

World History Bulletin

Fall 2015

Vol XXXI No. 2

World History Association

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Editor

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Editor's Note:

We are pleased to present in the Fall issue of the *World History Bulletin* a special section engaging the work of Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds on constructions of race and related classifications in modern world history. The special section, guest-edited by Ian Fletcher, includes essays that draw on and expand the notion of a “global colour line” in various modern contexts. I am grateful for the hard work by Ian and all contributors.

With this issue, I begin my work as editor of the *World History Bulletin*. I am deeply grateful for the wisdom and diligence of the outgoing editor, my colleague Jared Poley, and hope that you will join me in thanking him for his years of service in this capacity to the World History community. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the officers and members of World History Association – including you! – for making this a vibrant and exciting community of scholars, teachers, and thinkers.

As always, the *Bulletin* seeks to publish “short-form” essays on all aspects of historical scholarship including pedagogy, research, and theory. Topics may include any period or geographic focus in history, and pedagogical materials such as syllabi or assignments are welcome. Historians and disciplinarily allied scholars interested in guest-editing a selection of essays on a particular theme are strongly encouraged to contact me at dgainty@gsu.edu.

With warm best wishes,
Denis Gainty

World History Bulletin

ISSN: 0886-117X

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The *World History Bulletin* is edited by the Southeast World History Association, which is housed in the History Department of Georgia State University.

From the Executive Director

Fall 2015

Dear Colleagues,

I have been privileged to serve the WHA for nearly a full calendar year. After going through the annual cycle, my vision about what we need and why we need it has been thoroughly clarified. I appreciate the continued feedback and questions from members who have high expectations (rightly so!) and as a result, move our organization in the best direction possible.

As a reader of the *World History Bulletin*, my knowledge about specific pockets of history highlighted in our publication keep me connected to my favorite academic subject. Currently, I am still working through the Spring 2015 edition and am grateful that the topic is preparing me for landing in Ghent 2016 for the 100th anniversary of World War I. This edition focusing on Encounters and Religions seems timely with the close of Pope Francis' visit to the USA last week. Over the winter, I collaborated closely with Denis Gainty and now look forward to working with him consistently as he has taken the reigns as our new Editor. Congratulations Denis!

This fall, the WHA has welcomed our new Graduate Assistant, Olivier Schouteden, in his third-year as a Ph.D. student in World History at Northeastern University. His academic interests are European colonialism, Vietnam and Southeast Asia, the place and role of modern France in the world and the history of exploration and travel. Coming from a small port-town in Northern France, Olivier has pursued the study of history at a variety of institutions on both sides of the Atlantic, including Lille III for his undergraduate degree, La Sorbonne Paris-IV and UT Brownsville for his graduate studies. Olivier considers the field of World History to have transformed the way he looks at his topic and at history. Olivier states, "I look forward to becoming more established with the WHA, meeting other scholars in the field and benefitting from the quality publications and programming."

Just during September, Olivier has reached out to members, worked on issues concerning our website, fall outreach and has already made a meaningful contribution. There is additional news about our Boston team – our student worker, Cathy Tripp, remains with us for the fall semester. She returns with one full year of university completed, including a trip to China this past summer where she explored the ancient tombs and ventured through the rich history embedded in the land. Thinking about the WHA, Cathy states, "I am eager to continue working

for the WHA this year, and am glad to have found an organization whose mission and focus drives me to be a more worldly scholar-in-progress."

Our office has remained actively engaged with external groups as well, allowing us to stay focused on current trends. The World History Association belongs to an important umbrella organization called the American Council for Learned Societies (ACLS). From this group, we gain valuable insight from experts and other associations about programming, best practices and other important topics. This fall, I have already attended a leadership seminar with our incoming president, Rick Warner and will benefit from the Executive Director's Conference later in October. Remaining frugal, these opportunities cost the WHA pennies in relation to the valuable knowledge these sessions bring.

This past weekend, I participated in a very memorable affiliate meeting with the Midwest World History Association (MWWHA) Conference at Wabash College. Entitled "Feast and Famine in World History" this conference satisfied both my palate and intellectual curiosity. As with good conferences, I fervently jotted down notes, understanding fully that the cliché, "the more you learn, the more you realize how little you know" was applicable in that very moment.

The WHA has experienced a transition under the team leadership of President Craig Benjamin and Vice President Rick Warner. While their partnership has focused on fiscally conservative ideas, they have laid a stable foundation for us. As Rick Warner transitions to president in January, the next two years will allow us to expand our reach and create some new initiatives for our group. This WHA Governance has been a positive model for teamwork, so thank you to Craig, Rick, Maryanne and Carolyn. The Executive Council (EC) involvement has driven us to where we are now as well, and fostering their ideas has kept our office detail oriented and accountable for important considerations. I am excited about what awaits us in 2016.

Our office objectives remain the same – to serve the WHA effectively and consider the feedback from our members. Feel free to contact me with suggestions and ideas. We can be reached at 617-373-6818 or info@thewha.org.

Happy autumn!

Kerry Vieira
Admin Coordinator/Executive Director

Letter from the President of the World History Association

Craig Benjamin, Grand Valley State University

Dear Colleagues,

It has been six months since I had the pleasure of writing to you all in the 2015 Spring Edition of the WHA *Bulletin*, during my second year as President of the WHA. My focus for the past six months, in conjunction with WHA officers and Executive Council members, has been to continue to work towards financial and membership stability, and to maintain our reputation for staging successful conferences. Thanks to the hard work of our Administrative Coordinator/Executive Director Kerry Vieira, I am delighted to report that we have made substantial advances on all fronts. Kerry has assembled a very competent team to work with her in our office at Northeastern University, including Graduate Assistant Olivier Schoutedden, and returning student worker Cathy Tripp. Under Kerry's supervision, the WHA NU team is efficiently and energetically managing the affairs of the WHA, looking after our finances, communications, member inquiries, conference planning and management, and a host of other matters. On behalf of all our members I want to thank Kerry for her enormous contribution to the WHA.

I also want to thank again my fellow officers – VP Rick Warner, Secretary (and Conference Program Committee Chair) Maryanne Rhett, and Treasurer Carolyn Neel – for their hard work and support; and of course all members of the Executive Council for their energetic and diligent attention to business, as exemplified at our annual meeting in Savannah in June. Our secretariat in Boston and our elected representatives from all over the world have evolved into a truly formidable team that has carried the WHA through a significant relocation last year to a successful and stable 2015. I also want to note that this edition of the *Bulletin* of the World History Association is the first to be edited by Dr. Denis Gainty. The *Bulletin* is the product of a congenial partnership between the WHA, the Southeast World History Association, and the History Department at Georgia State University. We are delighted that this arrangement will continue for at least the next five years, and on behalf of all members I say welcome aboard Denis, and thank you for your willingness to serve the WHA in this important way!

Since I took up the presidency in January 2014 my principal goals have been to ensure that our membership continues to grow, that we maintain regular communication with current and former members, that planning for our future conferences and symposia is carried out meticulously, and that our financial situation becomes more and more stable. As I write this report our membership is approaching 750 (from a low of around 430 at the start of 2014). We have been conducting regular membership

drives ever since Kerry took up her position, and I will take the lead in another membership push towards the end of this year. Our finances are also in a much better position than they were six months ago, with more than \$60,000 in our current operating accounts. In addition, some small repayments of the amount borrowed from the Endowment Fund have been made, and VP Rick Warner will help spearhead a fundraising drive in December, from which all funds raised will be sent directly to the Endowment.

The World History Association also staged an excellent 24th annual conference at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Savannah, between June 30th and July 2nd this year. Maryanne Rhett did a superb job in putting together a complex program of panels, roundtables, Meet the Author sessions, AP workshops and so on; and Kerry was able to attract many publishers and other sponsors to the conference. In the end close to 300 people attended the conference to enjoy its many highlights, including two excellent receptions, some 75 panels and workshops featuring a range of established and up-and-coming world historians, a fascinating keynote address from Professor Candice Goucher, the presentation of Pioneers of World History Awards to Candice and Sharon Cohen, and the awarding of a range of other prizes and scholarships including the William H. McNeill Teacher Scholarship to Sally Stanhope & Earl K. Cherry, Jr., the WHA World Scholar Travel Fund awards to Aksadul Alam & Matthew Wiseman, and the WHA Dissertation Prize presented in Savannah to Bryce Beemer. Congratulations to all these worthy recipients!

Following our success at Savannah, a great deal of work has been going on planning the 25th annual conference, which will be held at the University of Ghent in Belgium in July 2016. Kerry and her team, in conjunction with the WHA officers and our Belgian colleagues Torsten and Eric, have booked some superb conference venues and hotels, and are in the process of organizing some fascinating pre- and post-conference tours. Just a week before writing this message the Call for Papers was released, and I have no doubt that Ghent 2016 will be a huge success, the latest in the long line of wonderful international conferences the WHA has organized. I know that many members are already gearing up to combine the Ghent conference with some exciting European travel in the summer of 2016. Coincidentally, the International Big History Association will be staging its 2016 conference at the University of Amsterdam a week or so after the WHA Ghent Conference, so perhaps some of you might consider attending both conferences, and partaking of the spectacular tours being organized by both Associations.

During 2015 several WHA affiliates have staged very successful symposia: a combined California and Northwest Affiliate gathering in Seattle; a terrific New England Regional WHA Affiliate symposium in Boston; a congenial Southeast WHA Conference in Savannah; and an intellectually stimulating Midwest World History Association Annual Conference at Wabash College in Indiana, which I had the pleasure of attending and from which I have only just returned as I write this message. At the sessions I attended at Wabash I was struck by the amount of fascinating research that is being undertaken by seasoned world historians and graduate students alike, and I thoroughly enjoyed the many papers I heard from a number of colleagues and graduate students, including a 'delicious' keynote on food in world history delivered by Dr. Jonathan Reynolds!

In conclusion, I am delighted to report that world

history is thriving around the country and indeed all over the world. This will be my last *Bulletin* message as President, and I want to thank you most sincerely for your trust in me, and your continuing support for the Association, for Kerry and our Boston team, and the elected representatives whose duty it is to oversee operations. I know we can count on you to continue your membership of the WHA in the future, to encourage your colleagues and students to also join, and to remain committed to this great community of world historians who are dedicated to improving the present and future of the planet through research, education and advocacy.

Sincerely,
Craig Benjamin, PhD.
President, the World History Association (2014/15)

Jerry Bentley Book Prize in World History

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 Book Prize 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); the prize committee also includes David Christian, Sharon Cohen, Karen Jolly, and Kerry Ward. All contributions are tax deductible.

**Guest Editor's Introduction:
Border Crossings and Color Bars in a Globalizing
World, 1890s-1910s**

Ian Christopher Fletcher, Georgia State University

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries remain a fascinating moment in modern world history. It was an age of empire, to be sure, but it was more. As Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton among others have argued, imperial projects contributed to global integration yet the processes of globalization outstripped the hierarchies of empire. Thus it was a conjuncture of spreading networks, growing unrest, and emerging alternatives as well as a series of conquests and "openings," alliances and clashes among rising and declining great powers.

Our forum features three essays that explore some of the possibilities of this globalizing world, a world in which color bars could impede but not completely prevent the border crossings of either people or ideas. Ranging across the Pacific world, the essays connect the U.S., China, Japan, the Philippines, and Mexico and follow some intriguing protagonists. We are grateful to the authors for contributing these tantalizing pieces from their larger current projects.

Sungshin Kim and Kurt Guldentops's "Leveraging the China Market: Wu Tingfang's Case Against Chinese Exclusion" departs from the strict imperialist/nationalist binary in considering relations between China and the U.S. in the late Qing period. Highly educated, well-traveled, and experienced in business as well as law and diplomacy, the Chinese ambassador to the U.S. Wu Tingfang was cosmopolitan and liberal in outlook. His argument against Chinese exclusion not only highlighted its illiberal breach of the norms of relations between states but also foregrounded its detrimental impact on U.S. exports. Even though his appeal to American self-interest ultimately failed, Wu demonstrated a strategic grasp of the problems and opportunities of the world-system in which both China and the U.S. maneuvered and, more broadly, a dynamic engagement with modernity as a global, not simply occidental, condition.

Masako N. Racel's "Inui Kiyosue: A Japanese Peace Advocate in the Age of 'Yellow Peril'" introduces the remarkable story of a Japanese student-

turned-teacher, his American sojourn, and his world tour in the years bracketed by the Russo-Japanese War and the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act. Along the way we learn about transnational connections between the U.S. and Japanese peace movements and Inui's efforts to reduce tensions and promote understanding between Japan and the U.S. by emphasizing the positive impact of Japanese immigration. We also glimpse the contradictory qualities of Inui's (and his wife Minnie's) everyday and intimate life in a time of racial marginalization and exclusion.

Shannon Bontrager's "Black Bodies, White Borders: Mapping the Color Line Inside and Outside the United States, 1902-1916" examines the place-based rhetoric of nation and empire in the case of the American occupation of the Philippines and the two interventions in Mexico. While the deaths of soldiers, sailors, and marines abroad opened up the political question of U.S. involvement in seemingly foreign countries and conflicts, they could lead to patriotic commemorations that obscured the colonial and semi-colonial locations of these losses and elided American stakes in empire. Given the Wilson administration's pro-segregationist policy and the popular resurgence of white supremacist politics in the U.S., the deaths of black soldiers, like those at the battle of Carrizal in Mexico in 1916, complicated matters. W.E.B. Du Bois's interventions show the limits as well as insights of black radical criticism of a color line that extended across the American empire and its borderlands.

These essays converge around a world seemingly subdued and restructured by "the West" yet whose newly established racial and civilizational order was always already contested. Colonial subjects, people of color, and indigenous people offered multiple challenges, from asserting their right to difference to demanding inclusion and equality. Some of these challenges came from intellectuals and movements, some from modernizing or revolutionized states. Beckoning us to their essays' shared vantage point, Kim and Guldentops, Racel, and Bontrager reveal a striking vista of changing global imaginaries, of the ways people imagined their world, their place in it, and their power to shift and shape it.

**Leveraging the China Market:
Wu Tingfang's Case against Chinese Exclusion**

Sungshin Kim, University of North Georgia
Kurt Guldentops, University of California Los Angeles

Perhaps the most original aspect of Lake and Reynolds's history of the global color line is their reconstruction of the connections between the Anglo-Saxon settler-democracies. Of these, however, the United States stood apart for its sheer weight as it emerged during this time as the largest industrial power. Ongoing American debates on this world-historical transformation and its limits also shaped the campaign against Chinese exclusion of Wu Tingfang, Minister for the Qing to Washington from 1897 to 1902. Lake and Reynolds's work explores how, against the dark side of settler-democracy, Wu and other opponents of the color line took recourse to international law, developed in the age of liberal imperialism to guarantee global exchange.¹ But in his campaign against exclusion the Chinese diplomat came to appeal even more to the anxious debates on overproduction that led the U.S. to formulate its Open Door policy towards China. Opposition to the color line is usually understood as part of the genealogy of anti-colonial struggle. So the widespread boycott of American goods in 1905, which Wu helped set up, is commonly seen as an early expression of Chinese anti-imperialist nationalism. But Wu has to be located between a British world system under pressure and the rise of U.S. power as he tried to accommodate and leverage the American need for the Open Door.

Wu was the product of British imperial globalization: an overseas Chinese born in 1842 in the Straits Settlements, he received an English education in Hong Kong, and by his mid-thirties became the first ethnic Chinese to be called to the Bar at Lincoln Inn in London. It was the influential Chinese viceroy Li Hongzhang who brought him from Hong Kong to China in the early 1880s, offering a position in his modernizing administration. While Wu's work mainly involved treaty making – key tool of the imperial powers, which the modernizers sought to master – he also managed the country's first railroad. Defeat against Japan trounced Li's vice-regal self-strengthening project, but Wu emerged during the peace negotiations as one of China's ablest foreign affairs officials, becoming the

Empire's representative to the United States in 1896. Revision of the Exclusion Laws was to be one of his main objectives in this position, for which he would engage in an energetic public diplomacy.

It was easy to point out the hypocrisy of Chinese exclusion from the U.S., when China had been opened by the system of unequal treaties imposed by the powers in the wake of the Opium Wars. In an essay published in the *North American Review* of July 1900, titled "Mutual Helpfulness between China and the United States," Wu reminds his audience that citizens of all nations, including the U.S., were enjoying the same rights of trade, travel, and residence in China. Justice, he continues, would demand equal consideration for the Chinese in the U.S., instead of being singled out and having the "door slammed in the face."²

Invoking this framework of global exchange was not mere expedience. Wu believed China could only overcome its unequal position in the world by working within this liberal order. He was well aware that the imperialist powers had used force to open up China, but the development of the telegraph and steam-powered transportation had made it in his eyes impossible to pursue an isolationist course.³ As he often proclaimed in his public interventions, for China to prosper the foundation of its relation with the world now ought to be trade. At the start of his essay in the *North American Review*, he invokes a potted version of classical economy: while in trade each party would act in an "eminently selfish" way, the freedom to trade (or not) would guarantee that the relation would be one of mutual benefit. Furthermore, like many British liberals, Wu understood the rise of commerce as a principle opposite to war, which was the best antidote to any future use of force.

For the time being, Wu made his appeals for equal international treatment – in the first place against Chinese exclusion – on the basis of civilizational equivalence between China and the West. He regularly brought up (supposed) commonalities between Confucian principles and Western ideals, the latter defined either in terms of Christianity or commercialism. In this way he challenged – but in a sense also validated – the manner in which the imperial powers had come to use the concept "civilized," codified in international law, as a marker to make hierarchical distinctions between states.⁴ In his essay in the *North American*

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Review too, Wu slides from classical economics to “reciprocity,” a term which he says he takes from Confucius, as guiding principle for international exchange, adding a Chinese flourish to his liberalism.

Wu would hold to this liberal universalism throughout his career. But during his tenure in the U.S. he also started to draw on the ongoing, more hard-headed American discussions on the political economy of industrialization. This would provide his trump to make the case against Chinese exclusion. This transformation of American economic and international thought has been analyzed in an excellent study by Thomas McCormick, coming out of the Wisconsin School of history, which traces the domestic and international origins of the Open Door Notes.⁵

McCormick starts with the Panic of 1893 and the succeeding economic stagnation. In the years that followed, the initially heterodox thesis that the economic crisis was caused by industrial overproduction gained ground among America’s political and business elites. One of the high profile advocates of the overproduction thesis, Andrew Carnegie, was a much admired acquaintance of Wu.⁶ The solution was widely thought to lay in the expansion of the export trade, with in particular underdeveloped regions singled out as potential outlets for America’s surplus production. The crucial term in these debates was “reciprocity.” This was used as shorthand for a tariff policy that would maintain the existing protectionist barriers which had so successfully shielded U.S. manufacturing from competition by other industrial countries, while reciprocal trade agreements would be negotiated with underdeveloped countries, who could buy American manufactured goods in exchange for raw materials and agricultural commodities. This solution to overproduction was not only seen as urgent to ward off further economic crisis, but also the threat of revolution, given the strong labor movement of the Gilded Age. Advocated by U.S. industrial and commercial interests, reciprocity was touted as the panacea to the threat of overproduction. McKinley put it on the agenda in his first inaugural speech, shortly after Wu took up his post.⁷

The invocation of Confucius notwithstanding, Wu’s use of the term reciprocity engages with this ongoing American discussion, in which China figured prominently as a potential outlet for U.S. manufacturing. Wu himself noted that the China Market, with its

enormous size, had become vital now that “the spirit of commercialism [had] risen to a dangerous pitch,”⁸ It was this new importance accorded to China that he would wield in his public pleas against exclusion. Trade between the U.S. and China could certainly expand, he suggested to an audience at a Commercial Congress in Philadelphia in 1899. But this depended on a reciprocity that would also include fair immigration laws. Otherwise, commercial relations between the two countries were not apt to improve.⁹

In the *North American Review* the following year, Wu provides a more detailed analysis that stresses the importance of China to the U.S. The latter’s industrial machinery had reached a productive power of “unprecedented magnitude.” Land and resources it had plenty; mechanization had reached new heights to compensate for the comparative disadvantage in labor in its early history; capital was able to secure ample profits thanks to the use of combinations and trusts that limited harmful competition. But, Wu continues, this model combining so perfectly resources, mechanization, and capital was now reaching a critical point: “the productive capacity of the country increases so much faster than its capacity for consumption that the demand of a population of 75 million is no sooner felt than supplied.” Echoing American commentators, he warns of the consequences of overproduction. This brings Wu to the question of possible foreign outlets. Here he was more restrictive than the American analysts. Europe was unsuitable as an outlet because its competition in industrial and even in agricultural products would have a destructive effect on profits. But he also rejects Latin America as a potential market, for its population was too sparse and thinly spread over a large territory. It could not yet provide relief to U.S. producers. The only possible structural solution, Wu concludes, was the China Market – with a population larger than the whole of Europe, and single cities containing as many people as some Latin American states.¹⁰

Wu warns the readers of the *North American Review* that it was now in the U.S. self-interest not to lose the friendship of a nation of 400 million over the question of Chinese exclusion.¹¹ In a relation of true reciprocity, the two countries could help each other to reach “a higher plane of material development and prosperity.”¹² Wu can already point to a rapid increase of the share of U.S. exports to China, especially in cot-

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ton goods as well as kerosene. With China beginning to build railroads on a larger scale, the market for iron, steel, and locomotives was also on the increase.¹³ In return, Wu thinks that the United States could provide capital and management techniques to put China's otherwise abundant factors of production to use. He formulates this in a way that would appeal to Americans looking for new frontiers of economic expansion: "It would not be strange if the activity in railroad construction in the United States soon after the Civil War should find a parallel in China in coming years."¹⁴ In fact, U.S. investment would have found it hard to compete with older British or French finance capital in this period.

This essay appeared a few months after the acceptance of the first Open Door Note, with which U.S. Secretary of State John Hay had sought agreement among the powers to maintain equal access to China for international trade. China was not consulted on this diplomatic maneuver; Wu only learned of the Open Door Note when its acceptance by the powers was announced. But even before Hay started his diplomatic offensive, Wu had been aware of the crisis of overproduction that preoccupied U.S. elites. To him the Open Door Note only affirmed the importance China now held.

While the diagnosis of overproduction was widely accepted, McCormick points out that initially it had been far from obvious to American observers that the U.S. government was obliged to intervene. In the case of the China Market, it was increasing imperialist competition that drove the McKinley administration to enter the fray. The Sino-Japanese War of 1894 created worries over the break up of China, as Japan's victory was followed by an increase in pressure from other powers to secure their interests. Various players started to claim potential spheres of interest, including the British who so far, as *primus inter pares*, had managed multi-power control over China. As a scramble for China seemed near, American business associations and the press feared that the United States, lacking a clear sphere of influence, would be soon deprived from access to the China Market. They demanded government action. The Spanish-American war, started as a humanitarian intervention, was already employed to secure U.S. strategic positions in the Pacific. The significance of the Open Door Note, however, has sometimes been dismissed by historians, as it seem-

ingly only affirmed the existing imperialism of free trade. But the growing pressure posed by imperialist competition on multi-power control over China, and the de-facto open door, did make this a significant U.S. intervention. In fact it showed enormous confidence in U.S. industrial prowess when, rather than trying to gain a slice of China, the U.S. demanded merely equal access for all.¹⁵

The U.S. effort to maintain the integrity of China would immediately be tested by the Boxer Rebellion. When Wu's article appeared in the *North American Review*, the conservatives in the Qing court had just threw in their lot with the Boxer rebels and declared war on the powers. Wu had written his plea for reciprocity before this twist of events, but by the time it appeared in July 1900 he found himself in the strange position of representing a government now at war with Washington. The U.S. participated in the eight-power alliance that subdued what became one of the greatest anti-imperial uprisings in history, but also put pressure on the other powers, including with a second Open Door Note, for them to relinquish territorial compensations from China. Instead the Qing was punished with a huge indemnity. Wu had immediately rejected the actions of the Qing court. As these events unfolded, the McKinley government continued to work with the Chinese Minister as it sought to guarantee the unity of China, saving the Qing old regime *and* multi-power imperialism.

Like McKinley, however, Wu was willing to contemplate new forms of political action. The Chinese diplomat had already warned the American public of a possible boycott of American goods, leveraging the perceived importance of the China Market. In January 1900, a few months after his call for reciprocity at the Philadelphia Congress, he addressed the American Asiatic Association:

If you want to have a share of China's trade, a good deal depends on the kind of treatment you extend to my country, and especially in your new [colonial] possessions... I should not be surprised if some of my countrymen, in view of the exclusion, should boycott some American goods, but I hope this may not occur.¹⁶

But in 1904, the U.S. Congress unilaterally renewed

the prohibition of Chinese migrants. A draft treaty composed by Wu to at least exempt Hawaii and the Philippines from the Exclusion Law was rejected. Soon, a widespread boycott of U.S. goods did indeed break out in China, with the American press pointing at Wu as “the personality behind it.”¹⁷ It seems they were right. The boycott did not start as a spontaneous expression of nationalist indignation, but was carefully prepared by some modernizing officials, including Wu, and Chinese capitalists who had emerged in the treaty ports. Coordination was made possible by the chambers of commerce that Wu had helped set up in China after his return. China’s industrialists went along as they could see profit in a boycott that would provide temporary protection against U.S. competition (in sectors like flour, kerosene, cigarettes).¹⁸ The U.S., meanwhile, could not count on the support of the other treaty powers on this issue.

Wu expressed the hope that such economic retaliation would lead U.S. public opinion and commercial interests to demand legislative change from the Congress, calling it “enlightened anti-foreignism” in an implicit contrast to the violence of the Boxers.¹⁹ At the same time, U.S. intransigence on the question of exclusion now opened the way for China to reciprocate with a de-facto protective barrier against American imports, allowing an alternative developmental model to briefly take hold.²⁰ The boycott was thus well calibrated, setting up a win-win situation: gaining either concessions on the issue of exclusion or economic protection for China’s infant industry. Indeed, the U.S. press feared the boycott could become permanent. The boycott turned awry however when its organizers lost control over the movement, which started to take a more revolutionary nationalist, anti-Manchu direction. By threatening the Qing monarchy, it risked the fall of the brittle capstone of China’s international position and integrity. Soon those behind the boycott were forced to suppress it.

Denial of access to the China Market had seemed to Wu a powerful means to fight Chinese exclusion, targeting U.S. opinion concerned with economic prosperity and the social question. Because the way imperialist conflict over China had unfolded however, especially the Boxer Rebellion which both delegitimized the Qing monarchy while maintaining this decrepit old regime, China turned out too unstable a stage from which to launch this boycott against ex-

clusion.

1 Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men’s Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 253-6, 260-2. Lake and Reynolds place Wu at the Universal Races Congress of 1911. But while Wu contributed an essay to a volume circulated on the eve of the congress, he does not appear in its proceedings. Tracing his activities in this period shows that he could not have been present. See Linda Pomerantz-Zhang, *Wu Tingfang (1842-1922): Reform and Modernization in Modern Chinese History* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1992), 186.

2 Wu Ting-Fang, “Mutual Helpfulness between China and the United States,” *North American Review* 171, no. 524 (July 1900): 1-12, esp. 8-10.

3 Wu Ting-Fang, “China’s Relation with the West,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 13, Supplement 12 (May 1899): 168-176.

4 For instance: *Ibid.*, 174; Wu Ting-fang, “China,” in *Inter-Racial Problems: Papers from the First Universal Races Congress Held in London in 1911*, ed. G. Spiller (New York: The Citadel Press, 1970), 126.

5 Thomas J. McCormick, *China Market: America’s Quest for Informal Empire 1893-1901* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1990 [1967]).

6 *Ibid.*, 19, 28, 31, 34. For Wu’s connection to Carnegie, see Pomerantz-Zhang, *Wu Tingfang*, 128.

7 McCormick, *China Market*, 41-5.

8 Wu, “China’s Relation with the West,” 173.

9 Pomerantz-Zhang, *Wu Tingfang*, 115.

10 Wu, “Mutual Helpfulness,” 3-4.

11 *Ibid.*, 12.

12 *Ibid.*, 2.

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13 Ibid., 4. Confirmed by McCormick, *China Market*, 85, 131.

14 Wu, "Mutual Helpfulness," 5-7.

15 McCormick, *China Market*, 52-3, 59, 67, 70, 91, 93-4, 101, 105, 127, 129, 132.

16 Quoted in Pomerantz-Zhang, *Wu Tingfang*, 116.

17 Ibid., 165, 168.

18 Daniel J. Meissner, "China's 1905 Anti-American Boycott: A Nationalist Myth?" *Journal of American East-Asian Relations* 10, nos. 3/4 (Fall-Winter 2001): 175-96. Meissner emphasizes the economic motive, playing down the Chinese search for international equality.

19 Pomerantz-Zhang, *Wu Tingfang*, 165-6.

20 Meissner, "China's 1905 Anti-American Boycott," 194-5.



Inui Kiyosue: A Japanese Peace Advocate in the Age of "Yellow Peril"

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There is a tiny news item in the *Fort Worth Star Telegraph* in 1911 that reads:

JAP Will Tour World
New York: March 21 – Kiyo Sue Inui, a University of Michigan graduate, will sail Wednesday on the *Lusitania* on a round-the-world tour in [sic] behalf of international peace, representing the American Peace Society. Inui is the son of a wealthy retired merchant of Tokio [sic] and speaks six languages.¹

It is highly doubtful that Inui Kiyosue (c. 1884-1967) actually spoke six languages or was the son of a wealthy Tokyo merchant, but he was indeed a Japanese peace advocate who toured around the world in 1911-12. Inui was a talented orator and a scholar who mastered English and spent much of his life trying to alleviate misunderstandings between Japan and foreign countries. He lived in Japan, the United States, and China and visited many countries in order to explain Japan's position. My essay focuses on Inui's years as a traveling peace advocate, his connections to American and Japanese peace organizations, and his involvement in the Japanese immigration controversy

in the United States. Inui's story illuminates the transnational nature of the peace movement in the early twentieth century and the connections between peace and race in an age of supposed "yellow peril."

Born in Muya, Tokushima, on Shikoku Island around 1884, Inui spent his youth in Kobe and attended the Southern Methodist mission school Kwansei Gakuin from 1897 to 1901. He matriculated at the University of Michigan in 1902. He graduated in 1906 and went on to enroll in the Law program. By this time he had become known as the "little Jap Orator" and won first place in oratory at Ann Arbor and in the seven-university Northern Oratorical League.² Around 1905 to 1910, Inui was also a Chautauqua lecturer, delivering speeches such as "The Mission of New Japan," "The Sick Man of Asia and His Doctors," "Japanese Progress," "An Illustrated Lecture on Japan," and "East versus West." In 1906, Inui decided to create the Cosmopolitan Club, making Michigan the third university to do so after Wisconsin in 1903 and Cornell in 1904. Inui's involvement in the Cosmopolitan Club movement exemplified his ideal of the peaceful coexistence of all peoples, regardless of race and color, as well as his practice of promoting better understanding between people of different backgrounds.³

Inui began to work with the American Peace Society and the Great Lakes International Arbitration Society in the early years of his sojourn in the United States. He spent the latter half of 1909 traveling the entire length of the Mississippi River on an eighteen-

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foot canoe, delivering speeches at stops along the way. In March 1911, Inui embarked on his "Peace Tour around the World," again delivering speeches as well as attending various conferences related to world peace. After returning from his world tour to the U.S. in 1912, he settled in California. He remained until 1923, just one year before the anti-immigration Johnson-Reed Act became law.

Inui lived in the U.S. when the outcry over the "Yellow Peril" was loud and relations with Japan were precarious. Although the term "Yellow Peril" (*gelbe Gefahr*) was not coined by Kaiser Wilhelm II until 1895, hostility toward Asian peoples was already very much a part of racial tensions in the nineteenth century. In the U.S., the backlash against Chinese immigrant workers led to the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. Japanese immigration began shortly afterward in 1885, encouraged by both the Japanese and the U.S. governments. The Japanese population grew rapidly, especially in California, where the U.S. Census showed 1147 in 1890, 10,151 in 1900, and 41,356 in 1910.⁴ After 1898, the Japanese population in California included many who emigrated from U.S.-annexed Hawaii. As immigration increased, hostility toward Japan and the Japanese grew on the Pacific coast. When he first came to the U.S. in 1902, Inui recalled, he was "visited by two stones and one rotten apple" during a short stay in San Francisco.⁵ By moving on to Michigan, Inui probably spared himself a good deal of overt racial prejudice. When he commenced lecturing on Japan in 1904, Inui sought to explain Japan's role in East Asia and its mission, along with the U.S., to help China become a "modern civilization."⁶ As the danger of war between the United States and Japan seemed to grow in the years after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, Inui started to explain Japan's peaceful intentions to American audiences.⁷

Tensions between Japan and the U.S. rose in October 1906, when the San Francisco Board of Education announced plans to segregate Japanese children in the "Oriental Public School" after the great earthquake and fire destroyed many schools earlier in the year. Although Inui, then a University of Michigan student, did not make any reference to this incident in his speeches at the time, he later came to consider it as the crucial event leading to the Gentlemen's Agreement between the U.S. and Japanese governments and the restriction of admission of Japanese laborers to

the U.S. mainland. The agreement did not end conflict over immigration or fears of war between the two Pacific powers. Thus it was no surprise that Inui eventually intertwined the issues of peace and immigration.

For Inui, "misunderstanding" was the biggest cause of unnecessary international tensions. As a talented orator, he made it his personal mission to communicate both American and Japanese views so as to promote better understanding, and his stance seems to have resonated with that of American Peace Society. Around the time of his canoe trip down the Mississippi in 1909, Inui was listed as one of the speakers of the International Arbitration and Peace Speaker Bureau of the American Peace Society. It is probable he was delivering speeches on the APS's behalf.⁸ It is also likely that he was planning to return to Japan, at least for a while, and give "illustrated lectures" on America. His trip allowed him to collect materials to present to Japanese audiences. Inui's work was considered so important that the Great Lakes International Arbitration Society backed his subsequent world tour.

The appeal of international arbitration had gained popularity with the signing of the Hague Conventions in 1899. In an age of increasingly destructive weaponry, arbitration was considered a "civilized" way to peacefully resolve international disputes. Persuasive peace advocates like Inui could inspire confidence in the feasibility of arbitration even between governments from the "Western" and "Eastern" worlds. In the course of his world tour, Inui attended the First Universal Races Congress in London in July 1911, which was modeled after the Universal Peace Congresses and convened to promote interracial and intercivilizational understanding. Inui headed from Europe to Japan, traveling on a forty-five ton "steamerlet" that stopped in "Algeria, Egypt, Arabia, Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula and the Philippines Islands."⁹ Voyaging on board a small steamship may have seemed "reckless," but Inui considered it to be the perfect vessel for his "war against war," for it symbolized peaceful coexistence of the people around the world: "our little boat was a world in itself, having thirteen or fourteen nationalities on board, and that it was a memorable demonstration of that saying 'Above all nation is humanity.'"¹⁰ In Japan, Inui delivered several speeches in both English and Japanese in Tokyo, Osaka, and Kobe. On 18 May 1912, Inui spoke at a Hague Day meeting sponsored by the Japan Peace

Society (JPS, *Dai Nihon heiwa kyokai*) in the YMCA Hall in Kanda, Tokyo.¹¹ Inui must have been an ideal speaker, given his experiences as an educated Japanese sojourner in the U.S. and a world traveler. In any case, his visit to Japan after a decade-long absence certainly connected him to pacifists in Japan and fortified his commitment to promoting better understanding of Japan.

The peace movement in Japan reflected the cosmopolitanism of the early twentieth century. Although peace advocates had appeared earlier, antiwar sentiment grew mostly after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 and especially during and after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05. Opponents of war included the socialist Kōtoku Shūsui (1871-1911) and the Christian Uchimura Kanzō (1861-1930). Yet it was Gilbert Bowles, an American Quaker missionary well connected to the American Peace Society (APS), who took the lead in forming the Council of the Friends of Peace and Arbitration during the Russo-Japanese War. The members of this group, mainly consisted of foreign missionaries from various denominations, recognized the need to place the movement “in Japanese hands.”¹² In 1906, Bowles took “steps toward calling a joint conference of Japanese and foreign workers who might be interested in organizing an arbitration and peace society adapted to present day conditions in Japan.”¹³ He approached some prominent Japanese Christian leaders, including Ebara Soroku??, who joined with him in founding the Japan Peace Society in 1906.¹⁴ Thus the JPS was an international organization with American, British, Chinese, and Japanese members. Its main publication included Japanese and English language sections, which differed in content. As the society’s English secretary, Bowles was in charge of the English section. By 1910, the JPS gained prominence with the involvement of such figures as the former (and future) prime minister, Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922), the future mayor of Tokyo, Sakatani Yoshirō (1863-1941), and the wealthy businessman and so-called “father of Japanese capitalism,” Shibusawa Eiichi (1840-1931). In 1911, the Americans living in Japan formed the American Peace Society of Japan (APSJ) to “express American sentiment in Japan relative to international questions.”¹⁵ With Bowles serving as the lynchpin, the JPS and the APSJ worked side by side and the APS’s *Advocate of Peace* reported on their activities.

Not surprisingly, these three peace organizations were concerned about tensions between the United States and Japan, due in part to white American hostility towards Japanese immigrants. The Japan Peace Society’s Constitution stated “By fostering intimate relations among nations and races [emphasis added] and, especially, by urging the use of peaceable means in settling international disputes this Society shall seek to promote the peace of the world and the happiness of mankind.”¹⁶ When Inui returned to the United States by way of Hawaii, he was much better equipped to advocate on behalf of Japanese immigrants. He soon became the General Secretary of the Japanese Association of America, a federation of more than fifty local and regional Japanese associations west of the Rockies, and the champion of Japanese immigrants.¹⁷

Inui lived in California from 1912 to 1923, first in San Francisco and then in Los Angeles. He taught “Far Eastern history and politics” at the University of Southern California and Occidental College beginning in 1915. The same year he married Minnie Kimura. Born Minnie Shimizu to Japanese parents in the U.S., she was orphaned and then adopted around age three by a single American woman, Mary Gallagher Kimura. Minnie’s adoptive mother had been briefly married to Jun Kimura, a Japanese medical student in the U.S. She had moved to Japan with her husband, but his parents did not accept her as his wife and she returned to the United States. Minnie grew up speaking English and later became the first Japanese woman to graduate from Stanford University. Minnie and Inui had a daughter, Londa (“Kiyoko” or “Seiko”) Inui (later Iwata). Minnie probably learned Japanese when she and Inui eventually moved to Japan, where she used the name Chiyo.¹⁸ Although beyond the focus of this essay, the stories of Minnie, her adoptive mother Mary, and her husband Inui – especially the constraints experienced by the two women – suggest the importance of considering gender alongside questions of race and immigration in an age of “yellow peril.”

California remained the main battleground of the Japanese immigration controversy, thanks to passage of legislation in 1913 prohibiting “aliens ineligible for citizenship” from owning land and limiting leases to three years. With eligibility for citizenship restricted to persons of European or African descent, the target of the legislation was Asians in general and

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Japanese in particular, given their success as farmers. Initially, Inui was quite optimistic. Compared to his experience in 1902, he observed “better feeling toward the Japanese in California.”¹⁹ The problem, according to Inui, arose again from “misunderstandings.” This was a common theme he pursued throughout his career as a peace activist. “International misunderstandings” were the chief cause of wars and conflicts and he was set to alleviate it using his bilingual oratorical skills: “Two years ago the state legislature of California gave the best illustration of a legislation based on misunderstanding when they were debating on the anti-alien land law... I do think that there was a great deal of misunderstanding in that enactment.” He proceeded to point out the inconsistencies in the basic arguments used against the Japanese. First “Japanese work so cheaply” and they “lower the standard of wages.” Second, the Japanese demand high wages. Third, the Japanese make money but send it to Japan and do not help the local economy. Finally, the Japanese buy up all the land using the money they earn. Inui claimed these inconsistent statements came from “misunderstanding.”

For Inui and his fellow peace activists, the issues of immigration and peace were closely connected:

You can never have international peace without ridding yourself of international suspicious and jealousy by displacing them with mutual trust and confidence, and by displacing inter-racial criticism and contempt with appreciation and co-operation.

Lovers of peace and reorganizers of the world, let us start anew, if necessary, from that same old proposition: “in essentials we are all alike, though we may differ in non-essentials.” With this attitude of heart, let us hope, let us strive, and as the first step, let us try to know our neighbors – try to understand them and appreciate them.²⁰

The norm of good neighborly relations was essentially the same for people who lived together in a community and states that shared a world.

Another area of misunderstanding concerned the capacity of Japanese immigrants to adapt to American culture. As a Christian and as someone who had

mastered the English language, Inui was convinced that not only social and cultural assimilation but also biological and racial assimilation could and would take place. He was largely influenced by the Universal Races Congress, which had affirmed the fundamental equality of human beings and attributed differences among them to differences of environment.²¹ In 1920, Inui and Minnie were among those who testified in hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the U.S. House of Representatives.²² Inui stated “Biological assimilation is going on at the very moment, without any intermixture of races, and that is very possible... For instance, when we speak English, naturally formation of our lips will conform to that language... when Japanese stay here any length of time, their complexion changes.” He proceeded to explain height and weight differences of the Japanese children in Japan and in the United States.²³

Inui and fellow Japanese Christians on the West Coast promoted Americanization of Japanese and pledged their loyalty to the United States. He argued that the Japanese government encouraged emigrants to “become citizens of other countries in which they live and contribute as they can to the welfare of their adopted country,” rather than insisting on loyalty to Japan.²⁴ For Inui, Japan was a country fully committed to world peace, but misunderstood by some Americans due to misinformation and miscommunication. He noted that Japan had voluntarily limited the number of immigrants by its “Gentleman’s Agreement” with the U.S. in 1907. Again of its own accord, Japan had limited the immigration of women as “picture brides” in 1920. “Japan’s efforts to observe the Agreement” were, according to Inui, “most noteworthy example of international co-operation and self-denial.”²⁵ Yet the passage of the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924, limiting immigration in general and barring Asian immigrants in particular, dissolved the Gentleman’s Agreement. The efforts of Inui and likeminded Japanese on the West Coast had come to naught.

Inui left the United States in 1923 to attend a conference in Vienna. He did not return; instead he went on to Japan. Around 1924-1927, Inui was teaching International Economic Relations at Tokyo University of Commerce and Waseda University. In 1931, he received a doctorate (L.L.D.) from Tokyo University. Inui was a member of League of Nations Association of Japan, which practically replaced

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Japan Peace Society.²⁶ He continued to his work as a peace advocate, explaining to the Japanese public that not all Americans were against the Japanese and that war should be avoided. In the 1930s, we find Inui in Shanghai working in Japan's Department of Foreign Services. He made a brief visit to the United States in 1940, before spending the wartime and postwar years in Japan.

Inui Kiyosue's story reveals the historical interconnections of the world peace movement, U.S.-Japan relations, and Japanese immigrants in the United States. His personal experience was transnational in nature, for he mastered the art of English oratory, became a Japanese member of the American Peace Society just as Americans were members of the Japan Peace Society, interpreted Japan for American audiences and the U.S. for Japanese audiences, and worked on behalf of Japanese immigrants trying to win acceptance in the U.S. In the early twentieth century, there were much assertion and contention along the color line, including where it ran between Japan and the United States. Inui Kiyosue tried to alleviate the tensions between the two countries by correcting "misunderstanding" on both sides and serving as a bridge between two cultures. Unfortunately, it was beyond Inui's power to prevent the war that was to come in the 1930s and 1940s.

1 "Jap will Tour World," *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, 21 March 1911, 5.

2 *Winning Speeches in the Contest of the Northern Oratorical League*, ed. Thomas C. Trueblood (New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: American Book Company, 1909, 1916).

3 "The Japanese Orator: Kiyo S. Inui," a pamphlet for Chautauqua, a part of Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Libraries, <http://sdrdata.lib.uiowa.edu/libsdrc/details.jsp?id=inui/1> His name also appears in Chautauqua related publications, such as *The Chautauquan* and *Lyceumite* and *Talent*. His involvement in Cosmopolitan movement can be seen from the University of Michigan yearbooks, as well as *The Cosmopolitan Annual*.

4 The census data can be found in Harry H. L. Kitano, *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture*

(Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976), 210-211.

5 Inui Kiyo Sue and George W. Beadle, *A Peace Tour Around the World: also The Japanese in California and Positive Peace Suggestions* (Detroit: Great Lakes International Arbitration Society, 1914). Only one copy of this pamphlet of about twenty pages is known to have survived. I would like to thank the staff of the Texas A&M University Library Rare Book Collection who kindly made it available to me.

6 Inui, "The Mission of New Japan," 206.

7 See Masuda Hajimu, "Rumors of War: Immigration Disputes and the Social Construction of American-Japanese Relations, 1905-1913," *Diplomatic History* 33, no. 1 (2009): 1-37.

8 Inui's name appears as a member of Peace Speakers Bureau on July 1909 to March 1914 issues of the *Advocate of Peace*. Julius Moritzen's *The Peace Movement of America* (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1912) refers to Inui's 1911-12 world tour under the auspices of the Great Lakes International Arbitration Society but also states, "Mr. Inui had previously to his world tour made a similar tour of the United States under the auspice of the American Peace Society" (372-373). It is possible that the American Peace Society supported his canoe tour, but Inui himself does not shed any light on this possible sponsorship.

9 Inui names these points along his route to Japan, but he may have visited other places. See *A Peace Tour Around the World*, 7. Certainly the tour and the pamphlet attracted press attention. An advertisement carries "comments from the world," from *Kokumin Shinbun* (Tokyo), *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Morning Leader* (London), *Daily Press* (Colombo), *Nanyo Shimpō* (Singapore), *Star-Bulletin* (Hawaii), *People's Journal* (Dundee, Scotland), *Manchurian Daily*, *Seoul Nippo*, and *Boston Globe*. See *Lyceum Magazine*, April 1914, 33.

10 Inui, *A Peace Tour Around the World*, 7.

11 Gilbert Bowles, "Notes on the Recent Development of the Peace Movement in Japan," *Advocate of Peace*,

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July 1912, 164-65.

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12 Benjamin Chappell, "The Peace Movement in Japan," *Advocate of Peace*, February 1908, 38-39
Chappell was the Dean of Aoyama College and lived in Japan for eighteen years. He was a member of the Council for the Friends of Peace and Arbitration.

19 Inui Kiyo Sue, "Better Feeling Toward the Japanese in California," *Advocate of Peace*, November 1916, 304-306.

13 Gilbert Bowles, "The Inauguration of Peace and Arbitration Work in Japan, 15 March 1906," *Advocate of Peace*, April 1906, 80.

20 Inui Kiyo Sue, "International Misunderstandings," *Proceedings of the Fifth American Peace Congress Held in San Francisco, California, 10-13 October 1915* (New York: Church Peace Union, 1915), 98-105.

14 Sakaguchi Mitsuhiro, "Kokusai kyōchō gata heiwa undō: 'Dai Nihon heiwa kyōkai' no katsudō to sono shiteki ichi" [Peace Movement for International Harmony: The History and Program of Japan Peace Society], *Kirisutokyō shakai mondai kenkyū* [The Study of Christianity & Social Problems] 33 (1985), 118. http://doors.doshisha.ac.jp/webopac/002000330004._?key=ASSBFA

21 Inui, *A Peace Tour Around the World*, 4-7.

22 *Japanese Immigration Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization*, House of Representatives 64 Congress (July 12, 13, and 14, 1902) Part I, 973-976.

15 "The American Peace Society of Japan" *Advocate of Peace*, May 1911, 113-14.

23 *Japanese Immigration Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization*, House of Representatives 64 Congress (July 12, 13, and 14, 1902) Part I, 998.

16 Constitution of the Japan Peace Society, art. 1, sec 1. English version can be found in Heiwa: "Peace and Justice" – *Crotius* [English section of the Japan Peace Society publication] 1 no. 1 (October 1910), 3.

24 Inui, "Better Feeling Toward Japanese in California," 305.

17 Inui, *A Peace Tour Around the World*, 11.

25 Inui Kiyo Sue, "The Gentleman's Agreement. How it has Functioned," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 122 (November 1925): 188-98.

18 "Distinguished Japanese Orator marries First Japanese Woman Stanford Graduate," *Evening News* (San Jose, CA), 15 June 1915. Unknown source written by Londa Inui Iwata, "East meets West" http://dgmgenealogy.info/StClairPioneers/wc_src/src004.htm http://dgmgenealogy.info/StClairPioneers/wc_src/sm02/

26 The Japan Peace Society stagnated after the death of Ōkuma Shigenobu in 1922. It was absorbed into the League of Nations Association of Japan in 1925.



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Black Bodies, White Borders: Mapping the Color Line Inside and Outside the United States, 1902-1916

Shannon Bontrager, Georgia Highlands College

Scholars continue to debate the imperialistic nature of the United States. Jane Burbank and Frederic Cooper suggest that while nations are distinct from empires, they usually share coinciding places. Commemorating the war dead has long served a useful political purpose of mitigating the national disgrace of war that sometimes went with American imperial expansion. But the public commemorations of the war dead from the Philippines and the U.S. invasions of Mexico in 1914 and again in 1916 help expose these overlapping borders of nation and empire, especially because dead bodies created from these aggressive acts could help triangulate the tricky and sometimes uneasy white borders where republicanism, Jim Crow, and imperialism lay side-by-side.¹

Examining commemorations of the dead when U.S. officials explicitly acted imperialistically can provide a clear case of where national and imperialistic places converged and competed with one another. On Memorial Day in 1902, President Theodore Roosevelt addressed a crowd – many of whom were Civil War veterans from the North and the South – at Arlington National Cemetery. American newspapers had been reporting on the controversy over the court-martial trial of Major Littleton Waller stemming from the crimes committed in the Philippines that exposed American brutality in the wake of the Balingiga Massacre. Roosevelt used this commemoration as an opportunity to hit back at his critics. After honoring Civil War veterans in the audience, the President contrasted his praise to the “small but peculiarly trying and difficult war which is involved not only the honor of the flag, but the triumph of civilization over forces which stand for the black chaos of savagery and barbarism.” The President admitted that there were some American soldiers in the Philippines who had “so far forgotten themselves as to counsel and commit, in retaliation, acts of cruelty.” These were just a few individuals, insisted the President, who posed no threat to the larger reputation of the U.S. military mission in the Philippines. He reminded his audience “that for every

guilty act committed by one of our troops a hundred acts of far greater atrocity have been committed by the hostile natives.” Roosevelt promised that any American soldier who had committed excesses would be found out and disciplined.²

Justifying the war allowed the President to praise the actions of the majority of soldiers doing their duty while directing his ire at war critics in a peculiar way. Roosevelt pivoted from addressing military war crimes abroad to critiquing domestic civilian racial violence. Critics, he argued, should not be so quick to condemn the soldiers in the Philippines, particularly because, “from time to time, there occur in our country, to the deep and lasting shame of our people, lynchings... a cruelty infinitely worse than any that has been committed by our troops in the Philippines.” This seemingly bizarre connection illustrates how Roosevelt was operating the levers of imperialism through overlapping imperial and national places. He continued, “The men who fail to condemn these lynchings, and yet clamor about what has been done in the Philippines, are indeed guilty of neglecting the beam in their own eye while taunting their brother about the mote in his.” The allusion to Jesus of Nazareth’s Sermon on the Mount helped juxtapose American racial violence committed by U.S. soldiers abroad and by American citizens at home worlds away from each other. He accused detractors who “afford[ed] far less justification for a general condemnation of our army than these lynchings afford for the condemnation of the communities in which they have taken place.”³

Roosevelt rotated toward a justification of his policy in the Philippines again by juxtaposing far off lands with nearby communities. According to the President, “in every community there are people who commit acts of well-nigh inconceivable horror and baseness.” Concentrating only on the bad, he argued, without considering the “countless deeds of wisdom and justice and philanthropy,” would encourage most people “to condemn the community.” He insisted likewise that the United States was obeying rules of engagement and doing much more good in the Philippines. He compared detractors of the Philippine war to the old Confederacy noting that the Confederate Congress called General Grant a “butcher” and accused Lincoln of engaging in “contemptuous disregard for the usages of civilized

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war” just as some were now accusing Roosevelt. Of these slanderers, the President went on, “you have their heirs to-day in those who traduce our armies in the Philippines, who fix their eyes on individual deeds of wrong so keenly that at last they become blind to the great work of peace and freedom that has already been accomplished.”³ Using old Confederates to discredit anti-imperialists helped Roosevelt answer his critics and it also connected racial politics of nation and empire.⁴

This kind of negotiation between imperial and national places continued even as a new administration came to power seeking to justify new conflicts and invasions.⁵ The Mexican Revolution, which began with the overthrow of President Porfirio Diaz in 1910, unfolded into a vast decade-long struggle among factional and popular forces across the country. The politics as well as the fighting threatened U.S. interests in Mexico.⁶ Wilson sent the U.S. Navy to occupy Veracruz in April 1914. The marines succeeded in taking over the city after battling soldiers and civilians. With the Americans occupying Mexico’s most important seaport for seven months, shuttling expatriate Americans out of the country, and seeking to influence Mexico’s political leadership, this invasion aided Venustiano Carranza’s rise to the presidency of Mexico although the Mexican leader was opposed to the American occupation. Carranza initially enjoyed the support of the peasant-backed popular leaders and guerrilla fighters Francisco “Pancho” Villa and Emiliano Zapata. It did not take long before this alliance broke up in the wake of Carranza’s inability to enact swift land reform measures. The revolution thus entered another bloody phase.

Nineteen marines had died in the fighting in Veracruz, all of them white. U.S. Navy officials returned their bodies on the battleship *Montana* to New York and buried the remains of seventeen in the grounds of the Brooklyn Navy Yard and delivered those of the other two casualties to their hometowns for burial in local cemeteries. The Brooklyn funeral, planned by the U.S. Navy, was scheduled for 11 May. A few weeks earlier, Wilson had indicated that he would not attend the ceremony. But as the day approached, Wilson boarded the presidential yacht and sailed to New York. Beginning at the Battery, an elaborate funeral procession observed

by tens of thousands of onlookers took the dead through Manhattan and across the Manhattan Bridge to Brooklyn. Wilson followed the procession in a carriage. At City Hall, Mayor John Mitchell delivered a eulogy and laid a wreath on one of the coffins. He had worked with the churches and the business community to ring bells and stop work during the funeral. When the procession reached the Navy Yard, the public as well as the marchers filled the area. Accompanying Wilson to the stage was the Congressional Committee, the representatives of the New York State Assembly, Wilson’s secretary Joseph Tumulty, Mayor Mitchell, the Secretary of the Navy, the Governor of New York, and numerous other representatives of the Navy, city, and state government. Pallbearers then carried in the flag-draped coffins to a military salute.⁷

Having listened to the roll call of the dead before he rose to speak, Wilson reminded the audience that the American nation “consists of all the sturdy elements and of all the best elements of the whole globe.” Those who died, claimed the President, were “not Irishmen or Germans or Frenchmen or Hebrews any more. They were not when they went to Vera Cruz; they were Americans, everyone one of them, and with no difference in their Americanism because of the stock from which they came.” He added “they were in a peculiar sense of our blood and they proved it by showing that they were of our spirit.” He turned from the sacrifice of soldiers in Mexico to speak about the sacrifice of citizenship at home:

I never went into battle, I never was under fire but I fancy that there are some things just as hard to do as to go under fire. I fancy that it is just as hard to do your duty when men are sneering at you as when they are shooting at you. When they shoot at you they can only take your natural life; when they sneer at you they can wound your heart, and men who are brave enough, steadfast enough, steady in the principles enough, to go about their duty with regard to their fellowmen.⁸

Thus the President conflated a questionable military intervention in a foreign country with a demonstration of national identity and civic purpose. “We have gone down to Mexico to serve mankind if we can find out

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the way,” he continued, “we do not want to fight the Mexicans.” Rather, the President claimed, “we want to serve the Mexicans if we can, because we know how we would like to be free and how we would like to be served if there were friends standing by ready to serve us.” Wilson ennobled the Veracruz operation as well as the Veracruz dead, saying “A war of aggression is not a war in which it is a proud thing to die, but a war of service is a thing in which it is a proud thing to die.”⁹ Wilson admonished citizens to “put the utmost energy of every power that we have into the service of our fellow-men, never sparing ourselves, not condescending to think of what is going to happen to ourselves, but ready, if need be, to go to the utter length of complete self-sacrifice.” He concluded “May God grant to all of us that vision of patriotic service which here in solemnity and grief and pride is borne in upon our hearts and consciences.”¹⁰

This intervention in Mexico flowed from an imperial project thinly disguised in Wilson’s rhetoric as a national cause. Two years later, as Europeans were in the abyss of war, Wilson ordered a second invasion of Mexico to capture Francisco “Pancho” Villa for attacking towns on the U.S. side of the border. Although Wilson sought to keep the U.S. neutral in the conflict between the Central and Allied powers of Europe, Villa’s assaults exposed the vulnerability of the American border and with it America’s ability to stabilize the Western hemisphere at a time when borders and spheres of influence in Europe were in flux. Several skirmishes ensued but the biggest clash of the campaign happened in the summer of 1916 at Carrizal. General John J. Pershing, the commanding general in charge of the invasion, sent Company C and Company K of the black Tenth Cavalry under the command of a white officer, Captain Charles Boyd, to investigate a reported sighting of Villa. Boyd missed Villa’s soldiers but ran into Mexican federal troops; an unplanned skirmish ensued. Boyd and several soldiers died in the battle, which the Carranza government declared a *federale* victory. The American press began investigating the skirmish as American officials began preparing for a full-scale invasion of Mexico.¹¹

The soldiers of the Tenth Cavalry became instant national heroes despite the fact that they had lost a skirmish on an expedition that seemed to violate Mexican sovereignty. The *New York Times* described the men as heroic and reported, “American

negro troopers faced almost certain death at Carrizal with smiles on their lips, and they burst into song once or twice as they fought their grim fight against odds.” Historian James N. Leiker notes: “Not since the Spanish-American War had public praise of this magnitude occurred for African American soldiers.”¹² These black soldiers’ sacrifices represented the vitality of the U.S. to protect American interests on the U.S. side of the border and control political events within the Western hemisphere. The traditional practices of national commemoration thus meant that these black bodies would be transported to Arlington National Cemetery for a proper memorial as “sainted dead” in the nation’s capital.¹³ In the buildup to their imminent arrival to Washington, D.C., “Congress unanimously approved a resolution that all House members who had served the Union and Confederate armies and the Spanish-American War would form a committee to attend the funeral at Arlington.”¹⁴ Wilson himself had established a precedent for commemorating the dead from Mexico.¹⁵ He delivered a memorial address to the fallen white sailors and marines from the 1914 occupation of Vera Cruz that intricately wove ethnicity into the tapestry of American citizenship and patriotism. In 1916, when the bodies were black, Wilson only attended the funeral and did not speak. Despite the increased tensions and the possible invasion of Mexico looming, the President’s only official act was to lay wreaths on the men’s caskets.¹⁶ Despite his commitment to racial segregation, Wilson was forced to join the nation in acknowledging that these men had sacrificed their lives acting nobly for the American nation and the President’s failed invasion. The funeral was an acknowledgement that these men too had helped secure American hegemony in the Western hemisphere and again highlighted how the nature of black bodies and white borders represented the interplay between the U.S. nation and American empire.

Some were intensely aware of how race made the distant internal and external places of the American empire contiguous. *The Crisis*, edited by W.E.B. Du Bois for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, published some articles on the Carrizal dead but devoted more column space to an event in Waco, Texas that occurred about the same time but got much less press coverage: the lynching and live burning of Jesse Washington.

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Washington was the black “mentally deficient” field hand of the Fryar family on a farm six miles outside of Waco. When Mrs. Fryar was found dead at her home, Washington was arrested and transported to Waco and then a neighboring county to avoid the pursuing lynch mob. Here he confessed, under duress, to murdering Mrs. Fryar. He was transported to Dallas, Texas for arraignment, narrowly avoiding another lynch mob who had found out his location. Dallas authorities promised to act promptly if the lynch mob would disperse. Mob leaders agreed and Washington produced a second confession in Dallas (possibly to help ameliorate the lynch mob), waived his legal rights, and was set for a trial that would take place in Waco. Mrs. Fryar had died on 8 May and Washington’s trial began and ended a week later on 15 May. He was sentenced to death by hanging the same day.

This trial unfolded within Waco’s political context. The sheriff of Waco, S. S. Fleming, was standing for re-election and Justice R. I. Munroe, a member of the city’s political machine, had been appointed by the Governor of Texas. Over 2,000 people came to the courthouse to hear the trial and many began making plans to abduct Washington. The jury reached a verdict by 11:22 AM. As Judge Munroe was writing the verdict in the docket the crowd inside the courthouse surged forward. Sheriff Fleming had slipped out of the courthouse as the verdict was read. Judge Munroe did nothing as the crowd grabbed Washington, dragged him out of the courthouse, wrapped him in chains, took him through the streets for one-half-mile to City Hall, and lynched him from a tree before burning him alive. Washington’s remains were left smoldering until his torso was tied with a chain to a saddled horse and once again dragged through the streets of downtown Waco.¹⁷

The Crisis sent an eleven-page supplement about Waco to readers in July 1916. The next edition in August led with an editorial that cleverly placed two letters in side-by-side columns. These letters juxtaposed the U.S. invasion of Mexico with the federal government’s disregard for domestic lynchings, not only in Texas but in Georgia and elsewhere. In one column, a letter “written to Mexico” by Secretary of State Robert Lansing was reprinted and in the adjacent column a second letter “which was not written to Georgia” by President Wilson

appeared. The first column printed verbatim a threat from Secretary Lansing demanding that President Carranza control the bandits crossing the American border or else the United States would not hesitate to invade Mexico. It concluded, “for if the Government of Mexico cannot protect the lives and property of Americans, exposed to attack from Mexicans, the Government of the United States is duty bound, so far as it can, to do so.” The second letter borrowed Lansing’s language but with strategic additions and subtractions – denoted in the text by italics – that recontextualized American foreign policy with Mexico into a U.S. federal policy with the state of Georgia. In this imaginary letter, President Wilson threatened to invade Georgia unless state officials can end lynching in the state. It concluded, “For if Georgia cannot protect the lives and property of American citizens the United States is in duty bound, so far as it can, to do so.”¹⁸

The color line was usually invisible even if most people knew where it was located. Its invisibility made it easier to obscure the American imperial project at home and abroad. If nation-states and empires occupy overlapping locations, then mapping these places can help visualize the American repertoire of power. Race provides one key in the map legend of this mapping project precisely because it intersects locations, near and far and foreign and domestic, and reveals their side-by-side nature. Not only were Roosevelt and Wilson aware in their own way of these connections and contiguities, but, as *The Crisis* shows, so were those made vulnerable to the violence of the color line and increasingly determined to challenge it wherever they found it.

1 Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 8.

2 Ibid.

3 “President Strikes at Army Critics,” *New York Times*, 30 May 1902.

4 Ibid.

5 Thomas J. Knock, *To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order*

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(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 84.

6 Meanwhile, American expatriates accumulated land in Mexico and investors dreamed of the construction of a railroad that would connect North American producers to Latin American natural resources. Instability in Mexico threatened their interests. Outgoing President William Howard Taft supported Mexican General Victoriano Huerta's coup d'état, which he hoped would bring a friendly government to power and put an end to disorder in Mexico. For a magisterial study of the Mexican Revolution and the role of Americans and the U.S. government, see John Mason Hart, *Empire and Revolution: The Americans in Mexico since the Civil War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

7 "Nation Honors Vera Cruz Dead in Grieving City," *New York Times*, 12 May 1914.

8 "War is a Symbol of Duty," *New York Times*, 12 May 1914.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 "Mexicans Dug Pitfall, Used Flag of Truce," *New York Times*, 23 June 1916; "Americans to Blame Says Mexican Official," *New York Times*, 23 June 1916; "Seek Only Nation's Peace," *New York Times*, 23 June 1916; "Describe Troops in Hopeless Fight," *New York Times*, 24 June 1916; "Praises Courageous Band," *New York Times*, 27 June 1916.

12 "No Quarter at Carrizal," *New York Times*, 30 June

1916; James N. Leiker, *Racial Borders: Black Soldiers Along the Rio Grande* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002), 163-170. For an overview, see David J. Hellwig, "The Afro-American Press and Woodrow Wilson's Mexican Policy, 1913-1917," *Phylon* 48 (Winter 1987): 264. He observes, "By far the most distinctive feature of the black press's response was its emphasis on the discrepancy between Woodrow Wilson's eagerness to help the poor and establish democratic institutions in Mexico and his silence on the treatment of black Americans."

13 Letter, Henderson National Memorial Civil Rights League to Woodrow Wilson, 27 June 1916, NA, RG 92, Office of the Quartermaster General, Cemeterial Division, 1917-1922, Box 14, Folder Carrizal, Mexico.

14 Leiker, *Racial Borders*, 163-170.

15 "President May Speak at the Graves," *New York Times*, 8 July 1916.

16 "Carrizal Dead Honored," *New York Times*, 8 July 1916; Leiker, *Racial Borders*, 163-170.

17 "The Waco Horror," Supplement to *The Crisis*, July 1916. <http://library.brown.edu/pdfs/1292363091648500.pdf>, accessed 26 August 2015.

18 Editorial, "Two Letters," *The Crisis*, August 1916, 163-65. <http://library.brown.edu/pdfs/1292419172976625.pdf>, accessed 26 August 2015.



World History Association

Religious Encounters within Imperial Contexts: Irish-Catholic Legitimation and Self-Actualization in an Age of Imperial Expansion

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Encounters between the emerging nation-state and intra-state religious groups within imperial contexts in the 18th century are characterized most usefully as reaffirming and politically self-actualizing encounters with the imperial state. “Self-actualization” refers to Abraham Maslow’s psychological process that culminates in the realization of a group’s highest needs.¹ Religion’s relegation to the private sphere by the late 18th century elevated political demands as the only legitimate claim to be placed on a state. Political self-actualization is thus the ability of a group to be acknowledged as legitimate members of a political community, and the acceptance of its self-defined political goals. The preconditions necessary for religious reaffirmation and self-actualization were two-fold: the Enlightenment’s elevation of the individual, endowed with reason and agency; and the recentralization of major world religions amidst imperial expansion. Religious identity was reaffirmed in this environment because imperial expansion brought into relief the differences between religious and non-religious intra-imperial constituencies alike. The Irish-Catholic example in both Britain and the Early American republic in the late 18th century aid secondary students in understanding how imperialism propelled intra-imperial religious groups toward reaffirmation and political self-actualization.

Current world history curricula do not recognize the role of religion in modern world history. The Advanced Placement World History (APWH) course introduces approximately 500,000 new secondary students to world history each year. A choice made in the design of the Curriculum Framework (CF), therefore, structures how many American students will perceive the practice and development of World History.² The British Empire is the most referenced European empire in the CF from 1750 onward. Two themes emerge after 1750 that persist in the mind of secondary students: the continued role of religion in any civilization, and the development of powerful empires. Because of its ostensibly pragmatic import, the former is easily

accessible, while the latter is less so. Marrying the two is thus an effective way for students to develop understanding in what might otherwise be an abstract concept.

The APWH CF acknowledges the reaffirming and self-actualizing possibility of religion to its group members. Religion is the most recurring theme in the development of civilizations prior to the modern era. In the modern era, however, the CF acknowledges religion but does not lead students to it. For example, Key Concept (KC) 5.3 states “beginning in the 18th century, peoples around the world developed a new sense of commonality based on language, religion, social customs, and territory... [and] governments used this idea to unite diverse populations.” Conspicuously, however, religion is not suggested as an illustrative example through which students develop a deeper understanding of this point, replacing it with nationalist movements. Ignoring religion here deprives secondary students of an important historical continuity into the modern era; not only because of a student’s personal understanding of religion, but also from religion’s prior use in the CF to develop understanding of larger historical themes. What is more, the CF ignores recent scholarship suggesting that modern-era imperialism had an important effect on world religions and their adherents’ encounters with it.

Organized religion’s encounter with the imperial nation-state was compelled by two preconditions. First, the intellectual movement known as The Enlightenment posited that the individual historical actor was uniquely endowed with reason. Religion for *les philosophes* was an impediment to the individual’s use of her inherent reason. “True philosophers,” said Voltaire, “have dared to overturn the sacred boundaries established by religion, and have broken the shackles by which faith bound their reason.”³ Here is Kant’s take: “after having thrown off the yoke of immaturity themselves, [enlightenment, slowly proceeding,] will spread about them the spirit of a reasonable estimate of their own value and of the need for every man to think for himself.”⁴ A reasoning individual is an active agent of her own destiny, liberating herself from directing her reason to ends religiously prescribed. Those ends, however, were still likely to be religiously inclined. For while the Enlightenment disestablished religion in the public

sphere, it retained influence in the private sphere. In this way, the Enlightenment validates an individual's reasoned and uncoerced use of religion for personal guidance. By the late 18th century, individuals had a body of literature to substantiate their choices made outside the prescriptions of religious, political, or other institutions of the old order, even if it were to reaffirm the older institutions themselves.

Secondly, the nation-state's modern evolution as a secular institution created space for world religions to consolidate their authority, and propel themselves toward homogeneity and centralization. C.A. Bayly interprets this internal recentralization of world religions as a move to "establish, or reestablish, clearer lines of authority."⁵ It is in this environment of religious recentralization that the British imperial state encounters Catholicism as an organizing principle empowered to contribute to the political self-actualization of its adherents.

Britain's 18th century imperial expansion compelled the reaffirmation of pre-existing religious identities within Britain itself. Significantly, much of Britain's early modern history included its own experience with forging an imperial identity. Britain's perpetual conflict with Catholic France necessarily compelled Britain toward a forthright identification with Protestantism.⁶ By the late 18th century, Britain's imperial Protestant identity had been entrenched as it began to make concerted efforts to open trade in the Pacific and South China Sea.⁷ For Britain by then, administering to its imperial expansion when expansion often meant conflict (Bayly refers to this era as "The Age of Revolutions") required Catholic and Protestant manpower. In the late 18th Century, the "United Kingdom" as we know it today was in its nascent stages of formation. As such, Ireland technically remained its own kingdom. Ireland's technical autonomy, however, was pragmatically contrasted by the significant control Britain exercised over Ireland's economy and politics. Acknowledging the inexplicable link between Irish interests and Britain's de facto control of Ireland encouraged Irish Protestants to demand commercial and constitutional reforms from Britain in 1781.⁸ As Bayly sees it, "at the height of the revolutionary wars, Ireland was politically united with Great Britain, creating in the longer term a wide range of grievances among Irishmen."⁹ The legitimization of

Irish Protestants as political subjects (i.e., legitimizing their "subjecthood") is a significant moment of self-actualization – Britain could not reasonably continue to deny opportunities for self-actualization to Irish Protestants because of their contributions to the war effort.

Irish-Catholic identity was thrown into significant relief against Ireland's restive Protestant classes precisely because of the latter's demands for political self-actualization. The contrast between the two factions compelled Catholics to establish their minority as legitimate members of British society through expressions of loyalty. Catholics in Limerick, for example, convened a meeting in 1799 to raise a volunteer militia to defend against an incursion of French and Spanish ships, and resolved to further act against any Irishmen supporting them should any incursion occur. By 1781, British officer and Irish landowner Humphrey Minchin came to believe that "Irish Roman Catholics... will make as faithfull (*sic*) soldiers... as Men of any Persuasion whatsoever."¹⁰ Catholic demonstrations of loyalty to the crown were thus a legitimating tool that compelled their recognition to Ireland's Protestants and Britain's Catholic enemies as allies in defense of British interests. This imperial encounter with religion compelled the legitimation of Irish Catholics as a class of loyal British subjects. Were Britain to expect the same type of loyalty from her more restive domestic constituencies, then the Irish could press Britain for the same type of political legitimation she afforded to her less loyal.

America's encounter with Irish-Catholics in late 18th century Philadelphia further supports the link between political self-actualization and nation-state encounters. 1790s Philadelphia was remarkably multicultural.¹¹ Many of the groups to call Philadelphia home maintained ties to their native homelands, and these diverse ties provided to Philadelphia an entr pot into the world international commerce and imperial economics.¹² According to recent scholarship by Fran ois Furstenburg, such immigration and diversity made Philadelphia the most lucrative commercial venue in the American colonies.¹³ As such, the ethnic groups in Philadelphia to create such diversity could reasonably claim a measure of political citizenship (as opposed to subjecthood in Ireland¹⁴) heretofore unacknowledged in America. Political self-

actualization in Philadelphia, therefore, meant the recognition of religious minorities as political equals.

A rapid increase in Irish-Catholic immigration after the revolutionary war made them a formidable political constituency, whose support could propel electoral victory. Irish-Catholic Mathew Carey, for example, became a significant contributor to political culture in Philadelphia. As Secretary of the Hibernian Society for the relief of Emigrants from Ireland, Carey approximated that 3,000 to 4,000 Irish immigrants had arrived in Philadelphia in the summer of 1791. Irish naturalization by 1795 constituted 55% of all naturalized aliens in Philadelphia between 1789-1800.¹⁵ The Hibernian order Carey represented was a Catholic order, within which Irish-Catholic Americans could organize political support for Thomas Jefferson's Federalist party [A1] in the 1796 election. This election formally cemented Irish-Catholics as a concern for Republicans. The ties that bound Philadelphia's Irish-Catholics grew stronger as a result of the diversity of other groups competing for political status and cultural success.

By 1795, the cause of the Irish had given the government of John Adams a reason for concern. America's need to engage world commerce in an age of competing empires required trade-offs between political equality and economic growth. The Naturalization Acts of 1795 and 1798 targeted the Philadelphia Irish for such a political trade-off. The acts restricted the amount of immigration by potential "enemies" of the American State, and coerced formal declarations of allegiance to America above any former country one may have emigrated from. Massachusetts senator James Otis claimed that these restrictions would not affect "the deserving part of those who may seek asylum... [but instead bar] the mass of vicious and disorganizing characters who cannot live peaceably at home." America could not afford, he continued, "to invite hoards [*sic*] of wild Irishmen... to disturb our tranquility."¹⁶ Otis' discomfort with citizenship for Irish Catholics had historical precedent within the British Empire. Hanna Weiss Muller has shown that Catholic agitation in the British colonies of Grenada and Quebec in the 1760s forced a consideration of minority subjecthood as an organizing principle for imperial subjects.¹⁷ But a more diverse American constituency made the trade-offs between minority citizenship and economic stability

more than a zero-sum calculation; with more groups, responses to demands for self-actualizing citizenship had to be met with more scrutiny to ensure no commercial interruption.

Though all groups were subject to increased scrutiny, the Irish were especially subject to inspection. As noted by Maurice Bric, Irish-Catholic reformers, pressing for the abolition of anti-Catholic laws in Ireland, had come to Philadelphia by 1795 to solicit support. Most notable of these leaders was Wolfe Tone, who met with the French Ambassador to gain support for his cause. It was from this meeting that Wolfe Tone eventually gained enough support from Catholic France to launch a failed invasion in 1798.¹⁸ Irish Catholics therefore constituted a threat to America's commercial activities within the imperial context of the 1790s. For America could not afford to be seen as a defender or incubator of revolutionary activities against Britain, its most robust trading partner. The Naturalization Acts to limit the "wild Irish" were thus a trade-off that inadvertently defined Irish-Catholic political self-actualization. For Irish Catholics, political self-actualization was compelled by their religious identification, and meant the liberty to pursue whatever ends its community determined to be in its best interest in spite of America's international relationships or economic solvency.

Two counters to my argument must be addressed at this time. One might counter that it is insufficient to characterize groups as religious, post-Enlightenment. It is my contention that the strength of religion as the vehicle to group-identity in the private sphere remained a significant organizing principle for individuals in spite of its disassociation from political legitimacy. Imperialism required a fuller incorporation of non-native citizens and previously marginalized minority groups into the empire. An advance of cultural incorporation as such compels majority and minority constituencies to retain cultural identifiers for purposes of differentiation and self-affirmation. Thus we have Minchin and Otis (members of the cultural majority) above linking the Irish to Catholicism in a way that ostensibly justifies social differentiation and discrimination on religious grounds. To be sure, these examples are not the first time that religious differences or anti-Irish sentiments appear within the British Empire. Anti-Irish attitudes, for example, can be seen in justifications for a British colonial

presence and policies in 16th century Ireland. So too can the presence of anti-popery be evidenced in 16th century Britain, this time by Puritans to challenge King Charles I as not sufficiently anti-popish.¹⁹ These examples do not undermine the importance of religion as a defining characteristic in an age of empires. Conversely, these examples substantiate religion's curricular inclusion because it survives the Enlightenment's ostensible delegitimizing of it as a vehicle for group-identity. In spite of what many world history curricula insist religion remained an important institution in the age of empires.

Acknowledging and incorporating minority religious groups was also an opportunity for the imperial nation-state to create new points of power transfer. "The British Empire," interprets Bayly, "began to acknowledge religious diversity precisely in order to impose a uniform type of citizenship."²⁰ The imperial encounter with religion is therefore an encounter pregnant with the implication of social contract theory: the imperial state needs the minority classes to assent to its imposition of uniform standards of citizenship. In return, the minority class expects political legitimacy and political self-actualization. Encounters between religions and the imperial state therefore contribute to a group's public reaffirmation of reasoned, privately constituted associations, religious and otherwise.

A second counter might propose that 1790s America does not adequately constitute an "empire." I contend, however, that America's unique founding and geographic location make it an adequate imperial venue. America had inherited an imperial legacy from Britain that included access to markets, and an anti-Catholic stereotype. America's British inheritance also gifted America with similar characteristics that left her open to similar claims of contract: a multi-cultural population, and competition with other empires to secure economic and political security while balancing domestic political needs. Because America confronted similar imperial challenges, the experiences of its citizens hold as much significance as citizens from another empire would.

It was in this way that the religious encounters of Irish Catholics with the imperial state legitimated their political status and defined their political self-actualizing ends. Importantly, Irish Catholics were not unique in this experience. Native religious traditions

in Asia confronted similar challenges to their beliefs and attendant social capital with the same kind of self-reaffirming demand for legitimacy. According to Bayly, these traditions "emphasized the rational and philosophical elements in their [native] religious inheritance, condemning superstition, mindless priestcraft, and magical beliefs" that they associated with Western religious culture. Mary Jo Bane and Kenneth Winston similarly inform us that the Qing dynasty's 17th century coup initiated a process where "new Manchu rulers, attempting to secure their own legitimacy, made a deliberate effort to embrace Confucian values."²¹ The effect of such embrace was the advent of dissident groups attempting to undermine Qing authority by embracing their own understanding of Confucianism, and demanding political reform. Indian Muslims had a similar experience. By the early nineteenth century, Indian Muslims were a minority. Facing similar limiting factors caused by British imperialism, reformers like Sayyid Ahmad Khan reconstituted their minority's identity on religious grounds. According to Dietrich Reetz, this propelled Muslim Indians to "reform Indian Islam... in the formation of [a] bourgeois Muslim political movement."²² Both groups here are reconstituting themselves as politically legitimized groups within a new imperial context specifically because of their privately reasoned religious conclusions. In fact, the Qing example pre-dates the Irish-Catholic example, suggesting yet another important historical continuity in the evolution of imperialism and its unintended, and oft-neglected, effects. Imperialism appears to animate minority groups to define the boundaries that compel their political self-actualization.

The encounter between religion and the imperial state thus compels the reaffirmation and political self-actualization of religious groups. Irish Catholics most acutely experienced the marginalizing effects of British imperialism and early American nation-state formation. Yet their social and political marginalization provided to Irish Catholics the opportunity to legitimize their members as full citizens, worthy of political recognition and their attendant needs. It is these needs that come to define the terms of their political self-actualization. Because encounters between religion and the imperial state provide continuities between empires, denying their existence in the world history curricula denies students

an important illustrative example with seemingly more pragmatic import. Though the modern era compels the secularization of political activity, and unmoors the state from legitimizing its practices with religion, it is important that world historians acknowledge the continued prevalence of religion into the modern era. Without doing so, we asymmetrically limit our view of world history to only one axis in a number of axes that might otherwise be more compelling to the student. We should instead embrace the diversity of individual experience in modern world history, of which we cannot deny the importance of the religious encounters of religious minorities with the imperial nation-state.

1 Ann Olson, *The Theory of Self-Actualization*, August 13, 2013, <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/theory-and-psychopathology/201308/the-theory-self-actualization>.

2 I am here using the most recent and revised version of the APWH CF being introduced for the 2016-2017 school year (accessible at <https://secure-media.collegeboard.org/digitalServices/pdf/ap/ap-world-history-curriculum-framework.pdf>).

3 Voltaire, “Men of Letters,” in *The Enlightenment*, 44-50 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004).

4 Immanuel Kant, “What is Enlightenment?,” in *Sources of the Western Tradition. Volume I: From Ancient Times to the Enlightenment*, 406-407 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2008).

5 C.A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden: Blackwell, 2004), 336.

6 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992). Colley later goes on to argue that the religious diversity characteristic of contemporary Europe is a threat to the proud maintenance of this very Protestant identity because of its inherent ability to dilute religious differences. Colley interprets that the threat of losing this proud inheritance from its imperial beginnings is what made (and continue to makes) Britain’s reluctant relationship with the emerging European Union tenuous.

7 For example, see Vincent T. Harlow, *The Founding of the Second British Empire, 1763-1793; Volume I: Discovery and Revolution* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1952).

8 Irish Protestants were strongly represented amongst the soldiery of the British army, navy, and domestic volunteer militias.

9 Bayly, 113.

10 Stephen Conway, *The British Isles and the War for American Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 186.

11 Building on Quakerism’s ethic of tolerance, Philadelphia had long received Quaker, Scottish Presbyterian, and Irish- and German-Protestant immigrants into the late 18th century.

12 In spite of foreign revolutions in majority-Catholic nations (France, Haiti, etc.) that pushed more Catholic immigrants to her, Philadelphia Catholics remained a minority. According to statistics by the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, Catholics in Philadelphia have never been a majority. See <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dphil.html#details>.

13 François Furstenberg, *When the United States Spoke French* (New York: Penguin, 2014).

14 *The Merriam-Webster Dictionary* defines “citizen” as “a person who legally belongs to a country and has the rights and protection of that country (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/citizen>),” and “subjecthood” as “the status or position of a subject person (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/subjecthood>).” The latter thus implies that the subject is not necessarily afforded rights or the opportunity to make claims against the state, while the former implies that all embers of the political community have the same status, in theory. Therefore, self-actualization for Irish Catholics in Ireland is more closely tied to elevating their subjecthood, while Irish Catholics in America were asserting their right to partake in the same rights that the Constitution affirmed for all citizens, equally. The ethnic groups that made

Philadelphia the commercial destination it was were thus asserting their rightful claim to the same benefits already afforded to other groups, the foundation of American “citizenship.”

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New York State’s New Global Reality

Casey Jakubowski, *SUNY Albany*

Teaching world or global history is not easy for many teachers. On one hand, the course is usually assigned to new teachers, many of whom have only a very broad understanding of history outside the United States. In other ways, the subject is always changing, with new historiographical interpretations emerging every year as researchers find more information, and revise their understanding based upon new interpretation. Teachers do not often have time to read the academic journals, and have to rely on the core content documents their state Education Department release. In the spring of 2014, the New York State Education Department released a new version of Common Core Aligned Frameworks for Social Studies grades K-12 to the public and professionals of the state.¹ The framework attempts to update the previous version of the Resource Guide with Core Curriculum as the state’s

go to guide for teachers and college professors within the state.² Examining the new framework is important for two main reasons. First, the State requires that all students successfully complete four units of study in social studies in order to graduate. Second, New York is one of the four largest states in the US, and wields a considerable amount of influence over the debate about what should be taught to whom in the area of social studies education. A closer examination at the realities of New York is called for to gain a perspective on the changes.

Three of the four social studies credits are attached to two high stakes exams that are required for graduation with a Regents Diploma credential.³ Those three high school courses are the two year sequence Global History and Geography course and the United States History and Government Course. The Regents exams in the social studies are composed of 50 multiple choice exam questions and two essay length questions. One question is a thematic essay question that asks students to integrate historical

events into a unified narrative that is then judged on a 5 point scale. The second essay is a two part undertaking. Students are asked to answer 10-13 short answer document based questions. The test taker then utilizes this information in an essay that asks for integration of documents and outside information on a given topic. The students do not know any of these essay questions before the take the exam, and any material in the scope and sequence may be a multiple choice question on the test.⁴

The framework determines what events are considered part of the “canon” of taught history in New York State. This drives local curriculum decisions, textbook publishers, and the exposure of students to cultural and historical events which may or may not give a global perspective on the world. In the past, the State Education Department issued a number of resource guides to cover a variety of topics that teachers were expected to teach. This included the Irish Potato famine, the history and culture of Latin America, and the Triangle trade or Atlantic slave trade. The resource guides were designed to provide teachers with historical and knowledge based support, document and reading materials support, and finally, classroom activity support. The State Education Department, however, has been criticized in popular and scholarly press for its errors of omission in the curriculum guide, and the “slant” that material has received in how the curriculum guide and test questions have been written.⁵

The Global History and Geography Courses are intended to implement four of the five standards for social studies in New York State: World History, Geography, economics and Civic Engagement. The two year course is a chronological sequence course that begins at the Paleolithic Revolution and concludes with the year 2000. The State has, however, given guidance to the field that teachers should ensure that their students are aware of and study significant world events since 2000.⁶ The Regents exam in Global History and Geography has tested students on events which have occurred after the year 2000. The update to the Resource guide and Core Curriculum is significant due to the direct correlation between the explicit events within the guide and the test questions on the Regents Exam. The State Education Department limits the exam content to only those specific events which are explicitly addressed in the Resource Guide with

Core Curriculum. The lack of specifically identified content for the years since 2000 has created a conundrum for social studies teachers across the state: What should be covered in order to prepare students for the Regents exam? What should be left out of the course in order to cover new events?

History is ever changing. Since 2000, the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the Arab spring, the Great Recession, and the War on Terror have all made their mark on the headlines and consciousness of the New York student. In an effort to ensure that students receive a well balanced approach to history, difficult decisions needed to be made with the curriculum guidance document. To that end, in 2013, the State Education Department called for a Content Advisory Panel (CAP) of experts from higher education, secondary, middle and elementary school to serve as the Department’s sounding board on the history and social studies materials the state would identify as most important to the future New Yorker’s learning process. There were attempts by the State Education Department to request feedback from member of the community as the scope and sequence morphed. The CAP provided feedback as well, with significant debates ranging from a complete reordering of the social studies curriculum to the division date of the Global I and Global II courses. Surveys and field visits by staff and members of the CAP revealed divisions between the ways schools taught social studies and what the field expected from the department.

One major concern statewide is the status of social studies. During the height of the 2008-2012 economic downturns, the State Education Department eliminated social studies testing at the elementary and middle school levels in an effort to save costs. The department had introduced these tests in 2001 as a way of assessing student’s progress in social studies at the elementary and middle school level. These elementary tests were multiple choice, essay and document based questions designed to assess historical learning and the skills required for success in the high school based high stakes assessments in social studies.⁷ The CAP and stakeholders, through surveys, opinion pieces, and communications with SED reflected to the department that the elimination of the tests in the elementary and middle level had pushed social studies aside, as schools were concerned with the increased accountability measures required under NCLB for ELA and

math. Without the exams, the CAP and interested stakeholders expressed a concern that there was no impetus for schools to teach social studies, even though instruction is required in New York State Commissioner of Education Regulations governing the operation of schools.

A second proposal at the time was the elimination of the Global History and Geography Regents exam as the fifth required commencement exit exam for graduation. This again, caused concern within the field, as an elimination of exams would render the courses as unnecessary for students, and potentially eliminate positions in the social studies tenure area. Further, social studies and advocates identified the increased globalization throughout the world as a reason to keep the Global exam intact. The Regents proposal was actually designed as a way to free up graduation routes for students who wished to focus on emerging areas of Career and Technical Education. A CTE exam was allowed as a substitution for the Global Regents exam. This was an attractive option for students who had not experienced success on the Regents exam after attempting to pass the exam multiple times. As a measure to reinforce the importance of social studies, while allowing flexibility for students, the Regents changed the language of Commissioner's Regulations from generically requiring two social studies credits to specifically obligating students to take two years of Global History and Geography. The latest debate is the Regents proposal to only test students on content in the second year of the two courses.⁸

A third debate which emerged during the publication of the draft frameworks involved who was included in the framework and who was omitted. Advocates met with the State Education Department, or wrote comments in to the department after the initial release of the draft requesting that their group be recognized for their contributions to the development of United States and New York State history. One example was the advocacy for the Dutch in New Netherland. The group rightly focused on the influence the colonial Dutch had on New York, and specifically raised the Flushing Remonstrance for Religious liberties and toleration as a prime example of the significance of the Dutch to New York's history. A second group, the Sikhs, requested inclusion within the framework as well. The previous iteration of the Social Studies Resource Guide did not explicitly list

the Sikhs under the religion section.⁹ Finally and most significantly *Jezebel*, a woman's interest on-line blog, released a critique of the number of women contained within the Global History and Geography framework. Their conclusion was the state had not included enough historical women figures in the framework all students were expected to learn in the state.¹⁰ In response, the State Education Department released a revised framework which included additional women in leadership roles from different time and places across the Global History spectrum. Included in the State framework is, Dowager Empress Cixi of China during the Boxer Rebellion.¹¹ The three examples demonstrate the difficulties that exist in creating a social studies framework which is inclusive and reflective of the diversity, especially of today's New York State.

The next step in the State's rollout of the new social studies frameworks is a two pronged approach. The first part of the process is the release of a field guide, which will assist teachers in understanding how to make the frameworks become teachable within their classrooms. The field guide spends a significant amount of time describing what new Social Studies instruction should look like. The major shift within the classroom is one that has been described in the research for a significant amount of time: letting the students do the investigation. Researchers and practitioners who have followed the work of the Stanford History Education Group should be familiar with these concepts, as the materials, as well as researchers graduating from the program emphasize and investigational approach of history. The second part of the framework includes an example unit from the eighth grade reconstruction requirement in the framework. Within the sample unit, the state has listed three areas that they expect classroom teachers to focus on, and have provided what are called "compelling questions" and sources that classes should utilize when conducting instructional activities with students. The students are then expected, in the summative task, to provide an essay which answers the question "Did African Americans gain their freedom during Reconstruction."¹² While this project is a good first step, and a significant number of documentary sources are included for use within the units, a question emerges: How will the frameworks and attached lessons allow students to meet the growing role of technology? Additionally, many of the examples are from US History. This

provides concern to the World History practitioners, especially at the secondary level who will need additional guidance on the increasingly complex examples from the new framework.

The suggestions within the Field Guide do not contain suggestions to teachers about developing the “Web 2.0” skills of their students. The web 2.0 era, or the creation of content for the internet is the newest, and probably most impactful wave of educational technology change current students will need to harness for the future. The ability of students to create websites, post content and engage in on-line interactive debates will become one of key skills for the “flat world” as content on the internet drives significantly more portions of students’ lives.

The second section of the State’s rollout is the Framework project currently undertaken by the Binghamton University group led by the former Dean of Education S.G. Grant. In this effort, Dr. Grant, in 2014, asked for and received a significant number of teachers from the field to participate in rich dialogue and in-depth analysis of the social studies framework. The group was then charged with making the framework come to life for social studies teachers in the field. The process of including teachers in developing expertise and skill in the framework while developing and piloting units within the classroom is essential to promoting the use of the new social studies frameworks. Teachers in social studies, as well as other content experts need to see examples and hear anecdotes of the challenges and successes of their peers. This project by Binghamton will hopefully be successful in the implementation of the new Common Core/C3 aligned lessons are delivered to students within the state.¹³

As the state and the teachers in the field work together to examine the impact of the new framework for Global History and Geography in New York State, the impact in the college and high school classroom will become evident to observers. College programs will need to shift their instruction of education majors to take into account the new scope and sequence within the classroom. The change in the field guide to examine a broader range of individuals will require further study, as teachers and students begin to form new curricula response to the field guide and resources that emerge from the state. At the school level, additional teacher resources will be needed, as social stud-

ies teachers begin to teach individuals who may not be part of their usual repertoire. Further, the requirements of the exam on teachers will still weigh on the instructional decisions some teachers make within the classroom. By necessity, the local colleges will need to provide expertise on multiple areas of the world such as the Songhai Empire. The framework asks students to “locate the Songhai Empire on an Atlantic centered map.”¹⁴ The Geographic and analytical requirements of this unit are vast, as students explore the roles of the African and South American Empires pre Contact and their impact on the environment.¹⁵ This unit will expect students to utilize a higher level of comparison skills at a younger age than the previous scope and sequence.¹⁶

This does not make New York unique, as other states have faced curriculum revisions. Texas, Massachusetts, and other states have examined their social studies curriculum and found it in need of updating. The case of Texas is examined in detail in Erikson.¹⁷ To summarize, the Board in Texas was pressured to adapt standards by politics that changed the presentation of social studies in that state dramatically from what was proposed by the expert committees assembled to suggest revisions. Massachusetts’s standards are examined by Maloy & Getis.¹⁸ What make New York unique are the differences between the states communities. New York City, with the largest school district in the state, and the Adirondacks, some of the smallest areas in the state, represent a wide variety of interests that must be addressed. Further, the tradition of the politicization of education in New York State, especially in the new Common Core era has resulted in increased scrutiny on the production of any educational materials from the State Education Department. As the school districts begin to examine their needs in implementation of the new scope and sequences, the BOCES systems of school supports will become especially important, as the level of state aid to schools has not recovered fully from the Great Recession of 2008-2012 under the Campaign for Fiscal Equity ruling.

The last question the remains on the minds of most educators in New York will be the new graduation exams in Global and US History. What will the exams look like? What will students be expected to do on those exams? Will knowledge of facts and events take precedence over the skills of an historian? With the State education department discussing the release

of the first field tests in the early 2016 timeframe, one of the largest drivers of policy implementation within the state is a half a high school career away for many students. In the 2002 revision of the New York State Regents exam, a Document Based Question Essay was added. This step foretold the addition of a DBQ to the AP exam for World History. In many ways, the State of New York and the AP curriculum have many overlaps, and influence each other. With the AP becoming more of a benchmark nationwide for college readiness and credits, any influence by New York on the AP may have repercussions nationwide.

New York's Board of Regents, in conjunction with the Content Advisory Panel, has attempted to balance a wide range of competing forces in the development of the new Social Studies Framework for New York State. As one of the largest states in the US, the decisions made by New York will impact what textbooks are released to the nation, as the decisions on textbooks will drive a wide range of market forces for publishers. The schools of education in the state will be impacted, and this impact will spread out, as New York is a net exporter of teacher candidates for the past decade. Many western and southern states recruit New York education graduates, who will staff classrooms and educate students far outside of New York's borders. World History, and the understanding of the significance of the people involved in making world history will be impacted in the largest city in the United States, as the public schools in NYC will be subjected to the new framework. The state will need a coordinated effort to ensure that the new Regents Exams will be fair, challenging without being overwhelming, and a true indicator of student's abilities to become students of higher learning in the skills of social studies and history. New York's decisions may have far reaching repercussions for generations with the decisions on who to include and exclude in the World History and Geography framework of 2014.

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Dr. Candice Goucher is Professor of History at Washington State University, Vancouver, where she has taught since fall of 2000. She also serves on the staff of the Center for Columbia River History, a consortium of WSU, Portland State University, and the Washington State Historical Society. Previously she chaired the Black Studies Department at Portland State University. Trained as a historian and archaeologist, she has conducted research in West Africa, the Caribbean, Mauritius, and the Northwest. She holds a masters degree in art history & archaeology from Columbia University and a PhD in African History from UCLA. Among her publications and films are the co-authored volumes *World History: Journeys from Past to Present* (London: Routledge 2008); *In the Balance: Themes in Global History* (McGraw-Hill, 1998); and the video *The Blooms of Banjeli: Technology and Gender in West-African Iron-Making* (Documentary Educational Resources, 1986), which won the Society for Visual Anthropology Award of Excellence. She was one of two lead scholars for the project *Bridging World History* (funded by a \$2.28 Million grant from Annenberg/Corporation for Public Broadcasting), which is a 26-part video series and interactive website. She is currently on the Board of Editors for the 9-volume *Cambridge History of the World* (Cambridge University Press) and she is writing a history of Caribbean food.

Sharon Cohen is a teacher at Springbrook High School in Silver Spring, Maryland. Her contributions to world history include serving on the AP World History Test Development Committee for the College Board for twelve years, as well as guiding the annual scoring of the AP World History examination. She wrote the College Board's current Teacher's Guide for AP World History and edited

the College Board publication: *Special Focus on Teaching about Latin America and Africa in the Twentieth Century* (2008). She helped create and remains actively involved in the online journal *World History Connected* and presents frequently at scholarly conferences. As a College Board consultant, she has presented AP World History workshops and summer institutes since 2001 in the USA, Canada, Morocco, China, and France. Ms. Cohen's graduate training is in East Asian Studies.



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