aboard Spanish warships defending the Philippine archipelago and the port of Manila from Dutch, English, Portuguese, and Chinese enemies. Serving as soldiers aboard these warships, the *indios* made possible not only the functioning of the colony, but its defense as well.

The attrition experienced by both men and their ships in crossing the Pacific was apparent to the very first Spanish expedition to bridge the expansive ocean. Magellan entered the *Mar del Sur* with three ships on 28 November 1520. By the time he reached the Philippines on 16 March 1521, his small fleet was on the verge of collapse. In the course of the 106-day crossing, scurvy and hunger took their toll, reducing Magellan's crew by nineteen. And the damage that the sea inflicted upon the *Trinidad*, *Victoria*, and *Concepción* was only added to by the starving crewmen who devoured the leather sail covers and shaved slices of wood of the masts, which were later boiled and eaten. The chronicler of the voyage, Antonio de Pegafetta, professed, "I do not think that anyone in the future will dare to undertake such a voyage."⁵⁴ With not enough crewmen to man her, the *Concepción*

was destroyed. All told, only one ship and nineteen men made it back to Seville. But what most histories do not record is that in addition to the nineteen survivors were several Southeast Asian sailors, taken onboard the *Victoria* as navigators, pilots, and crewmen at various points during the voyage. Without the native crewmen, Magellan's expedition would have never found the Moluccas, would have had a most difficult time navigating into the Indian Ocean, and would surely have not had enough men to reach Spain.

Once Spain's colonial foothold was established in the Philippines, the *indios* became the natural choice to fill out the crews of the trans-Pacific galleons. In the early years of the galleon traffic, natives were taken aboard not so much for their labor and service as crewmen—as would be the case later—but for their intimate knowledge of the region and their skills as navigators. Indeed, the first ship to successfully make the voyage from the Philippines back to New Spain had aboard two *indios* from the island of Cebu and one native of Guam.⁵⁵ Departing Cebu in June of 1565, the officers of the *San Pedro* were charged with the most difficult task of finding a route eastward across the Pacific. The natives aboard the *San Pedro* furnished the vital information needed to find the Pacific return route, directing the Spaniards through the San Juanico Strait between Leyte and Samar and into the Pacific via the San Bernardino Strait. Once out of the Visayas the *San Pedro* was able to sail north and capture the steady westerly winds above 30° N.⁵⁶ While credit for the discovery of the eastbound leg across the Pacific typically goes to the Spaniard Andrés de Urdaneta, we must not discount the strong possibility that the founding of what was soon to become the eastward leg of the Acapulco-Manila galleon trade route owes more to the *indios* than it does to the Spanish.

As the galleon trade evolved and became ever more focused on the ports of Manila and Acapulco, native navigators and pilots were no longer in great demand. Instead, as the galleon traffic expanded to accommodate the flourishing trade at Manila, Spain's need for cheap and readily available crews increased tremendously. By the early 1580s, the crews of Spain's trans-Pacific galleons were anywhere from 50 – 80% *indio*, oftentimes with only the key administrative positions onboard filled by Spaniards.⁵⁷ By the end of the seventeenth century, *indio* mariners were highly appreciated for their service. Writing in 1765, Francisco Leandro de Viana observed,

There is not an Indian in these islands [the Philippines] who has not a remarkable inclination for the sea; nor is there at present in all the world a people more agile in maneuvers on shipboard, or who learn so quickly nautical terms and whatever in the presence of a Spaniard, and they show him great respect; but than can teach many of the Spanish mariners who sail in these seas...these are a people most situated for the sea; and that if the ships are manned with crews one-third Spaniards and the other two-thirds Indians, the best mariners of these islands can be obtained, and many of them can be employed in our warships. There is hardly an Indian who has sailed the seas who does not understand the mariner's compass, and therefore on this [Acapulco] trade route there are some very skillful and dexterous helmsmen.⁵⁸

The reliance upon *indios* to man the trans-Pacific galleons did not abate over time. The crew manifest of the *La Santissima Trinidad*, sailing from Manila in 1755, listed 310 Philippine-born crewmen out of a total of 370 (84%). More remarkable still, 250 (68%) of these sailors came from the port of Cavite.⁵⁹

For the *indios*, working aboard an Acapulco-bound galleon was akin to working on a woodcutting gang. Life aboard a Pacific galleon was brutal for all those aboard, but most of all for the *indios*, who were treated as expendable resources. Wages were below subsistence levels, conditions were harsh, and fatality rates were high. Where a skilled Spanish sailor received 350 pesos for a round-trip voyage in 1697, *indios* were paid as little as 48 pesos.⁶⁰ Often times, these wages were withheld to ensure that the crew, once at Acapulco, would not flee, leaving the vessel without a crew for the return voyage. Hernando de los Rios Coronel, in his call for better treatment of *indio* sailors, recounted the many abuses he witnessed during his Pacific crossing in the mid-seventeenth century. The daily ration of an *indio* aboard a galleon was less than half that of a Spaniard. Towards the end of the voyage, when food was running short, the rations for the *indios* were the first to be cut. Furthermore, Coronel observed a particularly high fatality rate amongst those *indios* unaccustomed to colder climates.⁶¹ Without the proper clothing, Coronel writes, “when each new dawn comes...there are three or four dead men.”⁶² A galleon crossing from Manila to Acapulco could reach as high as 41° N latitude, where the temperature at night was low enough to freeze many crewmen to death. Because of these harsh conditions, desertion was common. After three or more months at sea many *indios* jumped ship as soon as the shores of North America were within sight. Others waited until making landfall at Acapulco to flee.

Perhaps the most widely known example of *indio* desertion in the New World occurred in 1618 when all but five of the seventy-five *indio* crewmen of the *Espiritu Sancto* jumped overboard.⁶³ But this was only one occurrence among many, and soon thousands of *indios* had taken root in New Spain. Sizable diaspora communities formed in not just Acapulco, but in the key port towns of Navidad, Zihuatenejo, Puerto Vallarta, San Blas, and Texpan. Others fled into the interior and intermixed with the natives of México. But it must be noted that to Spaniards in México, natives of the Philippine archipelago were not distinguished from other Asian ethnicities. Thus *indios*, along with Chinese, Japanese, and Malay immigrants, were incorporated into the *casta* system as “*chinos*.”⁶⁴ This ambiguity transferred into official government documents, making it difficult to trace the history of *indios* amidst other Asian immigrants. Likely, the majority of *chinos* were *indios* from the Cavite region. Taken aboard in the Philippines to serve as crewmen, native Filipinos found themselves on the far side of the Pacific after the arduous crossing with few options available to them. Many followed the example of the crewmen of the *Espiritu Sancto* and started a new life in the Americas rather than stay on for the return voyage.

Once in New Spain, a great many *indios* remained along the coast and took up professions that supported the galleon trade in some way or another. The port of San Blas became a center for trade and galleon repair with skilled *indios* engaged in sail-making and carpentry.⁶⁵ Skilled shipwrights were also employed along the Pacific coast of New Spain,

designing and overseeing the construction of vessels starting in the early 1700s. Gaspar Molina, an *indio* immigrant to México, built two ships for the viceroy of New Spain. Under Molina's supervision the *Nuestra Señora de Loreto* was completed in 1760 for use by Jesuit missionaries traveling along the coast of Baja California.⁶⁶ Molina completed his second vessel, *Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion*, in 1764.⁶⁷ With English and Dutch threats increasing, *chino* immigrants (namely *indios* and Chinese) were used in the construction of defensive structures, namely Fort San Diego, which was completed in 1617. *Chinos* also served as militiamen for the fort.⁶⁸ Perhaps the most audacious use for *indios*, though never implemented, was proposed by Pedro Enriquez Calderon. Calderon drafted audacious plans in the mid-eighteenth century whereby the Spanish government could protect Northern California from foreign encroachment by establishing *indio* communities, or bases, along the coastline. Calderon wrote that "from the Philippines 300 men of all trades can be conveyed on a frigate which can be built there...with all the nails, locks, tools and everything necessary to found a town at once, and with 25 Indians [*Indios*] from the shipyard at Cavite to build brigantines such as those they build there for commerce with the islands and voyages to China and Java." Once established on the Pacific coast of America, "with the suitable rigging, cables, sails, pitch, and everything else necessary for their provisions...a great spiritual and temporal conquest can be effected." Continuing, "from the port [Monterey] it will be easy, with two brigantines, to take possession of the coast up to 52 degrees and thus prevent the Russians from moving further south. Besides, the port would serve as a resupply base for the galleons arriving from the Philippines."⁶⁹ While such a plan never materialized, *indio* communities were well established in Mexico and California by the close of the seventeenth century.

Estimating the total number of *indios* displaced to the New World as a result of the 250-year long galleon trade is difficult. For the broad classification of "*Chinos*," Ed Slack Jr. proposes the minimum figure of 40,000 – 60,000, "while a figure double that amount (100,000) would be within the bounds of probability."⁷⁰ Floro Mercene, dealing specifically with *indio* migration, claims 60,000 native Filipinos made their way to the New World by 1815.⁷¹ Jonathan Israel estimates that during the course of the sixteenth century, the height of the galleon trade, 6,000 Asians arrived in New Spain every decade.⁷² Jose Maria S. Luengo has proposed the extreme and unfounded number of 4,000,000 *indios* enslaved and brought to the New World by Spaniards via the galleon trade. Luengo is adamant that the galleon trade should be viewed as a slave trade parallel to that in the Atlantic, and that Manila functioned first and foremost as a slave port akin to Goree Island, Senegal.⁷³ While Luegno's use of the term slavery may be appropriate, we can dismiss his proposed figure of 4,000,000 as such a number is unsupportable and impossible given the logistics of the galleon trade.

While *indios* were an ever-present fixture on Spanish vessels from the start of the galleon trade, the King of Spain limited the Acapulco-Manila traffic to a mere two vessels a year for a majority of the trade's history. While there was no doubt substantial (and unrecorded) private trade across the Pacific, we cannot safely claim that more than an average of two to four vessels made the round trip each year from 1565 to 1815. Indeed, two galleons per year is likely a more accurate estimate

on account of the many years when ship traffic was limited due to war with the English and Dutch, or the many instances when galleons were either captured or lost at sea. Thus two roundtrips per year over the span of 250 years would mean 500 total roundtrips over the entire history of the Acapulco-Manila trade. The crews of these galleons were primarily *indio*—as high as 80%—with very few Spaniards. The size of a galleon crew ranged depending upon the size of the vessel; while some ships were large enough for a crew of 400, most ships did not carry more than 200-250 persons. Thomas Cavendish captured the 700-ton *Santa Ana* in 1587 and discovered a total of 190 Filipino natives aboard.⁷⁴ As recounted above, the *Espíritu Santo* sailing in 1618 had a complement of 75 *indios* aboard—70 of whom jumped ship once in sight of the New Spanish coast. And Woodes Rogers captured the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* in 1709 and took 193 prisoners, most all of Asian descent.⁷⁵ Assuming that these numbers represent the normal range of crew-size and ethnic makeup, it seems reasonable to estimate that between 80 and 200 *indios* accompanied most galleons from Manila to Acapulco. We are left then with a range of anywhere between 40,000 – 100,000 *indios* making the voyage to Acapulco between 1565 and 1815. Slack's estimate of 60,000 *chinos*, therefore, seems very reasonable, as does Mercene's estimate. Jonathan Israel's proposal of 6,000 Asians per decade in the seventeenth century may be too high, but not out of the realm of possibility. And Luengo's proposed 4,000,000 *indio* "slaves" is in every way impossible, not least of which is the fact that in 1606 there were only 590,820 recorded tribute-paying *indios* under Spanish rule in the Philippines.⁷⁶

The trans-Pacific galleons were not the only vessels that *indios* served aboard; a great many more were pressed into service aboard vessels operating closer to home, patrolling Luzon and the Visayas, managing inter-island trade, and defending the colony against foreign attack. Native Filipinos, on account of the dearth of Spaniards in the archipelago, manned most every Spanish vessel plying the waters of the Philippines. The need for maritime defense of the colony during the Hispano-Dutch wars led to the greatest period of *indio* sailor recruitment by the Spaniards, which drew thousands into service aboard warships. The dependence upon *indios* once again stemmed from a lack of Spanish forces on hand in the Philippines. In December of 1618, in the midst of Spain's war with the Dutch, Joan de Ribera wrote from Manila to the King of Spain begging for troops to be sent. "Your most illustrious Lordship may rest assured that if his Majesty does not actually send a great reenforcement [sic] of military aid to these islands, they must be lost... For twenty years we have been hoping for the coming of a fleet and galleons, and none have come save a few small caravels..."⁷⁷ The presence of Dutch ships in and around the Philippines ensured that very few Spanish vessels and reinforcements were able to reach Manila. Recruiting *indios* therefore became the only viable option in warding off the numerous Dutch attacks and blockades during the early seventeenth century.

In 1616 governor de Silva, hoping to seize the initiative against the Dutch, amassed a fleet of twenty-three vessels ranging from 600 to 2,000 tons in size. The crew for the armada—the largest Spain would ever assemble in Asian waters—was 66% *indio*, numbering 2,000 Spaniards and 3,000 *indios*.⁷⁸ Indeed, without the *indio* crewmen there would have never been enough

Spaniards on hand to man such a fleet. Though the armada was an impressive concentration of forces, following the sudden death of Governor de Silva later that year the fleet suffered greatly from mismanagement and ultimately accomplished little. Nevertheless, *indios* were a vital asset in making such a concentration of forces possible and in warding off future Dutch onslaughts in 1619, 1620, and 1621. The Dutch threat reached its greatest when in 1643-1647 Dutch warships blockaded the Philippines, attacked the galleon *San Diego*, engaged the *Rosario* and *Encarnación* in battle, and launched an attack on the shipyards at Cavite. Spaniards successfully resisted such military pressure only through the aid of the numerically-superior *indios* and the products of their labor.

Conclusion

From the sixteenth century well into the nineteenth century all the major European maritime powers, not just the Spanish, drew upon local labor to maintain their fleets in the remote waters of East, Southeast, and South Asia. To be sure, the problem of how to maintain a colonial foothold and strong military presence in the far-flung East Indies was not Spain's problem alone. The British, for example, relied upon the shipyards at Bombay, Surat, and along the Masulapatam coast to maintain their maritime presence in South Asia starting in the eighteenth century. Indian shipyards were producing 600-ton vessels for Europeans as early as 1600.⁷⁹ Like the Philippines, India had a large pool of skilled labor with a long heritage of seafaring and ship construction. And Indian-made ships, like those in the Philippines, proved to be more durable and far cheaper than their European-made counterparts.⁸⁰ But the experience of the Spanish in the Philippines was unique from that of the Dutch, Portuguese, British, or French elsewhere in the East Indies and deserves special attention.

The Spaniards' need for native labor was compounded by the fact that there was a dearth of supply bases and outposts in the Pacific. With no way to segment the 9,000-mile crossing to and from México (a round-trip distance of over 18,000 miles), Manila and Acapulco became the only points for resupply, putting a tremendous burden on the Philippines. Secondly, because Spain had no other major territorial holding in the East Indies aside from the Philippines, the archipelago became the de facto center of Spain's entire East Indies enterprise. Other European powers were able to spread themselves between dozens of ports along the coasts of Africa, India, Southeast Asia and China. Thus it was out of logistical necessity that Spaniards came to exploit the *indios* of the Philippines to support most every aspect of the trans-Pacific trade. As was shown above, *indios* were vital in the construction and maintenance of Spain's Pacific fleet, in navigating the treacherous trans-Pacific trade route, in defending Spain's interests from Dutch attack, and in manning the many hundreds of voyages made between Manila and Acapulco. The importance of local knowledge—such as when it came to utilizing local materials for ship construction—is much harder to assess but was no less important in maintaining the galleon trade. Likewise, the maritime skills *indios* possessed in both sailing and vessel construction were tremendously important to the Spanish. While this has been by no means an exhaustive analysis of *indio* contributions to the galleon trade, this paper has at the very least revealed that there exists a rich human history within the galleon

trade that demands attention.

- 1 The Spanish referred to the natives of the Philippine archipelago as *indios*, while the term *Filipino* denoted a Philippine-born Spaniard. It was not until the nineteenth century that "*Filipino*" came to denote a native of the archipelago. Therefore, this paper will use the term *indios* as a general reference to the native inhabitants of the Philippines.
- 2 The only exception in this regard is the work of William L. Schurz. See his thoroughly comprehensive but outdated study on the galleon trade, William L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York: 1936).
- 3 Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giraldez both argue strongly that 1571 and the opening of Manila mark globalization's inception. So too has J. J. TePaske, C. R. Boxer, and many others. See "Born with a 'Silver Spoon': The Origin of World Trade in 1571," *Journal of World History* 6 no. 2 (1995): 201-221; Flynn and Giraldez, "Cycles of Silver: Global Economic Unity through the Mid-Eighteenth Century," *Journal of World History* 13 no. 2 (2002): 391-427; Flynn and Giraldez, "Born Again: Globalizations Sixteenth Century Origins (Asian/Global Versus European Dynamics)," *Pacific Economic Review* 13 no. 3 (2008): 395-387; Flynn and Giraldez, "Globalization Began in 1571," in *Globalization and Global History*, ed. Barry K. Gills and William R. Thompson (New York: Routledge, 2006), 232-247; J. J. TePaske, "New World Silver, Castile, and the Philippines, 1590-1800," in *Precious Metals in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Worlds*, ed. J. F. Richards (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 1983); C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1969) 17.
- 4 Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, trans. J. S. Cummins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971) 305-306.
- 5 De Morga, *Sucesos*, 305.
- 6 Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giraldez, "Arbitrage, China, and World Trade in the Early Modern Period," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 38 no. 4 (1995): 429-448. Flynn and Giraldez cite Han-sheng Ch'üan's estimates for the period 1598-1699. See Han-sheng Ch'üan "The Inflow of American Silver into China from the Late Ming to the Mid-Ch'ing Period," *The Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong*, vol. 2, 79. Some documents from the period indicate years of much higher silver traffic. For example, the *Cabildo* of Mexico City reported an outflow of 5,000,000 pesos (127.8 tons) of silver to Manila in the year 1602 alone. In 1597, a unique year, the shipments of silver over the Pacific spiked to 12 million pesos. Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 154.
- 7 Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 132.
- 8 Frank, *ReOrient*, 131.
- 9 John E. Wills Jr., "Relations with Maritime Europeans, 1514-1662," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 8, ed. Denis Twitchett and Fredrick W. Mote (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 554. Wills states that in 1586 only 2,000 Spaniards were living in the Philippines, compared to the roughly 10,000 Chinese merchants. The recorded tribute-paying *indio*

population of the Philippines in the early seventeenth century exceeded 500,000.

10 Ione Stuessy Wright, *Voyages of Alvaro de Saavedra Cerón, 1527-1529* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1951), 14.

11 Account of Álvaro de Saavedra Ceron, in Wright, *Voyages*, 99; Martín Fernández Navarrete, *Colección de los Viages y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles desde fines del siglo XV*, vol. 5 (Madrid: 1825-1837), 465.

12 Wright, *Voyages*, 21. Wright fixes on Gaspar Rico as the likely final resting place of the *Santiago* and *Espíritu Santo*.

13 Account of Vincente de Nápoles, in Wright, *Voyages*, 120; Martin J. Noone, *The Islands Saw It: The Discovery and Conquest of the Philippines, 1521-1581* (Manila: R. P. Garcia Publishing Co., 1986), 89, 180.

14 Ultimately the effort of Saavedra's men was all for naught. They twice attempted a return voyage across the Pacific, with the *Florida* loaded down with seventy *quintales* of spices, but failing both times in the face of steady contrary winds. Following Saavedra's death on the second attempt, the handful of surviving Spaniards were left to surrender to the Portuguese on the neighboring island of Ternate.

15 Fr. Juan Delgado, *Historia sacro-profana, politica y natural de las Islas del Poniente llamadas Filipinas* (Manila: 1892), 51-52; original publication 1751.

16 Testimony given by the officials of His Majesty on why the galleon San Jeronimo had to be dismantled, in *The Philippines Under Spain: A Compilation and Translation of Original Documents*, vol. II, ed. Virginia Benitez Licuanan and Jose Llavadro Mira (Philippines: National Trust for Historical and Cultural Preservation of the Philippines, 1993), 227.

17 Testimony given by the officials of His Majesty, Licuanan and Llavadro, vol. 2, 223-224.

18 William L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1939), 198.

19 An incomplete and unsigned letter written to the Viceroy of Nueva España, 1572 or 1573, in Licuanan and Llavadro, vol. 2, 370. "The river that traverses this city empties into the sea. The said river is heavily infested with Shipworms (*broma*) [illegible] in the port for the ship, it would be [illegible] if this is the be [illegible] to seek a more healthful place with a better port in the future."

20 Carla Rahn Phillips, *Six Galleons for the King of Spain: Imperial Defense in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 24, 57.

21 Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 1497; De Morga, *Sucesos*, 252.

22 De Morga, *Sucesos*, 252-253.

23 The Spanish were not the only colonizers to exploit an indigenous population for their skill in ship design and maritime knowledge. As Arnold Pacey notes in *Technology in World Civilization*, the British, experiencing similar shortages in manpower and a harsh tropical climate, turned to the local population of India to work shipyards and produce their own East Indies fleet. And like the shipyard at Cavite, Bombay earned a reputation for producing ships of great durability. See Arnold Pacey, *Technology in World Civilization: A Thousand Year History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), 125-128.

24 Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 196.

25 Report of Sebastian de Pineda, 1619, in Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 18 (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1903-1909), vol. 18, 172.

26 Morga, *Sucesos*, 253-254.

27 Phillips, *Six Galleons*, 79-80.

28 Report of Sebastian de Pineda, 1619, in Blair and Robertson, vol. 18, 171.

29 Phillips, *Six Galleons*, 80.

30 Report of Sebastian de Pineda, 1619, in Blair and Robertson, vol. 18, 171. A *codo* is a cubit, roughly measured as the length from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger.

31 A list of what should be sent from Nueva España to Las Islas Filipinas thru Juan de las Ysla, in Licuanan and Llavadro, vol. 2, 295.

32 Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, after receiving a shipment of rope from Vera Cruz, complained of its inferior quality. Letter of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, 11 August 1572, in Licuanan and Llavadro, vol. 2, 365-366.

33 Nicholas P. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines: From Conquest to Revolution* (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University, 1971), 117; Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 195-196.

34 The first case of *indios* building ships for the Spanish occurred on the Island of Panay. Miguel Lopez de Legazpi had a galliot constructed by the indios in 1570-1 for the purpose of sailing to Manila Bay. Once completed, the ship was manned by "twenty-three pairs of *Indio* rowers..." From a copy of a letter of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi to the Viceroy of Nueva España, about Panay, Manila, etc., in Licuanan and Llavadro, vol. 2, 358.

35 Report of Sebastian de Pineda, 1619, in Blair and Robertson, vol. 18 173-174.

36 John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), 99.

37 Floro L. Mercene, *Manila Men in the New World: Filipino Migration to Mexico and the Americas from the Sixteenth Century* (Quezon City, Philippines: The University of the Philippines Press, 2007), 2.

38 Phelan, *Hispanization*, 99.

39 Dennis Roth, "The Casas de Reservas in the Philippines," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 5 no. 1 (March 1974), 116. Roth takes this quotation from a report on the general condition of the Islas Filipinas, 20 April 1586, in Licuanan and Llavadro, vol. 4, 360; Letter of Doctor Santiago de Vera, 26 June 1586, in Licuanan and Llavadro, vol. 4, 391.

40 Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 120.

41 Letter of Sebastian de Pindea, 1619, in B & R, vol. 18, 174.

42 Phillips, *Six Galleons*, 78.

43 Phillips, *Six Galleons*, 79.

44 An account of what is known about the Islas Filipinas, 1586, in Licuanan and Llavadro, vol. 4, 410.

45 Ibid.

46 Opinion Addressed to His Majesty by Fray Pedro de San Pablo, August 7, 1620, in Blair and Robertson, vol. 19, 71-72.

47 Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 119.

- 48 Treasury Report of 1606, in Blair and Robertson, vol. 14, 247-248; John Leddy Phelan, "Free Versus Compulsory Labor: Mexico and the Philippines 1540-1648," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1 no. 2 (January 1959): 193-194.
- 49 Phelan, "Free Versus Compulsory Labor," 193-194.
- 50 Blair and Robertson, vol. 19, 71-72; Phelan, *Hispanization*, 99. Phelan draws attention to the high fatality rate amongst *indios* in the *polo* system. During the Hispano-Dutch wars, from 1609-1648, with demand for timber at its greatest, the overall population of *indios* actually declined. An estimated 610,000 *indios* in 1621 dropped sharply to 505,250 by 1655. Phelan argues much, but not all, of the decline can be attributed to the poor working conditions and lack of food.
- 51 Roth, "Casas de Reservas," 116.
- 52 Gregorio F. Zaide, *Philippine Political and Cultural History: The Philippines Since Pre-Spanish Times*, vol. 1 (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1949), 343. Zaide cites the following *indio* revolts having occurred in protest of forced labor and tribute: "Magalat's Revolt in 1596, the Gaddang Revolt in 1621, the Caraga Revolt in 1630, the Cagayan Revolt in 1639, Sumoroy's Revolt in 1649-50, Malong's Revolt in 1660-61, Dagohoy's Revolt in 1744-1829, Silang's Revolt in 1762-63, and Palari's Revolt in 1762-64."
- 53 Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 196.
- 54 Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 16.
- 55 Noone, *The Islands Saw It*, 330; see also Lorraine Crouchett, *Filipinos in California: From the Days of the Galleons to the Present* (El Cerrito, CA: Downey Place Publishing House, 1982). Crouchett claims 8 *indios* were aboard the *San Pablo*.
- 56 Noone, *The Islands Saw It*, 330-331.
- 57 Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 210; Mercene, *Manila Men in the New World*, 3.
- 58 Francisco Leandro de Viana, Memorial, February 10, 1765, in Blair and Robertson, vol. 48, 301.
- 59 Ed Slack Jr., "The *Chinos* in New Spain: A Corrective Lens for a Distorted Image," *Journal of World History* 20 no. 1 (March 2009), 39.
- 60 Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 211.
- 61 Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 212.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Zaide, *Philippine Political and Cultural History*, 335.
- 64 For a thorough examination of *Chinos* in New Spain during the galleon era, see Slack Jr., "The *Chinos* in New Spain," 35-67.
- 65 Mercene, *Manila Men in the New World*, 9.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Slack, "The *Chinos* in New Spain," 40.
- 69 Mercene, *Manila Men in the New World*, 17-18. Quoted from Memorial of Pedro Calderón y Henríquez, *California Historical Society Quarterly* 23 (1944): 219-225.
- 70 Slack, "The *Chinos* in New Spain," 37.
- 71 Mercene, *Manila Men in the New World*.
- 72 Jonathan Israel, *Race, Class, and Politics in Colonial Mexico, 1610-1670* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 75-76.
- 73 Jose Maria S. Luengo, *A History of the Manila-Acapulco Slave Trade, 1565-1815* (Tubigon, Philippines: Mater Dei Publications, 1996), 7; Jose Maria S. Luengo, *Lorenzo Ruiz: The Filipino Protomartyr in Nagasaki* (Tubigon, Philippines: Luengo Foundation Incorporated, 1984), 20-34. As if his proposed figure of four million were not enough, in *Lorenzo Ruiz* Luengo uses the term holocaust when discussing the depopulation of the Philippines as a result of the galleon trade and Spanish occupation.
- 74 Mercene, *Manila Men in the New World*, 30-31.
- 75 Woodes Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World* (London: 1712).
- 76 Treasury Report of 1606, in Blair and Robertson, vol. 14, 247-248; Phelan, "Free Versus Compulsory Labor," 193-194.
- 77 Letter of Joan de Ribera, S.J., December 20, 1618, in Blair and Robertson, vol. 18, 161-165.
- 78 Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 346.
- 79 Pacey, *Technology in World civilization*, 67, 127. After 1790, ships built in India for European customers could exceed 1,000 tons.
- 80 Pacey, *Technology in World Civilization*, 67-68.





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SUBMISSION DEADLINE

Entries must be submitted by **FEBRUARY 1, 2013** to allow time for juror evaluations. Late entries and submissions that do not adhere to these guidelines will be disqualified.

AWARDS

The winner of the Book Prize will receive an award of \$500. Formal bestowal of the check is made at the WHA annual conference, normally held in June. If the author cannot attend, the WHA Executive Director or Treasurer will mail him or her the check following the annual conference. A one year membership in the WHA and a certificate will also be included with the prize.

In the event that the panel of judges considers that the quality of the entries does not warrant the awarding of any prize, the judges shall have the right to make no awards available.

The World History Association is a community of scholars, teachers, and students who are passionately committed to the study of the history of the human community across regional, cultural, and political boundaries.

2012 World History Association Teaching Prize Winner

Should They Stay or Should They Go?: The Jesuits, the Qing, and the Chinese Rites Controversy

Colleen Kyle
Lakeside Upper School (Seattle, WA)

Abstract/Topic: Students will learn about the Chinese rites controversy between Jesuit missionaries and Chinese authorities beginning in the 17th century, and examine the climax of the interaction in the early 1700s when Kangxi, the Qing emperor, decided to expel them.

Course: World History (8th-12th grade levels)

Historical Skills Addressed/Standards Covered: This lesson plan simulation covers the following NCHS (National Center for History in the Schools) standards:

- Historical Thinking Standards:
 - 3. Historical Analysis and Interpretation.
 - 5. Historical Issues—Analysis and Decision-Making.
- World History Content Standards, Era 6, The Emergence of the First Global Age, 1450-1770:
 - 2. How European society experienced social, economic, and cultural transformations in an age of global intercommunication, 1450-1750.
 - 5. Transformations in Asian societies in the era of European expansion.

Overview: The Jesuit Order was founded in Europe during the Catholic Counter-Reformation in an attempt to reach new converts outside of Europe (the Protestant Reformation challenged many aspects of Catholic authority and launched a series of violent disruptions in Europe from 1517-1648). They established missions all around the globe, and had particular influence in French North America, South America, India, and China.

The Ming Court was initially receptive to Jesuits because they brought scientific and geographic knowledge that the mandarins found useful. Matteo Ricci was the first westerner allowed within the walls of the Forbidden City in Peking (Beijing). For their part, Jesuits admired Chinese traditions and philosophies, and sought to correlate the teachings of the Catholic Church with Confucian ideals, foundational Chinese texts, and Chinese practices such as rites honoring ancestors.

But over time, and as the Ming Dynasty transitioned to Manchu Qing rulers, the Jesuit presence became less welcome. Furthermore, winds of change in Europe turned against the Jesuits, as opposing forces within the Vatican (from which the Pope oversees the Church) began to question Jesuit assertions that ancestral rites are not in opposition to Christian practices.

The best way to explore the historical ramifications of conflicting belief systems and power is to engage students in a simulation that assigns them roles representing the various interests at stake. Using the documents from Matteo Ricci and the Qing history of the Ming period, the class will simulate a hearing from 1715, when the Qing emperor Kangxi decided whether or not to expel the Jesuit missionaries who had been staying in Beijing for over a century. Despite their usefulness as providers of technological, mathematical, and astronomical information, the Jesuits maintained that pesky habit of trying to convert good Chinese people (followers of Confucianism, Taoism, and/or Buddhism) to Roman Catholicism. In this imagined simulation, students will portray a fictional hearing in which Kangxi hears from Confucian scholars on one side and Jesuit representatives on the other as he decides whether or not to expel the proselytizing guests.

The simulation involves a twist: halfway into the debate, the Jesuit defense becomes imperiled by an announcement from Pope Clement XI that Chinese Catholics must abandon all Confucian practices and give themselves fully to Catholic beliefs and rituals. It's important that this pronouncement be handled carefully by the teacher: most students should not know that it is coming. Only a small group of 2-3 students will be given this assignment, and when they disrupt the hearing, all other students should be surprised by its content.

Time Needed: 2 class periods, at least one of which should be a long block if possible; 1-2 homework nights of reading; 1 additional homework night for reflection/assessment piece.

Materials: On the day of the simulation, the classroom should be set up with the Emperor and his advisors at the front of the room, and rows of desks or tables arranged on either side for Jesuits and Mandarins.

Readings:

- Background coverage from your class's world history textbook
- "Chinese Rites Controversy, 1715": available online at <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1715chineserites.asp>
- Mateo Ricci on the Ming; Qing historians on Ricci and the Jesuits in China (excerpts taken from the Lim/Smith reader listed below in Sources Consulted)

Objectives: Students will be able to:

Concepts (Big idea/central theme): Understand how interactions between westerners and Chinese played out in a time of global economic integration and cultural conflicts.

Content (What students should know): Understand Chinese authority and reluctance to allow outside influence to disrupt its society. Also understand the Jesuit order's objectives and influence as 'agents of interaction' during this time period of increasing global exchange.

Skills (what students should be able to do): Speak clearly and decisively in the class debate; think on their feet

as unexpected turns occur; and write a thoughtful reflection afterwards that demonstrates an understanding of Ming and Qing dynasties and their control of outside interactions.

Procedures

1. Before the simulation, the teacher should have covered the Protestant Reformation in Europe and the Catholic Counter-Reformation. Students should have an understanding of Chinese dynasties, particularly accomplishments and values of the Ming Dynasty and the transition of power to the Manchu Qing dynasty.

2. The night before the simulation, assign the two documents: excerpts from Matteo Ricci's *Journals*; and excerpts from the Qing history of the Ming dynasty. (Selections provided come from Lim/Smith, *The West in the Wider World*, Volume Two). These can be spread out over two nights of homework reading if necessary depending on student level.

3. When class begins, hand out the attached activity sheet filled out with your students' assigned roles. The role of 'disrupters' (those who will represent the Pope's surprise decree) should be given to students who will handle it responsibly. Allow 20 minutes for preparation in teams. Ideally, that will leave 55 minutes in a long block class for the simulation and wrap up discussion. Breaking the simulation out over two days is possible, but not recommended, because it opens the opportunity for the secret disrupters to 'spill the beans' about their role.

4. Follow the procedure on the activity sheet; circulate around the classroom to help individual groups. Take the 'disrupters' outside the classroom to explain their role and allow them to prepare to read the decree (excerpt provided, "The Chinese Rites Controversy, 1715," comes from the online Modern History Sourcebook).

5. Once the Jesuits and Confucian scholars have aired their arguments and fielded questions from the emperor and his advisors, but before the emperor has made his decision, have the disrupters enter the room officiously and insist that their decree from Pope Clement XI be read aloud.

6. Students representing the Jesuits will feel betrayed and dismayed! Make sure you include among them some of your more confident history students/speakers. Allow them a chance to digest what's happened and then to reiterate their case for remaining within China/the Qing court.

7. Allow a few minutes' interval for the emperor and his advisors to reflect, and then provide their decision.

8. Hand out the copies of the Chinese Rites Controversy excerpts that the disrupters have already seen. Show them Emperor Kangxi's angry response; note any differences between what the student acting as emperor decided and what Kangxi decided when he learned of the pope's decree.

9. Allow 10 minutes debriefing. What were the strengths and weaknesses of both sides? How did various authorities compare—the authority of the emperor; the authority of the pope; the authority of the Confucian scholars; and the authority of the Jesuits over their own mission? Ask students what outcomes may have occurred from this interaction gone wrong, both for the Qing and for the Jesuits.

Evaluation/Assessment: Teachers may choose to grade the debate performance, but given the varieties of parts to play, it is

sometimes difficult to assess oral performance across the board. There are a number of potential assessment possibilities:

- Have students write a one- to two-page reflection on the historical situation and how they felt in their assigned role.
- Have students create a documents-based question on the Chinese rites controversy with excerpts from these assigned readings plus a few additional documents (including at least two visual sources) that they discover on their own or in small groups. Visual sources can include Matteo Ricci's maps, images of Jesuits in Chinese intellectual dress, or any number of other possibilities. As a final assessment, the teacher can choose one of the DBQ's and assign it as an in-class essay. Alternately: the teacher can create his/her own DBQ from these documents and have students answer it as an in-class essay.
- Have students do a short, online research assignment to investigate the legacy of Jesuits in China as a historical memory project. How is Matteo Ricci remembered in China, in Taiwan, and the West? There were a number of commemorative events in 2009, the 400th anniversary of Ricci's death; see what students can find out about it. A two-page written report with citations can be the result.

Tips and reflections: I have used this lesson with several different groups of students, mostly successfully; certainly classes with lots of outgoing and confident verbal participants get more out of the simulation than others. A long block period is ideal to allow for preparation and processing the lesson. Students who love winning debates and who represent the Jesuits can be frustrated when the rug gets pulled out from under them, but feeling that way conveys an important historical lesson that will be long remembered.

Sources Consulted

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Hansen, Valerie and Kenneth R. Curtis. *Voyages in World History*. Boston: Wadsworth/Cengage Learning, 2010. Print.

History Standards. National Center for History in the Schools, UCLA. 1996. Web. 20 January 2012.

Lim, Richard and David Kammerling Smith, "Chapter 3, The Christianizing Mission: Jesuits in America and China." *The West in the Wider World: Sources and Perspectives*, Volume Two. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2003.

Rothstein, Edward. "Exhibit Review: A Big Map that Shrank the World." *New York Times*, 19 January 2010. Web. 1 February 2012.

Spence, Jonathan. *The Question of Hu*. New York: Vintage Books, 1988. Print.

Strayer, Robert W. *Ways of the World: A Global History*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2009. Print.

STUDENT HANDOUT FOR CLASS SIMULATION
CATHOLIC COUNTER-REFORMATION:
The Jesuits in China

Jesuit Missionaries and the Qing Emperor Kangxi: A
SIMULATION

Using the documents from Matteo Ricci and the Qing history of the Ming period, we will simulate a hearing from 1715. The Qing emperor Kangxi is trying to decide whether or not to expel the Jesuit missionaries who have been staying in Beijing for over a century. Despite their usefulness as providers of technological, mathematical, and astronomical information, the Jesuits have that pesky habit of trying to convert good Chinese people (followers of Confucianism, Taoism, and/or Buddhism) to Roman Catholicism. Kangxi has gotten very annoyed at all of their proselytizing, but he has agreed to hear out some representatives from the Jesuit mission one last time.

Team A: 3-4 students will serve as the emperor and his closest advisors, who will serve as interrogators

Team B: 6-10 students will be the Jesuits, who want to be allowed to stay in Beijing, work with the emperor's advisors, and continue to preach the word of God to the Chinese people.

Team C: 6-10 students will be Chinese Confucian scholars and philosophers who are mostly opposed to the

presence of the Jesuits. While the team may decide to allow some dissention among its ranks, for the most part they should be arguing for their expulsion from China altogether.

Team D: 2 students will be disrupters of the hearing. Their mission is secret—the rest of you will not know what to expect from them. They will receive their instructions outside of the classroom.

Teams have 30 minutes to prepare, using the sources and the textbook readings to gather information and examples. The emperor and his/her advisors should prepare questions of both sides and take care to understand the Qing perspective on Jesuits and their possible threat to the country. The Jesuit (#2) and Confucian (#3) teams should also prepare a question or two for the other side.

There will be 40 minutes for the simulation. Teams 2 and 3 will have 1 minute each to make an opening statement. Then, other members of those teams will answer questions posed to them by the emperor and his/her advisors. The disrupters (team #4) will at some point provide an unexpected perspective. One minute closing statements will end the hearing, after which time the emperor will be asked to give his/her opinion. After a few minutes of deliberation the decision will be announced, followed by an all-class discussion.

2012 World History Association Teaching Prize Honorable Mention

**World History in State Standards: A Research Assignment for
College Juniors and Seniors**

David C. Fisher
The University of Texas at Brownsville

This lesson is a semester-length research assignment that guides upper-division history majors in evaluating state standards for world history curricula by digging deeply into the scholarship and policy debates that lie behind a particular standard of the student's choosing. This assignment grew out of the controversies that swirled around the 2009-2010 process of revising K-12 social studies standards in Texas. Since the majority of UTB's history majors plan to become certified secondary school teachers, the assignment is particularly effective in three regards: students develop a solid conceptual foundation in the goals and methods of world history; they analyze current world history literature, especially material in the *Journal of World History* and similar print and on-line publications; finally, they are prepared well for passing state certification exams. Along the way, they produce a polished seminar paper and make a professional presentation based on their research.

In preparation for the assignment, students read and discuss material that speaks to two important questions: What is world history? And why are curriculum guidelines controversial? To answer the first question and develop their own definition of world history, students read the relevant sections of websites in

the field such as TheWHA.org, H-World, World History for Us All, and Bridging World History as well as Ross Dunn's introduction to *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion* (2000). To become acquainted with world history curriculum guidelines, the students read the appropriate sections of the *National Standards for History* (1996), the latest *AP World History Course Description* from the College Board, and the *Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills for Social Studies* (or the standards for whichever state is relevant for the instructor and class). For a more advanced class, I would also assign *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past* (2000), an illuminating explanation of how the *National Standards for History* were written and the right-wing political attack on them.

Students carry out the project by choosing a specific standard, or cluster of related standards, from the state guidelines and evaluating it in terms of how world history is defined by professionals in the field, the latest world history scholarship on the topic, and corollary guidelines from the *AP World History Course Description* and *National Standards for History*. They present their findings in a series of specific research assignments during the semester which are discussed in class and on which they receive written feedback. The assignments include the following: a one-paragraph topic description that includes a research question; a bibliography of secondary sources on topic content and of primary sources relating to the crafting of state standards (the Board of Education transcripts and media coverage of the process in Texas are particularly rich); an annotated bibliography; and an outline including a working thesis. These assign-

ments culminate in an essay of 2,500 words plus footnotes and bibliography. Finally, the students revise their essays based on instructor feedback, and they present their arguments to the class in three-minute presentations, the same length of time allotted to individuals who appear before the Texas State Board of Education. The presentations are a highlight of the project because they illustrate exceptionally well the students' mastery of issues in world history.

The benefits of this project are multi-fold. Students report that they think and reason more critically when evaluating sources, and that they write more effective research papers. I believe their positive experiences are due to the in-class dialogue that allows them to fine-tune their arguments and approaches to the material. Additionally, students appreciate the opportunity to read deeply on a topic they find interesting and to explain its significance within the contemporary problem of defining state curriculum standards. Consequently, they produce insightful papers on topics that range from Meso-American societies to industrialization from a global perspective to women's history. They find that some standards align well with up-to-date world history scholarship while other standards fall short or simply stick to the traditional Western Civilization paradigm. Most important, at the end of the semester, students can explain why world history matters.

Appendix

1. Sources on "What is World History?"

Bridging World History. "What is World History?" <http://www.learner.org/courses/worldhistory/whatis.html>.

Dunn, Ross E. "Introduction." In *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion*, edited by Ross E. Dunn, 1-11. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000.

H-World. "What is World History?" <http://www.h-net.org/~world/>. Click on "About H-World" in the left-hand column.

World History for All of Us. "Why Learn World History." <http://worldhistoryforusall.sdsu.edu/shared/thinking.php>.

2. Sources on World History Standards:

Bain, Robert B. and Tamara L. Shreiner. "The Dilemmas of a National Assessment in World History: World Historians and the 12th Grade NAEP." *World History Connected* (July 2006), <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/whc/3.3/bain.html>.

College Board. *AP World History Course Description*. http://apcentral.collegeboard.com/apc/public/courses/teachers_corner/4484.html.

Dunn, Ross E. "Attack on National World History Standards." 15 November 1994, World History Archives, <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/10/006.html>.

Fisher, David C. "A Missed Opportunity for World History in Texas." In *Politics and the History Cur-*

riculum: The Struggle over Standards in Texas and the Nation, edited by Keith Erikson, 170-193. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

---. "What's Wrong (and Right) with World History in Texas." *World History Bulletin* 26, no. 2 (Fall 2010): 29-33.

Lockard, Craig A. "World History and the Public: The National Standards Debate." *Perspectives* (May 2000). <http://www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/2000/0005/0005spl6.cfm>.

National Center for History in the Schools. *National Standards for History*. Basic Edition. <http://nchs.ucla.edu/standards/>. See "Preface," "Developing the Standards," "Historical Thinking, 5-12," and "World 5-12 Standards."

Stearns, Peter N. "World History: Curriculum and Controversy." *World History Connected* (July 2006). <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/whc/3.3/stearns.html>.

Texas Education Agency (TEA). "Social Studies TEKS, Proposed Revisions to 19 TAC Chapter 113, Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills for Social Studies, Subchapter C, High School, World History Studies." <http://www.tea.state.tx.us/index2.aspx?id=3643> (Click on "High School (color-coded)" under "Proposals approved for second reading and final adoption in May 2010.")

3. Research Project Instructions from my World History Senior Seminar at UTB:

Each student will conduct a research and writing project that investigates one of the revised TEKS (Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills) standards for high school world history (or absence of a standard). The assignment is to comment on and evaluate a standard that interests you in light of the issues addressed in your essay ("What is World History?"), secondary historical literature on the topic of the standard, and records of the State Board of Education.

The project consists of 7 steps that build upon each other: topic description, search for sources, preliminary bibliography / footnotes, annotated bibliography, outline, essay (approximately 2,500 words plus footnotes and bibliography), and revised essay.

RESEARCH PORTFOLIO. Assignments should be submitted electronically and in hard copy. Electronic copies should be titled with your last name and the assignment. For example, if your name is Bill Jones, then your first assignment submitted electronically would be titled: Jones Topic. Each hard copy will be turned in along with previously graded research assignments in a Research Portfolio (a manila folder with your name on the tab will do). Assignments are due in class unless otherwise noted.

LATE-DAY POLICY. You may have 2 late days to use at your discretion over the course of the session for research project assignments. For example, you may need extra time on the annotated bibliography and turn it in one day late. You may then find you need one more late day to turn in your final paper. At

that point, you have no late days remaining and must turn in your revisions on time to avoid a penalty. Once late days are used up, assignments are docked 10 points per day late. Late days include weekends.

1. Topic Description.

- Review chapters 1-2 in Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations: Chicago Style for Students and Researchers*, 7th ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007).
- Identify the standard (or missing standard) that you will research from the latest revision of the TEKS.
- Write a one-paragraph description of the topic related to the standard including your research question (following Turabian's advice). Be as specific as possible. Your description and question must reflect preliminary reading (textbooks, for example) on the topic.

2. Search for Sources on Your Topic.

- The goal of this step is to locate reliable and relevant primary and secondary sources that illuminate your topic and research question.
- Review Turabian chapter 3 and your notes on the Library Resources session.
- Do your best to format the assignment effectively so that it is easy to read.

Primary Sources:

- Search materials available on the TEKSWatch and Texas Education Agency websites for primary source material (journalistic coverage, public statements, hearing transcripts, documents) that are relevant to your topic. You may search other sites as well.
- Write up the following:
 - List identifying information for at least 5 primary documents that are relevant to your project/topic.

Secondary Sources:

- Identify the best keywords and subject headings related to your topic. Be sure you understand the difference between keywords and subject headings.
- Search the following databases and find at least 4-5 relevant and reliable secondary sources on your topic in each database. The works you include should be books and articles (of at least 20-30 pages); do not include reviews of books.
 - UTB Library Catalog
 - WorldCat
 - Choice Reviews Online
 - Historical Abstracts
 - JSTOR
 - World History Collection
 - Any other database of your choice
- Write up the following:
 - List the keywords and subject headings that are the most specific for finding material on your topic. Write these at the top of the assignment.
 - List each database and paste in underneath the complete identifying information on each source as it is presented in the database (author, title, publisher, date of publication, page range

for journal articles). You should have 4-5 citations from 7 databases for a total of 28 to 35 secondary sources. Indicate if you found no helpful sources in a database.

- Be sure to include only sources that are relevant and reliable.

3. Preliminary Bibliography / Notes.

- Review the rules for citation in Turabian chapters 15-17.
- Prepare bibliography and note citations for 5 primary sources and your 10 most promising secondary sources according to the directions in Turabian for "bibliography style" (not "reference list style"). You should list primary sources first in a separate section.
- Note that the sources in the bibliography should be arranged in alphabetical order by author's last name. Also, bibliography entries use a hanging indentation. See Turabian p. 147 for an explanation and Figure A15 on p. 401 for an example.
- For the sake of this exercise, list the notes on a second page, numbered 1-15, in the same order as the two sections of the bibliography. Read attentively how notes are used in a paper.

4. Annotated Bibliography.

- Review Turabian chapters 4-5.
- Write paragraph-length annotations of your 3 best secondary sources that identify each author's argument and summarize the content of the source. You should point out how the source addresses your research question. (See Choice Reviews Online for examples of how professionals write paragraph-length reviews of books.)
- The assignment should be formatted as a bibliography according to Turabian with the annotation added after each listed source.

5. Outline.

- Review Turabian chapter 6.
- Write an outline that sketches the main sections and points of your essay. Part I should be your introduction and include your standard, research question, and working hypothesis (if you have one).

6. Essay.

- Review Turabian chapters 7 and 9-11.
- The essay should accomplish the following:
 - identify a TEKS standard and pose a question and thesis about it.
 - demonstrate a point of view about the role of history in society and demonstrate knowledge of historical methods.
 - demonstrate understanding of current practices and definitions of world history.
 - discuss primary source material associated with the TEKS standard under review.
 - explain how the topic associated with the TEKS standard is understood in current secondary historical literature.
 - evaluate the standard and make a recommendation about its value as part of a high school world history curriculum.
- Approximately 2,500 words plus footnotes and

- bibliography.
 - Clear and effective writing; correct grammar and syntax.
7. Revised Essay.
- Review Turabian chapter 12.
 - Make corrections and revisions in response to my comments on your graded essay.
 - Revised essays will be posted on the History Department's website; they must be error free.
8. Final Exam/Oral Presentation.
- Students will present the findings of their projects to the class.

Presentations will be conducted similarly to public hearings of the State Board of Education. Presenters will submit a written statement, have 3 minutes to speak, and then will answer questions from the class.

- Review Turabian chapters 13-14.
- Prepare a coherent and precise 3-minute presentation of your main point.
- Prepare a one-page handout (front and back is okay) that states your main point and includes your bibliography. Bring sufficient copies for the class.



World History Association

On the Historical Archives in Romania

Mihai Manea
Bucharest, Romania

During the Cold War (1947-1990), the Communist countries in Eastern and Central Europe were closed societies, in which access to historical archives was severely limited to mostly scholars and university professors. After the collapse of Communist regimes in 1989-1990 in Eastern and Central Europe, the archives were largely opened to the common public and new documents were revealed. The politics of the archival organization changed over time, especially in the decades since 1989. New valuable information became available for possible future research. The history of the Romanian archives is of particular interest, as the Communist regime prevented free access to many historical documents with censorship dominating over a whole society for 45 years.

The archives in Romania have a long and interesting history. As early as the eighteenth century, archives were kept in the Danubian or, as they were called later, the Romanian Principalities (Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania) by the princely chancellery, church authorities, and privately by dignitaries of various ranks in the lord's hierarchy (Romanian language *boier* / English language *boyar*). The oldest places for preserving documents were monasteries, which, being safe places, also kept secular or civil documents. At the end of the eighteenth century, the Metropolis of Bucharest is known to have kept a general archive that included private documents such as land property delimitations.

The Archives of Wallachia were established on 1 May 1831, and those of Moldavia on 1 January 1832, as the countries' first modern administrative laws or constitutional laws, *Regulamentul Organic*, took effect. Initially, the archives were at an early stage, as the legislation did not refer to strict archival activity. Important cultural figures served as directors of the Archives, including scholars and writers, such as: Gheorghe Asachi, Ion Heliade Rădulescu, and Grigore Alexandrescu. In 1840, an attempt was made to regulate the sorting and evaluation of archival documents, but it was only in 1862, with the Union

of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia and the birth of modern Romania, that the Archives were placed under a General Directorate at Bucharest, the capital of Romania. At that time, a distinction was made between documents with historical value and practical value, and the institution was subordinate to the Department (Ministry) of Justice, Religious Affairs and Public Education. In 1864, following the secularization (state control) of monastery estates in Romania, its collections were enriched as the state took over a significant number of documents coming from the monasteries. New regulations on Archives were enacted in 1869 and 1872 and new figures such as Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, a well-known writer and economist, served as director from 1876 to 1900, followed by Dimitrie Onciul, a historian belonging to the "New Wave," from 1900 to 1923.

In Transylvania, the Hungarian authorities kept their own archives until the Kingdom of Hungary was partitioned following the terrible defeat in the battle of Mohács in 1526. After Transylvania became a part of the Habsburg Empire in 1699, methods of document preservation gradually improved, notably through the introduction of registers at the chief administrative institutions. In 1875, the Hungarian State Archives were established and most of the old Transylvanian archives were moved to Budapest. Thus, at the end of the 19th Century, many documents referring to Transylvania, as well as the Banat and Bukovina, were in the State Archives in Budapest and Vienna.

In 1918 at the end of World War I, when Romania gained its full national unity, State Archives were established in three new historical regions: at Cluj (1920) for Transylvania, at Cernăuți (Cernowitz) (1924) for Bukovina and at Chișinău (Kishinev) (1925) for Bessarabia. In 1925, a new law governing the State Archives was passed by the Parliament and called for regional directorates to be set up. The institution was subordinate to the Ministry of Public Education. Constantin Moisil, a famous Romanian mathematician, was the director from 1923 to 1938, followed by Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, an meticulous archivist (1938-1953).

In 1951, during the Communist period, the State Archives Directorate passed under the control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Home Affairs) and a new organizational model, inspired from the USSR, was adopted. After the fall of

Communism in 1989, a new archival law was adopted in 1996, when the State Archives (Romanian language: *Arhivele Statului*) changed the name into the National Archives of Romania (Romanian language: *Arhivele Naționale ale României*). The new law defines the National Archival Deposit of Romania as “documents official and private, diplomatic and consular, memoirs, manuscripts, proclamations, summons, announcements, plans, sketches, maps, film prints and similar objects, seals, as well as photo, video, audio and computer recordings, with historic value, produced in Romania or by Romanian creators abroad.” The National Archives establishes modern organizing principles, norms, and practices for archival activity.

At the same time, the National Archives implements measures from the legislation on archives, receives documents for the National Archival Deposit of Romania, inventories, selects and preserves the documents it holds, utilizing microfilm and other formats, and maintains an archival database. The National Archives also puts out a quarterly magazine, *Revista Arhivelor* and other publications. As a new generation of historians, archivists and sociologists emerges, the National Archives ensures the training of qualified archivists through the Archival Faculty (Department) and the National School for Archival Training; attests whether a certain document forms part of the National Archival Deposit of Romania; maintains relations with corresponding institutions; applies international conventions in the field; and participates in international archivists’ congresses and conferences.

Nowadays, the National Archives of Romania are headquartered in Bucharest and are subordinate to the Ministry of Interior and Administrative Reform. There are 42 main regional branches, one in each county (in Romanian language *judet*) of Romania, including Bucharest. During the 2000s, the Archives has pursued a policy of important infrastructure modernization, including computerization. The Bucharest headquarters has study rooms as well as a microfilm rooms open weekdays to researchers. Church and family records are often solicited, as well as documents on the history of Communism and on land reform, collectivization in 1945 (Communist policy on agriculture), and nationalization in 1948 (Communist policy on industry). There is also an important library at the headquarters, containing some 70,000 books and 50,000 periodicals, many of them rare and valuable, and, again, every branch in each county of Romania has its own library. A list of the archive’s holdings available to researchers is available online, at <http://www.arhivelenationale.ro> (Romanian Language only).

The most important archival collections at the National Archives of Romania are: the Historical Archive fund (1831-1895), the War of Independence fund (1877-1878), the Political and Diplomatic fund (1920-1944), and the Peace Conference in Paris fund (1946-1947). There are many archival funds on Romanian schools and churches abroad as well as

reports, dispatches and telegrams of the Romanians’ diplomatic representations abroad (embassies, consulates and so on), and documents relating to the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), the Romanians in the Balkans, the Civil War in Spain (1936-1939), the attempts of the Habsburgs to regain the throne of Hungary in the 1920s and 1930s, the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Romanian government (Council of Ministers).

After the abolition of the monarchy on 30 December 1947, when the Communists forced King Michael of Romania to leave the throne and the country accompanied by some members of his family, a commission was set up with the aim of studying all properties or belongings in the buildings formerly owned by the Royal Family. Many documents, formerly belonging to the Royal Family, have reached the National Archives in several stages, and constitute the Romanian Royal Household fund (over 200 linear meters). The documents concern the Royal Household and almost all spheres of activity, especially political and economic, social and cultural. Many documents have been ordered separately for each family member of the Romanian Royal House: King Carol I, King Ferdinand, King Carol II, King Michael, Queen Elizabeth, Queen Mary, Queen Elena, Prince Nicolae and princesses Elisabeta and Ileana. The personal funds include marital records, private correspondence, sets and catalogues of the studies, notices, diaries and literary activity.

After the Revolution of 1989, the media, researchers, academia and the ordinary public took great interest in the documents of the former Romanian Communist Party, the Romanian Communist government and, especially, the Secret Police (in Romanian language *Securitate*). Concerning this topic, there are two important official bodies – The National Council for the Study of the *Securitate*’s Archives (CNSAS) (www.cnsas.ro) and the Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes in Romania (IICCR) (www.crimelecomunismului.ro).

CNSAS is an autonomous administrative authority, under the supervision of the Romanian Parliament, that ensures that every Romanian citizen has the right to search for his personal file made by the Secret Police (in Romanian language *Securitate*), revealing the terrible repression of the Communist period. In 2009, the Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes in Romania (IICCR) merged with the National Institute for the Memory of the Romanian Exile (INMER), thus resulting in a new institution, the Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes and the Memory of the Romanian Exile (IICCMER). The institute’s main objectives are to administer and analyze the memory of the Communist regime in Romania and its consequences and to collect, archive, and publish documents referring to Romanian exiles in the interval 1940-1989. As a result of several projects developed in January-October 2011, approximately 29, 000 pages from various publications and archival collections of the Romanian exiles and 23 video recordings are available in electronic format for researchers.

New England Regional World History Association (NERWHA) Holds Spring Symposium

NERWHA held a one-day symposium, “Braided Narratives II: Integrating Research and Teaching in World History,” at Salem State University, Salem, Massachusetts, on 28 April 2012, with 41 area teachers, professors, independent scholars, and graduate students in attendance.

Following an early morning meeting of the Executive Council, the symposium began with a six-person roundtable on the issue “Connecting Theory and Teaching about World History to Enable Students to Think as Historians.” The panelists were Thomas Anderson of the University of New Hampshire, Barbara Brown, African Studies Center, Boston University, Kathryn deWitt, Lexington High School, Thomas Mounkhal, Ulster Community College, Katherine Quinn Murphy, Lexington High School, and Thomas Rushford, Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives. Alfred J. Andrea served as moderator. The session lasted 2 hours with 75 minutes of that time devoted to spirited audience discussion of points raised by the panelists.

Following a short break for lunch, two simultaneous workshops were held. In “The Northeastern Frontier of World History: Upcoming Graduate Research” five graduate students of Northeastern University’s World History Program, Sara Tannoury Karam, Courtney Marchuk, Allyssa Metzger, Malcolm Purinton, and Mikhail Rekun, presented outlines of their current thesis and dissertation research. Heather Streets-Salter, the new director of Northeastern’s World History Program, moderated the session. The audience responded by offering suggestions to the

panelists as to further avenues of exploration as their research progresses. In “Around World History Concepts in 10 or More Clicks” moderated by Jeremy Greene of Chelmsford High School, Robert Maloy and Joseph Emery of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, offered advice on ancillary aids that are available online.

The afternoon’s plenary roundtable, moderated by James A. Diskant of John D. O’Bryant School of Mathematics and Science, was composed of four Ph.D. students from Northeastern University: James Bradford, Samantha Christiansen, Burleigh Hendrickson, and Zachary Scarlett. Each offered insights on “Teaching Contemporary History: Challenges and Strategies.” Once again the audience joined in spirited discussion.

The symposium ended with a Business Meeting and written evaluation of the day’s proceedings.

NERWHA will hold its next semi-annual symposium in the early autumn at Boston University’s African Studies Center, at which time the theme will be “Africa in World History.” Further information on this and other NERWHA activities is available at <nerwha.org>.



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Book Reviews

Konstantin Mihailović. *Memoirs of a Janissary*. Svat Soucek, ed. Benjamin Stolz, transl. Markus Wiener Publishers, 2011. 157 pp. + notes, bibliography, illustrations and maps. \$22.95 paper.

Kathy Callahan
Murray State University

Originally penned in the 1400s, Serbian soldier Konstantin Mihailović's account of his service with the Ottoman Janissaries is sure to fascinate many and will provide teachers with a valuable resource for classroom use. Captured with two of his brothers by the Ottomans, during the siege of Novo Brdo in 1455, Mihailović spent eight years in the sultan's custody. No original of his memoir exists, but multiple translations of the original in Czech and Polish are extant. This edition is a translation of a Czech edition, M, published in the early 1500s. Mihailović's memoir gained great popularity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries among persons wishing to know more about Islam, Ottoman rule and the Ottoman military.

The book's well written introduction provides important information about Mihailović's life and various editions of his memoirs, as well as a crucial analysis of the veracity of the work. Stolz suggests in his "Introduction" that the memoir's fifty chapters (some only a paragraph long) can be divided into the following categories: an examination of Islam, a history of empire – including the time period during which Mihailović served the sultan, and information on the administrative and military components of the empire. Some of these chapters must be taken with a grain of salt as subsequent historical analysis has shown that many of Mihailović's assertions are inaccurate.

While inaccuracies exist, perhaps the most rewarding parts of Mihailović's account are his assessments of Sultan Mehmet II (Machomet in this text) under whom he served, the components of the Ottoman administrative and military machine, and the problems Christian kingdoms faced when confronting that military. Mihailović may or may not have actually been a Janissary, but there is little doubt that he served with them as his memoir suggests (xix). One must remember that his accounts come through a distorted lens – Mihailović was a captive Christian, an outsider, offering commentary on his personal observations.

Mihailović portrays Sultan Mehmet II as a deceitful ruler who constantly reneges on promises made to other rulers; he is also portrayed as unpredictable as he beheads one king but allows another to live following battles against him. At the same time, Mihailović shows that Mehmet could be enormously gracious to his own soldiers, distributing money, titles and lands to those who served him well (60). Students will certainly love chapter 33 which describes the sultan's encounters with the Wallachian Duke Vlad II (Dracula) and his sons (65-68).

Information on the Ottoman army and navy are found throughout the book. Some of the most compelling information comes from the author's descriptions of battles in which he participated, largely found in chapters 27 through 34. During

this part of the sultan's reign, 1455-1463, Mehmet II actively engaged in imperial expansion and Mihailović describes battles in Morea, Trebizond, Moldavia, among others and against the Tatar ruler, Uzan Hasan. Mihailović became such a trusted soldier that the sultan left the Serb in control of a fort at Zvečaj (in today's Croatia), commanding four dozen Janissaries against the Hungarian King Matthew Corvinus (Matyas in the text). Mihailović did not hold the fort, but he joyously returned to Christendom by surrendering to the king (69-71). The last several chapters of Mihailović's memoirs describe in great detail the sultan's court, his viziers, and the components of the army. Readers will be intrigued by the complexity of the army; teachers might encourage students to draw a chart of the Ottoman Imperial Court as explained by the author as a means to understand its many levels.

Mihailović criticizes Christian princes who engage against the Ottomans. First, he suggests that the lack of unity among those princes makes them easy targets for the Ottomans. He writes, "The heathens [Muslims] are brave not only in themselves, but because of Christian discord. For Christian discord is heathen bliss and joy and our hatred and common malice bring the heathens victory" (53). Furthermore, he shows that European armies cannot expect to defeat the Ottoman military until they change their methods of fighting and recognize inherent weaknesses in Ottoman battle plans. Mihailović suggests, "their [Ottoman] infantry cannot remain in the field long, for they do not prepare themselves for a long duration, believing that it will always turn out for them as it has turned out previously" (85). He also suggests that the use of flaming arrows against the Janissaries in combat would send the camels into disarray, likely trampling the infantry (85). Mihailović also advises that European soldiers should stop wearing armor as the Ottoman soldiers do not wear it, thus making them lighter and faster on the battlefield (86).

While reading his memoirs, it is not hard to imagine how Mihailović's work, or parts of it, could be used in the classroom. It is particularly rich in opportunities to teach students about point-of-view. For example, the opening section of the book on Islam (chapters 1-8) could be used alongside a secondary source on Islam. Mihailović clearly does not grasp the depth of the faith and it might be valuable for students to read how a Christian describes something he knows little about, but also may feel hostile about because of his captive status. Muslims are regularly called "heathens" and Muhammad's life is described thus: "his evil forty-five years" (4). Further there are factual errors such as Mihailović's description of Fatima as Muhammad's sister (she was his daughter) (4).

Another way one might employ this work in the classroom is to use it in comparison with other first-hand accounts. Excerpts from Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq's *Turkish Letters* might be considered. Busbecq, a Flemish diplomat serving Ferdinand of Austria, lived at the court of Sulieman the Magnificent for two years in the 1550s. Although writing several decades removed from one another and from different vantage points (slave soldier versus invited diplomat), both authors

comment on Islam, the Ottoman government, and the Ottoman military. Another possible comparative text is the *Akbarnama*. The Muslim author of this work tries to make sense of Hinduism much in the same way that Mihailović attempts to make sense of Islam.

The book also contains numerous components that make it a useful tool in the classroom. For example, the editor of the book, Svat Soucek included helpful annotations in the margins. There are some lovely illustrations, as well. The illustrations comprise of nineteen pieces of art, mostly woodcuts, from the 15th and 16th centuries. Extensive notes are also included. It would be helpful if the editor placed some of the explanatory and historical notes with the text, not as endnotes. Most readers will be content with linguistic notes remaining at the end, but the other notes would serve readers better in text.

Memoirs of a Janissary is an interesting account of a Serb slave soldier who served Sultan Mehmet II. The book itself makes a strong statement about the author's view of the Ottoman Empire and provides a small glimpse into Mihailović's service in the Janissary corps.

Christian Gerlach. *Extremely Violent Societies: Mass Violence in the Twentieth-Century World*. Cambridge University Press, 2010. 489 pp.

Craig Patton
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The field of Genocide Studies, like World History, has grown steadily over the last two decades. From an originally rather narrow, if understandable, focus on the Holocaust, research on genocide has progressively expanded its geographical and chronological scope and also become more explicitly comparative. Christian Gerlach's book, *Extremely Violent Societies*, not only exemplifies this trend, but takes it a step further by offering a theoretical alternative to the conceptual framework of genocide itself, claiming the latter is too narrow. While not without some problems, Gerlach's book is an important contribution to the history of the modern world with important insights for anyone who studies or teaches contemporary World History.

As the title indicates, the central theme of Gerlach's book is the concept of "mass violence" which he argues is more useful than what he terms the "genocide approach" in understanding the behaviors that comprise mass murder. He lays out what he sees as the short-comings of genocide approach and sketches the broad outlines of his own approach in the Introduction. He offers a more detailed and nuanced description of his alternative model in the Conclusion. In between are six chapters which are essentially case studies that provide empirical evidence for his overall arguments. These studies vary considerably in length and focus, but together they make a strong case for his model of "mass violence." It is worth noting that his case studies tend to focus on lesser known non-European examples of mass murder which would normally make the book well-suited for world history courses. However, some of the case studies are quite detailed and might not work well at the high school or even introductory college level. In contrast, the Introduction and Conclusion are quite accessible, conveying

his arguments and the connections between them in a straightforward manner. They could be employed quite effectively by themselves to stimulate discussions about how historians constantly weigh and evaluate competing approaches to historical problems.

In essence, Gerlach argues the standard genocide framework is inadequate because it emphasizes the role of ideas and political systems and thus tends to restrict historical analysis to certain types of phenomena. Although Gerlach acknowledges state policies and ideologies are important, he claims such an approach cannot capture the totality of the process nor can it explain its causes. He argues the concept of "mass violence" has several advantages. First, he says it is more comprehensive, covering events such as forcible removal or expulsion, famines, excessive imprisonment and mass rape as well as with mass murder. Two inter-related phenomena which receive special attention in his case studies (particularly those concerning Armenia, Bangladesh, and Greece) are forced migration/resettlement and famine. In fact, Gerlach not only argues that famines often caused more deaths than outright murder, they have also been mostly "man-made," taking the lives of those who are the target of other forms of mass violence as well (106, 164, 271). Second, he says "mass violence" has more explanatory power because of its multi-causal approach. For Gerlach the key feature of mass violence is mass participation. He insists that "diverse social groups participate [in it] for a multitude of reasons" and it is this feature, and not state direction, that makes modern violence so destructive. Throughout the book he takes pains to illustrate how non-state actors representing various social, political, and religious groups participated in the destructive process, often displaying a great deal of autonomy and initiative. These groups had various, if often overlapping, motives for supporting or participating in mass violence and it was the confluence of such motives that explain the scope and intensity of mass violence. Yet Gerlach also argues that such "coalitions for violence" were inherently unstable and mass violence typically declines or ends as the alliance(s) break down. He describes this phenomenon most extensively in the second chapter, which is a very detailed account of events in Indonesia in the mid-1960s, but it also features prominently in other chapters on Armenia, Bangladesh, and Greece (17, 36-37, 62, 120, 174-75). Among the non-state actors that get special attention are various forms of militia. In several places, Gerlach argues militia groups are "crucial" to mass violence because they serve as links between the state and ordinary citizens, helping the latter mobilize and exert armed force (34, 130, 193, 232, 282). Like other elements of any coalition for violence, Gerlach argues militia members were inspired by a wide variety of motives and were not simply "tools" manipulated by the government.

Gerlach's emphasis on multiple forms of violence and multiple participants is important, but as he himself notes, a number of recent works using the genocide framework employ a somewhat similar approach. What is most unique about Gerlach's work is his efforts to link mass violence to long-term social developments that create a "crisis of society" conducive to the use of physical violence. In several of his case studies, especially those on Indonesia, Bangladesh, Greece, and a comparative one on anti-guerilla warfare around the world, he argues that the penetration of capitalist forms of agriculture and manufacturing

transformed economic and social relationships in ways that threatened the livelihood and lifestyles of millions of people, creating tensions and conflicts ripe for mass violence. In this connection he notes that with the exception of Nazi Germany, most mass violence has occurred in non-industrial regions undergoing dramatic structural changes and most victims have been rural peasants. In several places he takes other historians to task for privileging the sufferings of literate, urban dwellers in previous accounts of mass murder (141, 277). While no one would deny that capitalist transformation is often extremely disruptive, Gerlach's tendency to trace all forms of mass violence back to this seems somewhat reductionist and at odds with his emphasis on multi-causality. Similarly, as Gerlach himself notes, some of the worst examples of mass violence have been carried out by communist regimes intent on "socialist transformation," raising the question of whether the underlying process is best conceived as capitalism *per se* or some alternative model, e.g. industrialization, modernization, or economic development.

Whatever questions one might raise about some of Gerlach's terminology, he excels in describing how these social crises evolved and eventually led to mass murder. For example, Gerlach argues that a crucial part of this process is dramatic social mobility. According to him, structural economic changes led to the emergence of new elites who typically competed with pre-existing elites for influence in society and government. In various places these struggles led to intense conflicts, civil wars, and mass violence. However, he is quick to point out that individuals from middle and lower class groups were also involved in the "redistributive process" and often participated in mass violence as a way to survive or advance. He traces this in great detail in his case study on East Pakistan/Bangladesh, but it is also a prominent theme in his study of Indonesia, the Ottoman Empire, and Greece. Without dismissing ideologies completely, Gerlach asserts that a material interest, whether simple survival or the desire for self-enrichment, was often the most important motive for individuals to engage in mass violence (44, 56, 62, 98, 116, 125, 159, 163, 251). As noted earlier, Gerlach includes famines as a form of mass violence and he argues that famines, as the most extreme form of struggle for survival, are particularly important in mobilizing large numbers of people for violence against others (115, 164, 186, 241).

As in many newer works using the genocide framework, warfare plays a prominent role in Gerlach's model since so many episodes of mass murder have occurred within the context of international conflicts. However, unlike most of these other studies, Gerlach systematically links warfare to the broader socio-economic changes which he sees as the over-arching context for most mass violence. For example, when discussing Greece and how it was typical of many extremely violent societies, he argues "foreign armies induced violence in societies that were often ridden with ethnic, religious, and class conflicts anyway ... [and therefore] set in motion or accelerated redistributive processes, the emergence of new elites, migration, social change, and new tensions" (248). He also differentiates between what he labels imperialist and internal violence. Although the two are often inter-connected, most of his case studies, such as those on Indonesia, Armenia, and Bangladesh, stress internal violence to highlight how the perpetrators and victims of mass violence are often from the same society.

Despite a few weaknesses stemming from its ambitious goals, Gerlach's book should be read by anyone interested in modern world history since it largely succeeds in placing twentieth century mass murder in a truly global perspective. Like most good world history, it combines breadth of vision with detailed empirical research in a way that not only presents familiar topics in a new light, but also points to new avenues of inquiry. By highlighting the participatory nature of mass violence, the multiplicity of participants and motives, and the role of societal transformations and crises in creating "coalitions of violence," Gerlach provides scholars and instructors with valuable tools for analyzing and understanding the roots and dynamic of mass violence.

David Christian and others, eds. *Big History*. Berkshire Essentials. Berkshire Publishing Group, 2012. 176 pp. \$29.95.

Alexander Mirkovic
Northern Michigan University

The dictionary defines the word "essential" as something of utmost importance, basic, indispensable, necessary. This small, alphabetically arranged collection of essays on a variety of Big History themes stands up to the expectation of its series' title: "the essentials." Big History students and practitioners will find this carefully chosen collection of essays an indispensable tool for their study and research. In addition, this collection not only gives a good overview of where big history is today, but it also moves the discipline further in the direction of environmental history.

With essay titles such as, Population Growth, Gaia Theory, Migration, Oceans and Seas, Plant and Animal Domestication, Diseases, Creation Myths, Climate Change, Carrying Capacity, and Anthroposphere, it is obvious that the editors have chosen the essential themes of Big History. This new discipline, an intersection between science(s) and history, is here moved in a more scientific direction by looking at the comprehensive interaction between human beings and the natural world. This shift was accomplished by the editors and the contributors of this collection, a veritable who's who of World History practitioners and pioneers, people who have for quite some time steered the ship of World History, including William and John McNeill, Judith Zinsser, Heidi Roupp, Ralph Croizier, David Christian, and Jerry Bentley. As a consequence of this decision to move in the direction of environmental studies, the essays included were written not just by historians, but also by scientists. The collection features essays by oceanographers, chemists, geographers, evolutionary biologists and geneticists, to note just a few. The book not only deals with the question of how the environment has influenced human history, but also with the issue of how our perceptions of the environment have changed over time.

Ever since 1963, with the publication of *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community*, William McNeill and hundreds of his students, followers, and colleagues in the World History Association have argued in favor of history seen from the standpoint of one human community. Various movements and trends have come and gone. For example, multiculturalism came in and out of fashion, but world historians continue to

argue against the narrow focus on the nation or even the larger unit, the civilization, and in favor of inter-connectedness of all human beings, now and in the past. This direction becomes more and more pronounced as we as historians tend to emphasize the environment as something that we all share. Big History, therefore, represents a next logical step toward greater theoretical sophistication of World History. By linking Big History and World History with the story of our environment, and the story about how we as human beings relate to our environment, world historians are pushing toward the same goal that William McNeill articulated half-a-century ago. All of the things mentioned above represent quite an achievement for a relatively small collection of essays. Therefore, I recommend this book to both the students and the practitioners of Big History. It will make you see history in a different light!

José C. Moya, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American History*. Oxford University Press, 2011. 487 pp. + selected bibliography + index. \$49.95.

Lisa M. Edwards

University of Massachusetts, Lowell

The new *Oxford Handbook of Latin American History* will be a welcome addition to many historians' bookshelves. This compilation of historiographical essays on important aspects of the region's history is one that teachers and scholars will reach for again and again over many years to come. Before turning over the floor to experts on subfields like colonial New Spain, rural history, or the history of disease, medicine, and health, editor José C. Moya's introduction considers the definition of "Latin America" and its conceptualization as a region. Despite its diversity, he concludes that the strong legacy of Iberian colonialism and the parallel postcolonial historical processes make the region a coherent one. Throughout this discussion, Moya considers Latin America in a world history context, particularly in discussions of globalization and modernization.

This introductory essay is followed by 16 chapters written by 24 prominent scholars surveying work in their areas of specialization over the last half century. While it is impossible in this short review to consider each essay in detail, I hope here to provide an overview of the volume and to indicate some ways it can be utilized by teachers and scholars in world history.

The book's organization is itself conducive to a broad perspective, as most chapters are defined thematically and chronologically. The only geographically-limited chapters are those for colonial New Spain, where the sheer volume of the historiography warrants it, and for Brazil, due to its unique colonial experience under the Portuguese. Otherwise, Spanish America or all of Latin America is considered as a whole. Although a few essays focus on traditional areas of specialization like independence, labor history, and economic history, most are defined in social and cultural terms. Sexuality and gender merit two chapters, for example, one for the colonial period and one for the post-independence period. Another three essays are devoted to race and ethnicity: one on Brazilian slavery, another on Afro-Latin Americans after abolition, and a third on Indigenous Peoples and Nation-States in Spanish America, 1780-2000. Chapters on the history of Latin American families and popular religion round out the collection. The absence of a

chapter dedicated to political history is unfortunate, especially given recent interest in democracy and the creation of the public sphere, and neither pre-Columbian societies nor urban history are considered separately. For all of these topics, however, a careful reader can find some useful avenues to explore by mining multiple chapters, and the overall strengths of the volume will incline a reader to forgive the omissions.

While scholars who specialize in other regions will find the thematic chapters useful for comparative purposes, this collection is especially valuable for teachers and scholars of world history. Discussions of sources, methodology, and periodization run through the volume, and will inspire thinking about these questions across chronological and geographical boundaries. The essays here also share a global perspective, accounting for work produced by historians, theorists, and scholars in other disciplines based in Latin America, the U.S., and Europe as well as considering how they have influenced one another, overlapped, and differed in their approaches. Overall, this survey of the state of the field at the beginning of the twenty-first century is both broad and deep, and will be useful for both specialists and non-specialists.

Thomas R. Trautmann. *India: Brief History of a Civilization*. Oxford University Press, 2011. 238 pp., paper. \$19.95.

Carolyn Neel

Arkansas Tech University

When a keen intellect is added to vast knowledge and a knack for finding the most appropriate phrase, the result is likely to closely resemble *India: Brief History of a Civilization*. In the introductory notes to this book, Dr. Thomas Trautmann, Emeritus from the University of Michigan, advises the reader that his intention was to provide his students with an introduction to Indian history that was not too long or too detailed. He wanted to present a clear narrative without deluging students with too many names or unfamiliar terms. He accomplished his goals, and in so doing has created a book that should become the classic example of a "big picture" overview for experts and novices alike. India is vast, and a multitude of peoples have settled in the area. A general problem with textbooks attempting to span the history of India or South Asia is that a novice can simply drown in the complexity and glut of names, places, beliefs, and attitudes. Trautmann, true to his aim, starts by examining the ambiguity inherent in the generalizations necessary to overviews. His challenge was to build a broad platform for readers and still convey an idea of the rich complexity lying beneath, the sense of cultures and peoples merging and fracturing.

In the first chapter, Trautmann introduces the makeup of Indian geography, population, and the cultures which merged to form the composite milieu of Indian civilization. Of the primary language families, the Dravidian and Munda arrived at a very distant, uncertain date, with Indo-Aryan a relative latecomer, arriving about 1400 BCE. The peoples represented by the three language groups have mixed through time to some degree, as have their languages, yet cultural borders remain. The three distinct language families carry with them distinct sets of cultural practices, influencing each other but not actually merging. Political and economic stresses exacerbated perceptions of ethnic divide. After the end of British rule, the areas that

comprise “Indian Civilization” split into seven political divisions: the Republic of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, and the Maldives. Understanding the makeup of the current cultural area provides a reader with a framework for Indian civilization and establishes the structure for the rest of the book.

The first urban civilization of South Asia, originated in an area with rich agricultural potential, where the confluence of five Indus tributaries fan out to provide extensive irrigation sources and occasional layers of rich new soil. In this region, lie the ruins of two ancient cities, Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, dating from more than 4500 years ago. The design and construction of the two are extraordinarily similar, indicating that they were not only culturally unified, but probably politically as well. These are the largest cities in the area, with a combined population of nearly 65,000 people, but there are more than a thousand small settlements scattered in the area, with the highest concentration being near the cities themselves. The cities cannot be fully excavated because of subsurface issues, but archeologists have unearthed enough to give scholars an idea of the basis of a Harappan economy based on agriculture and trade, as would be expected of the age. The writing system is not yet deciphered. Neither the beginning nor the end of the Harappan civilization is clearly understood. The Harappans appeared about 2500 BCE and disappeared about 1900 BCE, but many of the small settlements carried on, some until about 1000 BCE. We do not clearly understand whether they went out with a bang or a whimper – the answer may lie in between, or in a combination. Nonetheless, present evidence indicates that the cities ended, taken over by squatters, at least four centuries before the arrival of the Indo-European Aryans. Tantalizing material remains (such as storage boxes, jewelry, and sculpture) hint at some degree of cultural ties between these opportunistic interlopers and the disappearance of the high Harappan societies, but that may be hopeful speculation.

The written history of India begins after 1400 BCE, with the arrival of those Aryans who came to dominate the Dravidian population. The oldest Aryan masterwork, the *Rig Veda*, is comprised of 1028 hymns, remains of different ages. The Vedic age was the “heroic” age, with endemic small-scale warfare. Indo-Aryan language and Vedic culture largely replaced the non-Aryan, but Vedic civilization itself absorbed the features of the preceding peoples. Rich new philosophic and religious systems grew from the tensions of societal merging and state formation, including Jainism, Buddhism, and Ajivikism (an early belief in the transmigration of souls after death, or reincarnation). From about 500 BCE, new religions and empires made their way into the Indian landscape. Never a unified political unity, Vedic kingdoms alternately contended and cooperated with each other as well as newcomers pushing into the subcontinent. Invading imperial powers brought with them new religious interpretation, which became incorporated into the Indian cosmology. As Trautmann writes, “Indian religious history proceeds by *addition* rather than by *revolution*.” Each successive empire, whether established by ambitious local lords or invaders, left a layer of religious, intellectual, scientific, and technological residue.

India touched and left its mark throughout Central Asia as well as Southeast Asia. The trail that brought Buddhism across the region into China and the Northern Asian regions also carried other elements of Indian intellectual and technological

traces found throughout the region. In succeeding centuries, India’s wealth and productive capacity drew Turks, Mughals, and Europeans alike. Trautmann skillfully places each in perspective. Every wave of immigrant, whether rag-tag wanderer, merchant-trader, or conqueror added to the mix, just as the waves of Indian migrants have shaped today’s world to an extent as yet not fully understood. Trautmann cautions against jumping to conclusions about the history of the past as well as “the history of the future” without deep thought. He has provided one of the most valuable resources in modern libraries by developing a coherent, accessible, and erudite introduction to India.

Paul S. Ropp. *China in World History*. The New Oxford World History. Oxford University Press, 2010. 208 pp. \$19.95.
— **Haiwang Yuan, Ronald Knapp, Margot Landman, and Gregory Veeck, eds. *This is China: The First 5,000 Years*. Berkshire Publishing Group, 2010. 143 pp. \$14.95.**

Patrick M. Albano
Pierpont Community and Technical College

Paul Ropp has written *China in World History*, a concise yet informative history of China from its formative period in the third century B.C.E. to its meteoric rise to super-power status in the twentieth century. Fundamental to understanding China within the larger global community and central to the author’s thesis, are three important questions. First, how has China’s civilization compared with other contemporaneous civilizations in the world? Second, what has China shared with the world? Finally, what makes China different from other civilizations? For students of world history, perhaps the last question is most important.

Ropp explains how, in ancient times, the Chinese had a different view of creation than that held by other world cultures. While many ancient civilizations looked to polytheism or monotheism and a creator god, China, instead, sought to understand the interconnectedness of humans with their environment. Accordingly, this “optimistic humanism” saw the earth as a friendly place, devoid of a creator god, centering on humans and human achievements. While a cogent argument of China’s differences with other global communities can be made, there are also similarities. One example is that throughout the long history of both China and Rome, each civilization forged an empire, both expanded their borders quickly and yet each also had too few soldiers to police those borders, thus both eventually collapsed under their enormous weight.

During the Sui dynasty, in the Early Middle Ages, trade passed back-and-forth along the Silk Route and an east-west reciprocity of goods and services integrated China into a global economy; a dynamic that draws comparison with the present day. Here Ropp answers the question of what China shared with the world. More significantly, during the Middle Ages, under Mongol [Yuan] dominance, foreigners ruled China for the first time. This proved fortuitous as Mongol Khanates forged strategic alliances with ethnic groups in China, integrating those groups into government positions.

Early modern China under the Qing dynasty is an example of how China compared with and shared with other global communities. The Qing produced one great leader in Kangxi whose absolute rule over China is associated with another absolute ruler in Europe, Louis XIV of France. The reigns of

both of these monarchs saw great advances in literature and lyric poetry. If ancient Sumer produced the Epic of Gilgamesh, and archaic Greece Homer's epic poems, it was the Qing that produced two of China's greatest novels. Wu Jingzi wrote the brilliant satire *The Unofficial History of the Scholars* and Cao Xueqin produced *The Dream of the Red Chamber*.

The remaining chapters, devoted to twentieth-century China, are short yet Ropp manages to address all the key events: civil war, invasion, and the rise of communism. The final chapter, "The People's Republic of China (1949 to the Present)," at twenty pages is hardly sufficient in discussing this important era in Chinese history, yet the author stresses important concepts to understand a China in transformation. Thus, "The Great Leap Forward," the "Hundred Flowers Campaign," Mao Zedong's imprimatur on China's history, and the Four Modernizations reforms of Deng Xiaoping are important terms for student comprehension. Surprisingly, only a scant four pages are accorded the Great Cultural Revolution of the 1960s.

This book will appeal to a wide audience at different educational levels. It can be used in college survey courses as a supplemental text for either World History or the History of Asia. Advanced Placement students in high school will also benefit from this reading. Given the book's abridged chapters and cursory treatment of several themes, this book is not appropriate for a course on the History of China. However, the vast array of maps, photos, literary quotes and a chronological addendum in many ways suggest a much larger volume. Additionally, annotated web-sites listed at the end of the book provide great resources for students. One criticism of the scholarship is the paucity of endnotes offered. Despite this minor criticism, this is an excellent book that can expose students to the full sweep of China's history in a short, readable narrative. Paul Ropp has done a commendable job in a concise work. That concision makes *China in World History* an ideal text for many academic levels and scholars interested in this topic.

By comparison, *This is China: The First 5,000 Years* is a very short survey of Chinese history, geography, and culture with an interesting title. General Editor, Haiwang Yuan and collaborating scholars, Ronald G. Knapp, Margot E. Landman and Gregory Veeck have produced a one-volume survey encapsulating 5,000 years of Chinese history. This book is abridged from the much larger work, the five-volume and 2,754-page *Berkshire Encyclopedia of China: Modern and Historic Views of the World's Newest and Oldest Global Power*.

The book includes four major sections. Chapter one focuses on the physical and human geography of China and is a good starting point to begin a study of this varied country. Throughout this and succeeding chapters, the editors insert short lists as "topics for further study," akin to important terms or concepts, highlighting each chapter focus. Individuals from respective epochs such as philosophers, emperors, military generals and dictators are introduced in separate biographical boxes to highlight their importance in Chinese history.

Chapter two divides Chinese history into fourteen dynastic eras offering only very brief summations of no more than 2-3 pages for each dynasty. This overview is further limited when one considers how much space is taken by various "boxed" inserts – songs, poems, topics for further study, pictures, and aforementioned individual biographies – leaving the reader with very limited information of the dynasty in question.

Chapter three brings China into the 20th century discussing significant changes that have occurred from 1912 to the present day. Here the student is introduced to China as a republic, the Long March, the war with Japan and the Chinese civil war (1937-49), and the eventual Communist takeover of mainland China. Also addressed are the important dynamics of the Great Leap Forward, an effort to modernize China and catch-up with western nations, and the Cultural Revolution. Regrettably, only four pages are permitted this monumental event in China's history, a period marked by violence, local civil war, and the elevation of Mao Zedong to a position of hagiographic reverence. The final chapter focuses on China today. A brief 15 pages are devoted to the sea of change that has engulfed China in the last three decades. Centering mostly on Deng Xiaoping and his Four Modernizations program, this final chapter examines China's accomplishments in the sixty years since communist rule began, and concludes with the many challenges facing China today.

Unlike *China in World History*, this book is not recommended for college-level courses only insofar as to the brevity of factual and historical information. Yet both books have the potential for finding a wide audience. *This is China* is better suited for high-school or junior-high students, anyone not requiring as much in-depth knowledge of the subject, or for anyone traveling to China for a visit. Accordingly, *This is China* may find a much larger audience in the corporate world or for individuals doing business in China as well as first-time tourists to the country, who desire a quick overview of China's history, people, customs and traditions.

As noted by the editors, *This is China* is intended to be used "as a short eye-opening course in contemporary and historic China, or to be dipped into for facts and intriguing sidebars." That is exactly what the editors intended and what the reader gets. It is, at best, an introduction, a compilation of very short excerpts on China's history and culture (although the editors do note the publisher's website, where supplemental resources are to be found along with a selection of Chinese proverbs and links to the more scholarly *Berkshire Encyclopedia of China*). Another criticism centers on the wide variety of formatting used throughout the book, beginning with the title page. Different styles of fonts, italics, bold-faced text, and Chinese characters do not add but rather detract from the lay-out and readability of the book. This is a minor and debatable criticism yet many scholars and writers will stress it is often better to be consistent with formatting and keep things simple. Finally, with regards to a list of movies provided in the closing "Resources" section, additional films should be cited which center on the negative effects of modernizing China, especially the Cultural Revolution.

Despite praise for *This is China* from notable scholars such as Jonathan Spence, who argues that it is amazing "that such a short book can cover such a vast span of time and space," I refer back to the editors' introduction stipulating: "It takes a special effort – and the right teachers – to reach a point of understanding and familiarity with China ... 'A master only leads one into the gate of a temple; it's up to the individual ...'" (xiii-xiv).

This is China is a short book that succeeds in leading the reader to the gate of the temple. *China in World History* takes the reader beyond that gate, offering greater details within that temple [of knowledge]. The challenge for educators today is how

to effectively confront the many different learning styles within the classroom. The two books discussed here represent different approaches to that question. If the future trend is to condense or compress history there is one caveat. While the primary objective for academics at all levels should always be on student retention and comprehension, educators do not want to reach a point in the historical chronology in which there is little to no room left for critical inquiry.

Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya. *African Identity in Asia: Cultural Effects of Forced Migration*. Marcus Weiner Publishers, 2009. 164 pp. \$28.95.

Charles Thomas
USMA West Point

Although Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya's *African Identity in Asia* is a slender 164 pages, the volume covers a vast amount of territory. The experiences of the Africans in the Indian Ocean world as sailors, slaves, and soldiers span back to the earliest records of Egypt and the populations of their descendants still exist in South and Southeast Asia. In seven chapters Jayasuriya's work attempts to encompass the greater part of these connections, tracing the African interactions in the Middle East, South Asia, and Southeast Asia as mediated through African, Arab, and European actors. The end result is an ambitious volume that fills a critical gap within the historiography, but is undermined by academic and editorial inconsistencies.

The work itself certainly has much to recommend it. The second chapter, "The African Presence in Asia," is extremely effective at establishing the locations and historiography of African populations across the Indian Ocean world, including in surprising locales such as Afghanistan. Jayasuriya also makes certain to note even contemporary populations, such as the Ethiopian Jews in Israel. Chapter Three, "Dispersal of Africans Across the Indian Ocean" brings together a massive amount of historical sources to trace the initial involuntary migrations from their early beginnings with the Arab slave trade to their ending under British hegemony over the Indian Ocean in the 19th century and their efforts to end the trade. In the process, Jayasuriya makes certain not to neglect the roles of the Portuguese, French, and the Dutch in the dispersal of the African populace. Finally, Jayasuriya's expertise truly shines in Chapter Six, "The History

and Sociology of African Migrants." Beyond exploring the dynamics of intermarriage and the social structures surrounding the diasporic communities, the author argues that "language is a key factor in indigenization and assimilation as well" (118). This is followed by an exceptional discussion of the linguistic alterations and exchanges found within Afro-Asian communities and even their patterns of code-switching. This chapter exemplifies the quality of scholarship available in a rewarding and developing frontier of study.

However, while individual chapters present Jayasuriya's academic acumen, taken as a whole, *African Identity in Asia* manages to be less than the sum of its parts. Aside from the unifying theme of "Africans in Asia" the volume does little to connect the chapters within it or build a coherent argument around them. Historical examinations of African soldiers in Asian service make way for discussions of African music and dance as cultural indicators. The impressive sixth chapter immediately gives way to a perfunctory chapter offering hypothetical means of tracing African involvement in Asia. Internal inconsistencies mar individual chapters as well. As an example, in the fourth chapter Jayasuriya makes several references to the Ottoman system of Turkish cavalry and African infantry, but the sum total of the meaning of these references is never fully explained and must be pieced together. This is made even more difficult by this social and military system being referenced in the midst of a discussion of British African soldiers fighting in Burma in the Second World War (77).

Overall, while there are several academic explorations of extreme value within *African Identity in Asia*, the reader is left with the feeling that the volume is unfinished. Scholars would be hard pressed to find better work on the linguistic connections in Afro-Asian communities or on the usage of music and dance to trace these same communities. The chapters on the locations of the diasporic communities and the history of their dispersal are both well considered and well researched. However, despite all of this, the volume never quite overcomes the fragmentation of its topic and so misses a great opportunity to make a powerful argument in an emerging field. Given these factors, this study is certainly best suited to research specialists, as secondary schools and college students would find the focus of the work too narrow for general classroom use.



**World History Association Executive Council Meeting
21st Annual Meeting of the World History Association,
Albuquerque, New Mexico
Albuquerque Museum, Conference Room, 27 June
2012, 12.30-3.45pm.**

PRESENT

Marc Jason Gilbert – President, Craig Benjaimin – Vice President, Winston Welch – Executive Director, Kerry Ward – Secretary, Alfred J. Andrea – Past-President, John Mears – Past-President, EC Members: Candice Goucher, Paul Jentz, Alan Karras, Mary Jane Maxwell, Jared Poley, Maryanne Rhett, Merry Wiesner-Hanks. Also in attendance, James Diskant.

The meeting opened with welcome from WHA President Marc Gilbert.

The WHA and University of Hawaii are in discussions regarding the relationship between the World History Association, the Journal of World History and the University of Hawaii Press.

The current Acting Editors of the Journal of World History are supportive of the WHA's interests in this regard.

Marc Gilbert, and Winston Welch will be meeting with officials at the University of Hawaii and will report to the Executive Committee about the results of their negotiations.

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE/PRESIDENT'S
REPORT – Marc Gilbert**

Marc Gilbert assumed the Presidency of the WHA at the American Historical Association conference in Chicago in January 2012 and has initiated discussion on a number of issues as follows:

Executive Council Meetings

Executive Council discussion on the WHA listserv has resulted in the decision to have one annual Executive Council meeting at the Annual Conference instead of bi-annual meetings at the American Historical Association Conference and at the WHA Annual Conference. The annual Executive Council meeting will be preceded by a retreat to allow fuller discussion of WHA issues and strategic planning. Having one meeting instead of two will facilitate participation in the Executive Council by high school teachers, lessen the reporting burden on committees, and result in considerable savings for the WHA and for individual Executive Council members. The listserv is being used for discussion and voting on issues throughout the year as the need arises.

Past-Presidents' Council

Marc Gilbert initiated discussion on the formation of a Past-Presidents' Council as an institutional resource to represent the WHA when other EC officers were not

available, for example, at EUROCLIO meetings.

EUROCLIO

Marc Gilbert and Jonathan Schulman attended the meeting in Antalya, Turkey in March 2012. They conducted a fully attended workshop on World History. MG met with the leadership of EUROCLIO and discussed the possibility of concurrent symposia and other activities.

Symposia

Symposia organizers will work with the WHA Conferences Committee to coordinate their efforts. The WHA Annual Conference remains the premier event for the WHA.

The National University of the Social Sciences in Hanoi have contacted the WHA confirming interest in hosting a symposium on World History in January 2014.

The next symposium is scheduled for 2-4 October 2013 at Notre Dame University in Fremantle, Western Australia on the theme *Faith: Empire and Conflict*.

Craig Benjamin reported that the Asian Association of World History has indicated interest in holding a symposium in Osaka, Japan.

**Advanced Placement Examination in World
History**

Marc Gilbert was able to address the 1,300 assembled readers about the benefits of WHA membership and the WHA efforts to contribute to national curriculum movement. He also convened two luncheon meetings attended by 40 readers.

The increased WHA presence at the AP Reading contributed to the largest enrollment of new WHA members at this forum. Teachers have indicated a need for preparation on Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Oceania and other world history methodologies. However, there are still many teachers who don't know about the WHA activities, or the WHA Bulletin, and we need to work with affiliates to spread the word with local high school teachers.

TEACHING COMMITTEE – James Diskant

The Teaching Committee gave the results of their survey at the AHA meeting and will further coordinate their activities through the Executive Council.

Discussion ensued regarding the role of the WHA website as an open access site for teaching resources at secondary and community college level. These would include links to World History Connected, Middle Ground, and World History Bulletin, and other resources approved by the WHA.

The Teaching Committee will work directly with the Conferences Committee to organize panels on a range of pedagogical issues.

The Speakers' Bureau could be expanded into a Mentoring Bureau for high school.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S REPORT – Winston Welch

The annual conference has the most diverse offering of events and a number of new themes including an author's bureau, poster sessions, film series, mentor/mentee program, raffles, as well as continuous breaks, inclusive lunches, and a closing banquet. There are 16 mini-cams for use by attendees to create social media input. Exhibitors have returned to the conference but are not subsidizing events.

There is a continued issue with the call for papers date, which needs to be the end of March at the latest in order to organize the conference program.

Attendance at this year's conference is down slightly compared to San Diego, but revenue is higher because of the increased conference fee. Very few people objected to the WHA about the conference fee, and all who did were offered some concession in price. In addition, a number of scholarships were available and granted for the conference. The increased conference fee has contributed to closing the gap between expenditure and revenue. There was discussion about whether there should be an inclusive closing banquet or cheaper conference fee. A optional banquet could cut \$50 from the conference fee. There could be a closing reception included in the conference fee and an optional banquet. The WHA Executive Secretariat is planning a comprehensive survey of members and conference attendees to determine future planning.

The Executive Council needs a retreat preferably to be organized the day after subsequent conferences, now the EC is only meeting once a year in person.

Winston Welch has been selected to be on the Diversity Committee in the American Society of Association Executives, which he hopes will be useful in promoting diversity in the WHA as well.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE - Alfred J. Andrea

Six excellent candidates nominated for three positions on the Executive Council beginning January 2013. Nominees were generated through H-World and other online media as well as WHA membership networks. Nominees for the 2013 elections, when three new members of the Executive Council will be chosen as well as the offices of Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer will also be sought through the WHA affiliates.

The current list of nominees consists of Phillip Cantrell, James Diskant, Sarah Hamilton, Abram (Bram) Hubbell, Hong-Ming Liang, Micheal Tarver.

This is the first time a graduate student has been

nominated to the EC, primarily because of her leadership and work to create a new Graduate Student Committee.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE – Paul Jentz

Reports on the WHA symposia have been included in the WHA Bulletin.

2013 Minneapolis Annual Conference themes are tied to the region: "Diasporas and Refugees in World History" and "Roads, Trails and Rivers in World History." College is a delightful site. Scheduling as many panels as possible in the newest building – well set up for the conference, including registration and the book exhibit. Shuttle transportation will be efficient to a variety of hotels nearby and downtown.

Will have small number of reserved rooms at the nearby Marriott hotel, and the shuttle will also stop at a select number of hotels downtown.

Light-rail available from airport to downtown.

Reception will be at the Mill City Museum – a scenic riverside venue.

2014 Costa Rica. The WHA has been working with Dr. David Gustavo Arias at the University of Costa Rica, which has committed full institutional support for the conference. The university will be inaugurating its new Social Science Building, which is the expected venue. Tentative dates for the conference have been set during the second week of July 2014. Rick Warner and Tom Sanders may go for a site visit. Winston Welch will follow up with a visit in May 2013.

Symposia: The Symposia have had stunning success and they are a vital part of the WHA. The symposia also offer exposure to the WHA and world history for people from the host regions.

The next symposium will be held from 2-4 October 2013 in Fremantle at Notre Dame University. The theme is *Faith: Empire and Conflict*. It is expected that this symposium will reach out to Commonwealth universities and organizations. National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU) through the initiative Dr. Hong-Ming Liang, Chief Editor of the Middle Ground Journal and Past President Al Andrea, the WHA is working with Dr. Ann Heylen, Director of the International Taiwan Studies Center at NTNU in Tapei to organize a symposium in March 2014 on the theme of *Taiwan in World History*. NTNU will provide funding for the symposium.

Tang Western Market Museum China. The symposium scheduled for early October 2012 has been postponed indefinitely because the Museum management would not commit to a firm Memorandum of Agreement for the event.

Jared Poley suggested the College of Charleston might host a symposium.

Other suggestions include the University of San Francisco or possibly UC Berkeley. The WHA is still

looking at a northwest site. The Conference Committee encourages people to invite other institutions to propose symposia.

Motion: Be it moved that the WHA express its gratitude to the administration and faculty of Albuquerque High School. Without this support, the 21st Annual World History Conference would not have been possible.

Motion: Be it moved that the World History Association express its gratitude to the Program Committee and especially its Chair, Maryanne Rhett, for its devotion to the highest professional standards.

The above motions were seconded and carried unanimously.

CONFERENCE PROGRAM COMMITTEE – Maryanne Rhett

Carolyn Neel, Sharlene Sayegh, Mary Jane Maxwell, Jeremy Neill, William Zeigler, and Linda Black comprise the committee

The new system for submissions is working well but the April 15 date is too late for the committee to comfortably put together a program. It is suggested that the CFP deadline be no later than March 15.

Merry Wiesner-Hanks suggested that the CFP needs to be more concise and better written in order to attract participants from multiple programs we don't usually reach out to, including ethnic studies, refugee studies, missionary studies etc.

Winston Welch is going to include a question in the membership survey about the preferred time for the conference as either the end of June or early July.

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE – Craig Benjamin

The Membership Committee isn't functioning effectively and needs a new chair and committee members. Our main goal is to sustain the number of members and keep the membership stable. The WHA has done well considering the reality of declining membership that has been experienced by all organizations.

Mary Jane Maxwell volunteered to serve on the Membership Committee.

There was a lot of WHA activity at the 10-17 June AP World History Reading in Salt Lake City. Activities like tables and lunchtime lectures were designed for existing members and to attract new members. This resulted in forty members signing up, most of whom were new, rather than renewing, members. There is still more that we can do at the AP World History Reading to generate new and renewing members.

Craig Benjamin sent out a personal letter to non-renewing members in late February 2012 that had some impact in renewals.

Marc Gilbert is going to send a personal email to each of the new high school teacher members to point out the advantages of joining the WHA.

The WHA needs to reach out to new members personally to encourage them to become renewing members rather than having an annual batch of one time memberships.

Alan Karras pointed out that the WHA hasn't tapped into the community college organizations for potential WHA members. These organizations include the Community College Humanities Association, the Community College Social Science Association. The WHA affiliates, and the Title Six Centers etc., all work with Community College teachers and could reach out to them to join the WHA. Community Colleges have newsletters for each state that could be used as a forum to advertise for WHA membership.

John Mears suggested that prep school teachers might also be pool of potential members.

Paul Jentz is compiling a list of world history teachers in community colleges. UT Austin puts out a list of all community colleges in the USA but time-consuming work is finding history departments, and then finding world history courses, and then instructors. It is difficult to compile an accurate list given the nature of some community college faculty appointments.

It was suggested that AHA might have a list of community college members it might share with WHA. The past policy of inducing people to join the WHA to get a lower conference rate resulted in many one-year memberships that never renewed. Many institutions will pay for conferences, but not memberships, so one-time attendees were angered to have to join to get a lower rate, since they were funding the memberships from their own funds that was not reimbursed. In effect the WHA was requiring people to join the WHA to get a lower conference rate, when they had no desire to join the organization, but just present at the conference. This system also created needless paperwork and consumed staff resources, artificially inflated membership numbers, and wasted resources of printing the Bulletin and JWH, and chasing down people to "renew" memberships who had no desire to join in the first place. From this year, this system was decoupled. Members still enjoy a large discount over the non-member conference rate, and the WHA can receive higher revenue from true-nonmembers who simply want to present at the WHA conferences, without forcing them, in effect, to join the organization. The end result is the WHA may seem to have a couple of hundred less members than at current, but overall revenue will increase, resources will be saved, and a true picture of membership will ensue. Note that members will continue to enjoy lower costs and that we will still encourage all people to join the WHA at the

time of conference registrations. Conference registrants, members or not, will also be in the CRM system to receive future WHA mailings and information.

TEACHING PRIZE COMMITTEE – Jen

Laden

The prize was awarded to Colleen Kyle, Lakeside School, Seattle WA for her lesson “Jesuit Missionaries and the Qing Emperor Kangzi – A Simulation”.

An Honorable Mention went to David Fischer, The University of Texas at Brownville for his lesson “World History in State Standards: A Research Assignment for College Juniors and Seniors”.

BOOK PRIZE COMMITTEE – Merry

Wiesner-Hanks

David Northrup to accept prize on behalf of Prasannan Parthasarathi for his book *Why Europe Grew Rich and Asia Did Not: Global Economic Divergence, 1600-1850* (Cambridge).

STUDENT PAPER PRIZE COMMITTEE –

Merry Wiesner-Hanks

Merry Wiesner-Hanks reiterated that the prizes are posted widely but that teachers need more encouragement to generate submissions from their students. This is particularly the case with undergraduate submissions.

World History Connected needs to have a link that goes straight to the prize listing on the WHA website to make it easier for people to find the prize submission information.

Motion: The Executive Council makes a recommendation, contingent on the approval of Phi Alpha Theta, that the criteria for the student prize be changed from requiring the student to be a member of either Phi Alpha Theta or the WHA to requiring that either the student or the nominating teacher be a member of one of the two associations.

Merry Wiesner-Hanks seconded the motion.

The motion carried unanimously.

WORLD HISTORY BULLETIN – Jared Poley

World History Bulletin has published its Spring 2012 issue on the theme “Teaching/learning world history”.

The Fall 2012 edition is in the works on the theme “Commodities in world history” and the Spring 2013 issue is in the planning stages on the theme “Law in world history”.

Al Andrea proposed a round of applause for Jared’s good news and all responded.

GRADUATE COMMITTEE – Sarah Hamilton

(presented by Winston Welch)

The inaugural Graduate Committee under Sarah Hamilton’s leadership has been very active and successful. They have organized three roundtables for the Albuquerque conference and one further panel has been organized by Rubén Carrillo from the University of Barcelona on student-run publications.

JOURNAL OF WORLD HISTORY – Jerry

Bentley (presented by Winston Welch)

Jerry Bentley submitted a “Farewell Report:” announcing his resignation as Editor of the Journal of World History and his temporary replacement by his colleagues from the University of Hawai’i History Department, Matthew Romaniello and Theodore Jun Loo.

Al Andrea moved that Jerry Bentley be recognized formally as Emeritus Editor of the Journal of World History for his outstanding contribution as the Founding and only Editor of the Journal.

Alan Karras seconded the motion.

The motion was carried unanimously with an affectionate round of applause for Jerry Bentley whose presence was sorely missed by all the members of the Executive Council.

FINANCE COMMITTEE/TREASURER’S

REPORT – Carolyn Neel (presented by Winston Welch)

The failure of the Xian symposium adversely affected WHA finances as this symposium would have generated enough income to erase the deficit. However, the symposia model has proven profitable for the WHA and the two symposia next year will help the deficit.

The Committee encourages fuller Executive Council and Life Time Member contributions in line with other ACLS organizations.

WHA membership rates are lower than most other professional organizations. Membership of all organizations are shifting and this is an issue we need to revisit.

The WHA has not received any monies from grants—most grants require a project, which the current staffing does not allow. Carolyn Neel will be looking into grants for the WHA.

There has been some complaints regarding the higher conference registration fee but this is one of two main sources of WHA income. The WHA conferences are good value considering the lunches and receptions provided. It would be possible to reduce the rates by dropping the closing reception.

The main expense of the WHA, in line with most non-profits, is salaries. However, if the WHA wants to sustain the level of activities it is generating then this is necessary to find a sustainable solution.

NEW BUSINESS

Alan Karras suggested that the connections between committee memberships, committee chairs, and the Executive Council needs significant clarification.

Marc Gilbert pointed out that there is a list of duties for office holders in the WHA constitution on the website.

Alan Karras proposed that the Executive Council needs to develop with the President a policy for how official endorsements on behalf of the WHA are made and communicated.

Marc Gilbert agreed that this is an area that the Executive Committee will clarify in the near future.

OLD BUSINESS

No old business.

The meeting was adjourned at approximately 4.00pm.

Respectfully submitted by Kerry Ward, Secretary.



World History Association

**World History Association Business Meeting
21st Annual Meeting of the World History Association,
Albuquerque, New Mexico
Albuquerque High School Lecture Hall, Friday, 29 June
2012, 9.00-10.15 a.m.**

PRESENT: Marc Jason Gilbert, President, Craig Benjamin, Vice President, Winston Welch, Executive Director, Carolyn Neel, Treasurer, Kerry Ward, Secretary.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT – Marc Jason Gilbert

Marc Jason Gilbert opened the meeting with introductions and briefly reviewed the committee reports from the Executive Council meeting the previous day.

President Gilbert announced that the Executive Council had agreed to a one-day strategic planning retreat attached to the conference as the EC will now only meeting once a year. The EC agreed that the meeting at the AHA is a financial burden to members and may also discourage people from accepting nominations to the council. Because a significant amount of WHA business is done through the EC listserv during the year it is no longer imperative to meet twice yearly.

He went on to say that the WHA began this year with a fiscal deficit, although not unprecedented, he was nevertheless resolved towards reversing the situation.

President Gilbert attended the Euroclio meeting in Antalya, Turkey, representing the WHA, alongside Jonathan Shulman. At the meeting, intense, standing-room only interest in the WHA was manifest. There were some discussions about a co-conference in the future with Euroclio.

He discussed the upcoming symposia in Perth,

Hanoi and possibly Taipei, and that other symposia were being considered as these had been extremely successful forums for the WHA. Suggestions for future venues for symposia or conferences are welcome and interested parties should contact a WHA officer or the Executive Director.

He also mentioned that he would like to improve the nascent mentor/mentee system implemented last year in Beijing and continued in Albuquerque. It was also noted that the conference orientation brought a large number of new attendees at the conference and that the addition of EC members to the orientation was welcomed and helpful.

The WHA is the only stalwart for the defense of world history standards, and the organization supports those in the field, thus it is critical that those in the field support the WHA.

One emerging area in world history is that Community College teachers increasingly have the mandate to teach world history, and a large percentage of all newly posted positions are at community colleges – an area that needs to be better served by the WHA. It was noted by Paul Jentz, EC member and Conferences Committee Chair, that in 2013 the conference will be held for the first time at a community college in Minneapolis.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S REPORT – Winston Welch

Winston Welch introduced members of the Executive Council and particularly welcomed Sarah Hamilton, the Chair of the newly formed Graduate Committee.

He pointed out that the conference banquet this year was honoring Michelle Foreman and Ross Dunn.

There was some discussion about the efforts to

keep the cost of the conferences and conference registration down. Winston Welch pointed out that the WHA will survey the opinions of the membership about their needs and expectations regarding the WHA and the conferences.

TREASURER'S REPORT – Carolyn Neel

Carolyn Neel pointed out that the WHA is facing a deficit and that there were three basic ways to correct it.

1. Cut expenses – but the WHA expenses are as low as feasible without sacrificing the mission of the organization.

2. Go for grants – but they aren't dependable. However we do need an active grant committee.

3. Recruitment of membership – is the most effective way to sustain the endowment.

Winston Welch proposed that if a WHA member brings in two new members they receive one year free.

He suggested that members consider including the WHA in their planned giving.

Al Andrea encouraged everyone to donate to the WHA and to think of the organization as a mission and a vocation.

Marc Gilbert pointed out that if every member took the WHA credit card we could erase the deficit as the WHA receives \$50 for every new sign-up. There is no annual fee for the card.

Also, using the WHA link to Amazon generates 5-6% of purchase price to the WHA.

Discussion ensued about the goals of the endowment, which stands at around 70,000. Lifetime membership is funneled to the endowment, which is not used for the deficit. The only way to ensure the long-term financial health of the WHA is through increased and sustained membership. The EC will be setting goals for the endowment at its next meeting.

Considerable discussion ensued regarding raising the profile of the WHA with world history teachers through the affiliates. It was suggested that members of the affiliates reach out to world history teachers in their states, encourage them to participate in the affiliates and learn more about the WHA and resources for teachers. It should be pointed out to teachers that there are a range of professional development opportunities through resources, conferences, symposia etc. Institutional membership exists for high school teachers and this should be promoted.

The WHA is reaching out to other organizations for joint sessions and conferences that could share costs and generate income.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE – Paul Jentz

North Hennepin Community College in Minneapolis is a great venue for the next conference. It will be the first time the WHA has held a conference at a

community college. The conference committee is looking to expand the reach of the conference to other departments, including the Art Department, where students are working on projects related to conference themes.

Minneapolis has a significant population of refugee and immigrant groups including Hmong, Somali and Karen, so the theme of "Diasporas and Refugees" is appropriate to local circumstances, as is the "Roads, Rivers, and Trails" co-theme.

The next symposium will be in Fremantle, Western Australia, at Notre Dame University on 2-4 October 2013 on the theme of Faith: Empire and Conflict. There are possible symposia planned for Hanoi and Tapei.

Symposia and conferences are organized on the basis of institutional contacts of WHA members so please contact Paul Jentz with ideas for future symposia or conferences.

PROGRAM COMMITTEE – Maryanne Rhett

The program committee received many submissions on the themes of the conference, but are open to other submissions and themes for papers, panels and roundtables.

GRADUATE COMMITTEE – Sarah Hamilton

Sarah Hamilton pointed out that graduate education was a major theme at the conference. She was congratulated for having done a fantastic job with the newly-formed graduate committee.

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE – Craig Benjamin

Craig Benjamin pointed out that increasing membership is vital to the health of the WHA. At the moment, membership numbers swing between 900-1200.

We need to articulate clearly to members the advantages and benefits of membership. There were around 1300 graders at the AP world history reading but teachers still aren't seeing the benefits of joining the WHA.

Membership is still overwhelmingly 4-year universities, with very small K12 membership, and community college membership being the smallest. The College Board has been supportive of the WHA. We need more WHA members participating at the AP world history reading to help encourage membership.

It was suggested that the College Board might be encouraged to donate WHA membership instead of its usual gifts (like umbrellas etc).

TEACHING COMMITTEE – James Diskant

James Diskant pointed out that many teachers aren't engaged in AP world history. The teaching committee has four goals.

1. Work with affiliates to facilitate local workshops.
2. Work with the WHA Executive Office to publicize syllabi and materials – over fifty people have already volunteered materials for the website.
3. Coordinate with the Program Committee to facilitate panels and roundtables for teachers.
4. Expand the Speakers Bureau to include pedagogical mentoring along the lines of the NEWHA model.

PRIZE COMMITTEE – Merry Wiesner-Hanks

David Northrup is accepting the book prize on behalf of Prasannan Parthasarathi for his book *Why Europe Grew Rich and Asia Did Not: Global Economic Divergence, 1600-1850* (Cambridge). The author thanked the WHA and was deeply touched by the award.

Marc Gilbert pointed encouraged everyone to generate more student involvement in the student prizes.

WORLD HISTORY BULLETIN – Jared Poley
World History Bulletin has published its Spring

2012 issue on the theme “Teaching/learning world history”.

The Fall 2012 edition is in the works on the theme “Commodities in world history” and the Spring 2013 issue is in the planning stages on the theme “Law in world history”.

JOURNAL OF WORLD HISTORY – Jerry Bentley (presented by Winston Welch)

Jerry Bentley submitted a “Farewell Report:” announcing his resignation as Editor of the Journal of World History and his temporary replacement by his colleagues from the University of Hawai’i History Department, Matthew Romaniello and Theodore Jun Loo.

Winston Welch informed those present that the Executive Council had unanimously voted to appoint Jerry Bentley as Emeritus Editor of the Journal of World History for his outstanding contribution. There was enthusiastic endorsement from everyone at the meeting.

The meeting closed at approximately 10.15 a.m.
Respectfully submitted by Kerry Ward, Secretary.



World History Association

Visit
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World History Association

World History Bulletin
Special Issue

Law in World History
Spring 2013

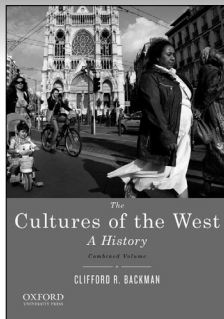
Call For Papers

Call for Submissions: Special issue of the World History Bulletin on law in world history. Deadline: November 30, 2012

The World History Bulletin is accepting submissions for the Spring 2013 issue focusing on law in world history, under the guest editorship of Dan Margolies (Virginia Wesleyan College) and H. Robert Baker (Georgia State University). Authors may consider all aspects of historical scholarship, including research, pedagogy, or theory. Topics which particularly engage issues of sovereignty, either spatially constructed or theoretically defined, are particularly welcomed. Course syllabi with commentary on teaching law in world history are especially desirable. Interested authors should contact Robert Baker at robertbaker@gsu.edu

Authors should keep in mind that the World History Bulletin's audience is composed of specialists in a diverse range of historical fields and periods, in addition to K-12 teachers. Thus, articles should be made as clear and accessible as possible for this diverse readership. The World History Bulletin publishes articles of varying lengths; though submissions between 500 and 5,000 words will be considered, we are especially interested in contributions of 1,500-3,500 words. The deadline for submissions is November 30, 2012.

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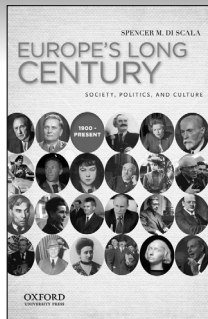
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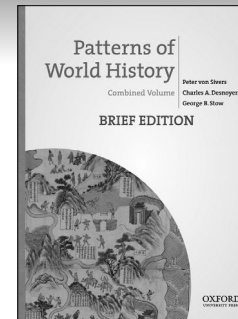
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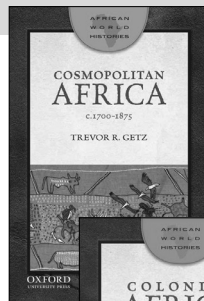
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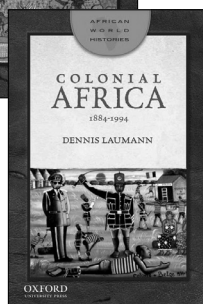
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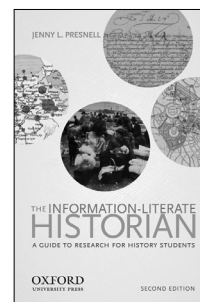
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