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Global Perspectives For Americans*

Clark Kerr
Chairman of Study Commission on Global Education, President Emeritus
University of California

Perspectives on the development of modern civilization. Students should have a basic knowledge of the history of the world, of the development of major world civilizations, including, particularly, knowledge of the United States as one of history's great experiments with individual freedom and political democracy. Students should also understand the geographical factors that have encouraged or hindered the development of civilizations.

An historical perspective enables people to place themselves in a temporal sequence that has a future and a past, and in a particular location geographically. Without a general sense of time and place, it is difficult to understand who you are or where you are in the long train of events that make up human history. Without it, one may become a prisoner of the present and the proximate.

1. Students should be able to identify and apply universal ideas or concepts such as culture, nationalism, technology, justice, and equality, using information and analyses drawn from history, other social sciences, the humanities, and other disciplines.

2. Through a study of other times and places, students should increase their ability to understand what motivates others and to deal constructively with diversity and ambiguity. Humanity as a whole has a history, as William McNeill puts it, "which historians may hope to understand just as firmly as they can comprehend what unites any lesser group. Instead of enhancing conflicts, as parochial historiography inevitably does, an intelligible world history might be expected to diminish the lethality of group encounters by cultivating a sense of individual identification with the triumphs and tribulations of humanity as a whole."  

Secretary of State Schultz receiving the report from Chairman Clark Kerr of the Study Commission

The United States Prepares for Its Future:
Global Perspectives in Education
A Summary of the Report of the Study Commission on Global Education
Andrew F. Smith
President
Global Perspectives in Education (GPE)*
New York, New York

PREFACE
In May of 1985, Global Perspectives in Education launched a major project to outline what students need to know to function as citizens of the United States in an interdependent world.

Dr. Clark Kerr, President Emeritus of the University of California, served as the chairman of a blue ribbon panel of leading educators, policy makers, and businessmen. A major outcome of the project was the report of the Study Commission on Global Education, The United States Prepares for Its Future: Global Perspectives in Education, which was released in May, 1987.

Drafting and redrafting the original report to represent the consensus of nineteen strong-minded commissioners was one of the world's most taxing diplomatic assignments. The attempt here to condense that 52-page report to 2,000 words was an almost impossible task. I have incorporated the major concerns of the commission and retained as much of the original language as possible. Editing has been kept to the minimum.

Continued on page 3


* In the fall of 1987, GPE merged with the National Council on Foreign Language and International Studies (NCFLIS) to create The American Forum: Education in a Global Age.
3. Students should examine and be able to account for change through time. "All is flux," as Heraclitus noted 2,500 years ago. Change is one unchanging fact of life, and various theories have been proposed to explain how historical and cultural changes take place. Students should be familiar with the most important of these. For example, McNeill holds that it is the contacts across civilizations that account for most major change: "For whenever a person encounters something curious and new, and especially when the novelty also appears to be superior to what had been familiar before, the only intelligent response is to do something about it. One may try to appropriate the new thing and make it one's own by learning how to make and use it.... One can try to disregard the offending persons and things, and hope they will not come again; or seek to drive them away by force. But to exclude a genuinely attractive novelty usually calls for strengthening local skills and institutions."2 Contacts at the borders, and through migration and travel, in this view, force civilizations either to change internally, to resist external challenges, or to adopt or adapt the new thing.

Cultural understanding. Students should be able to understand their own and other cultures.

1. Students should have a thorough knowledge and understanding of American society; its culture, its history, and its background in foreign histories; its structure of government and particularly the principles and values underlying the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights. They should be able to comprehend American economic values and institutions, to understand cultural values that inform the arts, literature, and religion, and to appreciate the implications for our democratic way of life of the changing composition of the population by race, age, ethnic, cultural, social, and economic groupings. Each person participates in a number of subcultures: is a member of a family, has a religious background, is rich or poor, speaks a primary language, and is a member of a variety of organizations. The school itself is a practical example of diversity in cultures and values and can serve as a model for students examining these issues. This is particularly true of schools in the nation’s metropolitan areas.

2. Students should study cultural systems world-wide and understand the diversity of values found among different individuals and groupings of persons around the world, including those who have come to, or been brought to, the United States.

3. Students at all levels and ages should be able to understand how different values and cultural patterns are different responses to common needs. Students need to become aware of their own unique personal perspective that is not shared in its entirety with anyone else, and to appreciate that others' perspectives may also have validity. They also need to understand the unique American culture of which they are a part that has developed its own responses to universal needs. Examining how different people and cultures respond to common problems under different circumstances should lead students to understand and appreciate diversity.

END NOTES

2. Ibid, p.75.

WORLD HISTORY BULLETIN

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The World History Bulletin, newsletter of the World History Association, is published twice per year: Fall/Winter and Spring/Summer. The Bulletin is sent to all members of the World History Association. Dues are $10.00 per year for regular members ($2.00 for students, unemployed, disabled, and senior citizens) and should be sent to Joe Dixon, Executive Director, 808 Fillmore Street, Papillion, NE 68128. The World History Association is a scholarly, nonpolitical, nonprofit, professional association and is open to all persons interested in world history. Notices, announcements, and short articles dealing with world history should be sent for consideration to the Editor, World History Bulletin, Dept. of History/Politics, Drexel University, Philadelphia, PA
of information sources. The call for impartiality and balance on the part of teachers is not a call for blandness or avoidance of controversial issues; it is, rather, a call for academic professionalism. Students should be encouraged to discuss the merits of alternative solutions, to make choices among them, and to support their choices with evidence and reasoned arguments. They should also be encouraged to engage in developing among themselves mutually acceptable solutions to dilemmas in their own school and community in order to gain experience in the democratic processes of conflict resolution and public choice.

The role of teachers. Recent national educational reports almost unanimously recommend changes in the role and status of teachers, as well as changes in the education of teachers. In general, they suggest that teachers should be educated and treated more as professionals. Teachers, principals, and parents should be encouraged to participate in policy-making at the school and in evaluating the quality of curricular materials and student learning.

Attributes of professionalism include: accuracy in the use of facts, fairness in the presentation of alternative choices or policy formulations, and support of student participation. As professionals, teachers must avoid advocacy of their own viewpoints or those of special interests, and must be advocates, instead, of careful scholarship. Their students should learn to think analytically about complex issues, to distinguish fact from opinion, and to recognize bias, advocacy, and propaganda, not only in presentations by others but in their own views, too.

If teachers are to act in these professional and responsible ways, they need support. They need a broad education that itself includes a global perspective, now almost universally missing from teacher education programs. In the classrooms they need support in the form of time to prepare their courses, adequate materials to use in their courses, and continuing education in how to update their knowledge and skills.

Governmental and community support. Schooling in the United States is traditionally state and local in control and financing and, thus, support at these levels is crucial to the kinds of changes we suggest. Additionally, because research indicates that most significant change in education takes place within the individual school, we encourage school-site teams made up of principal, teachers, parents, and other knowledgeable and interested persons to develop global education programs that are relevant to the community.

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

Because of the many essential tasks that Americans ask of their schools, and because we endorse a plurality of missions, we are not proposing specific new courses to attain the goals we set out in this report, although some schools and districts may wish to consider them. Rather, we are advocating new approaches and new content for existing courses.

We make specific policy recommendations in eight areas. Briefly stated, they are:

1. States and local school districts should highlight in their policy directives existing goals pertaining to citizenship education and to global understanding. Studies of state and district documents reveal that many states already have goals for students that, if implemented, would provide a basis for citizenship education and global awareness.

2. States and school districts should implement these goals as part of a developmental long-term plan. Gradual development and introduction of a global perspective in schools, along with wide participation and consultation, provide opportunities for preparation of improved teaching materials, for accumulation of experience with interactive teaching methods, for advancing public recognition of the importance of a global perspective, and for improvement in teacher education.

3. Teacher involvement in the planning and implementation process is essential. Teachers need adequate freedom to select teaching materials and to determine teaching methods, and they should be given adequate working time for preparation.

4. While programs and curricular design should be a matter for state and local determination, we believe that schools should provide a program of studies that includes the component systems of the world, the history of humanity as a whole, cultural patterns of the world, and major policy issues of our nation and the world.

5. Teachers should bring to the classroom from their collegiate experiences a broad but integrated education that encourages curiosity about connections among the classroom, the school, and the world at large.

6. School, college, and community partnerships should be encouraged in teacher education and in the development of global awareness materials for classroom use.

7. States should support curriculum development and design centers. Evaluation of curricular materials produced should be undertaken to determining their effectiveness in increasing knowledge, fostering global awareness, and stimulating analytical and integrative thinking skills among educators and students.

8. Private sector organizations, especially philanthropic foundations, should support development of curricular materials, organization of school/college consortia for global education, conferences of educators to discuss global perspectives curricula, and program evaluations projects.

**STUDY COMMISSION ON GLOBAL EDUCATION**

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April 28, 1988:
9:30 a.m. Renaissance in Comparative Perspective. William Bouwsma, University of California at Berkeley. Marilyn Waldman, The Ohio State University.

1:30 p.m. Cities as Cultural Centers. Florence: Lauro Martines, UCLA. Herat: Maria Subteiny, University of Toronto. Beijing: Edward Parmer, University of Minnesota.

April 29, 1988:

April 30, 1988:

1:30 p.m. Individuality and Society. China: Kandice Hauf, Auburn University. China: Wei Ming Tu, Harvard University.

For information please contact: Artemis Leontis, Symposium Coordinator, Center for Comparative Studies in the Humanities, 306 Dulles Hall, 230 W. 17th Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43210-1311. Phone 614-292-2559.
Native Americans and World History

Courses

Lynda Shaffer
Tufts University

The 500th Anniversary of 1492 is just five years away. Surely it is a year worth commemorating. Few of us would hesitate before putting the voyages of Columbus on a list of the ten most important events in world history. But I wonder, in these remembrances are we all going to be in the boats with Columbus? Or are some of us going to be here already?

In an effort to ensure that our courses are a better reflection of past and present realities, many of us are conscientious about including the Asians, Latin Americans, and Africans, as well as the Europeans in the vision of the world that we present to students. But there is one group that is usually missing from both our courses and our consciousness. Ironically, it is the people closest to home, the people who already lived within the bounds of what is now the United States when Columbus came.

If we were asked why we leave out the Native Americans, a number of excuses might be forthcoming. Many people still believe that there never were very many of them, and that only an insignificant few survived the arrival of people and diseases from the Eastern Hemisphere. And some would no doubt attribute the gap in our courses to a lack of appropriate material.

These excuses, however, are grossly out of date. Estimates of the pre-Columbian population living north of the Rio Grande now go as high as 18,000,000.1 And even though Eastern Hemisphere diseases did decimate this population, many have clung tenaciously to their lives and their cultures. In November 1979 a Current Population Survey (CPS) done by the Census Bureau revealed close to 10,000,000 people of Native American ancestry.2 Nor can we plead a lack of material. In recent decades there has been a steady stream of excellent studies that illuminate the history of Native Americans and the significant role that they have played in North American history and, thus, in world history.3

They are still missing from "our" history and our courses simply because we remain the captives of an outdated historiography.

American history, for the most part, is little more than the story of the English-speakers. We tend to omit the French and Spanish-speaking realms in North America, not to mention the many Native Americans who lived within them, and thus we leave the impression that these areas (that is all of the United States west of the Appalachians) were of little or no significance until the nineteenth century when large numbers of English-speakers appeared on the horizon.

Indeed, American historians have had difficulty seeing the Native Americans even in those areas where English-speakers were numerous. The reason, simply put, is that "they" were on "our" promised land. It was very inconvenient. It is much easier to tell the story of the Pilgrims' progress if the original Americans are allowed to fade into the woodwork. Thus emerged the image of a few roving bands in a virgin forest. In truth the Native Americans living east of the Appalachians, in close proximity to the English-speakers, were farmers, as well as hunters. And even though many were commuters, with winter homes in the woods and summer gardens near the coast, they had fixed abodes and were well aware of what was theirs and what was not.

But, as residents of a far eastern hinterland, the coastal peoples were not typical of the continent. Prior to 1492 the majority of the population lived west of the Appalachians, between these mountains and the Great Plains, and the largest cultural, economic, and political centers were along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. (The Indians thought of these two as the same river. They considered the Ohio to be the first part of the Mississippi, and the Mississippi above the Ohio to be a tributary. Pre-1492 Native American history is much easier to grasp if one sees it this way.)

In this Mississippian heartland the peoples were fundamentally farmers. They lived in towns and villages, and even in urban settlements. Cahokia, located near present-day St. Louis, was the largest center. It was about the same size as its contemporary, Tula, the capital of the Toltecs. (At their peaks, they were both about five or six square miles in area, with a population estimated as high as 35,000 to 40,000.) The arrival of the Spaniards and French did bring tumultuous change into the lives of the Mississippian peoples, but it did not dispossess them of their lands. Their conquest came only with the arrival of English-speakers equipped with rifles and railroads, the products of the Industrial Revolution.

Even though we no longer have any legitimate excuses for leaving them out, there are some real problems that occur when one begins to include the Native Americans in a course. Some parts of their history can be so depressing as to be debilitating. And teachers and students who have been taught to identify only with the English-speakers raise the issue of guilt.

Since our purpose is to understand the past and present, and not to depress our students or to burden them with the sins of the ancestors, regardless of ethnic heritage, these issues must be confronted. And there are ways to deal with them. Indeed, we already have some practices in dealing with similar problems. The democrats of ancient Greece owned slaves, and so did Thomas Jefferson. The Carolingian kings massacred the recalcitrantly pagan Saxons. The Nazis murdered six million Jews. We have gotten used to teaching and thinking about these realities, and we cope with them. And we can learn to cope with American history.

"The democrats of ancient Greece owned slaves, and so did Thomas Jefferson."

It helps to discuss this problem with Native American teachers. They have a lot of practice on this score. A Lakota woman who has a Ph.D. in education once suggested that the main theme should be survival, in spite of everything. The Native Americans have survived, and their cultures, too, to an amazing extent. Now there is a happy theme and we can all rejoice in it. And we can celebrate it by learning something about Native American culture.

Native American teachers also suggest that it is not a good idea to teach only the Pre-Columbian history and culture of the Native American. We should be careful not to leave the impression that they still live as they did four or five hundred years ago. This encourages a tendency to judge contemporary Native Americans as somehow less authentic, or not even Indian,
because they, too, are creatures of the twentieth century. Like everything else that lives, Native American culture has continued to change, and that evidence of vitality should not be used to disallow the heritage. At a recent conference, a man was heard to remark, "We are not museum-pieces, frozen in the seventeenth century. We drive cars and watch TV." His point is well taken. To be an English-speaker you do not have to live like Shakespeare, and to be an Indian you do not have to dress in deerskins.

"To be an English-speaker you do not have to live like Shakespeare, and to be an Indian you do not have to dress in deerskins."

Native American literature can also supply a wealth of ideas about how to address these problems. For example, in a volume of short stories collected by Simon Ortiz and entitled *Earth Power Coming*, there are three stories, in particular, that are exceedingly helpful. Indeed, they are so good and so relevant that everyone should consider including them on their list of required readings, even if that is all that one can manage to do with regard to Native American history.

The first, "Report to the Nation: Claiming Europe" is by Carter Revard, an Osage with a Ph.D. in medieval English literature. He deftly satirizes both European history and the accounts of European claimers of the Western Hemisphere, and the more you know about these two subjects, the funnier this story is. And because he often explains European things by referring to Osage celebrations and to Coyote, a character in Native American lore, he piques your curiosity about Native American culture.

The main character in Revard's story is an Osage and a Rhodes scholar. Having just finished his degree at Oxford, he embarks upon a tour of Europe, claiming it as he goes for the Osage Empire. No sooner has the expedition begun than our explorer gets into an argument with the natives regarding what can properly be called the Thames, and what parts of this river should be considered tributaries and called by other names.

After disposing of England, he proceeds to France, rents a Renault, drives up to the top of some mountains, and claims all that he can see for the Osage. (There's no problem with the rental car. European claimers also used local transport facilities. And, it does not matter that the French did not know that they were being claimed. Neither did the Osage.) Eventually he gets to Narbonne, which he points out was the place where Europe's Spirit of Inquiry began, that is, the first site of the Inquisition.

He follows the trail of the Western Civilization course back to Rome and Pompeii, where he discusses how you can be preserved by destruction, and then proceeds to Greece. It is there that he has his first crisis of conscience. After all, the Greeks never had any part in Western Hemisphere claiming. Furthermore, there is the question of whether or not the Osage really want these pagans, especially Oedipus, or the modern Greeks, for that matter. And would it be worth it, the effort to civilize the natives? Could the Osage claim them without conquering them? And what about the Arabs, the Indians, and the Chinese? Should they be claimed too? In the end, he decides just to bring it all home to the Osage in his word-processor.

Those who are familiar with the European claimers' accounts will discern only one important omission in Revard's Osage expedition. The Europeans usually did their exploring in this hemisphere with local guides, often women like Malinche who showed Cortez around and Sacajawea, the teen-aged mother who took Lewis and Clark to the Pacific. The Osage claimer, on the other hand, appears to have done his exploring without any assistance from the native women. While this difference should by no means be allowed to invalidate his claims, it does seem to be evidence of an unnecessary degree of independence.

"The Europeans usually did their exploring in this hemisphere with local guides, often women like Malinche who showed Cortez around...

The second piece is by Jack Forbes, an Indian from California. When he wrote it, he knew exactly what we needed for our courses: something short, like a two-page story called, "Only Approved Indians Can Play: Made in U.S.A." The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) has set up a basketball tournament and the contenders in question are a team from Arizona and a team from the Great Lakes region. But before the game even begins, there is a contest over who can eliminate the most players from the opposing team, a process that starts with a northern challenge of the tallest and presumably best member of the Arizona team.

Since the BIA rules require that all players be at least twenty-five percent Indian, the way to disqualify people is to say that they are not Indians. The people from Arizona think Indians are people who can speak their native language, and the people from the Great Lakes think Indians are people who carry BIA cards. And since the BIA is running the contest, you can guess who wins, not by playing the game, but by forcing the Arizona team to forfeit for lack of players. Losing because of a lack of players is an important theme in Native American history, but, of equal importance, Forbes raises the question of just who is an Indian. And who decides? Indeed, who decides who any of us are?

The third story is "Pilgrims," by Roxy Gordon, a Choctaw from Dallas. The main character is a West Texas Commanche who has eventually ended up in Oklahoma. In his very old age, he is possessed by the idea that he wants to go on a pilgrimage to Bead Mountain, his ancestral home. His son, who was born in Oklahoma and has never seen the homeland, agrees to take him and bundles his father, wife, and son into the camper.

Now this car-load of Indians pulls into a tiny West Texas town straight out of Larry McMurtry's *Last Picture Show*. The barber, a middle-aged busyboby, spots them and goes to investigate. When he finds out that they are Indians, he immediately thinks of old Dock Middleton, a rancher who had fought the Commanches for Bead Mountain back when he was a Texas Ranger. The barber calls Dock and holds the Indians at the barber shop until he arrives. Then both the barber and the old ranger slide into the camper with the Indians to go in search of Bead Mountain.

So far we have been looking from the outside in, and the awkward gap has been between the Indians and the Anglos. But Roxy Gordon pulls a trick. When this crowd starts walking up to the top of the mountain, he puts you inside the head of each, and there you find something unexpectedly different. The antagonism is not between the two very old enemies, but
between them and the next generation. In the end, the Comanche and the Ranger have more in common with each other than with their descendants.

Gordon subtly suggests that good old enemies become mirror-images of each other, and that in historical encounters of long-standing, especially in cultural confrontations, the two sides become melded to each other, for better and for worse. In the mental flashbacks of the Comanche and the Ranger he makes no effort to hide how outrageous they were to each other. But it is just as clear that there is a kinship between them. They alone remember this place and what it meant. It was here that they tangled in close combat and became intimate. The descendants, on the other hand, have no idea what is going on. Whether they are Indian or Anglo, the significance of this mountain escapes them.

The children of these intimate encounters, the children of the cultural frontiers, are not simply the descendants of one side or the other. We are neither our fathers nor our mothers. We are all new beings created not only by the collision, but by the results of that collision, including the syncretic world that emerged from it. To know truly who we are and to be at peace with that knowledge, we must be willing to claim them all as our ancestors, winners of the day and losers too, regardless of gene pool or gender. And we must recognize all of our siblings and cousins.

The recognition of this ability to claim as our own a multitude of cultural ancestors, does not in any way diminish the significance of the particular lineages into which we were born. On the contrary, it lends these lineages and their traditions greater importance, for their continued celebration will enrich the understanding and enhance the capabilities of all of us. This point has been made most succinctly by Romila Thapur in an article that she wrote on the belated inclusion of the peoples and places of the Ganges River Valley into the Indian epics (which originally were set in the Indus River Valley). Just in passing, she wrote:

The most significant clue to assimilation lies not so much in the loss of ethnic identity as in participation in the sense of the past.\(^5\)

So far we have denied Native Americans any role in world history simply because they were here in what became the United States, and not on some other continent, and in so doing we are denying them any place in the world. But, as world history teachers, we need not be bound by an American historiography that has yet to claim them as a part of us. Our sense of the past can and should include all those who have shaped our present, including those of us who were here when Columbus came.

END NOTES

1. Readers interested in questions of Native American demography should consult the work of Henry Dobyns and his critics.

2. U.S. Department of Commerce, Ancestry and Language in the United States, November 1979. Current Population Reports, Series P23 #116. Mentioned in U.S. Department of Commerce, Ancestry of the Population by State. 1980 Census of Population Supplementary Report (PC 80-S1-10), pp. 4-5. The number of people who reported Native American ancestry on the 1979 Current Population Survey (9,900,000) is much larger than the number who reported it on the 1980 census (6,715,819). The Census Bureau has more confidence in the 1980 Census figures, since the sample is much larger. However, there seems to me to be good reason to prefer the number obtained from the 1979 survey. In the survey all responses were obtained by interviews. In order to respond the other ninety-five percent had to fill out and return a form that came in the mail.

These numbers, compiled from answers to Question 14 on ancestry, should not be confused with the numbers compiled by answers to Question 4. Question 4 did not ask for ancestry, but for a person's current identity. (People who reported Aleut, Eskimo, or Greenlander ancestry [some 63,400 on the 1980 census] are not included in any of the Native American totals.)

3. One can obtain an abundance of materials (bibliographies and papers on how to include Native American history in American history) by writing to the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian, The Newberry Library, 60 West Walton Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610.


Book Reviews

The West and the World Since 1945

Here is a supplemental text that is precisely titled. Those needing an up-to-date, post-World War Two summary to conclude a primarily Western Civilization course will find it here. Four well-written chapters cover: The Conflict Between Two Superpowers; The Prosperity of the Western Nations; The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations; and The Western Spirit.

Blackburn has not produced a world history. China, Zaire, and Brazil are used as examples of the developing world and its problems. However, emphasis is on general problems rather than on national politics; the writer clearly was sensitive to the need for flexibility in the use of his book. There are many references to the Third World that might permit a lengthy digression, broadening the scope of the text itself. Alliances and rivalries of the Cold War, for example, are referred to globally. Terms such as détente, Cuban missile crisis, and the non-aligned movement are among these.

United States history is included, not neglected as in most European history texts. Summaries of such events as the civil rights movement explain directly, while comparison with the European experience of post-war prosperity, reflected in growing university enrollment among other things, teaches our own history via the similarities. Blackburn's book completes a series
by the publisher: America Since 1945 is a collection of readings in its fourth edition; Europe Since 1945, now in a second edition, covers the Continent.

The final chapter of The West and the World Since 1945 is of particular interest to fifty-year-old professors. The "ideas and beliefs" it summarizes include those of the fifties and sixties, as developed in books we were too busy with our studies to read, and in an era before a pervasive media defined which concepts are "in." The topics are broad, however, and offer hope of stimulating comment from the students of the eighties. Space and computers bring the chapter up-to-date.

This text is well-organized, and willing to raise such issues as "limits to growth." It is without dogmatic bias. There are a few useful maps and illustrations; the book appears to be an easy read, despite its considerable contents. As a Eurocentric history of the last forty years, Blackburn should serve as a suitable culmination of a year's survey course.

Gary Kuhn
University of Wisconsin - La Crosse

Along with many fine maps, another salient feature is the illustrated time-line charts covering several centuries, which are repeated at the start of the relevant chapters. But like the book generally, these are packed with European events and half-blank for other regions. The illustrations range from precious items such as a Russian beard license, and a "cheating shirt for use in civil service examinations" to mere portraits; some photos lack sufficient, instructive captions.

The current text is clearly a first edition. Revisions may fill in some details for regions such as India, where maharaja and Rajput appear only in the earliest chapter. A concluding chapter on development problems of the Third World would help. The Bulletin should publish a column of commentary by current users of Chodorow and others of the new generation of world history texts.

Gary Kuhn
University of Wisconsin - La Crosse

A History of the World

A year ago, Chodorow et al. was among the candidates for common adoption for the world history course at my university. Its main advocate was our specialist on Africa and East Asia. He noted that this text -- alone among those we examined -- had shifted to pinyin spelling. The old form of Chinese names are only given initially in parentheses and cross-listed in the index.

The first text we saw was a massive, intimidating single volume. Much more attractive are the softcover volumes, published a bit later last year. The type is small, yet there is lots of white space in the ample margins -- will students really make notations in them? The style seems "topic-sentence"; each paragraph clearly conveys its information.

There is an avowed European emphasis. The preface calculates that eighteen of the forty-six chapters are non-Western. It claims, however, that only during the era of European worldwide ascendency is there a primary focus on the West. The nineteenth century chapters are particularly thorough for Europe, but neglect other regions. East Asia is clearly in second place by coverage.

Latin America, this reviewer's specialty, gets modest attention throughout, with emphasis on earlier centuries. There is enough on the pre-Columbian, conquest, colonial, independence, and caudillo eras, that the instructor has a textual base at least from which to provide depth. Hacienda is one term not appearing that might be introduced. Recent Latin America is ignored except by mention of a few names and crises.

Other secondary regions do receive a certain attention, providing a place to introduce them into a course. It is good to find John A. Macdonald and the opportunity to discuss Canada. There is a good map of nineteenth century Southeast Asia.

Without doubt revolution constitutes one of the most important themes of modern world history. Scholars and the general public alike do, however, use the term with remarkable inconsistency, amounting to what might be called "concept abuse." They stretch "revolution" to encompass a multitude of highly disparate developments: the Industrial Revolution, the Consumer Revolution, the Youth Revolution, the Revolution of Expectations, the Revolution in Physics, the Russian Revolution, the Sexual Revolution. This confusion results in part from the inadequacies in defining the concept; even most scholars writing on revolution in the realm of politics offer no definition. Some apparently conceive of revolution in narrowly political terms (a radical change in government) while others emphasize the socioeconomic ramifications.

However broadly or narrowly one applies the concept to political phenomena, it is clear that the past several centuries have been marked by many revolutions, successful or abortive. Like many scholars Andrew Wheatcroft views revolution as a distinctly modern development, with the American Revolution (1765-1775) as the progenitor (but not the prototype) of the form. Hence, possible earlier revolutions such as that of the Qin (Ch'in) in ancient China are ignored. Wheatcroft's atlas is a welcome resource tool and possible secondary text for teachers of world history. With maps, photographs, and essays the author discusses thirty cases of revolution. Because the author offers no particular definition or unifying criteria of revolution his cases are a mixed bag: obvious candidates like the French, Spanish, American, first Chinese, second Chinese, Japanese (Meiji), Mexican, Russian, Italian (fascist), Nazi, Algerian, Indo-Chinese, Kenyan (Mau Mau), Cuban, Southern African, Ethiopian, and Iranian revolutions; and more debatable or disputed cases like Ireland (1798), the 1848 European rebellion, the Sepoy rebellion in India, Italy (1860), the Saudi ascendency in Arabia, Paris
(1871), Turkey (1918-1935), Cyprus (1955-1960), Palestine (1934-1982), and the U.S. Civil Rights Movement. This is perhaps too wide a net for the specialists on revolution; but it may enhance the value as a teaching tool.

In general Wheatcroft presents revolution as essentially an event rather than a process, so that the longer-term transformation of society is often neglected. Indeed, the author intends to emphasize the antecedents rather than the later course of events. Hence, the Spanish Revolution of 1836 is portrayed in a limited sense rather than in the larger context of the Spanish Civil War. The chapter on Indochina covers the three decades of conflict but ends with the fall of Saigon in 1976. On the other hand the discussion of China stretches from 1923 to 1976 (the end of the Cultural Revolution). Wheatcroft tends toward pessimism on revolutionary consequences, concluding that they generally add to rather than alleviate misery.

Yet, while the essays do provide considerable data they often neglect socioeconomic frameworks and causes. Thus, the essay on Indochina ignores the human impact of destructive French colonial policies on the Vietnamese; it also neglects the international context (the anticommunist mood in Western Europe and the U.S.; wartime OSS assistance to Ho Chi Minh; U.S. financial support for France in the first Indochina war; etc.). The essay on Cuba allocates only a half-paragraph to the nature and policies of the Batista regime. Sometimes important revolutions do not receive the attention that they merit. For example, Nicaragua and El Salvador enjoy only two paragraphs in a larger chapter on Latin America from 1960-1982. Minor problems crop up here and there (Wheatcroft confuses Equatorial Guinea and Portuguese-ruled Guinea-Bissau). Furthermore, the bibliography is quite incomplete, ignoring many important general studies on modern revolution. The two color maps are sometimes inadequate. Despite these deficiencies, this atlas could fit quite well into a course that identified revolution as one of the key concepts to be discussed; the case studies add depth to more general textbook treatments of global history.

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The Human Perspective: Readings in World Civilization

Teachers of world history, who cover epochs if not eons at a single bound, struggle to avoid the pitfall of excessive abstraction. Examples of the rich diversity of the human side of history are not easily added to a syllabus which must cover several civilizations and at least several hundred years of history. The Human Perspective: Readings in World Civilization makes available for use in world history courses a sampling of the excellent recent work in social history. (In fact, more than half the selections are from works published in the 1980s.) Evenly balanced between Western and non-Western selections, the anthology includes materials relating to four general categories: "the life and times of individuals, technological innovations and their effect on societies, women and minorities, and education and recreation." The materials are also selected to give balanced chronological coverage from ancient times to the present, with the break between volumes occurring at about 1660.

In general the quality of the selections is high. Exposing students to the work of John Romer, Jeannine Auboyer, Lynn White, Eileen Power, Joseph Needham, David Herlihy, David Landes, John U. Nef, Paul Bohannan, Philip Curtin, Mark Elvin, Jonathan D. Spence, Daniel R. Headrick, and others will be a major benefit of using the book. There is an extensive use of history written for popular audiences. In most cases, the use of articles in History Today, Smithsonian, Natural History, and so forth, contributes to the high level of readability characteristic of the selections and permits a comprehensive treatment of subjects which are not so concisely discussed elsewhere. The selection from History Today, "Clocks: A Revolution in Time" by David Landes (January, 1984, pp.19-26), is a good example.

In some cases, however, excerpts from broad synthetic works are not so successful. For example, it is unlikely that most historians would put forward the selections on "The Emergence of Team Sports: Baseball's Early Years," from William J. Baker, Sports in the Western World (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1982, pp.115-17, 138-50) or "High Tech/High Touch," by John Naisbitt (from Megatrends, New York: Warner Books, 1984, pp.35-52) as examples of effective argument from evidence.

One selection in Volume I is from a work which attempts to deal with the topic "Sport in Pre-Industrial Culture" in twenty-seven pages (Sport: A Cultural History, by Richard D. Mandell, New York: Columbia University Press, 1984, pp.88-105). The selection included ranges from the Indus to modern Japanese Judo to the Muslim polo fields of Isfahan, omitting only the author's discussion of sport in ancient Mexico.

In spite of this the selection is called, "Sport in China and Japan: A Brief Survey," a title far more specific than the subject matter or the extremely diffuse argument of the chapter. Notwithstanding one sentence in the introduction which refers to the broader scope of the chapter, both the title and the introduction of this selection poorly prepare the reader for what is to follow.

In general, the weakest section of the two volumes is the part dealing with the twentieth century. Here are concentrated several articles which are either weak in terms of argument and use of evidence or which take polemical positions rather than describe societies. Perhaps some users of the book will welcome an article on South Africa which opposes sanctions; surely many others will not. The article on China presents a one-sided view of an embittered survivor of the Cultural Revolution. Some users of the book will welcome the opportunity to discuss the failure of China to achieve liberal democracy, but others would have preferred a less strident view of contemporary China and one that helps our students get beyond their cultural prejudices. Both of these articles will tend to date the book and limit its potential...
readership. The failure to include any selection on wars of
liberation misses one of the most widespread aspects of the
twentieth-century human experience.

The Human Perspective will coordinate easily with any
standard world history text. The length of the selections (4.5-28
pages, median length 11-12 pages) makes it reasonable to assign
them as supplementary readings, and the anthology has several
features designed to help integrate it into the broader course.
Each selection is introduced with a chronological chart (as in
Chodorow et al., A History of the World, 1986, also published
by Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch) which places the selections in
historical context. Section introductions discuss the general his-
torical trends illustrated by the selections to follow. Brief bibli-
ographic essays at the end of each selection point out relevant ad-
ditional reading. Finally, there are ten discussion questions at
the end of the three sections of each volume.

The discussion questions may be useful to some instructors,
but are likely to be ignored by many. It is always difficult to
compose questions for someone else, and that is particularly true
here where the questions have been designed to help integrate
these largely unrelated readings into a context provided by an un-
specified general textbook. Frequently this problem is addressed
by asking the student to draw relationships among the readings
themselves. In other cases the questions assume knowledge of
"Marxism" or some other phenomenon which may or may not
have been adequately discussed elsewhere in the course. Often
students are led to questions which are extremely general --
whether competition is inherent in sport or what the appropriate
role of universities is. Such questions may stimulate meaning-
ful discussion, but often they call for background information
not provided in the selection and not likely available to the stu-
dent from other sources. This will limit the usefulness of the
questions, but since they are presented in separate sections in-
structors who wish to ignore the questions will not find it diffi-
cult to do so.

While instructors may want to omit parts of the anthology in
any specific course, the important news is that there is available
a world history reader containing high quality, readable materials
which will enliven world history courses and introduce our stu-
dents to the rich mine of recent social history. There is room for
improving The Human Perspective (including correcting typos),
but it is a welcome addition to the world history classroom as it is.
Kathleen Greenfield
Albright College

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A Method For The Madness: Interdiscipli-

dinary Approaches to Teaching

World History *

Melvin E. Page

Formerly Coordinator of World Civilization Courses at

Murray State University. Currently, Professor &

Chairman of the History Department, East Tennessee

State University

Returning to my office, I seriously questioned what I was
doing in trying to teach world history to those students. When
the young man raised his question it was sensible enough. How
could any society willingly condone the burning of a widow on
her husband's funeral pyre? His sense of incredulity at my
attempts to explain the custom of sutee as practiced in India was
certainly shared by his fellow students, and by British colonial
administrators who struggled so hard to eliminate it. What
worried him, I assumed, was the willingness with which Indian
traditionalists -- and even at times nationalists -- defended the
practice.

My explanation, that this practice was symbolic of Indian
identity under colonial rules was clearly insufficient. What my
student wanted to know was how anybody could do that. Quite
simply, he was appalled at this strange practice of another culture
and was seeking some way to make it compatible with his own
standards of behavior. No matter how hard I tried to explain the
basis of the practice in Hindu religious belief, in Indian social
structures, or as a historic pattern of life, my student was unable
to accept it. And for him, this meant that he was unable to
understand it as well.

Comparable to his frustration was my own. In taking on the

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* This paper was presented earlier to a conference at Michigan
State University, April 21-23, 1985, and has been published in
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Civilization or World History? (Lansing, 1985). Reprinted here
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hope to understand well, which we can come to "feel" instead of, at best, describe. The task would simply be outside the realm of possibility for any one of us.

Even if we could understand merely enough about other cultures to enable us to teach, in a thoroughly informed manner, a course in world history, how could we decide what to teach? When offering American surveys, and surely in Western civilization courses, our colleagues ask, "How far did you get this semester?" And they frequently confess (as we have too!), "I just never seem to get to the Second World War, even though the syllabus says 'to the present!"' In our teaching of world history, the amount of material "to cover" is even greater, more it seems than we can cope with.

One solution might be to define our period narrowly: world history since 1500, or since 1800; perhaps even world history in the twentieth century. Yet even when we narrow the time framework, our choices remain monumental, and to be effective teachers we must make choices about the material we teach. In such circumstances, William McNeill has reminded us on numerous occasions, it is simply a matter of reaching the appropriate level of generalization. He acknowledges, though, this may not be easy.2

Indeed, a prominent American historian in Kentucky recently wondered about this in a newspaper review of C.V. Wedgwood's new world history. "How can any historian," he wrote, "possibly be fair to the literally thousands of cultures ... [and] civilizations that have existed? How can anyone know enough to generalize about such diverse aspects as literature, religion and the like?"3 His is a valid point.

"As scholars we are trained to be cautious of generalizations."

As scholars we are trained to be cautious of generalizations. Historians are well-known practitioners of the inductive method, wanting to be certain the evidence has been carefully and completely accumulated before reaching even the most basic general conclusions. And this tendency has carried over into our teaching. We usually plan our courses for the maximum "coverage" of factual information in preference to generalizations about the subject matter. Such an approach to our teaching can easily lead us to select so much factual data that we cannot even achieve the goal of complete "coverage" of the material.

When our teaching takes this direction, it therefore mirrors our backgrounds as historians. As students, we were expected to have command of the facts. Our favorite courses were frequently those taught by instructors who could manage "coverage," and

"As students, we were expected to have command of the facts."

accomplish it with interest. As budding scholars, we were admonished to be in command of "the facts," and our generalizations were often challenged by more senior researchers. As we began teaching, there is little wonder that we emulated models which had been thrust upon us. And at our best we were rewarded by the interest of students who, as we had done, praised the ability to manage "coverage," while keeping it interesting.

"On the surface, world history is also education for citizenship."

Yet, such experiences usually preceded our engagement with world history in the classroom. Faced with that new challenge, "coverage" became impossible, and we find ourselves wondering how we can possibly teach world history --all of it-- in a single course! No matter what our specialty, what our background, the task seems beyond our abilities, the execution beyond even our presumptions.

How are we to find a level of generalization appropriate to the situation? The answer can be found, I believe, by first recognizing that the heuristic value of world history is fundamentally different from that of American history or Western civilization.

First the U.S. survey and later Western civilization appeared in college curricula in this country, not simply to satisfy a thirst for knowledge. Both were intended to provide educated young Americans with some reasonable sense of their past, and hence the basis of their culture. Put in simplest terms, these courses represented education for citizenship. On the surface, world history is also education for citizenship; its recent introduction on many campuses and its place as a mandatory course on some (Murray State University, for example) have been based on such argument.4 But in this case the citizens--our students--are not to be grounded in their own culture; they are instead to become more knowledgeable about and, more importantly, understanding of other cultures.

To provide such an understanding to our students, we need not give them "coverage" of even the highpoints of the past of each civilization. We must instead give them a sense of what each major world civilization is about, not just presently but how it developed the traditions which most clearly characterize it. At best, we would want them not to judge another culture, but to attempt an understanding of it on its own terms. As I sometimes tell my students, I hope they will come to appreciate "why the funny folks do the funny things"; that is, I hope they will realize that strange societies may not be that strange after all.

On the surface, this may seem to be a rather low level objective, little more than what Kevin Reilly has described as the "closed-system memory form" of teaching history; in this case, we would simply have students learn not a series of "facts" but a set of generalizations concerning the character traits of various civilizations. And if Reilly is correct, our students would have little interest in such an approach if they are not "encouraged to think for themselves."5
What I am suggesting, though, is not simply substituting memorized generalities for memorized specifics, although that may be a part of it. Instead, I am suggesting that we can manage our teaching of world history by setting as our goal the opening of our students' minds to the possibility that there are ways of living and doing things which are valid for other people, whether or not those ways could ever be valid for the students themselves. My own teaching experiences suggest that this is a necessary--and difficult--step which must come before students can develop any serious sense of inquiry about civilizations of the world.

What makes this objective ideal for world history is that it draws together the element of citizenship education with our students' needs, as well as our desire to somehow make sense of what may seem an impossible course. To make good on this objective, however, requires that we broaden our sense of what a history course is. We must become truly interdisciplinary in our approach to the material. I recall when I first was involved in developing this approach, one of my colleagues remarked slyly that what we were proposing was really only what historians do anyway.

Yes, in a manner of speaking, historians have been interdisciplinary, focusing broadly on the wide swath of human experience. We are concerned with more than warfare and politics; economics, medicine, technology, and even ideas are the natural concern of historians. But this has not stopped us from becoming quite parochial in our outlook on our subject, and thus we sometimes have not exercised the leadership which we should have taken in the growth of world history.

For example, in trying to satisfy the insistent young man in class who asked about suttee, I answered in what was probably a typical historian's fashion. First I told him that this was a religious belief, one deeply rooted in a religion which grew out of the fusion of ancient Indus with early Aryan belief systems. My questioner remained incredulous. I then tried my best social science: the widows were part of a highly stratified social system and without their husbands had no social place; death on the funeral pyres was not only socially preferable but also a blessing, saving these women from an uncertain future.

But how could it be, the fellow protested still? Finally, I fell back on my supposed superior knowledge: it was just the way that tradition had developed in India and we would have to accept that was the way it was. The end of the hour saved me from obvious embarrassment that further questioning of this last approach would have certainly brought. And so I went to my office wondering what I was doing, and what I should do.

"... we must embrace the greater willingness of other disciplines to generalize and step aside from our ingrained acceptance of 'the facts' first."

In the five years which have passed since that incident, I have come to believe that we must be overtly interdisciplinary in teaching world history if we are to make a success of it for ourselves, for our students, and for the citizens who are looking to us to educate their young. By this I mean simply that we must embrace the greater willingness of other disciplines to generalize and step aside from our ingrained acceptance of "the facts" first.

What this will allow us to do is create the mental (and perhaps even occasionally the visual) images which our students will need to make sense of their complex, interdependent world. We can begin by taking a page from the anthropologists. Rather than insisting on the uniqueness of each human society and its culture as the driving force of our analysis (without, however, abandoning the notion), we can show our students how every culture is made up of similar parts.

Although it is probably too simple for formal anthropological theory, the concept of a culture as having four basic components--ideas, social patterns, technology, and environment--is easy for students to grasp. And if we wanted to make it easier we might even draw a model which would reinforce the idea in students' minds:

- Ideas
- Social patterns
- Technology
- Environment

This model could also serve as a means of selecting the material we want to teach! We can select one example from each of the four areas for the civilizations we consider. Or better yet, and easier for the organization of our courses, we can choose one of the four elements to emphasize throughout.

Were we to select environment, or perhaps even technology, we could then concentrate on the sciences. We could use known physical laws such as those concerning erosion, as the means of directing first our attention and then that of our students. Or we might choose to give primary consideration to social patterns, in which case we would present a variety of social science models to explain social behavior and societal organization.

In my own case, I have chosen to emphasize ideas, and have therefore spent much of my time grappling with philosophical insights and literary images. This has led me to a direction for my world civilization course which sees the "temporal cosmologies"--for my students, I call it "concepts of time"--of each civilization as the key to understanding particular social behavior. In this way, I have a guiding principle for my course, and students come away with a means of appreciating other cultures without being threatened by their uniqueness.

Secondarily, I have increasingly drawn upon the literature of the cultures which we are studying for clear images of society. Most especially, I have searched for works, generally fiction, which provide both a central character with whom students can empathize and a clear concept about the culture in which that character lives. In this way, too, I have narrowed my selection of material while broadening my students' views of other peoples.

By turning from traditional historical approaches, I have reached a point where I would feel comfortable should another student ask me, as that young man did five years ago, how anybody could accept the practice of burning widows along with their husbands' bodies. Now, I would ask him to recall that Indian civilization is organized around a concept of time which is cyclical and highly patterned, one which accepts the idea that each person is part of a cycle of many lives. In this context, suttee is not so tragic, as the women have other opportunities, other chances. And to seal his understanding, I would ask him to
read Kamala Markandaya's *Nectar in a Sieve*, which clearly portrays the struggles of family life in India and the place of women in twentieth-century Indian society. More important, though, than being able to answer such questions, the interdisciplinary approach offers a rationale for teaching world history and a means of doing so. It will take us beyond the doubts which, as good historians, we might legitimately have with the concept of world history; it will instead, and just as legitimately, lead us to the generalizations we need to manage effectively the material and present it to our students.

**END NOTES**


2. A good summary of McNeill's views can be found in his essay, "A Defence of World History," which is excerpted in the *World History Bulletin*, 1,1(1983), esp. pp.5-6.


6. Concerning the development of the interdisciplinary course at Murray State University, see Melvin E. Page and Kenneth H. Wolf, "Comparative and Interdisciplinary: Practical Approaches to Teaching World Civilization," *Teaching History*, 8, 2(Fall 1983), pp.69-76.


Readings in World Civilizations

VOLUME I: THE GREAT TRADITIONS

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KEVIN REILLY, Somerset County College

This two-volume anthology contains 134 readings (65 in Volume I and 69 in Volume II) drawn from a wide range of primary and secondary sources. The selections represent many fields of history as well as other disciplines. Introductions direct students' attention with a series of questions that require them to read critically, and illustrations and timelines add to the appeal of the volumes.

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J.H. PARRY, late of Harvard University
SIR PHILIP SHERLOCK, formerly of the University of the West Indies
ANTHONY MAINGOT, Florida International University

This fourth edition of a text first published in 1956 is an authoritative, colorful account of the peoples—their religious beliefs, languages, political situations, and social customs—and the physical environment of the West Indies from 1492 to the present. New to this edition is added coverage of the experiments in democratic socialism in Jamaica, the cooperative republic society in Guyana, the Marxist government in Grenada, the USA's growing involvement with the West Indies, and the oil and debt crises and their effect on West Indian countries.

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Publication: November 1987

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CHARLES D. SMITH, San Diego State University

This narrative text provides an introduction to the conflict between the Arab states and Israel. Beginning with the rise of Zionism and Arab nationalism in the nineteenth century, Professor Smith provides equal coverage of both the pre-1948 and post-1948 periods, up to and including events of early 1987. He examines social and political rivalries among the Arabs and among the Israelis themselves and assesses the role of the "Great Powers" in the Middle East.

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A New World History
George Burson
Aspen High School
Aspen, Colorado

Since Columbus's 1492 voyage, the world has been gradually moving toward interdependence. After World War II, advances in communication and transportation accelerated this process to the point where it is now virtually impossible for nation-states to act independently. Pick a topic -- the environment, defense, health, agriculture, manufacturing, education -- and the impact of Buckminster Fuller's concept of "spaceship earth" hits home.

Yet, most high school, and college, history curricula emphasize the traditional United States/Western Civilization framework of instruction. It is time for a change. The realities of the modern world do not allow the citizens of the United States the luxury of not being able to understand the complexities of a rapidly developing world society.

Global education is one tool toward achieving a better understanding of today's world, but it does not give students the background about why the earth is divided into nation-states (the nation, after all, is the one thing that almost all humans are willing to give their life for, even if they do live in a global community), and why these nation-states often have a hard time getting along with each other. A new world history curriculum can best achieve the goals of educating students about the differences and similarities in national and regional cultures, and explaining the interrelated nature of the world.

The eleventh and twelfth grade history curriculum of Aspen High School, Aspen, Colorado, achieves the above goals. Three years of history are required for graduation at Aspen High School. In their sophomore year, students study the history of the world up to circa 1500. The eleventh grade deals with the years 1500-1877; by the end of the senior year the curriculum reaches the present. Geography, political science, and economics are integrated into the historical framework.

"... the curriculum is organized thematically around the concept of power."

The new world history curriculum for the eleventh and twelfth grades was developed around three criteria: 1) it includes the history of all the regions of the world; 2) United States history is an integral part of the curriculum; and, 3) the curriculum is organized thematically around the concept of power.

All the regions of the world are dealt with in this curriculum. But, since the goal of this curriculum is to teach students the interdependent nature of the world, if historical events in a country or region do not have an impact outside the confines of that country or region, they receive little emphasis. The United States is the exception to this rule. This organizational method allows students to understand the connections between events that occur in other parts of the world and their own country.

The curriculum is organized thematically around the concept of political, social, and economic power. How has power been acquired, kept, and lost? How has it been employed by various nations, individuals, and groups throughout history? What determines who will, and who will not, have power?

For example, after students are taught about the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, the curriculum deals with United States history. Students are exposed to how the events in Europe during the early 1800s enabled President Jefferson to purchase Louisiana, helped create American political parties, and led to the War of 1812. The curriculum then deals with the independence movements of Latin America. It explains how the same events that influenced U.S. history enabled the South Americans to gain their independence, and how these events shaped President Monroe's response to that independence through the promulgation of his famous doctrine.

By using the concept of power as the teaching framework, teachers are able to keep a thematic focus for the students. It also helps solve the practical problem of trying to decide what material to "cover." This curriculum eliminates the problems the tenth grade Western Civilization teacher faces when able to make it up only to the French Revolution, and the eleventh grade American history teacher has when her/his students have absolutely no background on the European causes of World War I.

"...valuable to those students who are not going on to higher education."

Another strength of this curriculum is that the last semester of the senior year emphasizes the period from World War II to the present. Not only are students generally interested in this period of history, the study of this era gives them a strong understanding of the recent past, and of present global political, economic, and social issues. This information is especially valuable to those students who are not going on to higher education.

All aspects of the curriculum are integrated. The students are given an outline based on the curriculum's student-learning objectives prior to the introduction of each of the fifty-one units of instruction. There are about 400 pages of teacher lecture/discussion notes that teachers use to teach the curriculum. Of course, teachers are free to supplement the material and to teach in the style that best suits their personalities. The twenty-one multiple choice and essay tests are correlated with the teacher notes and student outlines.

Finally, this curriculum engages students' learning processes that foster critical thinking and responsible citizenship. The curriculum encourages analysis -- the ability to break a given issue or event into its constituent parts -- and synthesis -- the ability to reconstruct a whole. These skills make possible the development of the highest skill that history teachers attempt to develop: the ability to make connections between one time and another, one fact and another, one place and another. This emphasis on connections enables students to understand the interrelated nature of the earth. It also helps them develop a sense of empathy with the other humans who inhabit this planet.

It encourages them to appreciate not only their own value systems, but also others that are different from their own.

[Educators interested in additional information may contact the author at Box 9536, Aspen, Colorado 81612 or phone 303-925-2972]
Using Documents to Integrate the History of Women into World History Courses *
Stephen S. Gosch
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Using original sources can be an effective way to integrate the history of women into world history courses. Excerpts from law codes, folk tales, poetry, diaries, and autobiographies—to name only the most obvious of the many possibilities—have the potential to provide students with vivid images of the female experience in the past.

But in order to work successfully as teaching devices the documents must be carefully selected and presented. In making use of original sources in a two-semester course in world history, I have found five guidelines useful:

1. The sources must be readable to the introductory student. If the language of a document is archaic, a modernized version should be considered. Foreign words should be translated. If cuts are needed in a piece, the transitions should be smooth.

2. Selections that are about five pages long seem to work best. In general, it is difficult to provide much depth or substance in brief readings; longer ones will overwhelm too many students.

3. To the extent possible, the documents should be (gasp!) intrinsically interesting. While this can be a difficult criterion to meet, I have had success with a variety of sources ranging from premodern folk tales to articles from the contemporary press.

4. The most valuable readings are those that provide a link to key trends or larger issues. A story about the marriage of a Chinese peasant girl during the Sung period can lead naturally to a consideration of the nature and importance of the family in East Asia.

5. The selections should be accompanied by questions which will assist the students in their reading while also providing a basis for classroom discussion and student essays.

I will discuss four original sources which more or less meet these guidelines and, taken together, can serve to introduce students to the history of women and gender relations in premodern Asia. Three of the readings are popular stories about women, two from classical India (ca. 500 B.C.-A.D. 500) and one from Sung China (960-1279). The fourth piece is a series of passages from the memoir-diary of a Japanese noblewoman during the Heian period (794-1185).

While these sources differ from one another in important ways, they share two characteristics which make them valuable for classroom use. On the one hand, they all illustrate the significance of patriarchy in premodern South and East Asia. The Laws of Manu, an Indian law code dating from the classical period, clearly indicates the extent to which the male domination of females was the ideal on the subcontinent: "A father protects a woman in her youth, her husband in her middle years, and her son.


in her old age; a woman is never fit for independence" (Manu 9:3)

In Sung China and Heian Japan, where Confucianism was dominant, essentially the same view prevailed; in the East Asian context one spoke of a woman's "three dependencies."

"... resourceful and strong women take the center stage..."

On the other hand, in none of the documents to be considered below do the women appear as the passive victims of male control. Indeed, the picture is quite the opposite. In these sources resourceful and strong women take the center stage, sometimes to outwit the more powerful men and at other times to defy the framework of male rule by affirming their own worth as human beings. Thus the documents illustrate both the power of patriarchy in premodern Asia as well as efforts by women to subvert or protest against this system.

The Indian stories, both roughly contemporaneous with the Laws of Manu, are "The Carpenter's Wife," from the Panchatantra, the famous collection of fables, and "Savatri and the God of Death," from the great epic, the Mahabharata.¹ Because these two pieces are so brief and complement one another nicely, they can be assigned to students as a package.

"The Carpenter's Wife" is a hilarious tale about a lovely woman who is unfaithful to her husband. His suspicions aroused by rumor, the carpenter tells his wife that he must leave home for a while to work in a different city. He then secretly crawls under their bed. The unknowing wife immediately summons her lover for an evening of passion. But as they are climbing into bed her foot brushes against the carpenter's knee. Just then the lover asks, "Tell me, dear, whom do you love more, me or you husband?"

The wife's reply testifies to her nimble wit: "What a silly question," she exclaims. "As you know we women are accused of being immoral creatures who resort to all kinds of activities to satisfy our natural longings. In fact, some men would claim that we women would eat cow dung if we did not have noses to smell. But I would die on the spot if I should hear of any harm coming to my husband."

Overjoyed at his wife's words the carpenter vows "to praise her before all the people of the town." Standing up with the (still-occupied) bed on his back, the carpenter marches through the streets proclaiming the virtues of his beloved. And what is the reaction of the townspeople to this bizarre sight? They all enjoy a hearty laugh at the expense of the gullible cuckold.

If the carpenter's wife epitomizes the woman who is sensuous, faithless, and quick-witted, Savatri is in some ways her mirror opposite. The daughter of a king, Savatri is so beautiful and wise that her father is unable to find a suitor for her. She embarks on her own search and chooses Satyavan, a handsome and kindly ascetic who lives in the forest and is actually a prince whose blind father has been deposed by an evil rival. Savatri's choice, however, has one fatal flaw: a venerable sage has prophesied that Satyavan will die in exactly one year.

Disregarding the prophecy, Savatri and Satyavan marry and live happily together for a year, Savatri "waiting upon the every need of her new family" and serving her new husband "cheerfully and skillfully" while Satyavan responds with an "even-tempered" love for his wife. On the fateful day Savatri accompanies her
husband into the forest to cut firewood. While working Satyavan collapses and dies in the arms of his wife. Immediately, Yama, the lord of death, appears and uses a small noose to remove Satyavan's soul, whereupon the deity sets off for the realm of the dead in the south.

It is at this point in the story that Savatari demonstrates her true mettle. Instead of performing the wifely duty of cremating the body of her husband, she follows Yama on his long and difficult journey southward. Unable to convince her to turn back, and impressed by her courage, Yama grants Savatari four wishes, stipulating only that she cannot ask for the return of her husband's soul. She uses two of the wishes to restore the sight and the kingdom of her father-in-law. The third wish provides her own father with a hundred sons, thereby protecting his royal line.

Savatari's final wish enables her to outwit Yama. She asks for one hundred sons in order to continue Satyavan's royal line. Yama agrees, only to realize that if the line is to be continued Satyavan must first be restored to life. The deity laughs heartily. "So be it! Auspicious and chaste lady, your husband's soul is freed by me." Satyavan's soul then flies back to his body and he revives as Savatari returns. They live happily ever after.

These two stories provide students with a good introduction to the profound dualism imbedded in Hindu attitudes toward women. The carpenter's wife is carnal and sly while Savatari is courageous and faithful. One woman causes her husband to become the object of ridicule while the other lovingly serves her spouse and restores him to life. Students can be helped to see these differences by being asked to list the adjectives that could be used to describe each woman. Then they can be encouraged to use the stories to develop definitions of a "good" wife and a "bad" wife in Hindu culture. This exercise can lead to a discussion of what constitutes a patriarchal society. Finally, students might be asked to compare the dualism toward women in the Hindu stories with the attitudes toward Eve and Mary in the Judeo-Christian tradition.

The Indian tales are also valuable for the way in which they illustrate successful efforts by women to outwit male authority. The carpenter's wife fools her husband, while Savatari tricks a powerful male deity. Thus the stories suggest that patriarchy, like other forms of domination, is never total and never without challenge.

This latter theme of the woman who defies patriarchal norms is central to the story of "The Shrew," a Chinese folk tale dating from the Sung period. Basically the story of a woman who is unwilling to adhere to the standards of Confucian decorum (II), the narrative is also rich in suggestions about the nature of marital and family relations among commoners in premodern China.

Unusually pretty and knowledgeable about the classics, at sixteen Ts'ui-lien was a most talented young woman. She could spin, weave, embroider, cook, clean the house, and was always careful to lock up at night. Alas, she did have one fault and it was a serious one: her tongue was too quick and too sharp. "In speaking to others, she composed whole essays, and the flow of her speech became a flood. Questioned about one matter, she answered about ten, and when questioned about ten, she answered a hundred."4

When a marriage is arranged for Ts'ui-lien, her mother warns that, "The ancients say, 'Loquacity earns the hatred of many.' When you enter your husband's house, be wary of speaking."5 The daughter promises to follow this advice and the wedding takes place. But the marriage is stormy and brief. A row with her husband on their wedding night is quickly followed by sharp conflicts between Ts'ui-lien and her new parents-in-law, her husband's sister, and her husband's brother and wife. Realizing the marriage is a disaster, father-in-law Chang insists that it be dissolved and that Ts'ui-lien be sent home. She agrees and returns to her parents only to announce that she plans to shave her head and become a Buddhist nun. As the story concludes, she has wholeheartedly embraced her new vows.

One of the most interesting aspects of the Chinese story is the way in which it is interwoven with long speeches by Ts'ui-lien. While these declamations include elements of parody as well as realism, they often ring true and students enjoy the humor. One of my favorites comes early in the story when, the marriage having been arranged, Ts'ui-lien tries unsuccessfully to allay her parents' anxieties about her talkativeness:

"Dad, ease your mind; Ma, be consoled; Brother, rest assured; sister-in-law, stop worrying; It is not that your daughter would boast of her cleverness But from childhood she has been on her mettle: She can spin, she can weave, She makes dresses, does patching and embroidery; Light chars and heavy duties she takes in her stride, Has ready the teas and meals in a trice; She can work and hand-mill and pound with the pestle; She endures hardship gladly, she is not easily tired, Thinks nothing of making dumplings and cookies, Prepares any soup or broth, does to a turn some cutlet or chop.

At night she is vigilant, Fastens the back door and bolts the gate, Scrubs the frying pan, shuts the cupboard, Tidies up the rooms both in front and behind, Makes ready the bed, unrolls the quilts, Lights the lamp, asks the mother-in-law to retire, Then calls out "Rest well" and returns to her room: Thus shall I serve my parents-in-law, And would they be dissatisfied? Dear Dad and Ma, let your minds be at rest-- Besides these set tasks, nought matters more than a fart."

Students can be asked to read this statement both for the suggestions it contains regarding what was expected of ordinary women in the Sung period and for evidence of Ts'ui-lien's rebellious spirit.

The real highlight of the story, however, is Ts'ui-lien's prayer at the family shrine just prior to the wedding. Taking some incense sticks she goes before the shrine and makes the following plea:

"The man takes a wife, the maid a mate-- This is in the nature of things-- May there be good fortune and rejoicing!"
May husband and wife both remain sound and whole,
Without hardship, without calamity,
Even for years!
May they be merry as fish in water
And their union prove sweeter than honey,
Blessed with five sons and two daughters--
A complete family of seven children--
Matched with two worthy sons-in-law,
Wise and versed in etiquette,
And five daughters-in-law, too,
Paragons of filial piety.
May there be grandsons and granddaughters numerous
To flourish generation after generation.
May there be gold and pearls in heaps
And rice and wheat to fill in a granary,
Abundance of silkworms and mulberry trees,
And cattle and horses drawn up neck to neck,
Chickens, geese, duck and other fowl,
And a pond teeming with fish.
May my husband obey me,
Yet his parents love and pity me;
May the sister-in-law and I live in harmony
And the older and the younger brother
be both easy to please;
May the servants show full respect,
And the younger sister take a fancy to me,
And, within a space of three years,
Let them die, the whole lot,
And all the property be left in my hands;
Then Ts’ui-lien would be happy for some years!

Of course, students should be encouraged to distinguish between the realism and the parody in the prayer. At the same time they can be asked to use the prayer for the light it throws on the aspirations and fears of a Chinese bride-to-be.

The story as a whole can be used to raise two larger issues which students can address either in class discussion or in essays.

First, they might be asked about the characteristics of the Chinese family that are illustrated in the story. Ts’ui-lien’s relationship with her parents, her husband, and his family can be examined in this connection. This will provide a good introduction to the importance of the extended family in China. Second, students can be asked to compare Ts’ui-lien with the women in the Indian stories.

The link between Ts’ui-lien and the Indian women, students soon see, is their common defiance of premolded patriarchy. But the actions of the carpenter’s wife and Savatri differ from those of the Chinese woman. As we have seen, the Indian women are tricksters who use their intelligence to undermine male authority. Their "protest" is indirect and, within its limitations, successful. Ts’ui-lien, on the other hand, confronts patriarchal norms more directly. While ready to assume the duties of a wife and daughter-in-law, deference does not come easy to her. As a result, her husband divorces her and she ends up in a Buddhist nunery.

The Gossamer Years, the starkly realistic diary of a tenth-century Heian aristocratic lady (whose name is unknown), is also the story of a defiant woman. Perhaps the earliest extant diary by a woman, The Gossamer Years is the intensely personal account of the author’s unhappy marriage to Fujiwara Kaneie, a major figure in the court politics at Kyoto toward the end of the century.

"At this time the Japanese capital was one of the great centers of literary creativity ..."

At this time the Japanese capital was one of the great centers of literary creativity in the world and, interestingly, women writers were responsible for the most significant work. The highlight of this literary efflorescence was Murasaki Shikibu’s rich account of court romance, The Tale of Genji, one of the world’s first great novels. Also of considerable importance is The Pillow Book, the witty and barbed observations of life among the Heian aristocracy by Sei Shonagon who, like Lady Murasaki, was a lady-in-waiting at court. The Gossamer Years is a product of the same circumstances that gave rise to these better known works; indeed, the author was related through marriage to both Lady Murasaki and Lady Sei. Thus in reading The Gossamer Years students gain direct access to an extraordinary group of women writers, none of whom fits the stereotype of the passive and deferential Japanese female.

Beautifully translated by Edward Seidensticker, The Gossamer Years begins with a postscript to the courtship of the author and moves quickly to her marriage. Since the marriage deteriorated rapidly, students need only read excerpts from the first few years of the diary. These early pages can serve as a good introduction to the importance of standards of refinement and good taste in shaping courtship patterns among the Heian upper class.

In fact, owing to the prince’s many gaucheries, the author of The Gossamer Years was initially quite unimpressed with her suitor (despite the fact that he outranked her in the all-important social hierarchy). Instead of observing custom and approaching her through a suitable intermediary, the prince went directly to her father. Later her entire household erupted when Kaneie sent a messenger to pound on the gate. Moreover, it seems that the prince’s first love poem was written on “unbecoming” paper and that the handwriting was “astonishingly bad.” One of his later poems was dismissed by the diarist as nothing but “doggerel.”

Despite the unpromising beginning of their relationship, they nevertheless soon married. Parental pressure on the author seems to have been an important factor. Her mother insisted that the prince’s overtures could not be ignored indefinitely. Her father (with whom she was very close) encouraged the prince before departing from the capital to take a post in the provinces.

Key characteristics of Heian aristocratic marriages are quickly brought into focus in The Gossamer Years. Students are interested to learn that the author and the prince had a “marriage under two roofs,” that is, they never lived together. She continued to live in all but claustrophobic seclusion in the house of her parents. He continued the pattern of nocturnal visits and early morning departures that began during their courtship. According to Ivan Morris, this duolocal pattern of residence, in which the husband and wife continued to live where they had prior to the marriage, was very old in Japan and was still common in the tenth century. Students can be encouraged to compare this form of marriage with the virilocat pattern, in which the woman moves into the home of the man and his natal family, that is depicted in the stories of Ts’ui-lien and Savatri.
They might be asked to consider which form of marriage seems preferable from the point of view of the wife.

"Another attribute of Heian upper-class marriage that is illustrated in The Gossamer Years is the polygamy practiced by the men."

Another attribute of Heian upper-class marriage that is illustrated in The Gossamer Years is the polygamy practiced by the men. Though the author does not tell her readers this, she was actually the prince's second wife. His multiple marriages emerge as an issue in the diary when shortly after the birth of their son she discovers that he has a new lover. His visits to the author become less frequent. She becomes tense and unable to sleep at night. The new wife has a child, also a boy, and the diarist becomes still more depressed. The prince begins to ignore her altogether and the tone of the writing becomes increasingly bitter. By the time the diary ends the marriage has all but dissolved.

The Gossamer Years stands apart from the other sources considered in this paper in that, unlike the three folk tales about women, this is the story of a woman which she herself tells. Caught up in circumstances not of her own making, living out her days in culturally enforced isolation, she found solace in her ability to write. A millennium later her brutal honesty, tenacious strength, and towering rage at very real inequities still move the reader. As a final exercise, students can be asked to compare The Gossamer Years to the earlier readings; they might be asked to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the diary and the folk tales as sources which illuminate the history of premodern Asian women.

The suggestions presented here for making use of documents to integrate the history of women into world history courses follow from the premise that the comparative history of gender relations should be a major part of the world history course. While courses that focus exclusively on the history of women or gender have value, the real challenge is to develop a world history survey course which links the changing relationships between women and men to the more familiar changes in politics, economics, technology, culture, and religion. Well-chosen original sources provide the world history teacher with one means of working toward this end.

END NOTES

1. See Roy C. Amore and Larry D. Shinn, Lustful Maidens and Asetic Kings: Buddhist and Hindu Stories of Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 27-33, for readable versions of these two stories.

2. Ibid., pp. 27-28.


4. Ibid., p. 84.

5. Ibid., p. 85.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., p. 87.


9. I have students read from pp. 33-38, 40-41, and 44.

10. The phrase was apparently first used by Crystal Eastman (1881-1928), the American feminist. I am indebted to Barbara T. Gosch for calling my attention to this; see her paper, "The Contribution of Crystal Eastman to Feminist Thought" (University of Wisonsin-Eau Claire History Department, 1982). There was, however, a vast difference between Eastman's "two-roof marriage" and the one described in The Gossamer Years.


12. The rapid growth of world history courses has led to the appearance of three new collections of primary sources designed for classroom use. Philip F. Riley et al., eds., The Global Experience, 2 vols. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1987), includes a few documents relating to women or gender relation in volume II; I have not yet seen volume I. Kevin Reilly, ed., Readings in World Civilization, 2 vols. (New York: St. Martin's Press, forthcoming in 1987), blends secondary materials with original sources and contains a number of selections on women and gender. Peter N. Stearns et al., eds., Documents in World History (New York: Harper and Row, forthcoming in 1987), includes the Indian and Chinese stories discussed in this paper together with a variety of other primary sources on women and gender relations.

Inaugurating World History At East Tennessee State University: The Chronicles of a Visiting Professor

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During the spring semester of 1987, I served as visiting professor of world history in the Undergraduate Excellence Program at East Tennessee State University. Professor Jim Odom, who wrote the grant proposal to the Schulman Family Foundation that made the project possible, acted as my liaison with the department of history, arranged my accommodations in Johnson City, and never ceased to make my stay at the university pleasant and productive. My duties included teaching a demonstration survey course for undergraduates (audited by two faculty members and by graduate students); directing a seminar in world history for members of the humanities faculty, graduate
students, and local high school teachers of history, whose tuition was absorbed by grant funds and who received graduate credit for their participation, and delivering a public lecture on some aspect of world history. On a more informal level, I was expected to aid the department of history begin its transition away from a predominately American and English perspective (of twelve full-time members, ten were American or English history specialists) to a more global orientation (two new non-Western historians have since been hired, along with a new chair, whose specialization is African history).

As I was free to structure the undergraduate course in any fashion, I decided to create a course that would be unique, so far as I knew, to East Tennessee State University. Building on a suggestion made by Orest Ranum in an essay entitled "Enduring Structures of Historical Thought in the Survey" (in What Americans Should Know: Western Civilization or World History, Josef Konvitz, editor), I designed a course called "The World Since the Renaissance: The Young in Modern History." In a sense, the course had two subjects, two class formats, and two texts. One side of the course was a comparative survey of various political, economic, social, and intellectual movements in world history since 1500, the material for which was organized chronologically, taught by lectures, and supported by readings in Craig, Graham, Kagan, Ozment, and Turner's The Heritage of World Civilizations. The purpose of the lectures was to provide a broad, extremely general, historical backdrop for the more specific theme taken up in the other side of the course.

"As the lives of the young have been, and remain, so varied and complex, our investigation was necessarily selective."

Scattered throughout the lecture series were thirteen class discussions of articles and source readings dealing with the role of young people in world history. As the lives of the young have been, and remain, so varied and complex, our investigation was necessarily selective. To impose order on a complicated subject, I chose the following topics as a kind of life cycle of young people in a variety of world cultures, in part because they seem to be universal, albeit historically contingent, aspects of the human condition: birth and childhood, play, education, work, sexual identity, courtship and marriage, rebellion, violence and crime, ambition, soldiering, and death. Like any scheme of historical categorization, this one has its obvious limitations. "Ambition," for example, is an almost meaningless, even absurd, concept in the lives of young people in many traditional societies, where the most one might aspire to was two or three decades of life lived out in virtually the same manner as one's parents. I was careful to point this out to my students and to emphasize the artificiality of imposing rigid categories on human experience, which is always lived in a way that can never be completely recaptured by the neat, conceptual structures of historians.

Although I do not believe that history has to be relevant to the present to be interesting or useful (it often seems to me that our differences with people in the past are more instructive than our similarities). I am realistic enough to believe that undergraduates are more inclined to take history seriously when it demonstrates connections between their own lives and those of people near their own age in other times and places. Of course, I hoped that this approach would generate enthusiasm for history in general and world history in particular. Additionally, I wanted my students to see how similar but also how tragically different the lives of other young people have been from their own and how distinct the lives of privileged American college students are from the mental, emotional, and material world of a twenty-year-old Kenyan, Vietnamese, or Jordanian today -- or, for that matter, how removed are their lives from that of a young mother working in an unskilled service or laboring job a few blocks from their campus, her future perhaps already sealed, her dreams behind her. Thus, I hoped that my students would gain a sharper understanding of their own prospects and their own assumptions while at the same time seeing how low was the ceiling of the possible for most young people in the past and how confined it continues to be for most to this day.

The seminar for faculty, graduate students, and high school teachers centered around general readings in world history rather than a specific theme. Meeting once weekly for two to three hours a session, the seminar comprised nine faculty members (four in history, three in English and Classics, one in German, and one in French), the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, two graduate students in history, and a variety of auditors who attended on an irregular schedule.

I devoted six of our meetings to discussions of the following books and themes: 1) Jonathan Spence, The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci (Chinese-European relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries); 2) Daniel Boorstin, The Discoverers (technological, intellectual, and geographic expansion of various world cultures in medieval and modern history); 3) Peter Mansfield, The Arabs (Middle Eastern history from Muhammad to the present); 4) Evan Connell, Son of the Morning Star (nominally, the saga of Custer and the Little Big Horn, but also the story of what happens when a modern, industrial, Western culture competes with a traditional society for possession of the same continent); 5) George McDonald Fraser, Flashman (nineteenth-century British imperialism in India and Afghanistan; also, an examination of the usefulness of novels in teaching world history); 6) Stanley Karnow, Vietnam: A History (the tragedy of Chinese, French, and American involvement in the history of Southeast Asia). Three other classes were given over to reading articles on modern China, the Soviet Union, and Latin America. All told, the seminar group read and, one hopes, digested over 3,000 pages of world history during ten weeks of intense conversation and debate.

Two seminar meetings dealt with teaching. One involved the entire group and concerned the general crisis of history teaching and the problem of Western civilization courses versus those of world history. Additionally, the group exchanged ideas on improving performance in the classroom and improving relationships with students. On the other occasion, I met only with the high school teachers to explore the state of history teaching in the public schools. To begin the session, I asked each participant to retail their educational background, comment on the value of their teacher training, describe their current positions, explain their most pressing dilemmas as teachers, evaluate their students' attitudes about history as a discipline, and discuss the most encouraging aspect of their jobs.

Despite a wide spectrum of responses, certain common themes
emerged from our interchange. Everyone expressed frustration with general student apathy, at the crass materialism of their ambitions, and about their indifference or hostility toward history as an inconsequential subject.

"As one teacher put it, students frequently say that 'History doesn't teach any skills.'"

As one teacher put it, students frequently say that "History doesn't teach any skills." (This horrendous phrase may have passed into the oral tradition of an entire generation, at least in Johnson City. One of my students used it verbatim during a class discussion, a statement that provoked many heads to nod in assent.) Yet each teacher took heart that highly motivated, intelligent students turned up with enough regularity to keep their teaching worthwhile. All said that they adored teaching and could not imagine leaving the profession.

Without dissent, each participant agreed that their undergraduate and graduate courses in education were a waste of time that could have been better spent taking traditional liberal arts courses. None believed that they had been able to take enough history courses. Each regretted that administrative chores, bus duty, club sponsorship, required extracurricular activities, and class overloads prevented them from doing more reading after work hours. Consequently, all appreciated being included in the world history seminar, which not only gave them the incentive to read widely, but also drew them into a broader community of scholars. Their sense of professionalism was, therefore, encouraged.

As for teaching world history, the high school teachers believed that such courses remained disguised Western civilization courses, in part because of inadequate textbooks. Furthermore, they found that the political and religious conservatism of the region impeded open-minded examination of world cultures. Comparative analysis of world religions, for example, sometimes provoked students to charge that their own religious convictions were under assault. Comparisons of political systems met similar responses. However, one teacher reported a successful class in modern Russian history and another a satisfying course in current world events.

I came away from this meeting with a renewed appreciation of the trials of high school teaching but with confidence that the teaching of history in Johnson City, Kingsport, and Bristol is in good hands, indeed in more capable care than in most school systems in Tennessee with which I am familiar. World history in upper East Tennessee has at least four, and I suspect more, worthy advocates.

"As the subject expands but the time in which to teach it does not, the predicament of cutting treasured material becomes acute."

Throughout the semester, Lucy Gump, a graduate student auditor in both the survey and the seminar, queried me relentlessly about the mechanics of teaching. As a result of our conversations, I decided to allocate a portion of the public lecture to suggestions about effective teaching. "Marshal Pétain Speaks of a Thing and Hits the Mark: Teaching, Teaching History, and Teaching World History" was also an attempt to champion world history as a means of overcoming American parochialism and a confession of the quandaries involved in doing so. After outlining some of the problems involved in teaching any historical survey, I moved to those that were particularly nagging in a world history course, chief among them, the conundrum of organizing and selecting material from so vast a subject. As the subject expands but the time in which to teach it does not, the predicament of cutting treasured material becomes acute.

Before moving on to close the lecture with remarks on university teaching in general, I took a moment to attack what seems to me the most dangerous blight on higher education in our time: the ever-increasing bureaucratization of university life justified by the "business model" of efficient management. I argued that when, as at many universities, administrators refer to deans and chairs as "academic managers," professors as "instructional delivery personnel," and students as "consumers," education is reduced to bottom-line profit and loss figures. And since what is truly valuable (critical thinking, intellectual maturity, open-mindedness, and self-awareness) cannot be quantified, the more obvious but less crucial aspects of the institution that can be measured (numbers of grants received, numbers of majors in a department, class enrollments, numerical scores on evaluations, etc.) assume an importance out of proportion to their actual worth. In such an atmosphere, "unmarketable" subjects like world history have only peripheral value, and more importantly, the life of the mind goes begging. Students understand this well, hence their passion for figuring out the instructor rather than the material he or she teaches and their desire for acquiring "skills" rather than education.

**Founders and Consolidators in the Establishment of Empire**

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One form of society that frequently recurs is the empire. The formation pattern has been consistent: after a long period of conflict among a number of autonomous states, one conquers all the others, and an empire is formed. Thereafter there is often a long period of peace in a unified political system that is little threatened by external intervention. Usually the empire unifies a civilization.

When you study empires, the recurrence of this pattern is soon obvious. When you study state systems, however, the pattern is not clear at all. It is not uncommon for a dominant power to challenge all the others, sometimes apparently to conquer all, and then very quickly to break down again into the component parts of the state system. This less familiar term, state system, applies to those situations in which a number of politically autonomous states -- be they nation-states, city-states, or some other political entity -- interact frequently in trade, diplomacy, and conflict.

It appears, therefore, that there may be two distinct phases to the formation of the empire. In the first, one state conquers all the others. In the second, a new political entity is formed. If the second phase does not occur, the unified political entity quickly breaks down.

Could it be that two different political skills are required for
the formation of empire, and these skills are not likely to be lodged in the same person? The conqueror must be a person of considerable military ability. The formation of the new political entity, on the other hand, requires an entirely different set of skills. It would not be surprising, therefore, to find that the formation of empires generally involves two personalities: a charismatic, militaristic founder and a patient, politically shrewd consolidator.

"...the formation of empires generally involves two personalities: a charismatic, militaristic founder and a patient, politically shrewd consolidator."

The founder would be a dynamic personality capable of arousing confidence and loyalty in many followers, an effective public speaker, a brave and resourceful leader, a lover of action, an opportunist who is both creative and unpredictable.

The consolidator comes to power after an intervening fracas, because he has the confidence of administrative elites that he is the person to initiate or complete a series of reforms that enable the empire to survive for a considerable period. What needs to be done usually involves modifications in the system of justice, an efficient system of taxation, agrarian reforms involving land redistribution and expansion of available land, modifications of the educational system, military reforms that reduce expenses and make the military more effective for the problems of empire, and/or social reforms that may raise supporters to power or confirm established elites. Consolidators would need to delegate well and be perceptive in their choices of appointment, but they also would need to give energetic personal supervision. In personality they would need to be workaholics, cheese-paring and stern, preferring power to glory or pleasure.

From this viewpoint, then, one would expect new empires to experience a process of founding, involving the breaking up of the old order, which is to be distinguished from the consolidation, the organizing of the new order. Usually different leaders would be involved in the two phases, probably because different sorts of abilities and personalities are required.

This idea has been suggested in several books on peaceful societies (Melko, 1973; Melko and Weigel, 1981; Melko and Hord, 1984) but it has not been tested against a set of empires chosen without reference to their subsequent peacefulness or to any particular manner of formation.

It would seem likely that there were probably a great many more conquerors who failed to become founders because they were not lucky enough to be followed by an able consolidator. Therefore they conquered and unified, but what they unified disintegrated after their deaths. Alexander the Great would be an example of one such leader whose qualities or position in history were such that we did notice him. Napoleon was another such leader, but in his case, perhaps because of ethnocentrism, we can’t help noticing the high quality of his opposition. So it may be that the quality of opposition is a factor that should be considered, but that is difficult to do because we tend to judge quality by success, and failure would suggest mediocrity. Let us set that problem aside, and focus on whether there is a dual leadership in the foundation of empire.

Let us test the idea against a set of empires that came into existence out of preceding state systems. One such set has been proposed by David Wilkinson as part of a study of the world history of civilizations (1984). Wilkinson is preferable to other students of empire such as Wessen (1967) or Eisenstadt (1963), because he is particularly concerned with civilizations as a whole, and mindful of the transition from states systems (he prefers the double plural) to empires.

Wilkinson’s selections of civilizations, on the whole, are fairly orthodox. He lists the usual Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Classical, South Asian, East Asian, Mexican, and Peruvian. To these he adds the Japanese and West African, which are on some lists; the less frequently chosen Irish, Indonesian, and Mississippian; and an idiosyncratic Chibchan. His other idiosyncrasy, a preference to link civilizations once they significantly interact, removes any distinction among the Western, Byzantine and Islamic civilizations. Still, he winds up with twenty-three empires in ten civilizations, enough for a test of the hypothesis. Irish, Chibchan, and Mississippian don’t have empires, and “Central Civilization” (including Western, Byzantine, and Islamic) has had none so far.

Table I represents the Wilkinsonian Empires. For the purposes of this article we can delete Ur, the Babylonian, the Mauryan, and Ghanaian because they lasted less than a century and were followed by reversions to state systems. Therefore consolidation did not take place. Songhai was discarded because it looks like the second phase of the Mali Empire, a recreation with a moved capital, like all our Chinese Empires and the Roman.

For the remaining eighteen empires we can ask: who was responsible for the conquest that made unity possible? And who was responsible for building the political entity that became the lasting empire?

Table II represents an attempt to answer these questions. Some of the names were changed because of a difference in perception about the beginning of empire.

Of the remaining eighteen cases, the table indicates a founder and consolidator thirteen times, with a founder absent once and consolidators missing twice. In two cases, no information was found.

"...the magnificent monarch."

Before discussing these thirteen cases, it is necessary to introduce a third personality, the successor to the consolidator. He often inherits a successful, well-ordered empire. He doesn’t fight for his position, because the situation is well-ordered. Depending on his temperament he may simply dissipate, but then again he may build temples and monuments; or he may expand the empire, sometimes leading the troops, more often sending out able generals. Often he is more famous than his predecessors for the glory of his reign. Let’s call this type the magnificent monarch.

Of the thirteen empires exhibiting founder-consolidator sequences, ten fit the model pretty well. There is a conqueror-founder, an interim of disturbance, and then a consolidator who is not the direct heir of the founder. These cases, briefly are:

The Egyptian Middle Kingdom, where Mentuhotep II completes the process of conquest from Thebes in Upper Egypt, defeating Heracleopolis, the last of the major powers in lower Egypt. His family declines until the Vizier Amenemhet takes
over, moves the capital from Thebes to Lish, and consolidates the dynasty.

The Akkadian, where the inside unifier, Lugalzaggisi, is supplanted by the barbarian outsider, Sargon, who spends most of his reign unifying and promoting trade.

The Achemenid, in which the Cyrus-Darius succession, with the Cambyses period interruption, is very nearly a classic case. Cyrus starting as an outer barbarian, Darius efficiently consolidating for the magnificent monarch, Xerxes.

The Roman case is not so neat because of the assassination of Julius Caesar, but he was a conqueror and unifier. His nephew Octavian, of course, is the quintessential consolidator.

The Han and T'ang cases are similar, with the consolidator each time being an outside general who quickly restores the disrupted new empire and establishes a new dynasty with administrative, legal, agrarian, educational, and taxation refinements and reforms.

In the case of Li Shih-min, of the T'ang, however, the reorganization is completed early in his reign and he goes on to perform the conquering role of the magnificent monarch.

The Ming interruption is less severe, and Yung Lo, an uncle of the son of the founder, goes on to perform the consolidation after a short and comparatively minor succession struggle.

The data from Madjapahit is less clear, but Ranasanagara is a great-grandson of the founder and after an interregnum period in which a daughter and general rule, he comes on with a new taxation system, a land survey, and royal progresses -- all typical consolidator activities.

The Tokugawa Shogunate is another classic case, with conquest of feudal lords by Oda Nobunga, a disruptive period under Hideyoshi and a model consolidation under Tokugawa Ieyasu.

The Inca is only moderately disparate in that it has a pair of conquerors, father and son, a civil war, and then a consolidation modifying but using the systems at hand by an outside general named Pizarro.

The other three cases are more debatable. Mali has a legendary founder, but there must have been someone like him, and later a clearly historical leader Mansa Musa who made a pilgrimage to Mecca in the style of a magnificent monarch. In between, Sakura, a freed slave retainer, may have played the consolidator role.

The New Kingdom is the only case where the founder and consolidator are father and son, with no rebellion or succession struggle. Ahmose appears to have been lucky enough to have an heir who had the capacities to play the consolidator role.

As for the Old Kingdom, we know there was a conquest and consolidation, and we have pictures of a leader sometimes identified as Menes, sometimes as Narmer. Some say these are mythical, but if so, someone performed their roles. Others say they are two names for the same person. But, if you look at the engravings of Menes, you will see the stern, no-nonsense look of the conqueror; the pictures of Narmer show a shrewd, cheese-paring workaholic. No question but that there were two leaders and which role each played.

The three cases that do not fit the model nevertheless do not present counter-evidence. The Japanese system is already in place in the seventh century. The Taika reforms of 645-650; land redistribution, a new tax system, reformed central and local administration, followed by codification, administrative and criminal reforms, bureaucratic examination systems, and so forth under Temmu all look like consolidation, but they seem like the work of reform that one finds in the middle of an imperial period, suggesting that we should have to go back to the sixth century to look for the foundation.

"... Moctezuma II should have been the consolidator, but he preferred to play magnificent monarch instead."

The Assyrian and Aztec cases are similar in that the consolidator does not appear when he is needed and as a result, the empire loses a necessary stage of development and never recovers. In the Assyrian case, Sargon II continues conquest, which is more congenial to him. When Sennacherib comes to power, he tries to behave as a magnificent monarch, but is frequently interrupted by having to put out fires that date back to Sargon, and the Assyrian Empire never gets a firm footing. In the case of the Aztecs, Moctezuma II should have been the consolidator, but he preferred to play magnificent monarch instead. The Aztecs were thus not ready for Cortez who was a ruthless, exterminative conqueror, due to lack of structure, instead of the consolidator, as Pizarro turned out to be.

Others who have heard this construction have applied it widely to small political entities and even to organizations. It was suggested that Israel failed because Solomon was a magnificent monarch when he should have been a consolidator. My own view is that David was the consolidator, putting back together what Saul had won and lost. David was also not a direct descendant. So, from that viewpoint, Solomon is a very good prototype of magnificent monarch.

Are there any lessons for us? Are we living in a state system that is about to become an empire?

R.S. Scanlan (1985) suggests that such events have already taken place, if you assume that there are two civilizations involved, and therefore two empires. She sees the Russian Revolution as creating an empire for a Byzantine state. If you accept that analysis, perhaps Lenin would be seen as the founder and Stalin a grim sort of consolidator. Certainly the Soviet Union has many imperial qualities.

Scanlan goes on to argue that Western Civilization also has reached the imperial stage, with the United States as the unifying power, and World War II as the conflict that brought the unification about. That would make Roosevelt the founder and Eisenhower, perhaps, the unifier.

The case for the Soviet Union seems stronger than that for the West, if you are willing to accept the continued existence of Byzantine civilization. But the United States, though gigantic and powerful, does not easily fit the mold of an imperial power. It looks more like a dominant power in a state system.

Another possibility is that both the Napoleonic wars and the world wars were the kinds of conflicts that could have led to empire, if Napoleon or Hitler had conquered. But they were defeated, and the state systems restored. Since the United States and the Soviet Union appear strong enough to stand one another off, and since world conquest seems unlikely at the present stage of development of nuclear weapons, it seems improbable that any founder-consolidator combination is likely to emerge for some time to come.
### TABLE I

**WILKINSON'S EMPIRES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EMPIRE</th>
<th>PERIOD (Centuries)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Old Kingdom</td>
<td>29-22 B.C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>24-23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ur</td>
<td>21-20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>20-18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>18-17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Minoan</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Kingdom</td>
<td>16-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assyrian</td>
<td>9-7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Persian-Macedonian</td>
<td>7-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman</td>
<td>4-5 (B.C. - A.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'in-Han</td>
<td>3-2 (B.C. - A.D.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maurya</td>
<td>A.D. 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sui-T'ang</td>
<td>6-8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Srivajaya</td>
<td>7-12</td>
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<td>Taiho</td>
<td>7-14</td>
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<td>Ghana</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>Madjapahit</td>
<td>13-16</td>
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<td>Mali</td>
<td>13-15</td>
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<td>Mongol-Ming-Manchu</td>
<td>13-20</td>
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<td>Songhai</td>
<td>15-16</td>
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<td>Aztec</td>
<td>15-16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inca</td>
<td>15-16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hideyoshi-Tokugawa</td>
<td>16-19</td>
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### TABLE II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EMPIRE</th>
<th>FOUNDER</th>
<th>CONSOLIDATOR</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Kingdom</td>
<td>Menes 2800 B.C.</td>
<td>Narmer 2800 B.C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Lugalzaggisi 2400 B.C.</td>
<td>Sargon 2350</td>
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<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Mentuhotep II</td>
<td>Amenemhet I</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thalassocracy of Minos</td>
<td>???</td>
<td>???</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Kingdom</td>
<td>Ahmose 1575-1550 B.C.</td>
<td>Amenhotep I</td>
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<td>1550-1528 B.C.</td>
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<td>Assyrian</td>
<td>Tiglath-Pileser III</td>
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<td>745-727 B.C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Achemenid</td>
<td>Cyrus 559-530 B.C.</td>
<td>Darius 522-486 B.C.</td>
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<td>Han</td>
<td>Shih Hwang-ti 221-210 B.C.</td>
<td>Liu Pang A.D. 202-195</td>
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<td>Roman</td>
<td>Julius Caesar 49-44 B.C.</td>
<td>Augustus 27 B.C. - A.D.14</td>
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<td>Tang</td>
<td>Yang Chien A.D. 589-604</td>
<td>Li Shih-minh 627-649</td>
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Taiho
Madjapahit
Mali
Ming
Aztec
Inca
Tokugawa

Kertanagara 1268-1292
Sundiata 1230-1255
Chu Yuan-chang 1368-1398
Tlalcacel 1400's
Pachacuti 1464-1493
Topa Inca
Oda Nobunga

Temmu 673-686
Rajasanagara 1350-1389
Sakura
Yung Lo 1403-1424
Pizarro 1532-1541
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Monday, 28 December - 2:30 until 4:30 in the Diplomat Room of the Shoreham Hotel
Panel: "Is There a Place for World History in the Graduate History Education?"
Chair: Craig A. Lockard, University of Wisconsin at Green Bay
"Graduate Education and Research in World History: the Experience at Hawaii"
Jerry Bentley, University of Hawaii
Comment: Philip D. Curtin, The Johns Hopkins University
David Sweet, University of California at Santa Cruz

Monday, 28 December - 5:00 in the Diplomat Room of the Shoreham Hotel
The Business Meeting of the WHA
(Open to all members.)

Monday, 28 December - 6:00 in the Ambassador Room of the Shoreham Hotel
The WHA Reception

Tuesday, 29 December - 2:30 until 4:30 in the Warren Room of the Sheraton Hotel
A joint session with the AHA: "The Consideration of Gender in World History."
Chair: Lynda Shaffer, Tufts University
1) "Women, Sexuality, and Oppression: The European Witchcraft Persecution"
   Anne L. Barstow, SUNY at Old Westbury
2) "The Impact of Gender in African History"
   Claire Robertson, Ohio State University
3) "'Invisible Entrepreneurs': the Structural Study of Women in Southeast Asia"
   Lorraine Gesick, University of Nebraska at Omaha
Comment: Anthony Esler, College of William and Mary

27th SOUTHEAST REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF AAS
January 14-16, 1988

The 27th Annual Meeting of the Southeast Regional Conference, Association for Asian Studies will be held January 14-16, 1988, at the University of North Carolina-Charlotte. This year, the Conference has made a special effort to present panels concerned with the teaching of Asian subjects at both the secondary and college levels, where Asian materials are often brought to bear on global and world history topics and issues. Among these panels will be a presentation of various approaches to teaching the Vietnam War. Of special interest to instructors of world history at all levels will be a panel organized and chaired by an AAS/ WHA member, Marc Gilbert, entitled "The Role of Asian Studies in the Intercultural Curricula," which will feature the following presentations:

"India in the Modern Period and the World History Curriculum"
   Prof. Martin Yanuck, Spelman College

"Japanese Values Model: A curriculum approach for promoting cultural awareness"
   Mr. Charles A. Springer, Baltimore County Public Schools

"The Delhi Street Performer Colony of Shadipur: A Case Study of the Impact of Change on Traditional Groups in Modern India"
   Mr. Paul R. Rivera, Baltimore County Public Schools

"U.S. History with a China Connection"
   Prof. Sylvia Krebs, Dekalb College

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