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1. Chinese and European Expansion

China and Europe, 1400–1600

The second half of the yearlong world civilization or world history survey course traditionally begins around the year 1500. There is no general agreement on a particular event, much less a date, that marks the beginning of modern history. Since the publication of Alfred Crosby's *The Columbian Exchange* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1973), however, it is remarkable how many otherwise iconoclastic world historians have embraced Crosby's argument for that old chestnut, 1492. The emphasis is no longer on "discovery" but instead on an "encounter" between peoples that created a new global, demographic, and ecological era. The story of European, especially transatlantic, expansion thus returns to center stage. This expansion and the resulting encounter must be seen in a global context, however, which was lacking in the earlier paradigms that celebrated European exploration. In this chapter I've attempted to introduce a global context by comparing the European expansion of the late 1400s with its Chinese counterpart, the voyages of the great tribute ships before 1433, during the Ming dynasty.

For background reading, instructors may want to consult Louise Levathes's *When China Ruled the Seas* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994) or Philip Snow's *The Star Raft: China's Encounter with Africa* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989). Primary sources on Zheng He's voyages include the eyewitness accounts of Ma Huan, available in English as *Ying-yai Sheng-lan:* "The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores" (1433), trans. J. V. G. Mills (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 1997) and of Fei Xin, *Xing Cha Shang Lan*: "Marvelous Visions from the Star Raft" (1436), (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1938).

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Cook Jr., *Zheng He and Chinese Expansion*

Cook's engaging essay on Zheng He serves as an introduction to the chapter and the course. Cook raises the central question of the chapter in his comparison of Chinese and European maritime expansion in the fifteenth century. In his speculation on what might have been, he raises a key issue for any course in modern world history: Why the rise of the West? He helps students see both sides of the contact issue: that chance encounters can significantly change the course of history, and that they often do not. It is intriguing to imagine Chinese colonization of Africa, Europe, and America, but it may be more historically sound to attempt to understand why things actually happened as they did. The Chinese navy, which was under the control of a single ruler, could be disbanded, whereas all the navies of Europe could not. Even if Columbus had drowned off the coast of Hispaniola, other European explorers would naturally have followed after him. Colonization can radically change populations, languages, and environments, but colonization — as opposed to isolated settlement — requires a considerable commitment from financial and other backers and a concerted effort on the part of settlers.

When there is time I like to walk students through an early reading like this one. If I start with a general question like "What did you think?" they often respond that they were surprised and never imagined China as a maritime power. So I ask: "Why did Zhu Di, the Yongle emperor, initiate such voyages?" "What was their purpose?" "How did Zheng He get involved?" "Where did they go?" "Were they successful?" Then I ask about the reasons for ending the voyages. In listing some of the reasons mentioned in the Cook reading, students might see sound strategy as well as missed opportunities.

Primary and Secondary Sources

I sometimes begin the discussion of a chapter like this by asking students which readings are primary sources and which are secondary sources. Then when we look at this first reading — clearly a secondary source — I ask them which primary sources Cook might have used in writing this piece, which primary sources would be useful, and which primary sources were not available (a reference to the destruction of court records by the Confucians).

Eunuchs and Confucians

This selection also introduces students to one of the important social conflicts that divided the imperial court in China: the rivalry between the eunuchs — castrated, often Muslim sons of conquered peoples living in the western and northern frontiers of China — and the Confucian-educated Chinese officials. Both groups exercised considerable power. The eunuchs had more influence in personal (the harem and inner court) and economic spheres. In contrast, the power of the Confucian scholars was traditional, formal, political, and cultural. You might help students see that although the eunuchs were more aggressive seafarers, the Confucian officials were able to halt Chinese oceanic expansion. Students might speculate on the reasons for the difference in status and power between the eunuchs and the court officials. In any case, it is useful to have students think of social class as a factor in navigation, trade, and empire building.

Ma Huan, *On Calicut, India*

I begin by firmly establishing the nature of this document. It is a primary source, I remind students, because it was written by someone who was there–on one of Zheng He's treasure ships. What does this mean? That he can tell us what he saw and what he knew. We get, for instance,

an explanation of the emperor's motives as well as a detailed account of part of the voyage. But accuracy is not guaranteed. Ma Huan confuses Buddhists and Hindus, and statues of Vishnu with statues of the Buddha. He mistakenly links stories of Moses and "the golden calf" with Hindus' respect for cows. Yet he also provides us, intentionally or inadvertently, with useful information about southern India. He shows us cooperation between Hindus and Muslims, explains the intricate process of market exchange, and reveals much about economic life, foods, and social life (including evidence of matrilineal kingship).

Because this is the first primary source document in this volume, it may be useful to discuss with students some of their peculiar frustrations and opportunities in reading such a piece. Students are easily overwhelmed by readings they do not understand. "Do we have to know all these names?" "I don't understand what's going on." Of course, that's the point, I tell them. Primary sources are not written for us. We do not read them the way the author intended. We analyze them and use them to answer our own questions, often teasing out meanings. You might ask students to consider what sorts of questions this source might help answer about early fifteenth-century Indian customs, Chinese navigation, Hindu-Muslim relations, agriculture, economic history, and cultural communications.

Chinese and European Maps

Zheng He's fleet had numerous detailed maps that were later destroyed. Figure 1.1 is an extant example of a lost treasure of sources. The "translation" (Figure 1.2) is readable enough to be compared to a modern map of southern India. Students might trace the account of Zheng He's voyage in the previous selection on this map and a modern map of southern India, the Indian

Ocean, and East Africa.

The European maps from 100–150 years later show the development of European knowledge of the Atlantic and the Western Hemisphere. Figure 1.3 shows that even by 1544 Europeans had not realized that a continent and another ocean lay between them and Japan. Figure 1.4 shows that even by the end of the sixteenth century Europeans vastly underestimated the size of the continent that blocked their passage to the Indies. I ask, "When did the Europeans discover America?" to get students to think about the changing meaning of the "discovery."

Columbus, *Letter to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella*

In comparing Columbus and Zheng He, students might notice a number of similarities and differences between the two. Columbus was an independent contractor able to negotiate with a number of European monarchs for funding and ships until he secured the necessary backing, whereas Zheng He was bound exclusively to the Chinese emperor. Both needed the support of a patron, however.

Students will be struck by the religious references at the beginning and end of the Columbus letter, but they may not appreciate the religious significance of the names Columbus gives to the islands, or his belief in divine providence. In supporting Zheng He's voyage, Chinese imperial policy was not concerned with spreading religion in general or Islam in particular but, rather, with establishing political dependents and receiving tributary trade from them. Both Columbus's and Zheng He's missions were intended to establish trade relationships and secure treasure for their sponsors; both explorers sent back captives and specimens, and both had to find reasons to embark on future voyages. The Chinese ships ventured to far wealthier lands than the

Spanish, and their voyages were, therefore, more lucrative. Yet the Spanish and European voyages continued not only because there were more lands to explore but also because there were more independent patrons willing to underwrite such expeditions. While the Chinese emperor could justifiably be persuaded to transfer his resources to the north to counter the more pressing threat posed by the Mongols or Manchus, European monarchs could see the imminent threat to their own wealth and power posed by the similar ambitions of neighboring rulers.

Sources of funding were also more diverse in Europe. Students might notice that the Columbus letter is actually addressed with the salutation "Sir" (*Señor*), rather than "Your Majesty," suggesting that it was not written to the king individually or to the king and queen of Spain at all. In the postscript at the end of the letter, Columbus says that "to-day" he thought of sending the letter to "their highnesses" (*Sus Altezas*), from which we can infer that the letter was originally intended for someone else; indeed, it probably was. The "Sir" to whom it is addressed is generally thought to be a royal official, Luis de Santangel, whose title of *escribano de racion* indicated that he was in charge of record keeping at the royal palace. Sometimes this document is called the Santangel letter. Historians have debated whether Santangel received the letter on behalf of the king and queen or whether Columbus sent another letter to Ferdinand and Isabella. Whichever the case, most experts agree that if Columbus wrote another letter specifically to the monarchs, it would have been worded very much like this one. So we can speak of the Santangel letter as roughly identical to a letter addressed to the Spanish Crown. The letter to Santangel, however, was written for good reason. Scholars think that Santangel obtained funding for Columbus's voyages. The funding probably came from Jewish associates of Santangel, who was himself a *converso* (a member of a formerly Jewish family that had converted to Catholicism). It is ironic to note that at just the moment when Ferdinand and Isabella were expelling Jews from

Spain, Columbus may have received financial backing from Jewish sources for a voyage undertaken on behalf of the monarchs.

Sale, From *The Conquest of Paradise*

Although Sale uses Columbus's letter (as well as many other sources), he also introduces the journal that Columbus wrote during the voyage. You might call particular attention to the segments from Columbus's journal beginning with the passage from December 16, "They became so much our friends . . ." (p. 42). If you ask students whether a journal would be more candid than a letter, especially a letter to a king, they will agree that it probably would. If asked, "Will we see more of Columbus with his guard down in the journal?" They will respond, "Sure." Yet when students read these selections from the journal, they come to recognize that this document, too, was written for the king.

Sale's use of particular passages of the journal is also worth noting. Students may recognize how the use of quotations from a primary source within a secondary source appears to let a historical subject speak in his or her own words. But Sale edits these words considerably for critical effect. You might ask students whether these brief excerpts elucidate or distort, using the indented quotation on the Taino (pp. 42-43) and the quote in Sale's later comment on Columbus's description of nature (p. 44) as representative examples. You might also ask students to consider whether the use of quotations from a primary source in a secondary account can ever be neutral or noninterpretive.

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Reflections

The argument of Gavin Menzies is presented in his book, *1421: The Year China Discovered America*, a television show, and on the companion Web site, www.1421.tv/. At the current moment my fellow world historians are planning a scholarly discussion of the book so I hesitate to dismiss it out of hand. Nevertheless, I suspect that in a few years it will not deserve our attention.

Some historians would argue that the whole counter-factual "what if" debate does a disservice to historical inquiry. I disagree. I think that "what if" questions are worth answering because they stretch our sense of the possible and therefore force us to ask new questions.

Internet

An award-winning Web site, *Latitude: The Art and Science of Fifteenth-Century Navigation* at <http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~feegi/site_map.html> contains numerous aids under descriptive headings, including "Ships," "Oceans," "Maps & Charts," and "Resources."

Film and Video

A superb, multinationally-funded series, *Columbus and the Age of Discovery*, was made for the quincentennial of Columbus's first voyage. Each of the seven videos in the series is fifty-eight minutes long. For the purposes of the course, the fourth video, *Worlds Found and Lost,* on the American landfalls; the fifth, *The Sword and the Cross;* and the sixth, *The Columbian Exchange,* might be the most appropriate. This series may be difficult to find. Try your university or public library.

2. Europeans, Americans, and Africans in the Atlantic World

Africa and the Americas, 1500–1750

This chapter presents a number of comparisons. Students are asked to compare the Europeans in the Americas and in Africa; they are also asked to compare European and American understandings of their encounters, Europeans and Africans in Africa, and various ideas of race and slavery. I conclude by asking why European attitudes toward Indian slavery were more diverse than European attitudes toward African slavery.

Díaz, From *The Conquest of New Spain*

Students are struck by the politeness, hospitality, and expressions of respect evident in the accounts of the initial meetings between Cortés and Montezuma. This is especially striking when you consider that the Spanish had allied themselves with the Tlaxcalans, enemies of the Aztecs, and had massacred the Cholulans, allies of the Aztecs. What are the reasons for this apparent friendliness in spite of such hostile acts? Of course, part of the answer is that the two sides are smiling and bowing while they take the measure of each other. But there is also an underlying religious reason for Montezuma's deference toward Cortés.

In 1519 the Aztec people still remembered the stories told about Quetzalcoatl's departure. One story was that the great god had been given a mirror by his enemies. When he looked into it, he saw that his image was like his creation — and thus might be subject to the same mortality. Despondent, he left his people, promising to return on a fixed day in the future, Ce Acatl, the Day

of the Reed. As that day approached in 1519, the Aztec seers recorded various unnatural disturbances and portents: fires streaking across the sky, the waters of the lake around Tenochtitlán boiling with rage, a woman crying for people to leave the city, an unusual gray bird discovered in the nets of fishermen — a bird with a mirror in its head.

Many Aztecs saw these disturbances as omens of Quetzalcoatl's return. Thus when they saw Spanish ships off Veracruz, Montezuma understood the news in the context of long-held expectations that were both hopeful (since the great god was revered) and fearful (the Aztec war god Huitzilopochtli had largely replaced the peaceful Quetzalcoatl, who might demand renewed proofs of loyalty from the Aztecs in the form of human sacrifice). As the Spanish joined forces with Aztec enemies and marched across the high plain toward the Aztec city of Tenochtitlán, Montezuma tried repeatedly to prevent their arrival at the city. But Cortés was not to be dissuaded.

Spanish Motives

"What seemed to motivate Cortés as he arrived at the great city of the Aztecs?" "Was war and the eventual conquest of the Aztec people inevitable?" "Could the Spanish have developed a trade relationship with the Aztecs, as the Chinese had with the natives of India or the Persian Gulf?"

A close reading of the text will allow students to highlight three distinct motives for the Spaniards' deciding to take Montezuma prisoner. These can be summarized as God, gold, and fear, and Díaz discusses them in that order. A useful lesson can be built around a close reading of these motives and attention to the way Díaz shifts the focus of the story from religion to the discovery of the hidden gold treasure and, finally, to the Spanish fear of an Aztec trap.

From *The Broken Spears*

The beginning of the Aztec account confirms the polite tone of the initial meetings between Cortés and Montezuma suggested by Díaz. It also confirms Díaz's suggestion in selection 6 that Montezuma believed Cortés to be a god; this statement was not just an expression of Spanish pride or propaganda. This Mexican version of the encounter, however, takes the events of the story beyond the point of our excerpt from Díaz. Students should notice how, from the Mexican viewpoint, the Spaniards were consumed by a lust for gold. You might point out the ways in which the Aztecs thought they might impress the Spaniards with their festival of Huitzilopochtli. I ask students whether they think the Spaniards planned the massacre at the festival. It is interesting to note that Cortés was not there; he had been called back to Santo Domingo to answer charges against him and had decided instead to fight the Spaniards who had been sent to Veracruz to bring him back. Again, we might ask, is it God, or gold, or fear, or yet another cause that led to open warfare between the Spaniards and the Mexicans?

DeVries, *A Dutch Massacre of the Algonquins*

You might ask students this question: "How were the Dutch in 1643 different from the Spanish in 1519?" One answer can be found in the evidence of Dutch colonization. These Europeans were not merely conquistadors on the march. They had established farms and started families in America. Indeed, this is the chief concern of the author in urging restraint on the governor. Yet in its anger and violence, the Dutch massacre of the Algonquins is similar, in terms of attitude and behavior, to the Spanish treatment of the Aztecs. In the case of the Dutch, however, it is not a

matter of gold, and perhaps not even a matter of religion. In selection 8, we do not learn why the Dutch governor, Willem Kieft, wants to "wipe the mouths" (p. 70, an interesting phrase in its suggestion of punishment) of "the savages" (an even more telling word indicating Dutch attitudes). When I ask students what they think is going on here, they typically express some understanding of how two different cultures, especially a new-settler society and an indigenous people, are likely to come into conflict. Students are also impressed with the Algonquins' ability to distinguish between friend and foe among the Dutch and their willingness to act on this distinction.

Mbemba, *Appeal to the King of Portugal*

There is enough evidence in this selection for students to recognize that slavery existed in Africa but that the king of the Congo — perhaps because of his Christianity — may have been attempting to curb or abolish it. For the king, it is not only a matter of the wrong people being sold into slavery (nobles rather than captives). It is also a matter of his own diminishing control over his country and the disruptive effect of Portuguese merchants taking or buying their own prisoners and refusing to free them when they learned that they had captured free men. It is also interesting to lead students to understand the delicate relationship between the Congo and Portuguese Crown. The king of the Congo appreciated the drugs and medicines of the Portuguese and asked for more physicians; what he actually got was far too many merchants. I also ask students if they think Nzinga Mbemba is naive in expecting the Portuguese king to comply with his requests.

Bosman, *Slave Trader*

As in selection 9, here we see that there is an important role attributed to African authorities, especially kings. Students are used to the image (as depicted in *Roots,* by Alex Haley) of Europeans marauding and capturing, rather than purchasing, slaves in Africa. Documents like this selection point out that African authority was firmly established and that Europeans were not able to wander about and seize Africans at will. On the other hand, we see the impact of European money and goods in the description of Europeans bribing officials, winning over kings, and undermining the indigenous authority and social structure — something that Nzinga Mbemba only feared. It is interesting to speculate on how the apparent absence of a Christian presence in Whydah (although the author of the selection does not mention this) might also play a role.

Students are also interested in the personal attitude of Bosman to the slave trade: He is neither apologetic nor uncritical. Yet his criticisms of other nationalities (e.g., the Portuguese) have less to do with the brutality of the trade itself and more to do with its efficient management. Bosman's assessment of the attitude of the slaves is also interesting to note. He assumes that they fear cannibalism, not slavery. "Judging from this description," I ask students, "how well do you think Bosman understands the Africans he enslaves?"

Equiano, *Enslaved Captive*

This selection is from what is arguably the greatest slave narrative. Students are surprised by the variable conditions of slavery in Africa: Equiano's father owns slaves; as a slave in Africa Equiano is treated with great kindness and with indifference. Students should also note that

Equiano is sold to the English by other Africans. While on shipboard he fears he will be eaten, and he describes how many of his fellow slaves attempted suicide during the voyage. This excerpt does not offer much concrete information to support Equiano's indictment of the cruelty of slavery in the Americas. Students, however, respond to his descriptions of the living conditions on the slave ships, to the separation of family members for individual sale, and to Equiano's elucidation of the conflict between the practices of the slave trade and the Christian moral ideals that the white slave traders supposedly espouse.

Reflections

Marvin Harris is, as always, rewarding reading: His writing is by turns full of insight and challenging interpretation, and yet it is also characterized by a touch of simplistic materialism. It is certainly true that Europeans were for the most part prevented from administering Africans in Africa, but students who have read Nzinga Mbemba's letter should recognize the demonstrable interests of the papacy and the Portuguese Crown in the Congo. Were there not also ideas in European culture (which are outlined in Winthrop D. Jordan's *White over Black* [New York: Norton, 1977]) that viewed Indians as "noble savages" as opposed to Africans, who were viewed simply as savages? This is an old debate — the cultural versus material basis of white-against-black racism. This is, perhaps, a good point at which to make students aware of this debate and to encourage them to consider the origins and causes of racism.

One of the values of *The Mission* (see "Film and Video," below) as a film resource is its subplot, which depicts conflicts on the issue of slavery: between the Portuguese and Spanish, between the church and state, and even between the Jesuit priests and the papacy. It is useful for

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students to see that enslavement was a contentious issue for all Europeans. All too often our better students display their historical sophistication (or cynicism) in the typical comment that "everybody believed such-and-such, so we can hardly criticize them." As historians, we want students to be sensitive to the various mores that existed in various times. This sensitivity, however, also requires them not to excuse past transgressions via a patronizing and dismissive presentism.

Film and Video

A Son of Africa: The Slave Narrative of Olaudah Equiano is an excellent BBC video that dramatizes the story of Equiano's life, beginning in the West African village where he was captured in 1756 and then following his life in Virginia and England. Insight Media, 28 min., 1996, #WX449.

The Mission, with Jeremy Irons and Robert De Niro, is an absorbing (if overly long) feature film on the attempt by Portuguese Jesuits to protect the Guarani Indians from enslavement by the Spanish in the seventeenth century. I sometimes show a brief segment of the film, starting about 50 minutes into it, in which a young Guarani is asked to sing for the papal envoy who has come to arbitrate a dispute. This 10-to-15-minute segment evokes the world of colonial Brazil and the contemporary ideas of race better than any other film I know. Available in most video stores.

3. Asian Continental Empires and Maritime States

Malacca, China, and Muslim Empires, 1500–1700

In addition to my primary goal of introducing students to Asia in the early modern period, I have two additional objectives with this chapter. First, I want to draw students' attention to the differences between large land-based empires and small maritime city-states. Second, I want students to understand that the story of the economic progress of the modern world, typically begun in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe, actually begins in early modern Asia. This chapter thus covers both political and economic history and provides a convenient opportunity for teaching students to distinguish between politics, economics, society, and culture.

Hoyt, From *Old Malacca*

To see city-states like Malacca and Hormuz (and in Europe, Florence and Venice) as harbingers of merchant capitalism does not mean that one should overlook the importance of assistance from the less entrepreneurial but much richer land empires. Despite its superb setting on the Straits of Malacca, Paramesvara's city owed much of its prosperity to the protection of China. The city became a global entrepôt at a later period, during the age of Portuguese and Dutch dominance in Asia. I was reminded of this fact when I recently visited Malacca and viewed the engaging dioramas in the Historical Museum housed in the Old Dutch Statehouse. One of the first panels in the diorama shows Paramesvara choosing the site for his city. While sitting under a Malacca tree, he noticed a highly auspicious mouse deer stop his royal hunting dogs and decided to establish his city at this location. This is hardly the typical myth of origin: that merchants or

mariners founded the city.

Spence, *The Late Ming Empire*

In this selection, Jonathan Spence demonstrates that he is not only our leading contemporary historian on China but also a consummate stylist. His writing is quite accessible and needs no explanatory summary. The economy of China is only one of his concerns; students have a chance to distinguish between economic, political, social, and cultural matters and to begin to speculate on the relationships among them.

Depending on the level of your students, you might want to have them draw up fairly formulaic lists of items under various categories. They could use four different pages or mark four columns on a page and then list the information provided in the selection under the headings of "Economy," "Society," "Politics," and "Culture." Such an unpacking can be a particularly useful exercise with a text as seamless as this; Spence's flowing narrative style does not make such simplification or enumeration easy. Again, depending on your students' abilities, an exercise like this might lead them to deconstruct the four categories. For example, you might ask students to notice how Spence devotes a number of continuous paragraphs to cultural matters — plays, short stories, and novels — on pp. 100 and 101. Spence begins by talking about culture; his theme is the vitality of Chinese culture in this period compared to that of Europe or of other great civilizations. (When asked to select the most desirable time and place in which to live in the last thousand years, Spence chose late Ming China.) It should be immediately apparent, however, that Spence is writing about a vital society as well as a vital culture. After discussing Chinese culture, he describes the cultural advantages enjoyed by the upper class and

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then turns his attention to popular culture. The point to make for students, of course, is that matters of culture, society, and economy are inseparable — and students should understand this from this reading. But these passages on culture and society and those that follow on towns and farms provide good opportunities to help students become more astute at making such analytical distinctions.

Busbecq, *The Ottoman Empire under Suleiman*

I ask students to describe how the Ottoman government differs from the Chinese government. Students should note the obvious role played by the military in the sultan's household and beyond: the body guard, the officers, the protector who holds Busbecq's arms back to prevent any attempt at assassination, and the Janissaries. The Chinese equivalent would be the role played by the palace eunuchs and the enormous bureaucracy that Spence discusses in the previous selection.

I ask students to notice how Busbecq compares the Ottoman system of government to the European system. Busbecq insists that rank has no bearing on the sultan's judgment and selection of personnel to fill various positions — that merit alone counts among the Turks. Aside from the unusual situation of a European aristocrat praising the Turks for nobility based on merit rather than blood alone, one may wonder how sincere this judgment is. We may ask whether or not Busbecq exaggerates Turkish virtue in contrast to European vice. It can be useful to explore this question with students. Busbecq may be presenting a possible alternative to what he understands as European corruption, sloth, and obsession with birth and status. Perhaps he believes that the key to the Turkish military threat depends on the indifference of the sultan's soldiers to rank and

luxury. Yet in his description of the sultan's court, he also gives us ample evidence of the trappings of social distinction: the pomp and ceremony surrounding the emperor, the gold and silver materials of the courtiers' gowns. (That they only cost a few ducats to make gives us some idea of the enormous gap between the incomes of court officials and those of seamstresses.)

There is, however, another issue to examine in Busbecq's argument that the Turks considered all men equal, regardless of birth: the significance of the Janissaries in the Ottoman state and society. The fact that the Janissaries were captured slaves and the proscription against their marriage (until 1572) had the effect of making matters of birth, family status, progeny, and estates meaningless to them. At some point you will need to explain the concept of "slave armies" to students.

Chardin, From *Travels in Persia, 1673–1677*

Chardin gives us a good sense of the various Persian and foreign communities centered in Isfahan. He also informs us that much of his time is taken up in receiving various Europeans, Armenians, and Persians whom he recalls from his earlier visit of six years before. These people are diplomats or merchants like him. Chardin describes a world in which contacts are crucial: The court has changed with the succession of the new king; many of his old contacts have fallen into disgrace. Chardin needs a contact who can approach the *nazir* to arrange for an audience with the king. The chief purpose of Chardin's visit seems to be to sell the jewels that were ordered by Sulayman's predecessor, Abbes II. In addition to successfully arranging the correct introduction, Chardin must contend with the advice of an unfamiliar prime minister. Thus, the status of Cheic Ali can (Sheik Ali Khan), the former and returning prime minister, is important to

Chardin, especially since Chardin knows the sheik to be anti-European, anti-Christian, financially conservative, and "inaccessible," or immune to pressure or bribery. In fact, the story that Chardin then tells of the king's drunken temper and the sheik's response seems to offer evidence of the courage and strength of character of the sheik.

Students may not notice the elaborate chain of protocol and precedence that Chardin must respect in order to get the king's attention without arousing his anger. Chardin asks the chief of the Capuchins (a Christian monastic order and, incidentally, the first organized fire fighters in Paris) to visit the chief controller (whom Chardin has known a long time) and request that the *nazir* arrange a formal introduction between Chardin and the new king.

When asked to characterize the politics or social relations of this society, students typically use adjectives like "formal," "distant," "remote," "bureaucratic," "tyrannical," and "stratified." They generally notice the similarities of Sulayman's court to the court of the Ming emperor as described by Spence in selection 13 as well as similar characteristics in the Ottoman court described in selection 14 (despite Busbecq's statements to the contrary). What Busbecq's arguments should indicate to students is that the courts of European monarchs had a similar hierarchical stratification, were also characterized by formal rituals of access, and likewise gave the ruler an almost sacred stature. After all, Chardin has come from the court of Louis XIV; he writes during the age of the divine right of kings. You might use a selection from W. H. Lewis's *The Splendid Century* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1957) to introduce the students to this world, perhaps a passage from the chapter on the court, describing the etiquette of the king's dinner. Rossellini's film *The Rise of Louis XIV* (see "Film and Video," below) is also quite effective at conveying a sense of French court life in this period.

Chardin's discussion of travel and trade reveals complex global networks that have a

national or ethnic identity: Armenians, Jews, Hindus, and Persians each have trade diasporas. There is a considerable amount of evidence here to support the importance of trade and merchants in Persian society.

From *The Jahangirnama*

"What do you think of the emperor Jahangir?" I ask students. "What does he do with his day?" "What kinds of things interest him?" "What kind of ruler or political leader would he be?" We then move from the personal to the political. "How were decisions made in Mughal India?" "Compare the political process you see here with that which Chardin describes in Persia." "How were both these governments different from that of China?" "How were all of the landed empires different from Malacca?"

Mughal India was arguably the most economically and technologically developed of the three great Muslim empires. Its vitality and wealth were the products of the Mughal court's enormous need for luxuries and revenues to support a huge military, on one hand, and the mercantile traditions and naval abilities of the Hindus in the Indian Ocean trade, on the other.

In distinguishing between political and economic realms, students should recognize the predominant role of Hindus in the areas of manufacturing and trade and the dominance of Muslims in administrative roles. But these economic and political realms were neither entirely separate nor mutually exclusive. Hindus had their communal *panchayats* in administration, and Muslims supported manufacturing, shipbuilding, and trade.

We will discuss the importance of Indian textiles on the world market and the consequent drain on British silver in future chapters (especially in Chapter 7, on the industrial revolution).

Reflections

Although most of the readings in this chapter emphasize the economic development and sophistication of the great early-modern land empires, my comments in the "Reflections" section of the chapter turn to consider the view from the steppe. These two perspectives are not necessarily contradictory. Such empires, by dint of their size and wealth, were enormously productive. In some ways they can be viewed as the workshops of the world prior to the industrial revolution, with banking and trading families that were wealthier than European Renaissance princes and cities larger than their Western counterparts, like London. But it was the smaller maritime city-states in southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Europe that held the key to the economic future, because they were organized for commerce. This characteristic is what distinguishes capitalist societies from precapitalist ones. The merchant city-states (even cities like Malacca and Venice, which were controlled by royal families or aristocrats) were organized and directed toward economic goals first and foremost. Their merchant classes were much more self-conscious and independent than were those in the Chinese or Muslim empires. It was not until a merchant city, Amsterdam, based the aims of its government on the furthering of its commercial objectives that one could speak of the emergence of capitalist society in Europe.

The substantive and pedagogical goals of this chapter tie together nicely here. I hope students will understand that modern capitalist societies are different from earlier societies not just in their increased power or in the prominence of merchants and economic affairs in daily life. They also differ in the fact that capitalism itself depends on political and social conditions that did not exist in empires directed by land-based tribal confederacies, horsemen, emperors, armies, or scholars. A capitalist society is one in which the merchant class is autonomous and in control

of politics. In a capitalist society, culture and politics are not divorced from economics.

In a sense, in realizing the secondary goal for this chapter I have focused attention away from Europe. In Chapters 5–9 I turn to consider European developments. It is important for students to see that European capitalism developed on the shoulders of Asian economic prosperity and technological proficiency, and that even urban hothouses of mercantile capitalism were prospering outside of Europe.

Film and Video

The Ottoman Empire, 1280–1683 is the fourteenth video in a twenty-six-part series of half-hour videos called *The World: A Television History*. The series, based on *The Times Atlas of World History*, was on the cutting edge visually a little more than a decade ago, and it still holds considerable interest. South Carolina Educational TV, 28 min.

The Ottoman Empire is a video that covers the early history and reign of Othman I, the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, and the reign of Sulayman the Magnificent in the sixteenth century. It also depicts various features of Ottoman civilization. Insight Media, 28 min., 1991, #WW53.

4. Gender and Family

China, Southeast Asia, Europe, and "New Spain," 1600–1750

This is a new chapter in this edition. We begin with a Chinese baseline and work gradually to the generally more familiar Western experiences, forcing students to draw comparisons among the readings. We also begin with primary sources so that students have to make their initial comparisons based on their own responses to the material. Then in the later readings they have an opportunity to see how historians do it.

Family Instructions for the Miu Lineage

Students tend to think that all morals are essentially the same; people are either good or bad, moral or immoral, but that everyone in the world has the same notion of good behavior. Although such a view might pass muster on such major matters as murder and incest, a reading of non-Western, premodern moral codes like the Miu family lineage document can show students that morals are culturally relative. Still, it might help to lead students through a close reading of the text. You might choose a passage at random and have students read it out loud, put it in their own words, and reflect on its meaning. To take the first paragraph as an example, you might ask whether they agree or find anything exceptionable. Since many students believe in loving parents and "family values," they find nothing out of the ordinary. "Look at every choice of word," I tell them. "Would you have said it quite the same way?" Someone notices the injunction to love brothers, but not sisters — and we are on the way. "How about "frugality?" They begin to see the differences in emphasis that distinguish one culture from another.

This is partly an exercise in reading — a skill vastly underrated by most undergraduates. The second paragraph might alert them to the peculiar paring of "conscience" and "introspection," which they applaud, with "a strict teacher," which they do not. The attention to the "ancients" in the same paragraph might seem a bit extreme, and the idea that one "should not be overwhelmed by current customs" a touch addled.

If students read the rest of the selection looking for phrases that show how different Ming culture was, they will be struck by the disparagement of education to make a profit (p.138, #2), the call to rise before dawn (p. 140, #7), and (my personal favorite, as a confirmed city person) the observation that the only reason to live in cities is to escape bandits (p. 141, #10). The point in finding the howlers is not to disparage but to recognize differences; only then can students learn appreciation and respect for those differences.

Overall, students should see the patriarchal and conservative tone of these instructions. The very existence of a set of family instructions maintained for generations should impress students with the scope of "family values" in Ming China. What is our contemporary equivalent, thinking of the state, public institutions, and the market?

Mao Xiang, *How Dong Xiaowan Became My Concubine*

The previous reading mentions (and discourages) concubinage, but this reading shows how the institution could be seen to be fully consistent with Chinese patriarchal family values. From a modern perspective the title and tone of this piece is boorish, preening, and offensive. I ask students to note how the great poet lived to the ripe old age of eighty-two whereas none of his

wives, each considerably younger than the previous, lived half that long.

Students notice the author's self-satisfied tone, the importance of the exams, the existence and cooperation of the wife at home, and how at the end "the endless tangle of troubles and emotional pain" was shared for their mutual happiness when she became his concubine. There is certainly enough here for students to realize they are in a world different from their own, and in a world that would not seem consistent with that of the Miu lineage. The point is that to a certain extent the two worlds were consistent, and that Chinese culture was patriarchal but highly varied.

Reid, *Commerce and Gender in Southeast Asia*

This secondary source needs no gloss. At the very least it will ensure that students do not lump all Asian cultures in the same category. Reid offers no historical explanations for the uniqueness of Southeast Asian gender roles (if they were unique), but he does suggest some of the forces that have undermined women's status since the seventeenth century. Students might be able to name some of these: the "international" religions (Confucianism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam), cities, and aristocracies. It might be useful to ask how, or even why, these forces undercut women.

Wills, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*

Wills's tender piece introduces a very different world from that of China and Southeast Asia. Yet, as in Southeast Asia, we see conflicting forces. Christianity was one of the international patriarchal religions. But Christianity also provides a woman like Sor Juana with sanctuary and support. "How is she able to manipulate the world she inherits, and how is she even able to

thrive?" These are questions you might pose to your students.

Maynes and Waltner, *Women and Marriage in Europe and China*

This is a complex piece. The authors ask us to consider the impact of later marriages, a higher proportion of unmarried people, and the custom of building capital to enable neo-local settlement at marriage (instead of living with the wife or husband's parents) in Europe. Students should notice that Maynes and Waltner do not argue that later marriage made for a smaller number of dependents. The authors point to studies that show a compensating lower fertility in Chinese marriages (because of greater use of birth control and infanticide). Rather, the social organization of capital building and manufacturing were different in Europe and China; Chinese manufacturing was more family-based.

Much of the authors' argument rests on the differing interests of family, state, and church, the latter two playing a greater role in Europe than China. The effect of the conflict between these interests in Europe was to give European women greater latitude than most Chinese women had. But what if the authors had compared the European experience with that of Southeast Asia, where the family was less patriarchal than the church?

In addition, the authors suggest (briefly, without elucidation) that European late marriage and neo-locality affected women's education and position in the household (p. 167, penultimate paragraph). You might ask students to speculate on the impact of these differences. We may conclude with more questions than answers, but one of our conclusions to this reading (and the chapter) must be that gender distinctions, women's lives, and domestic histories are important areas of study, not only intrinsically, but also for what they contribute to our understanding of big

historical questions.

5. The Scientific Revolution

Europe, Ottoman Empire, China, and Japan, 1600–1800

In this chapter, I attempt to describe the essentially Western development of science while also noting its Asian antecedents and background. The concept of a "revolution" offers the obvious opportunity to introduce students to notions of change, to the meaning of revolutionary change, and to questions that compare conditions before and after change.

Baumer, *The Scientific Revolution in the West*

This selection by Baumer is a standard secondary account. I like Baumer's emphasis on tracing broad social and cultural changes; this approach enables students to see the scientific revolution as something larger than just a succession of new ideas from a select group of noted thinkers. Baumer's broad range of examples allows me to reprise the pedagogical lessons of Chapter 3; I ask my students to categorize these changes as cultural, social, or even political and economic. The elements of culture can also be considered in the same manner. Science is certainly a part of culture, yet Baumer's thesis that the scientific revolution was fostered by certain "extrascientific factors" calls our attention to the other aspects of culture — and society as a whole — that played a part in shaping the rise of modern science.

In terms of the "before" and "after," Baumer provides a number of approaches. Part 2 of

the selection enumerates various ways in which the scientific revolution offered "a new conception of knowledge" (p. 176). Certainty, mathematics, quantifiable systems of measurement, the view of the universe as a machine, of a world without purpose, forms, and final causes — all were new ways of thinking developed in the post-theological scientific world. I ask students if this remains an apt description of the world in which they now live. We talk about astrology, psychics, and popular piety; we also discuss timetables, weather reports, physics and accounting classes, and the infinite number of expectations we hold, and take for granted, of traffic, social life, and work in our largely demystified world.

Anderson and Zinsser, *Women and Science*

I ask students if they believe the quality of women's lives is better as a result of the scientific revolution. They realize that this is a complex question with many subparts: Which women? What do you mean by the scientific revolution? In the short term or long term? The role of women in the scientific revolution is also a topic that can be illuminated by the next two readings.

Montague, *Letter on Turkish Smallpox Inoculation*

Students will notice the role of women — both Lady Montague and the women who inoculate people with smallpox—in this selection. I ask students to consider why women might have been able to play a more innovative role in the spread of new medical techniques than the mainly male body of professional doctors (in both Europe and the Ottoman Empire).

The real surprise here, however, is that the Ottoman Turks practiced inoculation before

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Europeans. Students might see this as part of the heritage of Islamic science and medical practices. Students might also consider the ways in which science and superstition sometimes sit side by side, and the process by which the former replaces the latter.

Fontenelle, From *Conversations on the Plurality of Worlds*

I ask students why the idea of "the plurality of worlds" was so revolutionary. Fontenelle says that philosophy is a product of curiosity and poor eyesight. If we could see nature as it is (the wires that move things mechanically) we would not need philosophy because we would have science. But science does not always correspond to our sensory experiences. We do not, after all, feel the earth spinning or experience the vastness of the universe. In some ways this makes us queasy, in some ways it seems beautiful. I ask students whether they agree.

Shaffer, *China, Technology, and Change*

Selection 26 offers an interesting opportunity for an exercise in tracing causation. You might ask students to draw up "Before" and "After" columns for the three inventions discussed — printing, gunpowder, and the compass — in the two geographic areas of Europe and China.

Regardless of whether one of these inventions offers a more plausible causal chain than the others, the exercise is useful in getting students to think about how the same innovations in different contexts bring about similar (and different) changes. The larger lesson for students to take away from this exercise is the importance of the social and cultural context itself to scientific or technological innovation. Which of these inventions was a significant causative agent for a Chinese scientific revolution? Not gunpowder, since this invention worked against the

Chinese; probably not the compass, because (as we saw in Chapter 1) travel in the Indian Ocean was curtailed by imperial decree. One could argue that printing, in the long run, might have had as revolutionary an effect in China as it had in Europe.

Gempaku, *A Dutch Anatomy Lesson in Japan*

This brief account shows how revolutionary the modern Western scientific approach could be when transplanted to a new cultural context. Whereas the Chinese Book of Medicine figuratively described the lungs as "like the eight petals of the lotus flower" (p. 200) the Dutch medical book literally described what the lungs looked like as part of the human body. The epiphany for Sugita Gempaku is the realization that the parts of the body can be precisely observed, described, and identified, and that these parts are in fact the same in all human bodies. This is true because, in the Western metaphor, the organs of the body are like the parts of a machine. Each organ has its own unique design and particular function, yet at the same time all the organs of all human bodies are identical to one another (e.g., a lung has the same appearance in all human bodies), and all human bodies initially possess the same collection of organs.

Why are these ideas new for Japanese surgeons in 1771? The Western scientific revolution brought theory and observation together. In Japan, the dissection witnessed by Gempaku was performed by the butcher. Butchers were low-caste Burakumin, or untouchables, as were other "death workers" in this Buddhist country. This probably illiterate butcher likely recognized that he had seen the same organs in each body he dissected, but he may not have known what they were called. The physicians who observed the dissection, who may have held their noses and shielded their eyes in distaste, were perhaps not curious about the disparity

between what their traditional medical education had taught them and what they actually saw in human bodies. At any rate, they would not have conversed with the low-caste butcher about the dissection. The separation of surgery and medicine was not unique to Japan. In medieval Europe barbers doubled as surgeons, but in Europe barber/surgeons and physicians were not members of different castes. Consequently, the gap between science and technology, and theory and practice, was not exacerbated by a hierarchical status relationship. Of course, this gap ceased to exist after the seventeenth century.

The traditional textbook, which was Gempaku's first text, was a Chinese book. Chinese medical knowledge was quite sophisticated in certain areas — for example, in pharmacology and acupuncture — but evidently not as sophisticated in other areas, like anatomy. In China, the gap between science and technology was also considerable. Great technological innovations (gunpowder, printing, and the compass) were not necessarily integrated into Buddhist or Confucian theoretical perspectives. In India, on the other hand, it was the high-caste Brahmans who healed and taught, cremated the dead, made the ritual sacrifices, wrote the books, and ran the hospitals. In comparing the impact of scientific and technological innovations in these different cultural contexts, we see that scientific revolutions do not just involve new ways of thinking; they involve new ways of thinking that are made possible within particular social contexts. The case of the women who provided inoculations against smallpox in the Ottoman Empire also illustrates the frequent disconnect between innovation and the scientific establishment.

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6. Enlightenment and Revolution

Europe and the Americas, 1650–1850

Reason, like science, is one of the organizing principles of modern society. But reason can mean order as well as freedom. In this chapter I examine the dual heritage of the Enlightenment. I caution students to read these selections carefully. Often, when I ask a student simply to tell the class what a selection is about or what its author argues, that student will state the diametric opposite of the author's actual argument in the text. The student's statement often happens to be an assertion that the student finds more congenial.

Hume, *On Miracles*

Understanding that words themselves have histories — and that their meanings and connotations change over time — is an important lesson for students, and one not taught in a single week. I begin here, however, by pointing out the use of *just* to mean "true," and *check* to mean a preventive. You might ask students to look up *certain* in a dictionary. *Prodigies* (p. 207), in the sense of things prodigious, or *miracles* might offer a good place to start for this selection. The introduction to the Oxford English Dictionary would be a useful aid to demonstrate to students how the individual words in the English language have histories.

"A wise man proportions his belief to the evidence" (p. 207) is a statement that is in itself an elegant summary of the scientific method. I have students parse it so that they appreciate both its meaning and its succinctness. The third sentence, "A miracle is a violation of the laws of nature . . ." is more difficult for students to grasp because it requires them to work out what

Hume means by *miracle* and the *laws of nature* — but it is worth the effort.

Although hardly definitive, the following is my own summary of Hume's four reasons why miracles do not exist: (1) For an event to be a miracle it would have to be so unusual as to run counter to the laws of nature (in which case it can't be true). (2) People want to believe in miracles, so the wise are suspicious. (3) Most miracles are recounted by simple people in underdeveloped countries. (4) Any testimony on behalf of a miracle can be countered by testimony against it (as well as by the testimony of nature itself). You might ask students which of these arguments they find more convincing.

Voltaire, *On Patriotism*, and *On Tolerance*

Voltaire displays the critical effects of reason in these brief essays on patriotism and tolerance. What, he asks, does it mean to love one's country (*patrie*) if one is merely a subject of others? A true patriot identifies not with his or her particular home or kingdom but with a larger country of mankind. Is this an argument for democracy or internationalism, or both? I ask students what patriotism means to them and what they think of Voltaire's argument. Is wishing greatness for one's country equivalent to wishing harm to one's neighbors?

I also ask students to paraphrase Voltaire's argument for tolerance. Note how the argument for tolerance derives in part from the recognition of the plurality of worlds, noted by Fontenelle.

The American Declaration of Independence

There are two important books on the Declaration of Independence. The classic is Carl Becker's

The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1922; New York: Knopf, 1941). Becker's was the first attempt to focus on the language of the document itself; it still remains insightful and informative. A modern work that corrects Becker's emphasis on the influence of Locke and other European thinkers is Pauline Maier's *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence* (New York: Knopf, 1997). Maier argues that the document's roots are in colonial American protest and in earlier colonial documents rather than in European theory.

As Maier points out, listing grievances for which the king was to blame personally was one way in which Englishmen could signal their intent to revolt. Jefferson's model for the concepts expressed in the Declaration was the English *Declaration of Rights*, which Parliament used to declare the throne vacant after James II's flight in 1689. Jefferson's bill of particulars against King George III actually came from an earlier (1774) draft of a document intended for Virginia's delegates to the First Continental Congress and published by friends of the independence faction in Congress under the title *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*.

Maier also notes that the items in the Declaration's bill of particulars were so vague that many contemporaries would not have been able to identify the specific events to which they alluded. In some cases it appears that this ambiguity was a sound strategy. For instance, the fourth item (p. 214) probably referred to the relocation of the Massachusetts House of Representatives from Boston to Cambridge in 1768, a decision easily justifiable given the circumstances that obtained at the time (Maier, pp. 110–11).

Students are always struck by the silence of the Declaration of Independence on the problem of slavery. In July of 1776, this was not just an oversight. In November of 1775 the

British royal governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, had offered freedom to any slave who would join the British Army in fighting their rebellious masters. The historian Merrill Jensen points out that Dunmore's offer of freedom to slaves did more to push the neutral Virginians to support a declaration of independence than all of the previous acts of the British parliament (Merrill Jensen, *Founding of a Nation* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1968], 645).

This group did not include all Virginians, to be sure. In an appendix to *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence*, Maier includes the draft of the Declaration that Jefferson initially submitted to Congress, including lined-out passages that were later deleted by the committee (Appendix C, pp. 236–41). In the early draft, Jefferson wrote of King George:

> He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people, who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought & sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce: and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he now is exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another. (Maier, p. 239)

This passage was edited out of the final version of the Declaration, which was approved by Congress on July 4, 1776. You might ask students to read this passage and ask them if they

can guess which group would have wanted this paragraph removed and why. You might also ask them, "How might Lord Dunmore have responded to this charge?" It is likely that students can see the inherent logical contradiction in faulting the British king for both initiating and ending the slave trade. Ask whether they see any similar contradiction between the first half of this paragraph and the last few lines, beginning with ". . . he now is exciting those very people to rise in arms…" This complaint remained in the final version: "He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us" (bottom of page 215).

Abigail and John Adams, *Remember the Ladies*

Slaves were not the only people excluded from the promise of the great declarations of natural rights at the end of the eighteenth century. Women also were excluded. Most legal systems gave men power over their wives equivalent to parental authority over children. Notice how John Adams equates women's demands with mob rule.

The French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen

In 1791 the French actress Olympe de Gouges wrote a Declaration of the Rights of Women and Citizens, a document that was scorned as unnecessary rather than redundant. Deputies to the National Assembly from the French islands in the Caribbean took the high-sounding promises of the French Declaration to mean that they were themselves free of any colonial legislation, but they saw no prohibition in the language of the document against their ownership of black slaves. Albert de Beaumetz understood articles 6 and 10 to support Protestant eligibility for political office, yet he insisted that the same rights could not apply to Jews, since Jews were "struck by a

political and religious malediction [curse]" (Simon Schama, *Citizens* [New York: Vintage, 1989], 498).

One wonders: Do the words of these declarations really matter? Can they be interpreted to mean whatever their readers want? Why do people spend long hours fighting over the meaning of words (as in the case of the Continental Congress and the American Declaration of Independence) if the words can be interpreted in so many different ways? How does one establish the "real" meaning of a declaration, a constitution, or any other political document?

L'Ouverture, *Letter to the Directory*

I include a document from the Haitian revolution to show students how the ideas of the Enlightenment traveled, producing what some have called an Atlantic Revolution and what might be called a first age of globalization. Students notice how powerful the language of universal natural rights can be, especially in the hands of someone freed from slavery only six years before. L'Ouverture had nothing to lose. His situation can be contrasted with that of the French, some of whom would benefit from the reimposition of slavery and others who were opposed for ideological reasons. Without trying to tell the complex story of the Haitian revolution, which is well presented in C. L. R. James's *The Black Jacobins*, I try to get students to understand the stakes for the former slaves as well as some of the forces that oppose them. I sometimes remind them of Thomas Jefferson's charge that King George had incited slave revolts by offering slaves their freedom. If there had been a Touissant L'Ouverture in North America, might he have appealed to English liberties as L'Ouverture appealed to the declarations of the French Revolution? And might he also have opposed the colonials in England or North America who sought independence because it would reenforce slavery?

Bolívar, *A Constitution for Venezuela*

If students read Bolívar's writing carefully, they can discern two opposing forces that he believed needed to be controlled in an independent Spanish America. The first, of course, is the Native American population. In the second paragraph, Bolívar writes: "We are disputing with the natives for titles of ownership" (p. 226). At the end of the same paragraph he asserts that Spanish Americans have been "robbed not only of our freedom but also of the right to exercise an active domestic tyranny." I call attention to this striking "paradox," as Bolívar calls it, to help students understand the unique limitations faced by an independent South American republic and see the salient differences between South and North America at this time. "Over whom," I ask students, "does Bolívar want 'the right to exercise an active domestic tyranny'"? Students recognize that Bolívar is speaking of the Native Americans. The American Declaration of Independence included a complaint that King George III encouraged attacks by "the merciless Indian savages." This point may seem less hypocritical, even in the context of the language outlining the "inalienable" rights of men, because the Native Americans of North America had already been greatly reduced in number and marginalized by being forced to the frontier of British North America. In South America, by contrast, the Indians constituted a much larger percentage of the overall population and had not been forced to the boundary of the frontier. The equivalent North American blind spot is on the issue of slavery, ignored in both the Declaration and the original Bill of Rights, documents that celebrate and enumerate the rights of liberty.

The other force that concerns Bolívar (after the threat of Spanish oppression is put aside) can be identified in his primary objection to a Venezuelan constitution modeled too closely after the U.S. Constitution. Bolívar advocates government by a hereditary house of lords rather than a

democratically elected senate. "What elements of the population would most likely be suppressed by a hereditary body of government?" Not the Native Americans, who would already be excluded from the political process by a domestic tyranny, but, rather, those mestizos (part Indian and part Spanish) who are most likely to challenge governmental and social stability and privilege if given the right to participate in politics — the poor, landless, and dispossessed.

Rozen, *Memoir of the Russian Decembrist Movement*

Rozen's memoir of Russia in 1825 spreads our net further. I ask students to discuss the role of particular social groups in this age of revolution. Perhaps the variety and ambiguity of social interest is most notable: soldiers, clergy, aristocrats, even the czar are positioned on both sides of the revolution. Of course, there are also conflicting goals, as with the previous examples. "What are some of these conflicts?" "Are the legacies of the Enlightenment at least consistent?"

Film and Video

The Age of Reason: Europe after the Renaissance is a critically acclaimed video that explores the impact of Enlightenment thought and ideas, covering such topics as Linneas's system of biological classification, the development of encyclopedias, and the rise of popular science and political philosophy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Insight Media, 23 min., 1995, #WX330.

The Age of Revolutions, 1776–1848, in the *series The World: A Television History*, addresses the Atlantic revolutions and makes effective use of its geographical, world-atlas-like format. South Carolina Educational TV, 28 min.

Roberto Rossellini's great teaching films, *The Rise of Louis XIV* and *The Age of the Medici a*re not topically related to the themes of this chapter, but they are such masterpieces that one might use clips from each to make certain individual points. *The Rise of Louis XIV* is especially useful in conveying a sense of the process of state formation and an understanding of how one centralized monarchy was established in Europe. This particular film is rich in period detail, much of which is simply thrown in. (In a scene showing the king at dinner, one of the onlookers asks in Italian-accented French if the king has not heard of forks. This scene demonstrates that at this period, the utensil was known in Italy but had not yet made its way to France.).

Steven Spielberg's *Amistad* is a gripping story that calls attention to the issue of slavery, the Enlightenment, and democratic revolution.

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7. Capitalism and the Industrial Revolution

Europe and the World, 1750–1900

As with Chapters 5 and 6, the topics of this chapter work toward defining the modern. Here I distinguish between two forces that have shaped modern society — capitalism and industrialization. Giving students an exercise in analytical distinction for this chapter can help them learn about comparative causation.

Pacey, *Asia and the Industrial Revolution*

Pacey is not concerned with distinguishing technological from market forces. By asking students to identify which examples of Indian achievement might be called capitalist and which industrial, however — although there was no Indian industrial revolution, and India was not a capitalist society, per se — you can refine your students' analytical skills and lead them to draw some interesting conclusions.

The first sentence brings together some of the elements of both capitalism and industry: banking, trade, shipbuilding, and textiles. The first two are capitalist activities. Bankers and merchants make their profits from investment in business ventures via loans and through the sale of goods and services, but they do not usually produce anything directly. The third activity, shipbuilding, is a matter of production, sometimes heavy industrialized production. Textiles may be produced using small, hand-operated looms and spinning wheels, or using complex power-driven factory machinery. In fact, the transition from the former system to the latter is a hallmark of the industrial revolution in Britain. In India, however, textile production was carried out using

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the cottage industry or "putting-out system," which preceded the industrial revolution in Britain. That does not mean that Indian textile production had no technological breakthroughs. In fact, the British learned from India many advances in techniques for dyeing and weaving fabric. But India's textile production did not become mechanized; its labor was not relocated from private homes to centralized factories; and its production techniques were not transformed across the industry. Indian merchant capitalists, rather than industrialists, were responsible for the sale of Indian textiles throughout the world in the eighteenth century. Their markets and profits were taken over by the British East India Company, the preeminent capitalist enterprise, or joint stock company, of the time. Although this British merchant-capitalist company may have undermined Indian merchants and stolen Indian technology, it was not equipped to lead an industrial revolution in textile production. Such a revolution developed in the factories of Lancashire, which, by the middle of the nineteenth century, were turning the East India Company into a relic of a bygone era.

The capitalist or commercial revolution may have destroyed the manufactures of India, as some charged, but the English merchant capitalists could not themselves necessarily rebuild entire manufactures. One of the most notable examples of the quality of Indian manufacture was in the production of armaments: brass cannons, mortars, and field guns. In India these weapons were produced by the Mughal armory. Similarly, in Europe, the manufacture of armaments was carried out or subsidized by governments.

Smith, From *The Wealth of Nations*

I think we tend to forget how much of Smith's critique of mercantilism depended upon the labor saved by industrialization. Certainly he expects free trade to make goods more accessible and to

make production more efficient. But Smith also shared the then-common belief in the labor theory of value and felt that the key to increasing real profits lay in reducing labor costs. This is why his great work begins with an explanation of the division of labor and the labor-saving procedures used in the manufacture of pins. For Smith, the success of such a "very trifling manufacture" as the pin industry serves as an example of the far greater potential for profit inherent in the "great manufactures . . . which are destined to supply the great wants of the great body of the people . . ." (p. 245).

Capitalism, trade, and the size of the available market all determine how specialized and divided the labor in an industry can become, but it is in manufacturing industries that real wealth can be created. In economic terms, the work of the merchant, the sovereign, the servant, the priest, the author, the opera singer, and the buffoon, alike, does not in itself add to the store of wealth, but must be performed again and again. Given his vision of how wealth is created, Adam Smith would not think highly of the economic prospects of a postindustrial or service economy.

From *The Sadler Report of the House of Commons*

The account in this selection offers an easy exercise for students in distinguishing manufacturing necessities from the exploitation of labor. Clearly child laborers like Matthew Crabtree suffered equally from both dangerous machinery and exploitative management. One might argue that even the dangerous machinery — equipment that destroyed the workers' hands — was more a product of the desire to maximize cost savings than a result of mechanical necessity or efficiency. I ask students to consider the factors one would take into account in designing such a machine for one's own use or for the use of one's own children versus designing it for a capitalist's unknown employees solely on the basis of the capitalist's specifications.

Marx and Engels, From *The Communist Manifesto*

We owe our common assumption that industrialization can only occur within the context of a capitalist society to both Karl Marx and Adam Smith. Smith believed that market conditions enabled and fostered an increasingly specialized division of labor. Marx believed that modern bourgeois society was vastly more productive than earlier societies had been. In 1848, Marx's use of the term *bourgeois* united the characteristics that we have called capitalist and industrial. In *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx blends together the effects of both the market economy and the new technology. The bourgeois have created monumental structures far surpassing Egyptian pyramids in terms of their technical sophistication. The bourgeois have also abolished feudal, patriarchal, and chivalrous ties, drowning all emotions in "the icy water of egotistical calculation" (p. 258). Marx fuses the two characteristics of capitalism and industrialism to demonstrate the workings of a historical process and because in 1848 it was still too early for him to envision a state-sponsored industrial revolution. Today, Marx seems more prophetic in predicting the effects of increasing market values and the development of global market relationships than in predicting the effects of technology.

Hanley, From *Everyday Things in Premodern Japan*

This reading allows students to reconsider the assumption that the industrial revolution radically changed the lives of people in Europe and North America for the better. Of course, in many profound ways it did, but if one measures health care and quality of life, one can make the case, as Hanley does, that the Japanese material economy was in some ways equivalent or even superior.

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Iwasaki, *Mitsubishi Letter to Employees*

Marx recognized in 1848 that capitalism tended to equalize markets, manufactures, and even cultures throughout the world. Marx saw the bourgeoisie as an international force. Especially in the nineteenth century, however, capitalists frequently served national governments and pursued national objectives.

In this selection, we see how a nationalist, even decidedly antiforeign, campaign might work in favor of the economic interests of an individual Japanese capitalist. I ask students why invoking a sense of nationalism was a smart strategy for selling a significant wage reduction to employees. I ask if they can think of other nationalist strategies for gaining workers' support for capitalist objectives today.

8. Colonized and Colonizers

Europeans in Africa and Asia, 1850–1930

While concentrating on the period after 1880, often called the "new imperialism," this chapter examines the larger history of Western colonialism in Africa and Asia in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Rather than attempt a detailed chronological examination, my aim is to explore selected themes: the position of the intermediary, "half-caste," or indigenous collaborator in colonial society; the role of the European club and colonial racism; the role of missionaries in colonization; and finally the effect of both class and national differences among the colonizers. Psychologically nuanced themes like these can be explored effectively through the literature of colonialism, giving us the opportunity to ask students to reflect on the relationship between history and literature in understanding the past.

Osterhammel, From *Colonialism*

In this selection, a thoughtful historical overview, the author defines two periods of colonialism and explains his rationale for distinguishing the period after 1880 from the earlier history of colonialism. This selection is a good general introduction to the characteristics of European colonialism, and one may also compare it usefully with the literary works that follow.

Colonial society was at its base a two-caste society made up of colonizers and colonized. Those who fell in between — for example, children born of "mixed" unions, with one parent from each group, or colonizers who "went native" — posed a considerable threat. Lower-class colonizers especially felt threatened by such blurring of the boundaries, since in their home

country they were generally at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Yet in the colonies they fancied themselves among the elite of society. You may wish to highlight these tensions as a backdrop for reading the following literary selections.

Orwell, From *Burmese Days*

I ask students what signs they see in this reading of the two-caste colonial society. The European club itself embodies its essence; Macgregor's memo and Ellis's response reveal the fault lines between the castes. But one can also see evidence of the two-caste society in the physical layout of the town and in Ellis's evident disgust with a Burmese butler who speaks English too well. There are also interesting signs of the mixing of the two societies: Maxwell's police are Burmese; Flory, a European, is friendly with Dr. Veraswami, a native; Burmese and Christians congregate together in one church. In addition, there are insinuations that the erotic lives of some of the men revolve around Burmese prostitutes.

In discussing the relationship between history and fiction, you might ask students to select a passage that reflects the author's knowledge of Burma and then explore with them whether or the degree to which it has been fictionalized. They might, for example, look at the description of the town at the beginning of the selection. Ask them if they think this is an actual description of a particular town or a composite intended to capture the appearance of a typical town. "Could the description be characterized as historically accurate in either case?" "Isn't it unlikely, for instance, that Orwell would describe something incongruous — say, a Quaker meeting hall or Shinto temple — unless it was to make another point about the colonial reality?"

Achebe, From *Things Fall Apart*

Novelists employ narrative strategies that are generally unavailable to historians. One of these is the scene. The previous selection from Orwell's novel contained a scene at the English club. Selection 44 from Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* begins with a scene at the Christian church in which the people of Mbanta meet the missionaries for the first time. Historians in most cases lack the detailed evidence necessary for setting up such a scene, even when someone is present at the moment recording every detail (as perhaps Orwell himself was). Actual life rarely takes the shape of finely crafted scenes presenting themselves one after another, each characterized by drama and wit, each furthering a compelling narrative. The novelist chooses, reshapes, and creates stories from the raw material in the details of everyday life. Nevertheless, there is much we can learn from this scene about the atmosphere of many encounters between Christian missionaries and native peoples in Africa. I ask students to make an intellectual leap by writing (in expository form) what they might learn about such historical events from this selection. They typically write something along the following lines: that in some cases, the first missionaries whom Africans met were also Africans, or whites accompanied by Africans; that some Africans were more interested in the "whiteness" of the missionaries or the objects of their lives (e.g., their bicycles) than their religion; that the difference between animist and monotheist assumptions would have been difficult for some Africans to bridge. The specific details of the scene drive home larger historical realities. Is it possible that a missionary actually used the malapropism, "your buttocks" (p. 294)? Certainly there were equally confusing and embarrassing moments of mistranslation. Did any sons actually leave their fathers in order to join the Christians? Certainly some did, and further research might indeed reveal their stories.

Another strategy the novelist can employ to engage and hold the reader's interest is to

bring the reader inside the mind of a protagonist. This device always involves invention. Many historians disdain even to summarize a historical actor's thoughts as presumptive and nonhistorical. In the last three paragraphs of this selection, Achebe brings us inside the mind of Okonkwo, the main character of *Things Fall Apart*. Here, too, it might be useful to ask students what they might learn of the historical reality from this literary device.

Kipling, *The White Man's Burden*

To my mind, Kipling's poem is racist but anticolonialist. The poet's argument is that taking up the "White Man's burden" is never appreciated by the colonists and only brings ruin and remorse to the colonizers. To "take up the White Man's burden" was to Kipling a liberal do-gooder cry, not (as it sounds to our ears) a patronizing bit of racism.

Rizal, From *Noli Me Tangere*

The story that Ibarra hears about his father, Don Rafael, from Lieutenant Guevara reveals much not only about the Spanish in the Philippines but also about colonialism in general. In the Philippines, the Catholic Church played an unusually repressive role and was more watchful of possible subversion than the Spanish government itself. But all colonies had an equivalent population group — a superpatriotic clique that saw itself as more Spanish than the Spanish, more English than the English. For such groups, the loss of the colonies would be most costly, because they had nothing other than their superior position in the colonial society on which to base their own self-worth. In all colonies, suspicion might be cast on men like Don Rafael Ibarra. He represents the upper-class colonialist: noble in both spirit and birth; a guardian of the people

he rules; righteous, honest, and generous. As such, he was resented by the new class of colonizers who came on the scene after the building of the Suez Canal in 1869. These new colonizers, with lower-class origins, were often small-minded, illiterate, and punitive, despising the "natives" with all the zeal of former outcastes.

Perhaps the key to helping students to understand this paradox lies in one line in the selection. I ask students how it is possible that Ibarra can fall under suspicion for reading newspapers from Spain. In the minds of the supercolonialists, reading newspapers from Spain is further proof that Ibarra is too soft on the natives, too liberal, and too free to leave. Unlike them, Ibarra may travel the world and still retain his class standing. Their position in society is absolutely dependent on their being in the colony. In the larger world, they are nothing, or less than nothing.

I ask students to compare the extreme antinativism of these lower-class "super Spaniards" with the racism of the Englishmen at the club in *Burmese Days*. This helps them understand how the pain of class differences could be assuaged in the colonies and how racism became a colonial substitute for Old World class discrimination.

Internet

There is an excellent (although by no means complete) Third-World film guide on the Internet by Patricia Aufderheide called *Cross-Cultural Film Guide*. The URL is <http://www.library.american.edu/subject/media/aufderheide/aufderhe.html>.

Film and Video

Although *Burmese Days* has not been filmed, director David Lean's excellent adaptation of E. M.

Forster's *Passage to India* (2 hr., 43 min., 1984) strikes some of the same notes. I sometimes ask students to compare the film to *Burmese Days*. Available in video stores.

Things Fall Apart has not been filmed either, but for African settings of colonialism I have effectively used director Bruce Beresford's *Mister Johnson* (1 hr., 45 min., 1991), based on the Joyce Cary novel set in Nigeria in the 1920s. Available in video stores.

9. Nationalism and Westernization

The Philippines, Japan, India, and China, 1880–1930

In one sense I share the same teaching goal in this chapter as the language or literature instructor who wants his or her students to understand irony or paradox. I recall a literature professor describing a class discussion concerning a story in which a man assaulted his wife and then brought her flowers. Students, the professor told me, concentrated on either the assault or the flowers, choosing to either excuse or condemn his behavior. However, they entirely missed the way in which the assault and the flowers went together as aspects of the same thing. Perhaps young students, especially, are inclined to believe that motives are simple, that aims are either one thing or another, and need a post-Freudian lesson in the subtleties of human psychology.

The goal of a history course is even broader than that of achieving a basic understanding of simple behavioral psychology. Not only do historians study societies and cultures as well as individuals; we also study change itself. Students of history are well placed to see how contradictions arise from social and cultural change. The history of Western colonialism and the subsequent rise of anticolonialism provides an ideal place to look for lessons in the inherent ironies of social and cultural change.

Von Laue, From *The World Revolution of Westernization*

In the process of conquest and control, the West taught its colonized peoples to revere certain Western ideals — nationalism and internationalism, brotherhood, justice, freedom, and equality — and to speak new languages that connected them to one another and provided them with,

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among other things, access to a transcultural body of literature, knowledge of modern science, and admission to modern universities. In doing so, the West inevitably created in its colonies people with divided loyalties, conflicted beliefs, and a love/hate relationship with the West. Some individuals lived these extremes in a single lifetime, as did Gandhi, who transformed himself from a London barrister to a Hindu holy man, a man who loved London almost as much as he loved India but who urged Indians, with the vehemence of an Old Testament prophet, to resist the seductions of Western civilization.

Anderson, *The First Filipino*

Anderson reveals the contradictions of colonial nationalism. The Philippines is only an extreme case of a more general tendency. The colonized develop self-knowledge and self-identity in comparison with others. I ask students to think about the role of comparison in Anderson's writing as well. One might ask if there is any identity or meaning that is not enriched by comparisons.

Fukuzawa, *Good-bye Asia*

Fukuzawa is an example of a non-Westerner who became completely converted to belief in the potential of adopting Western ways. He devoted his life to teaching Western culture to the Japanese and to urging Japan to adopt Western models for politics, science, and culture. But to what extent does his pro-Western conviction embody a surrender to the dictates of necessity? Might his views on the benefits of Westernization contain an element of Japanese hostility to China and Korea? I ask students if it is possible that Fukuzawa is in fact not 100-percent

committed to Western civilization. There are only slight hints of such a possibility here, but you might ask students what they make of his metaphor equating the process of Westernization to the progress of a disease. Is it fair to assume that Fukuzawa is entirely unaware of the possible negative connotation of such a metaphor?

Images from Japan: Views of Westernization

Kanagaki Robun (1829–1893), born the son of a fishmonger, wrote novels, newspaper stories, and verses that made him one of the most popular humorists in his native Yedo as it was being transformed into Westernized Tokyo following the Meiji Restoration of 1868. In 1873 he moved to Yokohama, where his knowledge of teahouses, public baths, and popular gossip and entertainment qualified him for a brief appointment to the official post of inspector of public sentiment. After a few years he returned to Tokyo, where he produced illustrated sheets and simply written newspapers catering to the interests and tastes of the least-literate urban class. Figure 9.1 is a typical example of Kanagaki Robun's work for this audience.

In Figure 9.2, titled "Monkey Show Dressing Room," the artist Honda Kinkichiro is clearly mocking those Japanese who dress in European clothes and perhaps by inference all Japanese who "ape" Western ways.

In Figure 9.3 the anonymous Japanese artist is suggesting that the child of a mixed Japanese and Western union will possess both the hair and the aggressiveness that the Japanese associated with Westerners. What does this say about the likelihood that such an individual will find a place in either the culture of his Western father or the culture of his Japanese mother?

All three of these prints are critical of certain aspects of Westernization: the eating of beef, the wearing of Western clothes, and the interbreeding with Western foreigners. But they

each possess elements that suggest acceptance of some Western ways even as the images themselves satirize "things Western." Kanagaki Robun clearly embraced the popular newspaper form, which had originated in the West. Furthermore, he wrote and published in the popular kana script, a Western-influenced phonetic script. Honda Kinkichiro's print displays the artist's adoption of certain Western aesthetic principles, including the use of three-dimensional perspective. It also included an English caption (not shown), although it was intended for a Japanese audience. Although this image was published in *Marumaru chimbun*, a weekly Japanese humor magazine, Kinkichiro used English in the caption as well as Japanese to ensure that Western readers would also understand the satire. The print of the hairy, aggressive, half-Western infant, dating from 1879, also embodies a comment on Darwinian theory. The accompanying Japanese text explains that Darwin's idea that men were originally monkeys might be taken to apply particularly to those Japanese who ape European styles.

Roy, *Letter on Indian Education*

Of all the permutations of colonial education, this is one of the most difficult for students to understand. They understand why colonials would want to learn their own traditions, but the advantage of understanding the learning of the dominant society is more complex. There are three elements in this case: In addition to the usual advantage of working within the dominant tradition (as Rizal did), there is also the wide reach of English in the nineteenth century and the revolutionary impact of the scientific revolution. One might usefully compare Roy's dismissal of Vedantic knowledge to the dismissal of traditional European philosophy by twentieth-century Western empiricists and analytical philosophers.

Gandhi, From *Hind Swaraj*

Judith M. Brown, in her excellent biography of Gandhi, (*Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989]), discusses the mix of Indian and Western ideas in the development of Gandhi's doctrine of passive resistance in South Africa. Although it is often assumed that Gandhi's idea of passive resistance was influenced by American transcendentalist Henry David Thoreau's essay, "Civil Disobedience" (1849), Brown argues that Gandhi's campaign of civil disobedience actually began before he read Thoreau's essay. Previously, Gandhi had read other Western philosophers of conscience, from Socrates to Tolstoy, and he sometimes referred to the example of the Western suffragette movement in his periodical, *Indian Opinion*. There were, however, equally important Indian origins for Gandhi's idea of *satyagraha*, which he translated as "truth force" or "soul force." Gandhi's Gujarati culture had taught him the persuasive power of suffering in rituals of public shaming, including fasting.

Gandhi's life as a lawyer in South Africa, more than his study of law in England, was the Western experience that enabled him to synthesize Western and Indian ideas to such great effect. In South Africa, Gandhi lived a far more cosmopolitan life than was possible in Gujarat or than he allowed himself to live in England. In South Africa Gandhi befriended and worked closely with both Muslims and Europeans; aided Tamil workers (who came from an area of Southern India, about which Gujaratis knew little); and championed the rights of women and untouchables in ways that would have been discouraged in the more patriarchal and caste-bound India. Consequently, when Gandhi returned to India in 1915, he had conceived a much larger idea of India than he had possessed when he left Gujarat for England in 1888.

It is also important for students to recognize that Western politics and culture had traditions that were "Easternized," or influenced by Oriental, especially Indian, philosophy. The

American transcendentalists themselves were a group especially influenced by Indian ideas. In London, Gandhi was much impressed with the British theosophist Annie Besant, who had translated the *Bhagavad Gita* into English and worked to make birth control readily available for women in London. When Gandhi arrived in India in 1915, Besant herself was one of the leaders of the Indian national independence movement.

Nehru, *Gandhi*

Like Gandhi, Nehru opposed British colonial control of India, although he advocated more vigorous methods than did Gandhi. He found Gandhi's opposition to Western technology, however, naive and pointless. Nehru himself was another fairly common bundle of contradictions in the colonial world — he was the scion of a wealthy and favored family who became both a revolutionary and a socialist.

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Deng, *The Spirit of the May Fourth Movement*

In this selection the combination of Western and Chinese protests and symbols is rich. I sometimes ask students to note the specific elements of these student protests and discuss where the ideas may have originated. Students gain a recognition of the range of Western influences (including those from the new Soviet Union) and also the way they fit Chinese ideas of reform and democratization (as with the use of vernacular symbols for Chinese characters). It is also interesting to explore the relationship between Chinese nationalist interests and the developing women's movement. I sometimes get students to see the complexity of a nationalist, anticolonialist movement by saying: "Look, all of these people are Chinese. Why do some Chinese people oppose the students' nationalist demands?"

Film and Video

The movie *Gandhi*, directed by Richard Attenborough (3 hr., 10 min., 1982), although uncritical, is one of the great historical films. I sometimes use an early sequence (after the opening scenes of the assassination), when the film flashes back to Gandhi's life in South Africa, but almost any scene in the film could be used to good effect. Available in most video stores.

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10. World War and Its Consequences

Europe, the Soviet Union, and the Middle East, 1914–1920

Perhaps someday soon world history courses will teach the First World War and the Second World War as stages of the same conflict to be covered in the same chapter. In the meantime, I think there is still value in focusing separately on the first global war, which is significant for a number of reasons, including the beginning of the end of colonialism, the suicide of Europe at the height of its power, the birth of the modern, and the start of twentieth-century pessimism. For all of these reasons, World War I offers an ideal opportunity for the historian to examine and consider causes and consequences.

Marks, *The Coming of the First World War*

Although this is mainly a political history, Marks shows different ways of understanding the causes of war. States have not only domestic agendas but foreign entanglements and even psychological characteristics. Within the general conclusion of German responsibility, there are a number of ways of understanding how war came about, each of which will be meaningful for students.

Remarque, From *All Quiet on the Western Front*

I ask students what they think the novel tells us about the causes and consequences of the war. The soldiers in the novel see the war as a consequence of the patriotic enthusiasms for war and of Kantorek, their teachers, and the older generation in general. In asking about the consequences of

the war, we can consider a number of things, including the soldiers' disappointment in the older generation, in their fathers and teachers, with traditional patriotism; their experience of witnessing so many of their number being killed; and their loss of hope for the future.

Government Posters: Enlistment and War Bonds

The striking similarities in the posters' designs and graphic styles — whether the individual artists borrowed from each other or arrived at the same pose independently — say something about a developing international style, or about the confluence of national styles in an age of national rivalries. Is there a significant difference between Uncle Sam and the German soldier? What does the finger pointed at the viewer suggest about the world of 1915–1917?

Britten et al., *Witness of Soldiers*

In selection 58, a Canadian, a German, a British, and a West African soldier all speak directly about their individual experiences. I ask students if the letters seem interchangeable and if the experiences of all are common enough that one account is almost indistinguishable from another. Except for the African soldier's attention to the issue of race, one could conceivably imagine that any of the letters could have been written by any of the witnesses (with only minor changes in names and nationalities).

Owen, *Dulce et Decorum Est*

When asked to compare this poem with the selection from *All Quiet on the Western Front*, students immediately recognize the common sense of a younger generation feeling that it was

duped by its teachers, as well as a shared revulsion at the sheer horror of war.

One could use the references to gas in "Dulce et Decorum Est" to ask students about the role of modern industrial technology in the First World War. References in the other readings of this chapter to machine guns, artillery shells, and airplanes are obvious entry points for a discussion of the role of industrial technology in warfare. Yet one could add the mass-produced poster, as well, as an example of the impact of modern technology on propaganda.

Lenin, From *War and Revolution*

This classic text offers a slightly different take on the causes of war (in the competition of capitalist powers for colonies) and a revealing insider view of Russian politics between the February and October revolutions. Students are often struck by Lenin's discussion of the United States and his prediction of an American clash with Japan.

Luxemburg, From *The Russian Revolution*

It seems almost indisputable that a Russian revolution would be an inevitable consequence of the cost of the First World War for Russia. But was a Bolshevik revolution similarly inevitable? Luxemburg thought not. The failure of German and European socialism to resist the entreaties of nationalist propaganda, however, and Luxemburg's own failure to win over even the members of her Spartacist Party might indicate how powerful the forces for war were. There is an excellent feature film titled *Rosa Luxemburg* (see "Film and Video," below) that offers an interesting view of Luxemburg's experiences during the Bolshevik Revolution.

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Wilson, *Fourteen Points*

The first paragraph of this selection suggests that one of the causes of the war was the existence of secret treaties. The complicated systems of alliances that pitted Germany and Austria-Hungary against France, England, and Russia were neither secret nor recent. They dated back to the 1880s and were renewed periodically. The specific terms of the agreements, however, were often kept secret. Important details of Italy's agreement with Germany, for instance, were not known until 1915, when Italy declared war on her former allies. The complete details of the agreement were not revealed until 1920. But, despite the concerns of the period, historians generally discount the secrecy of these agreements as a major cause of the war. I ask students what the impact of secret treaties is likely to be. I ask if they think peace is more likely to result from public and open diplomacy. In the second paragraph Wilson outlines the reasons for U.S. involvement in the war (which commenced in 1917, not at the actual start of the conflict in 1914). I remind students of America's neutrality during most of the war and discuss the sinking of the *Lusitania* as the stated reason for U.S. entry into the conflict. I ask them to think carefully about the feasibility of achieving such grand international goals as a world "made fit and safe to live in" through international diplomacy. Wilson sums up the goals of the United States in the last paragraph (p. 390): "An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak." I ask students how the particular fourteen points are specific applications of that general principle, and I ask how they might apply that principle in resolving particular conflicts today.

Syrian Congress Memorandum

The national claims of Syria, encouraged by Wilson's fourteen points but contradicted by the League of Nations' mandate system, were both expressed and frustrated. I encourage students to see also how the question of nationality had lasting consequences that remain unresolved to this day.

Internet

<http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi> is a comprehensive World War I site including a host of documents organized by year and type, including treaties, conventions, illustrations, memoirs, and personal reminiscences. It is part of a larger collection called EuroDocs: Primary Historical Documents from Western Europe, maintained by Richard Hacken of the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University. The address is <http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/eurodocs>.

An excellent site on the Versailles Treaty can be found at <http://ac.acusd.edu/history/text/versaillestreaty/vercontents.html>. The site includes links to maps, charts, cartoons, and photos, and features the text of the treaty and a good bibliography.

Film and Video

There is an excellent, eight-hour-long PBS documentary series titled *The Great War*, which is available on four videocassettes. PBS Home Video, #A2033.

The End of the Old Order, 1914–1929 is the twenty-fourth video in the twenty-six-part series *The World: A Television History*. It presents both the causes and consequences of the First World War. South Carolina Educational TV, 28 min.

There are two film versions of *All Quiet on the Western Front* that are readily available. One is also available from Teacher's Video Company (2 hr., 12 min., 1930, #AQOH).

World War I: Armistice is the third video in a six-video series narrated by A. J. P. Taylor called *How Wars End*. The series starts with the Napoleonic period. The fourth film in the series, on the peace conference at Versailles, is also of interest. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 25 min. each, #BVL912 and BVL913.

Black and White in Color, set in colonial West Africa in 1914, is useful for giving students a sense of the absurdity of Europeans transporting the war to the colonies. It also provides a look at some of the features of colonial society in Africa. I sometimes show the beginning of the film, in which the first news of war arrives in papers that are some months late, and which covers the first battle in colonial territory. Corinth Films, 2 hr., 31 min., 1977, 16mm rental; also available on video at video stores.

The film *Rosa Luxemburg*, directed by Margarethe von Trotta (1986, 122 min.), is a passionate and visually compelling dramatization of Luxemburg's political and personal struggles. Distributed by New Yorker Video.

Slave of Love, directed by Nikita Mikhalkov (1 hr., 18 min., 1978), is a great Russian feature film set in the context of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Available in some video stores.

Warren Beatty's *Reds* is more accessible for American students. Although a bit long, it captures many of the feelings and ideological debates of the period as well as the drama of the events. Available in most video stores.

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11. Fascism, World War II, and Genocide

Germany, Poland, France, Japan, and China, 1931–1945

Even if Holocaust deniers with ready and easy access to the Internet did not exist, I think it would be valuable to spend a few days or a week in the world history course pondering the legacy of genocide, extreme nationalism, and state-sponsored brutality in the twentieth century. This legacy also offers a fitting occasion for us to consider the inevitable and necessary gap between our understanding and acceptance of evil.

Fest, *The Rise of Hitler*

This selection does a number of things particularly well. First and foremost, it gives students a feel for the appeal of nationalism, militarization, and anti-Semitism in Germany after the First World War. Second, it distinguishes between the social classes — proletariat, white collar, small business owners, and peasants — in the kind of analysis that most American students are largely unfamiliar with and that they need to appreciate. Third, it gives an account of the rise of Hitler — a perennially popular topic on college campuses — in a way that identifies and alerts students to the existence of protofascist inclinations in their own society.

Himmler, *Speech to the SS*

For students, this document confirms the fact that there was a consensus among the members of this elite military body that the Jews of Europe were to be annihilated. Himmler assumes their knowledge of this plan at the same time he urges their compliance with it. I think it is valuable

for students to try to enter the minds of Himmler's audience. They should try to understand how individual SS members might have been able to compartmentalize their knowledge of and participation in this plan, at one and the same time accepting its necessity as good Nazis and denying its implications for them as moral human beings.

Steiner, From *Treblinka*

It may seem odd that I ask my students to try to identify with the perpetrators of these atrocities rather than with their victims in considering this selection and selection 65. I certainly do not mean to neglect the opportunity for students to develop an empathetic understanding of those who suffered and died. Yet the suffering, terror, and disbelief of the victims must remain almost beyond our comprehension, and perhaps it is even a bit presumptuous for us to try to comprehend it. The value in asking readers what it would feel like to be Lalka, or one of his "dentists" or one of his sign painters, is that this identification reaches all of us where we live — in the realm of what Hanna Arendt called "the banality of evil," even when the evil is perpetrated on such a horrendous scale as the Nazi atrocities were. We as individuals are often able to distance ourselves from the horror, or contextualize it by viewing the participants in atrocity as human monsters, essentially "other" and "worse" than us. This lets us off the hook by placing the acts of human monsters beyond the realm of our comprehension. I want students to know and feel this distancing and denial so that it can become a part of their own moral education. I want them to appreciate fully that these acts were perpetrated by fellow human beings, not by inscrutable monsters.

Zuccotti, *A Village in Vichy France*

In addition to Zuccotti's book *The Holocaust*, *the French, and the Jews* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), Philip Hallie's *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed* (New York: Harper, 1979) offers a highly evocative philosopher's account of the history of resistance in Le Chambon. I have also used Pierre Sauvage's superb film, *Weapons of the Spirit* (see "Film and Video," below) to examine this topic.

Chang, From *The Rape of Nanking*

The value of this selection is that it shows students how powerful and effective desensitizing indoctrination can be, especially if it is carried out by the military in situations where refusal to participate in such acts can be highly risky to survival.

Blumenthal, *Japanese Germ-Warfare Atrocities*

This piece broadens the charges beyond the brutality of individual soldiers to the larger issue of government policy and what today we call "weapons of mass destruction." The involvement of the U.S. government after the war is also troubling to students. "What should the U.S. have done? What should it do now?"

Jalon, *Meditating on War and Guilt, Zen Says It's Sorry*

Genocidal atrocities are committed by the confluence of brutalized soldiers, government policy, and ideological rationalization. "How important was Zen Buddhism in this mix?" "What about the argument that Christians and Shinto Japanese also participated in the war?" "How significant

is the apology of the Zen leaders?" "What is the role and impact of apology?" These are some questions I pose to my students.

Film and Video

Burnt by the Sun (2 hr., 14 min., 1994) is a superb Russian film directed by Nikita Mikhalkov that shows the terror of Stalin's last years in power as experienced by a retired Soviet hero who falls out of favor with the secret police. Available in video stores.

The History of Anti-Semitism: The Longest Hatred is an excellent, two-hour documentary available on two cassettes. The first cassette traces the development of Western anti-Semitism from its origins as a component of medieval Christianity to its transformation into a pseudoscientifically sanctioned form of racism in the early twentieth century. The second cassette addresses the Holocaust and the persistence of anti-Semitism today, especially in eastern Europe. This documentary may be difficult to find. Try your university or public library.

Night and Fog offers French director Alain Resnais's haunting look at the fading photographs of both victims and survivors of the Holocaust and the overgrown ruins of the concentration camps themselves. It is highly evocative and deeply moving. In French with English subtitles. Available in some video stores. 32 min, 1955.

Steven Spielberg's masterpiece, *Schindler's List* (3 hr., 15 min., 1993), is especially effective at illustrating Oskar Schindler's own duality in both complying with and resisting the state-ordered and administered systematic murder of European Jews, and it offers a useful opportunity for students to identify with the "villains" and "heroes" of the horror.

Triumph of the Will, Leni Riefenstahl's propaganda documentary on the sixth Nazi Party congress at Nuremberg in 1934, is too long for most courses. Yet some of the opening shots

showing Hitler as a "savior" descending from the heavens in a plane and some of the shots of the parade and rally might work to give students a visceral sense of the Hitler mystique. Filmic Archives, 1 hr., 50 min., #436B.

Weapons of the Spirit: A Documentary by Pierre Sauvage (Los Angeles: Friends of Le Chambon Foundation, 1 hr., 30 min., 1989) offers an excellent remembrance of Le Chambon by one of the children who was saved, who returned as a filmmaker forty years later to speak with residents and document their assistance in the wartime rescue.

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12. New States and New Struggles

Middle East, South Africa, China, and Vietnam, 1945–1975

This chapter looks at four post–Second World War political struggles: the creation of Israel from Palestine, South Africa, China, and Vietnam. To varying degrees they are all postcolonial, although in only two cases (Israel/Palestine and Vietnam) were these struggles part of a larger struggle to create newly independent states from the relics of European colonialism. These struggles all involved the influence of other countries in the region, although only in the case of Israel and Vietnam were they inherently regional or global conflicts. South Africa became an international concern by virtue of its membership in the British Commonwealth and as a Western proxy against racism. The internal politics of China inevitably raised global concerns because of the country's size and population.

To understand why these postwar conflicts came about requires us to diagnose where the fault lines exist in these societies. The internal conflicts may be over social, ethnic, racial, religious, or economic concerns, or over some combination of these concerns. In the case of some of these countries, the struggles discussed in these selections continue in the present, or the internal fault lines still exist. "Do these conflicts point to the new rifts of the postwar world?" "Do you think that they are likely to continue into the twenty-first century?" Finally, "How do the histories that people record and retell bridge or deepen these fault lines for the future?"

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Arab Opposition to a State of Israel

Students have already been introduced to this subject with selection 63, the Syrian Congress Memorandum (Damascus, 1919). Syrian concerns about the separation of Palestine from Syria date at least to that period. Between 1920 and 1924 Syria was divided into French and British mandates, with the British receiving control over Palestine. In 1936, demonstrations against the increased migration of European Jews into Palestine occurred in Syria (then under British mandate). Although a European Zionist movement had been urging the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine for generations, it was not until the signing of the Balfour Declaration in 1917 that Great Britain officially supported the idea of the formation of a Jewish state. After the Nazi Holocaust, the creation of this state became just a matter of time and negotiation. Various committees studied the problem in an effort to recognize the national interests of both Jews and Palestinian Arabs. The document included as selection 71 formed part of the evidence submitted by the Arab Office in Jerusalem to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in March 1946.

I ask students if the Arabs are stating opposition to the settlement of any Jews in Palestine, to increased Jewish immigration, to having a majority of Jews in Palestine, or to the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. I ask them to consider what meaning a Palestinian identity could have had for Palestinians if Palestine itself had only recently been part of Syria. I also ask students the following question: "Judging from this reading, do you think the Arabs would be able to move to Syria in the future, or to some other Arab state, without causing serious dislocation?"

Israel's Proclamation of Independence

In February 1947 Great Britain formally turned over the problem of competing claims to Palestine to the United Nations. The UN set up a special committee that recommended the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab territories that would then in two years become separate states within a larger economic union. This plan was endorsed by the UN and accepted by Jews but was opposed by all Arab governments. On May 14, 1948, this proclamation of independence was declared in Tel Aviv at a session of the forerunner of the Israeli Knesset (parliament). The next day, Great Britain formally ended its mandate, and troops from neighboring Arab countries invaded the area.

I ask students how they would weigh the Jewish claim of ancient ancestry in the land against the claim of Palestinian Arabs. "Should Jews have a right to return 'from all countries of the dispersion' after the passage of two thousand years, when in 1948 Palestinian Arabs displaced by the war and, later, refugees were not allowed to immigrate?" I ask them if they perceive any contradiction between the identity of Israel as a Jewish state and its stated commitment to the "political equality of all its citizens, without distinction of religion. . . ."

Although it is easy for students to identify the rifts between Jews and Arabs and, even more correctly, between Zionist Jews and anti-Zionist Arabs, they often need to be told that there are also important divides in Israel between secular and religious Jews and between the generally poorer Sephardic Jews who came from North Africa and the Middle East and the normally wealthier Ashkenazic Jews who emigrated from Europe. In addition, the recent wave of Russian immigrants, some of whom are not even considered to be Jewish by the Orthodox establishment, has added to these internal rifts. Students should also know that Israel has Arab citizens, both Jews and non-Jews, and that some Orthodox Jews residing outside of Israel

believe that the existence of a Jewish religious state is sacrilegious. Further, students should understand that although most Palestinians are overwhelmingly in favor of the creation of a separate Palestinian state, at least one notable Palestinian, Edward Said, has recently revived the earlier idea of having a single, nonreligious state for Jews and Muslims alike.

Verwoerd, *On Apartheid*

Like the United Nations resolution calling for the partition of Palestine into two separate states defined along ethnic and religious lines, apartheid was a policy designed to separate South African whites of European descent from blacks who were mainly Bantu tribespeople. Verwoerd and his National Party, however, could claim none of the impartiality of the United Nations. As the leader of the conservative white party, whose members were mainly Afrikaner, or Dutch South Africans, Verwoerd had little reason to direct his appeal to blacks (who were unable to vote anyway). Nevertheless, this speech appears to employ a neutral rhetorical strategy and also appears to address blacks as well as whites.

I ask students to notice how Verwoerd attempts to present apartheid as beneficial to both whites and blacks. He says that the intent of the government is to "explain" the policy. I ask students to note also that the terms *Bantu* and *European* are always used together. Verwoerd begins by asking rhetorically whether intermixing or separating the races is a better policy. At first he seems to answer the question in favor of intermixing. I then ask students to consider how a black South African would respond to Verwoerd's argument. "Where would such a person see power and privilege posing as neutrality?" I ask them to notice how a sentence like "Now examine the same question from the European's point of view" reveals far more than its author intends. Finally, I ask them why an official with all the power of the state

at his command would pretend to claim a neutrality that is clearly disingenuous. "Does it seem that the official or the state would benefit more from glossing over the racially based fault lines of South African society?" "Was this true of the religious rifts in Israel and Palestine as well?" "Who would stand to benefit from minimizing the rift between Arabs and Jews?"

Mandela, *Rivonia Trial Statement*

Mandela, like Verwoerd, speaks of the basic conflict between whites and blacks in South Africa, yet in 1964, as was the case in 1948, the racial conflict overlay the economic and social conflict to which Verwoerd had alluded. In both white and black societies, there were also internal disagreements. I ask students if they can identify any potential conflicts within the African National Congress (ANC) that Mandela minimizes. One possibility is the inherent conflict between communists and noncommunists. Another is the conflict between those who advocate violence and those who oppose the use of physical force under any circumstances. Even when on trial in 1964, Mandela, a unifying force in the ANC, downplayed these internal conflicts. You might ask students to notice how he attempts to deal evenhandedly with both sides of each debate. In terms of the larger question of the racial or economic divide, Mandela affirms that his goal is an ANC in which white members are as welcome as black, one whose main goal will be decreasing the gulf between rich and poor South Africans. As Mandela's presidency comes to an end, some people might say that he has been more successful in achieving the first goal than the second.

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Mao Zedong, *On Letting a Hundred Flowers Blossom*

Ethnic and religious rifts have existed and continue to exist in China, but the history of modern China since World War II has not been driven by such historic differences as much as by differences of socioeconomic class and political ideology. Communist Chinese ideology, as adapted from the ideas of Marx and Lenin by Mao Zedong, declared an end to the privileges enjoyed because of social class — especially those enjoyed by wealthy landowners in the countryside and by urban capitalists and pampered intellectuals. I ask students to follow Mao's rhetoric regarding intellectuals in selection 75 and to note the value he says he places on the free exchange of ideas. There are interesting contradictions evident in this selection, as Mao seems to summon all of his energy to invite criticism while at the same time answering it.

Han, *The Cultural Revolution*

Han Suyin's account in selection 76 reveals something of the rift between Chinese Communist Party zealots and intellectuals. Han Suyin is sympathetic to the Communists but is also an intellectual. During her visit to China in January of 1966 to prepare for a seminar on China, she asks a lot of questions and discusses cultural events, ballets, and operas. When she returns in May and hears talk of a "black line" that has distorted Chinese culture for the past seventeen years since the Communist revolution, she writes: "I groaned inwardly. 'That's it. The intelligentsia is going to catch it once again'" (p. 463).

Although clearly sensitive to this rift in Chinese society, Han Suyin exhibits none of Mao Zedong's need to disguise or gloss over it. "Does her own background make her oversensitive to the conflicts?" "Does she magnify the divide?" I don't know the answer to

these questions, but students might consider the way she presents Hualan's sister, her friend, on the first visit. She wants to return to painting, but she is "full of enthusiasm" (p. 461) from her recent "reeducation" in the country.

Ultimately, perhaps, Han Suyin's argument is not against the mistreatment of intellectuals as a class but against the government-enforced impoverishment of ideas caused by the suppression of criticism and by overemphasis on literalism. The anecdote that ends this selection offers a telling reminder that lockstep formulaic thinking is as much a recipe for disaster as for efficiency.

Ho Chi Minh, *The Vietnamese Declaration of Independence*

As I suggested in the headnote to selection 77, it is difficult to find any evidence of a rift in Vietnamese society in this document. Facing two enemies, Japan and France, the Vietnamese became pretty well united. Further evidence for Vietnamese unity of purpose can be found in President Eisenhower's belief that Ho Chi Minh would have received 80 percent of a national vote in 1954. Yet signs of potential conflict remain, a conflict that had been, and was to be, exacerbated on behalf of French and American interests. In his bill of particulars against the French, Ho Chi Minh wrote: "They have set up three distinct political regimes in the North, the Center, and the South of Vietnam in order to wreck our national unity and prevent our people from being united" (p. 468). This would not be a complaint worth making unless it stung. The same tactic was employed by the United States in its insistence on protecting "South Vietnam" from "North Vietnam." Indeed, there are inherent cultural differences between the regions — greater Chinese and Confucian influence in the north and greater Indian influence in the south — that go back centuries. For President Kennedy, the difference between North and

South Vietnam was symbolized by the dominance of the Communists in the north and that of large numbers of Catholics in the south (a difference engineered at least in part by the United States). It is interesting to note that the declaration itself contains no references to communism or religion.

McNamara, From *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam*

In 1981 the historian L. S. Stavrianos wrote a history of the modern world that is still well worth reading. It was inspired by the Cold War and the U.S. war in Vietnam and titled *Global Rift* (New York: William Morrow). It was just such a sense of a global rift that motivated Americans on both sides of the Vietnam debate in the 1960s and 1970s. During the Cold War, neutrality was suspect and all conflicts became global. Robert McNamara captures that sense of worldwide conflict in the memorandum he quotes in selection 78.

Americans did not reduce internal racial, socioeconomic, or cultural tensions in the '60s and '70s. Rather, they projected them outwardly and saw them acting on a global scale. "The whole world is watching" was a proud chant of protest. "The defense of the free world" was the stated rationale for America's use of its political and military power. Of course, it was the Cold War that nurtured these visions of a global conflict. I ask students if they feel that there are still worldwide tensions. "Has the victory of the United States in the Cold War enabled us to reduce the scale of our real and imagined conflicts?" "Does the end of the Cold War offer the possibility for solving existing conflicts instead of creating new ones?"

13. Women's World

1950–2000

Periodically, I remind my students that they are allowed to remember what they have already learned. I also want them to realize that they know more than they think they do. Thus, one of the things I sometimes do at the beginning of this chapter is ask them to discuss women in the twentieth century based on what they have learned from previous readings. At the very least, they can usually list the women whose work they have read or whom they have read about: Rosa Luxemburg, Han Suyin, Susan Zuccotti, and Iris Chang should come to mind in the second half of the course. If naming these women — among them a Marxist revolutionary and various writers and historians — does not lead them to formulate a general theory regarding women or women's work in the twentieth century, then perhaps the affirmation of the variety of women's lives resulting from this exercise will make us cautious about attempting such generalizations.

Is there a women's history that is different from men's? Certainly there are many individual women's histories. Should we seek to multiply these individual stories, giving each its separate voice? Or should we seek to create a history of humanity that is as dependent on women's stories as it is on men's? In this chapter I have raised more questions than I have suggested answers for, and I want students themselves to come away with more questions than I have provided here. Questions, I tell my students, are the breath of theory.

The Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China

Most of the selections in this chapter offer personal accounts of women's lives, either fictional or

biographical. I chose to begin with two other types of documents, an official law from China and an excerpt from the work of a popular U.S. writer, to set a baseline of respective expectations for two important countries of the world at the beginning of this historical period. I also call students' attention to what the expectations expressed in selections 79 and 80 suggest about their respective societies' attitudes toward women.

Although students should recognize that there is not enough information here for them to develop a cogent theory about women's rights in China or the lives of women in the United States, they should also be encouraged to theorize about this topic in response to questions. I typically ask the following questions: "Why do you think both revolutions (the Nationalist and the Communist) began with high expectations for women's rights but settled for achieving something less than originally hoped?" "Use the skill at finding social rifts that you developed in the last chapter. On the question of women's rights in China, where do you think the fault lines would fall in Chinese society?" "Pick one of the numbered articles in selection 79 and develop a theory about how different groups of people in China would respond to it."

Friedan, From *The Feminine Mystique*

In comparing Chinese and American women's attitudes, you may need to remind students that they already have read Han Suyin, who wrote at about the same time this document was written (between 1963 and 1966). There are various ways to encourage students to develop comparative theories about women in the United States and China in this period. The questions listed in the introduction to selection 80 offer some suggestions. In addition, here are some more specific questions: "Judging from information given by Han Suyin, what do you think Hualan's sister would say if she read Betty Friedan's ideas?" "How do you think Han Suyin might compare the

lives of women in China and in the United States?" "Imagine that Han Suyin is asked by her publisher whether or not *The Feminine Mystique* should be translated into Chinese for sale in China; how do you think Han would respond?"

Djebar, *Growing Up in Algeria*

In the introduction to this selection I suggest that theories may develop from answers as well as from questions. Obviously, an answer must follow a question; however, sometimes it is the question itself that first dawns on us, sometimes it is the answer that suggests itself first. It might be useful to lead students through this alternative, answer-based method. Ask the students why they believe that the narrator of the story would become more French or more Arabic. You might ask them to consider a similar situation in their own lives when they felt themselves to be torn between two cultures, two sets of ideas, or two ways of behaving. You might ask them why they made the choices that they did in their situations. What principles explained their choices? Do they think that the same principles would govern the teenager in this story?

Bedford, *Growing Up in Nigeria*

I suggest two possible strategies for developing theories in the introduction to this piece: comparing the lives of two young women in Africa or comparing their ideas about language and religion. This suggestion is intended to be open. I suggest other possibilities for developing theories as well. My point is to give students enough leeway and confidence for them to ask their own questions and come up with their own interpretive ideas.

A more directed approach would proceed along the lines of a structured comparison, for

example, with selection 81. I might ask students to draw a comparison by giving them the statement: "Simi was more [blank] than Assia." I find that students have a tendency to assume that the author and narrator of a reading are one and the same, as well as to refer to everyone by his or her first name. Then I ask them to develop a theory that explains the difference they perceive between the two. This process may require a couple of logical steps. For instance, a student might start by saying that Simi is richer than Assia. Why? Because her grandfather is very wealthy? I would ask, "Do you see any general principle there?" Maybe we can speculate about the effectiveness of returning slave families, or peanuts, or industrial fortunes, or British versus French colonialism in amassing wealth — and maybe we cannot. Not everything can be explained logically. Some people are richer (i.e., have more material resources) than others. In any case, we have very little information in this selection on which to base this judgment. Perhaps we should try to formulate another comparison or another observation about which we have more information; theories don't sprout on every bush. I ask students, "Did you notice anything else about Simi? Is there anything else that strikes you about her story?"

De Jesus, From *Child of the Dark*

Asking students what other people's theories are or might be is a way of getting them to devise their own. I find that asking students to consider the theory of an uneducated woman, even one as articulate as the author of this piece, is less intimidating to them than asking them to consider the theories of Marx or Nehru. Once students have expressed their view of "Carolina's theory," you might ask them to articulate their own theories. Students often have a difficult time distinguishing between their own theories and someone else's at first. Sometimes they will conflate or confuse the two. After a while, or with more capable students, you might continue by

asking them what someone else's theory might be in Carolina's situation. You could also ask them to consider what Marx's or Nehru's thoughts would likely be if they were in Carolina's place.

Harbury, From *Bridge of Courage*

Here I encourage students to attempt a number of previously suggested exercises, using the following questions: "What would Anita's theory be about [blank]?" "Compare Anita with Carolina. What do you think accounts for the differences or similarities you notice between them?" The introduction suggests more specific ways of setting up this comparison, e.g., in relation to poverty or revolution. Other fruitful possibilities for comparison are their respective attitudes toward men, the care of children, or women's work.

This selection also focuses the students' attention on Jennifer Harbury. What are her interests, ideas, and theories? What can we see of her and understand of her motives from this selection? In what ways is she like or unlike Anita?

This piece also raises the larger questions of the writer, the woman writer specifically, and writing itself as a defining or identifying experience, which is a matter of concern to all of these women. I ask students if they can suggest any theories about the importance of writing to these women.

Suu Kyi, From *Letters from Burma*

Asking students to construct a theory about women and politics is a far more directed exercise than that suggested in the previous questions, yet it adds another level of discipline to the same

exercise. After all, all theories are about something; they all seek to explain something; and sometimes one is required to provide a more specific explanation.

Students should also be encouraged to weigh other people's theories as part of the process of devising their own. For example, one of the issues to consider in analyzing the preponderance of female heads of state in Southeast Asia is something social scientists call the "legacy effect." "If all of the more than half dozen Southeast Asian female heads of state in recent years were daughters or widows of male leaders (including Aung San Suu Kyi), what does that suggest about the perceived role of women in Southeast Asia?"

Finally, with the help of the "Reflections" section, you might ask your students to return to some of the questions posed in the introduction to the chapter. "How would you say that women's history differs from men's?" "How might including women's history improve the history of all humanity as a definitive record of human experience?" Can students suggest any theories on that topic?

14. Globalization

1960 to the Present

This final chapter looks at what is probably the most significant development of our time: increasing global integration, interaction, and uniformity. Our selections examine globalization on numerous levels: technological, cultural, political, and economic. Each reading delineates a way in which the world is shrinking and offers an explanation of the process. We can use this chapter to help students understand and evaluate grand theories of historical change and, perhaps, to help them understand the most important changes of their lives.

ExxonMobil Corporation, *Free Markets and the Global Classroom*

This is one of a number of advertisements that ExxonMobil has placed in print media in recent years. It is part of a genre called public interest advertising. Here are some of the questions I might ask students: "How is this ad in the public interest?" "What private interests does it serve?" "How would you summarize ExxonMobil's theory of historical change?" You might encourage students to look at the Web sites for Junior Achievement (JA) and Junior Achievement International. You might ask them to consider how JA International is an example of globalization.

Hetata, *Dollarization*

"What does Hetata mean by equating globalization with 'dollarization?'" "What do you think Hetata would say about ExxonMobils' public interest advertising campaign?" "How is Hetata's

theory of global change different from ExxonMobil's? How is it similar?" I ask students to note Hetata's emphasis on both economic and cultural forces and the way the two come together in advertising. Sometimes I ask whether Hetata or his son would have benefited from Junior Achievement.

Legrain, *Cultural Globalization Is Not Americanization*

"Does globalization 'free people from the tyranny of geography' as Legrain maintains?" "What would Legrain say about Hetata's ideas on how the world is changing?" "How might Hetata reply to Legrain?" It might be interesting to have students follow one of Legrain's arguments, perhaps by focusing on a particular cultural product and studying its origins and distribution. That, of course, still leaves the question of how important such global exchange is. "If globalization is not Americanization, as Legrain argues, is it more American than something else?" "Is it more multinational than national? Is it more foreign than local? And, if so, what does it matter?"

Louie, From *Sweatshop Warriors*

This article provides an opportunity to distinguish between types of economic globalization — consumption vs. production, labor vs. capital — and to distinguish between its effects on different classes and on women vs. men.

You might ask students how the *macquiladoras* have actually *improved* the lives of Mexican women. Periodically there is a newspaper story that assesses the impact of NAFTA or some other free trade agreement after so many years. Students might be encouraged to find such an article through an online search and compare it to Louie's account.

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Barber, From *Jihad vs. McWorld*

I ask students to think of Jihad vs. McWorld as a dialectical process instead of a linear one. In a dialectical process, each opposing force feeds off the other; the forces grow and change in response to each other; and often —like cancers — they destroy the middle-ground host that gave them life in the first place. This is, I think, how Barber conceives the interaction of Jihad and McWorld and their respective encroachment on civil society. I would argue, however, that the process is more linear and less dialectical than Barber's model makes it. I think that there is a single main force, the force of the global market, represented by McWorld in Barber's view; I suspect that the many Jihads to which Barber alludes are only temporary counter forces. I don't think McWorld necessarily requires Jihad for "content," since it has proven itself to be capable of absorbing, co-opting, or recycling almost anything. My model of change would posit an integrating, globalizing, commercializing market system that suffers periodic bouts of indigestion from foreign foods or concepts that eventually become standardized and bland, properly packaged for mass consumption. But that's my view. The important question is: What do the students think?

Jurgensmeyer, From *Terror in the Mind of God*

"Is 'secular nationalism' a more powerful force of world change than economic (capitalist, market, or free-trade) globalization?" "What is the relationship between commercialization and secularization?" "Is religious fundamentalism the new revolutionary force in the world?" These are some of the questions I ask my students.

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Global Snapshots

In reading Figure 14.1, I ask students to distinguish between the size and tone indicators. Size indicates the relative percentage of carbon dioxide released by each country; tone indicates the per-capita impact. Thus, if countries were displayed only by size to show relative global impact, the United States would be much larger than it is here.

For Figure 14.2, students might do well to access the NASA images themselves since the images online might be sharper. They would clearly see the differences between coasts and inland regions, the outline of settlement on transportation routes (including the U.S. grid) and the great regional and global differences in energy consumption. A list of "things to notice about the earth at night" can be found at http://www.freemaninstitute.com/nightearth.htm.

Colombani, *We Are All Americans*

You might direct students to look for the various causal theories for 9/11 espoused in this next day's effort at understanding. Most of these—North vs. South, U.S. support of Israel, and CIA training of Afghan fundamentalists against the Soviets—are rarely mentioned in American media. As explanations they seem—even in France on September 12, 2001—irrelevant and impolite to many Americans. Colombani's main point is that nothing condones the acts of 9/11, and their very unspeakableness unites the world. Yet the rapid decline in sympathy for America in recent years may be due in part to our failure to understand some of the reasons that 9/11 occurred.

Atwood, *A Letter to America*

You might guide students to notice the similarity but subtle differences between Colombani and Atwood's identification with America. Atwood, the Canadian, emphasizes American cultural icons and literary figures; Colombani asserts a more political identity, indebtedness to the United States for French freedom, and a moral equality in response to terrorism. The obvious question, however, is, "What has happened to the world's initial sympathy since 9/11?" "Have we squandered a remarkable outpouring of goodwill?" "How does Atwood's piece speak to globalization, and how does 9/11 affect our interpretation of the trend of global integration?"