

WORLD HISTORY

GLOBAL AND LOCAL INTERACTIONS



EDITED BY

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CHAPTER 14

Concepts and Institutions for World History: The Next Ten Years

Patrick Manning

In April of 2004 there gathered in Boston a group of two hundred people devoted to the study of world history: university faculty members, graduate students, teachers at all levels of education, and professionals in publication and testing.¹ This was one of a growing number of meetings of people seeking to advance the study of global perspectives on the past—meetings of the World Historical Association and its regional affiliates, sessions of the American Historical Association and the Historical Society in the U.S., meetings of historians in several other countries, and meetings of teachers and other scholars in the humanities and social sciences. Participants in these meetings share an interest in strengthening the formal study of the human social order over time, in global and interconnected terms. The call for papers to the Boston conference gave emphasis not simply to the study and teaching of world history, but to the problem of creating institutions for research and advanced study of world history. As individuals, these scholars and teachers have made efforts to document and analyze global patterns in history. But while their numbers have grown steadily, they still find repeatedly that the academic world around them gives low priority to studies of the past in global framework.

World history is on the horns of a dilemma. On one hand, global historical studies are revolutionizing the understanding of the human past. Here are two examples. Geneticists are demonstrating that humans are

very closely related to each other, that our ancestors emerged in eastern Africa some 200,000 years ago, and that humans have a consistent pattern of biological mixing since then. It will be up to historians to square our newly confirmed genetic unity with the beliefs of recent centuries in racial distinctiveness and racial hierarchy. For more recent times, historians have led in identifying the unity of global economic systems since the sixteenth century and the suddenness of the Great Divergence, in which North Atlantic economies shot ahead of the rest of the world at some time in the nineteenth century, so that historians must now rewrite the balance of world regions in modern times.²

On the other hand world history, despite its accomplishments, has not become a priority for historians, for social scientists, or funding agencies. Academic priorities leave world history as a curiosity, a set of topics for tinkering by individual scholars, and not a terrain of broad relevance meriting coordinated investigation with substantial resources.

My purpose here is to address the growing community of world historians with an exploration of this dilemma in study of world history, looking back over the past ten years and forward for the next decade. I review and even celebrate the activities of the past decade; I offer predictions on the dilemmas and directions of the next decade, and some suggestions on what historians, as individuals and in groups, can do to influence the direction of our field. In my opinion, if we world historians succeed in creating strong institutions for research and study in our field, we can speed the creation of an improved, multidimensional, and interactive understanding of human society. If we fail to create such institutions, world history will remain frozen at the level of an overstuffed classroom experience and an arena for amateur speculations by gadflies at the margins of a global society that believes it has no past. I think it is probable that world history will reach its potential of becoming a substantial field of global knowledge. But I also think it is possible that world history might fail to advance significantly, and leave humanity without a sophisticated, planet-wide analysis of its past.

The Last Ten Years of Building World-historical Studies

I begin with a personal approach to building world history, because that is the story I know best. In the fall of 1994 the PhD program in history at Northeastern, with its emphasis on world history as a primary field, welcomed its first three students. At the same time the World His-

tory Center was formally proposed and informally launched, through its hosting of an NEH-supported program of lectures and workshops in world history, with Alfred Crosby as convenor. Formal recognition of the center by the university required a four-year wait.

The program's first success was that of staying alive for ten years. It brought in an average of three PhD students for each of the first seven years and kept most of them. Faculty, graduate students, and project employees designed, researched, and completed an instructional CD-ROM on migration in world history. Through the World History Seminar, over 70 public presentations were held over the course of ten years. In graduate instruction, faculty and students made progress in figuring out a way to balance and order a mix of global, area-studies, and multidisciplinary aspects of a PhD curriculum. The students completed PhDs and got tenure-track jobs in history departments, an achievement of particular significance. Faculty, teachers, and students created a World History Resource Center and through it provided programs of professional development for hundreds of teachers locally and nationally. The World History Center hosted the millennial WHA conference in Boston on the Northeastern University campus, and hosted four professional-development Symposia in association with other New England organizations. The sum total of these activities brought in over two million dollars in external funding.³

The obstacles encountered in the course of this work, however, were numerous and sufficient to restrain the program seriously. The hope of building a faculty strong in world history turned out to be illusory. The list of distinguished world historians ready to accept appointments at Northeastern included Andre Gunder Frank, Alfred Crosby, Ross Dunn, Xinru Liu, Lauren Benton, and Maghan Keita. But a combination of university budget cuts, administrative disregard for history, and tepid interest in world history by department members with other priorities on their mind left the Northeastern department without these famed historians. Other candidates, notably in Middle East history and a departmental chair candidate, successfully sought offers from Northeastern for the purpose of getting counter-offers elsewhere. Inter-campus bargaining gave these candidates nice raises and left the Northeastern program with no gain. Fortunately the Northeastern program was able to have Adam McKeown as assistant professor from 1998 to 2001.

Meanwhile, the administration declined to provide any ongoing sup-

port for the World History Center. The university president proposed to close the doctoral program in 1997 and the university administration imposed five graduate reviews on the department in ten years. The Education School, transfixed by math and science, could never cooperate effectively in preparing teachers of world history. The Massachusetts State Department of Education lost interest in world history after three years. The World History Center applied twice to the World History Association for recognition as an affiliated organization, and the proposal was declined in each case. Inside the department, jealousies and turf battles became more serious as university disinterest became manifest. The creation of a new doctoral program was proved feasible, but the institutions of the graduate committee, with its tasks of recruiting, record-keeping, fellowship allocation, mentoring, and placement, never became strong or stable.

In late 2002, with a history faculty that had fallen from 19 to 12, with only one world historian, and no support for the World History Center, I exercised my option as center director and decided that the center should close rather than continue in an impaired state, and so informed the dean. Ironically Northeastern awarded two world history PhDs in 2003 and awarded five degrees in 2004, the fruit of earlier investment in these students. The PhD program remains in place, but on a smaller scale than before.

The field of world history in the U.S. For the U.S. as a whole, the success of the *Journal of World History* brought the convening of annual conferences of the WHA starting 1992. The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) responded to a range of local proposals and provided substantial funding for teaching world history, especially at the collegiate level.⁴ H-WORLD, the online discussion group through H-Net, came online at the end of August 1994. Very soon thereafter, the National Standards in world history were published along with those in U.S. history. The storm of debate thereafter, while apparently threatening, did not halt and may even have furthered the expansion of world history as a field of study in U.S. high schools in the late 1990s.⁵ This implementation of world history curricula was the biggest change in secondary education during the 1990s.

The WHA held its first conference outside the U.S. in 1995, in Florence. The Northeastern PhD program joined those of Hawaii, Rutgers, and Ohio State, and was followed by programs at a growing number

of institutions. Book publication in world history has expanded dramatically, with series from M. E. Sharpe, Cambridge, McGraw-Hill, Routledge, Hawaii, and others. The AP World History course held its first exam in 2002, the largest new AP course ever. Among new journals are the online *World History Connected* and the forthcoming *Journal of Global History*.⁶ The *American Historical Review* opened a section on global history in its book reviews. The AHA Nominating Committee took the important step of including world history in its rotation of fields for the first time in twenty years, so that Howard Spodek and I were nominated in 2003 as candidates for vice president of the Teaching Division.⁷

Yet the expansion of world history in the U.S. has been no less problematic than was the case at my home institution. University programs emphasizing world history have come and gone over the years. Wisconsin, Chicago, Northwestern, Johns Hopkins, and other programs in the past had some years of activity in world history and then declined.⁸ The World History Association maintains itself, maintains its affiliation with the AHA, and maintains relations with the National Council of Social Studies (NCSS), but has been otherwise unable to do outreach to other organizations. The WHA has not been a member of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS), or the National Coalition for History (the historians' advocacy group).⁹ World historians, though believers in interdisciplinary study, have no formal ties with area studies associations or disciplinary associations outside history. Formal preparation for teachers of world history exists only at a few institutions. At the graduate level, there exists no high-level research center with an array of faculty resources and research materials. Area-studies programs support language training for their students; no such encouragement for language study exists for students of world history. Neither is there any formal system for disciplinary training or field work for graduate students in world history. While there is a cosmopolitan dimension to the community of world historians, the formal discourse in world history is English-only, and includes no clear ways to link it to discussion in other languages.

Part of the peculiarity in the development of world history is that, because of its generality, it has no clear social or economic constituency. Where national, ethnic, or gendered histories draw ready interest from the groups concerned, and while economic interests support studies in

chemical or medical history, world history gains support from world historians. This organizational characteristic, which may have strengths as well as weaknesses, will not go away, and I think it is important to study its implications for academic politics.

Academia in U.S. Now I expand my narrative to the next level of breadth, academic life generally in the U.S. Here there have been many changes of benefit for world history in the past ten years. World history has been accepted as a major teaching field, if not as a research field. Historians have turned to work that crosses frontiers of every sort, and in other fields, trans-disciplinary research has grown in importance. The American Historical Association has conducted four major conferences, two for researchers and two for community college teachers, on connections in history and the humanities.¹⁰ Further, the AHA's major review of graduate education promises to strengthen graduate education generally, and is giving substantial attention to world history.¹¹ In sum, the excitement brought by all the new knowledge appearing in so many fields leads, at a certain point, to recognition that the new knowledge has a temporal dimension, and in that regard it brings further expansion of historical studies. There is an opportunity for world historians to lead in coordinating and theorizing this new knowledge.

On the other hand, the near total lack of institutional support for world history remains a crippling restraint. Much of the void in institutional support has to do with the lack of regard for history as a research field. In many universities, selected historians ascend to high office in the administration because of their individual dedication, organizational and communication skills. But history departments do not receive and often do not request resources for expanded research. Historians, working as individuals in archives, are themselves partly responsible for this reputation: they ask only for a few travel dollars, and produce book after book of worthy research and interpretation. But for the work of preparing data on the history of the world, anyone can see that it would take substantial funding.

Historians may appeal for individual research or travel awards through the National Endowment for the Humanities or Fulbright. Historians (but not world historians) have done well with the individual-level MacArthur awards. The Social Science Research Council's "international" dissertation fellowship competition makes awards almost exclusively to area-studies candidates working on small-scale

projects.¹² In the rare cases where a university administration is willing to seek external funds for history, historians have been able to win NEH Challenge Grants, providing endowments as high as \$5 million that generated an annual income stream reaching \$50,000 per year in the times of high interest rates.¹³ The money for larger research teams, however, comes from the National Science Foundation (NSF), National Institutes of Health (NIH), and major private foundations, which rarely support history. Further, the system of peer review at NSF, organized by discipline, means that to obtain funding historians have to gain the approval of sociologists, economists, or geographers over projects from their own discipline. This structure crowds out new fields or those making connections across fields. Some new fields have been able to gain a place at the NSF table—behavioral neuroscience, for instance—but not world history.

Much of the problem in gaining access to research funding for world history lies in the inactivity of world historians in seeking support. But to the degree that world historians get active, they encounter formidable obstacles—within their departments, within their universities, and within the institutions that allocate support for research. World historians need to analyze the global system of research and research support, in order to understand how to find resources to advance their work.

Academia globally. University systems are growing and strengthening in prosperous areas of the planet: the universities of the European Union and China stand out in this regard. The expansion of electronic communication has been of immense importance in setting up long-distance links among scholars, and has enabled some otherwise isolated scholars to become productive and even central figures. Even in regions living with modest growth or fiscal stringency, the numbers of universities and students if not their budgets have grown significantly. The universities of Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa and the Arabic-language universities are of particular interest in this regard. UNESCO, itself seriously underfunded because of great-power rivalries, remains nonetheless the most central organ of international dialogue in the social sciences and humanities.¹⁴

Yet there is hardly the beginning of an international consortium of scholars or universities in the study of world history.¹⁵ The lack of structure for any multilingual discourse in world history restrains the breadth of analysis and understanding among English-speakers as among all

others.¹⁶

Challenges, Conceptual and Organizational

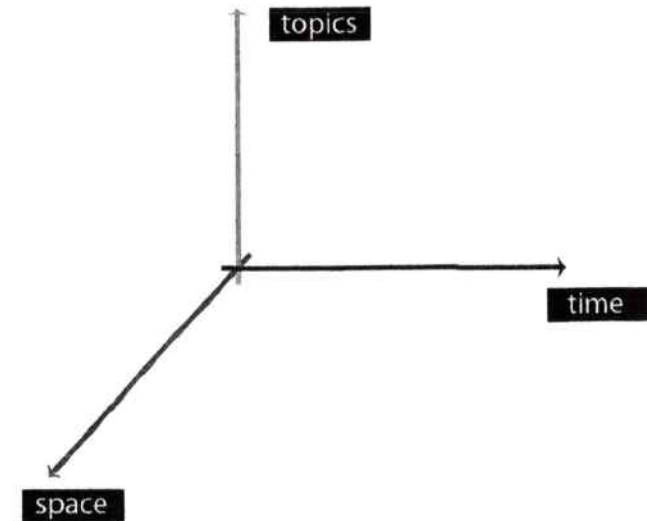
I have emphasized pessimism as much as optimism in this report. On one hand, powerful forces are creating the new knowledge that is taking the form of world history. On the other hand, society's members and leaders have power to marginalize global knowledge and restrict their view of the past to bite-size pieces. How is one to resolve the dilemma?

Well, we could just wait to see what happens. Or we could apply our intellectual skills to resolving it. I favor putting our minds and our shoulders to the issue in two ways. First is conceptualizing the global patterns in the world along with developing a system for studying them. Second is doing the organizational work of building institutions and alliances that will enable world-historical studies to thrive. I turn now to each of these, and argue that an emphasis on graduate education provides the most effective way to link the two and resolve the dilemma in favor of encouraging the expansion of learning about global historical patterns.

Conceptual challenges. I begin to address the conceptual challenges of global thinking with that most basic of world-historical insights: that one should look across the boundaries within human society to understand more of the past. If the insight is fundamental to interpretive strategy, much of its value leads to incremental rather than fundamental changes in our view of history. U.S. historians are becoming cosmopolitan enough to recognize that the French and Spanish Louisiana colony should be seen as part of the early history of what became the U.S., but many still decline to consider the global patterns in silver trade, sugar trade, emancipation, and imperial rivalries that conditioned the Louisiana Purchase. As in U.S. history, so also are historians of China now reformulating the history of the Middle Kingdom to show it as part of the world. Of these incremental yet significant additions to breadth in our interpretations of the past, one may ask how many are provided by world historians, and how many are emerging regardless of the efforts of world historians.

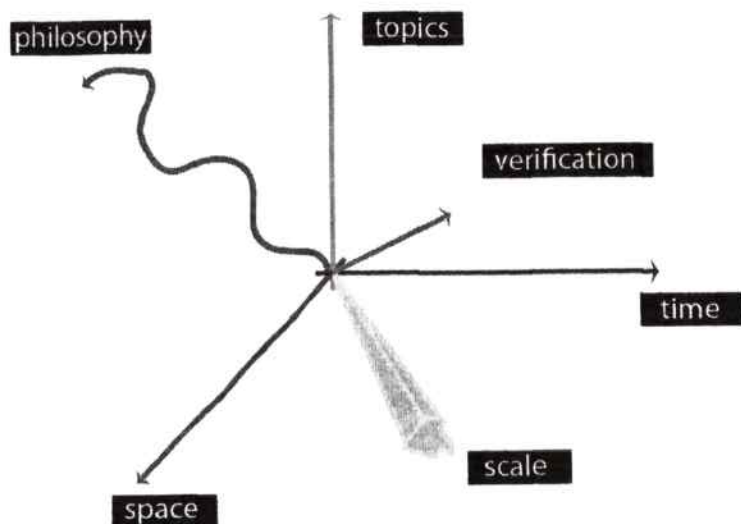
More basically, one may ask: how much should one focus on incremental changes, and how much on a major overhaul of world historical interpretation? The understanding of human evolution and human oc-

cupation of the earth, and of the early modern global economy and the subsequent Great Divergence, require conceptualization on a different scale. To imagine the possibility of a major overhaul of world historical studies, one needs to develop and debate typologies of world history. The debates of the recent H-WORLD Forum centering on my *Navigating World History* convinced me of that.¹⁷ Here is a start.



Spatial analysis of historical connections is complex enough: it addresses large regions and small, regional comparisons and interactions, and patterns of the global space. Along the axis of space world historians have long since joined the debate of national vs. global frameworks for history, and we are beginning to address more explicitly the linkages of global and local. Space, however, is only one dimension of the issues to be considered by world historians. Alongside the complex dimension of space one must consider the dimensions of time and topical breadth, each with its complexities. Along the axis of time, world historians are beginning to develop long-term interpretations of historic change, and are working up to a critique of the overwhelming focus of existing historiography on the past two centuries. The group that calls itself "global historians" seeks to address the future, and to use the dramatic transformations of the present as the measuring rod for historical studies.¹⁸ Along the axis of topical breadth, we face the question of which topics

to emphasize (from cultural to geological) and which disciplines to use and combine in exploring them. The three dimensions or axes of space, time, and topical breadth make explicit the immense potential range of world historical studies. Summarizing to this point, there is a growing understanding that the “global” in global history means not just the range of regions, but the range of time frames and the range of topical emphases and interactions.



But there exist at least three more dimensions to world historical study, each involving a roughly equivalent level of complexity and analytical choices. The fourth dimension is the overall scale of analysis, from short-term and local to long-term and planetary, with many possibilities in between. Even studies in Big History shift their scale: from treating the whole cosmos to analyzing a single planet for a mere century.¹⁹ The fifth dimension is that of the philosophy of the analyst, where one encounters approaches ranging from materialist to idealist, positivist to post-modern, empiricist to theoretical, and secular to spiritual. Will one approach win out? We cannot yet see whether we are headed toward philosophical coherence or cacophony, but we certainly need to sharpen our minds, our vocabularies, and our abilities to hear each other to be ready for the next decade's work on the philosophy of world

history. Within this dimension lie the questions arising from Benedetto Croce and Antonio Gramsci on whether world historians are creating a vision of global citizenship that produces obedience to certain interests.²⁰ The sixth dimension to historical analysis is that of verification. It is difficult enough to develop a historical interpretation at global scale, but readers will remain skeptical of conclusions until they see confirmation of the logical consistency and empirical documentation of the argument, along with a demonstration (according to a defined logic) that the argument is a more effective explanation than alternative interpretations.²¹

These six dimensions are too many to keep in mind at once, but one cannot arbitrarily drop most of them. We need to find ways to simplify our analysis, yet maintain contact with the global. For instance, David Christian recently offered a simple, one-dimensional index of the degree of globality of an author's approach: an index ranging from zero to ten.²² Another simplification would distinguish horizontal approaches to world history (linking regions or comparing time periods) from vertical approaches (linking local to global). Or one could categorize world historical studies into those at local levels, the intersocietal level, the species level, and the maximal or big-historical level. World historians must choose repeatedly whether to emphasize comprehensiveness or seek to find the key simplifications that render a complex world understandable. While I love elegant simplifications of big problems when they show up, I think that the basic skill of the world historian is practice in keeping all the major aspects of a problem in mind.

Reflection on the elements of this typology—on the several dimensions of world history—may bring exciting discoveries about world history, discoveries that will make us think much differently about ourselves and the possibilities that we face. As candidates for elegant simplifications or discoveries in world history, I offer four arguments from my recently completed survey of human migration.²³ They felt to me like an enticing hint into the frameworks and results that can emerge from studies of world history. First, the communities of early Homo sapiens can be interpreted not as isolated bands of a couple dozen people, but as language communities encompassing several hundred people who sustained regular communication with each other. Second, migration can be treated as a human instinct to the extent that, with the existence of language communities, a certain number of people in each genera-

tion moved from one language community to another, and learned the language and customs of their destination community. Third, the individual and social learning generated by such migration may account for much of the flexibility and adaptability that characterizes humans in contrast to all other mammals, and suggests that both migration and social learning have been central to our habits since the African Eve.²⁴ Fourth, the evidence of language gives independent and perhaps decisive information on the paths taken by humans crossing the continents and occupying the planet.²⁵ These four generalizations, while arguably providing the basis for a long-term interpretation of human migratory processes, must nevertheless be developed in considerable complexity and comprehensiveness before the world historian is done with them.

Debating the typology of world history will help us not only to develop new interpretations of history but also to make decisions on the direction of the field. Should we emphasize a major overhaul of world historical studies or give priority to incremental changes in the field? Should world historians label their research enterprise as “global studies” rather than “world history,” to get in touch with other disciplines and escape the isolation and underfunding of historians? The danger would be that of separating ourselves from the millions of students in courses on world history. Should we emphasize the subfields of world history? If so, how should we define the subfields of world history: by discipline, by time period, by scale, or otherwise? While comparative studies of nations or empires differ greatly from planetary studies of culture or ecology, world historians are a small community, and recognizing subfields risks decreasing their influence.

Organizational challenges. The organizational challenges to be faced in building world history are imposing. One major function of historical studies is to help members of society to understand social relations in the setting of the human environment. Our social leaders persist, however, in thinking that there exists one world in physical terms, but many separate worlds in social terms: physics, geology, and biology are global, but we have American history, Chinese literature, and anthropology for indigenous peoples. Globalization studies of short time-frame will provide some insights, but will fail to identify long-term patterns of continuity and change. When world historical insights are seen as a positive result of recent analysis, these benefits are seen as materializing without cost. In short, investment in a well-organized, long-term analy-

sis of human society is given the lowest priority by those who see history as a way to celebrate the past but not to analyze it. The willingness of the U.S. Congress to put unprecedented though still small amounts of money—over \$100 million in each of the last five years—into teaching American history (or sometimes “traditional American history”) shows how clearly history is pictured as an exercise in belief rather than in knowledge.²⁶ Even UNESCO, with its global heritage sites, foregrounds the celebration of the past rather than analyzing it.²⁷

An example of the continuing dilemma of funding world history emerged at the Boston conference of April 2004, through the failure of an attempt to organize a panel on research funding. Beginning in December 2003, I invited representatives from major funding institutions to a panel on the question of how a rising field can work to obtain research funding. I wrote and called to NEH, NSF, SSRC, the American Council of Learned Societies, Ford Foundation, Carnegie Foundation, and Spencer Foundations. Only NEH responded with interest, and was too short on funds to allow a representative to come. The session had to be cancelled. This for a research-agenda conference with 190 participants, sponsored by the World History Association and the American Historical Association.

What will it take to build up world-historical studies as a rigorous, collaborative, successful field of research, able to support teaching at a high level? What will it take for this promising field of study to gain substantial research funding? The strategic choices we face, in trying to build world-historical studies, may be categorized into patient and impatient approaches, and into individual and collaborative approaches, using individual resources or based on external funding.

There is the patient work of individual analysts, slowly learning global insights out of regional training. That is the main way in which the literature on world history has developed. World historians have lost an immense amount of time, however, as each writer has had to reinvent basic principles of global analysis. On the other hand, we have by no means exhausted the benefits that will come from this approach—the recent AHA conferences on Connections and Seascapes show how much wonderful insight comes from self-trained world historians.²⁸ Then there are the impatient plans of public officials to impose a world-history curriculum throughout school systems, without planning or professional development. By hurrying and cutting corners they have

saddled most students of world history with inadequate course materials and unprepared teachers. So the question of where to apply patience and where to apply impatience in the development of world history is most complex. My own approach is to suggest impatience with creation of the basic outlook of the world historian and the basic institutions for study of world history, and patience with the development of insights and results within the structure of those ideas and institutions.

For instance, there still has been no definitive step taken toward investing in a world history faculty or in training students or providing research funds in world history, although some promising steps are now being taken, as I will indicate later on. Yet I recommend strategic impatience with this state of affairs, and insistence that world history be recognized as a research field, and rapidly so. On the other hand, for those of our students and colleagues who have taken on world history as an area of serious interest, I counsel patience in allowing them to pursue their studies and develop their ideas, rather than have short-term battles about what is precisely the right way to analyze world history.

Overall, I favor a mix of conceptual and organizational work to shore up a basic focus on research and teaching. One can be certain that world history, however fascinating, will remain a complex and challenging arena of study, so that we cannot plan on making definitive breakthroughs any more than we can plan on working within massive research centers. There will be no Watson and Crick to discover the double helix for world history. Instead, world historians will have to develop new and more complex metaphors for discovery. We will need to demonstrate the worth of incremental advance in multiple areas of knowledge at the same time. If world historians can demonstrate that problems in world history are of broad intellectual and social significance and achieve significant research results addressing these problems, then a determined organizational effort to gather support for such research will probably meet with success.

Time is on the side of expanded attention to world history. But some timepieces do not budge until pushed.

The Next Ten Years: Dreams, Predictions, and Suggestions

Making predictions and recommendations is risky, but it is a way to test the logic and the specifics of one's analysis. In this third section of my review of the field of world history, I offer projections on the num-

ber and type of doctoral degrees in world history to be completed in the next ten years. I expect a hiatus in the development of new scholars in world history, but I also expect that growing international linkages of world history programs will ultimately overcome the current blockages to the development of world history as a thriving research field. In the meantime I offer suggestions on how individuals can advance their skills in world history in and out of formal programs.

World history in U.S. In my opinion, the single most important task in the advancement of world historical studies is the training of specialist world historians at the doctoral level. I am trying to draw boundaries across the fuzzy landscape of higher education to distinguish three groups: those with formal specialization in world history as a major field (with four or more graduate courses in world history plus supplemental courses in regional history and interdisciplinary studies); those with formal training in world history as a minor field (who have one or two graduate courses in world history plus course work in their major field); and those without formal training in world history who have read actively on their own. In the ten years from 1994 to 2004, as I estimate it in Table 1, 17 PhDs were awarded in the U.S. to majors in world history, 12 of them at Northeastern (see Table 1).

There may be more from other institutions than I know about, but other institutions have been extraordinarily shy in identifying world history as the major field of their PhDs. I am guessing that a roughly equal number of PhDs with minors in world history were granted in the past decade, for instance from Rutgers University.²⁹

At the current modest rate of expansion, I estimate a 50% increase in the next decade: that the new programs of universities in the U.S. will produce another 26 PhDs with majors in world history in the ten years from 2004 to 2014 (see Table 1). The creation of new programs in world history at institutions with no more than one or two specialized world history faculty members leads me to expect that most of their graduates will have PhDs with world history as a minor field. I expect that they may produce about 38 additional PhDs with minor fields in world history. Assuming that all of these gain and keep employment as world historians (whether in universities or beyond), the total number of degree-qualified world historians would rise from 17 specialists and 33 total in 2004 to 43 specialists and 97 total in 2014. I expect that most

Table 1. Estimated Past and Future PhDs in World History from U.S. institutions, 1994-2014³⁰

	World History Specialists		World History Minor Field	
	Northeastern degrees	Other degrees	Northeastern degrees	Other degrees
1994-95				1
1995-96				1
1996-97				1
1997-98				1
1996-99			1	1
1999-00	2	1		1
2000-01	3	1		2
2001-02		1		2
2002-03	2	1		2
2003-04	5	1	1	2
1994-2004	Total Specialists: 17		Total Minor Field: 16	
2004-05	3	1		2
2005-06	1	1		3
2006-07		1		3
2007-08		2	1	3
2008-09		2		3
2009-10		2	1	3
2010-11		3		4
2011-12		3	1	4
2012-13		3		4
2013-14		4	1	5
2004-14	Total Specialists: 26		Total Minor Field: 38	

publication in world history by junior scholars will come from those with specialization in world history rather than from those with minor fields in world history. That means that the 43 specialized world historians as of 2014 will publish most of the new research in the field by junior scholars for the following ten years, up to 2024. This small group will remain a fraction of one percent of the roughly eight thousand history PhDs completed in each decade in the U.S.³¹

Perhaps in the following decade, ending up in 2024, there will be a more significant number of world history PhDs. If substantial PhD programs specializing in world history form and expand in the years from 2008 to 2018, they should produce increased numbers of world history PhDs in the period from 2014 to 2024. At the most optimistic we might

hope for 80 specialized world history doctorates to be granted in that decade, giving us a total of 120 world-history specialists and perhaps twice that many with world history as a second field. That would at last be over one percent of all history PhDs, though not as much as one percent of practicing historians.

Of course there will be many more self-declared and self-trained world historians, among junior scholars and among maturing scholars whose interests broaden from their initial areas of emphasis. Doubtless some of them will become distinguished leaders in the field. But the strength of the field will be limited by the number and the depth of those with the highest level of training. The smaller the number of world-history specialists, the slower world history will advance beyond its current, dominantly amateur, organization and discourse.

I do not mean to be disrespectful of the potential of self-trained world historians to make substantial contributions to the understanding of the global past. But neither do I want to underestimate the formative power of a doctoral education. When a doctoral candidate goes through coursework, exams, and a dissertation that puts top priority on understanding a national experience, or focusing on the early twentieth century, or privileging post-modern theory, or emphasis on political and economic factors rather than cultural factors, or focusing only on English-language literature—those priorities become habits. They become the lens through which the scholar views all subsequent academic issues.

Fortunately there is mid-life crisis, that reevaluation of life's direction that comes in the forties even to those who received their PhDs in their thirties. Mid-life reevaluation is a time for significant rethinking—even revolutionary changes in outlook. But the scholar at mid-life generally does the reading and analysis informally and on a self-taught basis, rather than with the intensity of graduate school, so that new investments in study at mid-life do not match those of graduate school. In any case, what I am looking forward to is seeing the new perspectives that emerge from the mid-life crises of scholars who had specialized initially in world history.

I expect, therefore, that there will be a sort of hiatus in world historical research for the next decade. The field has advanced significantly based on the energies of those who have adopted world history in mid-life. I do not expect that the field will experience any further leap ahead until it is led by a significant number of scholars who are world histori-

ans from the start of their academic career. Once enough of the world-history specialists are tenured and publishing their second books, one may hope to see the strengthening of a high-level discourse based on new research into global patterns. That will take about twenty years from now.

Academia in U.S. To help us through this oncoming hiatus, here are two institutions on which world historians may rely. The World History Network, created by the World History Center and supported by a grant from NEH, is a website intended to link as wide a range of world historical activities as possible, both in research and teaching.³² At best, it will assist in knitting researchers and teachers in various regions of the world into a network able to strengthen the inquiry and exchange of ideas about world history. It includes, for instance, a registry of research in progress and of curriculum projects, reports on recent research, and links to resources on interdisciplinary research methods. But it cannot work for long as a volunteer structure, and will require ongoing funding to do its job well. Second, the World History Association formed in 2003 a Research Committee under the leadership of Jerry Bentley. Discussions leading up to the creation of this committee included such ideas as seeking post-doctoral fellowships to be associated with graduate programs in world history, holding agenda-setting conferences on world history, and encouraging other sorts of collaboration among institutions.

Academia in the U.S. does seem to be moving toward recognition of world history as a legitimate and significant field of study. The AHA's co-sponsorship of the Boston conference of April 2004 was an unusually strong statement by an organization that grants few endorsements. Similarly, the AHA report on graduate education is an unusually energetic and well thought-out effort to advance the quality of doctoral studies and now of MA studies.³³ The world-historical plank of the report was debated at length, and came out rather strong. At the same time the AHA has shown through its journal and its programs that history beyond the national paradigm is no monopoly of world historians.³⁴

Within the field of history, the next decade will see the establishment of patterns for world history appointments. Will world history be treated as another region? Will topical appointments in transnational subjects such as environmental history cause history departments to move away from the strictly geographical model of past appointments? Some

departments, especially smaller ones, will hyphenate world historians with regional specializations. But if no major departments in the decade to come create positions specializing in world history, in one way or another, the university system will have confirmed the failure of world history to become a research field.

Yet another test comes in the area of research centers. In the U.S., where multidisciplinary centers—especially area-studies centers but also other multidisciplinary centers—have been spectacularly successful producers of knowledge, the absence of any global studies centers giving significant attention to historical studies stands out like a sore thumb. The model is so clear and so well established that the absence of any significant centers is a clear statement that world history is seen as insignificant. The two centers that stand as counter-examples to my generalization are the Fernand Braudel Center at Binghamton, founded 1976, and the Institute for Research on World Systems at the University of California, Riverside, founded in 2000.³⁵ Both are led by sociologists and have made major contributions to global studies. Neither has received large-scale funding or energetic collaboration from other disciplines. As an additional institution showing some promise, the University of California multicampus research group on world history has had several years of funding for regular meetings and some additional support.³⁶

Let us turn to the immediate future for U.S.-based doctoral programs in world history. The AHA online guide for 2004 listed 14 departments announcing programs leading to PhD degrees in world or global history.³⁷ Of these, University of Hawaii, Washington State University and Northeastern University are the most likely to award degrees within the next two years; Washington State University, with about ten doctoral candidates specializing in world history, is currently the largest program. The History Department at New York University has gathered several leading historians with strong credentials in transnational history, but has chosen to restrict world history to the M.A. level, while emphasizing Atlantic history and African Diaspora history as doctoral fields. The University of California at Los Angeles has recruited a formidable array of world historians, but has yet to announce a structured, global program of graduate study.³⁸ Columbia University, however, announced a new PhD track in International and Global History in 2004. Thus, it appears that a wave of doctoral programs in world history may

arise by 2010, which may be able to produce as many as a dozen world history PhDs a year beginning 2015. That would be the end of the current hiatus.

Perhaps it is by going beyond the national perspective and emphasizing transnational academic connections that world history can make the most immediate progress as a research field.

International discussion of world history. International discussion of world history takes place through H-WORLD and other discussion lists, through print journals, through informal contacts, and through the growing number of participating institutions. Nankai University in China and Osaka University in Japan have each renamed a department as the "Department of World History." In each case a department was formed out of numerous historians with specializations outside of the home country; some department members have interest in world history as a discipline.³⁹ At the London School of Economics, Patrick K. O'Brien has used his Centennial Professorship to build a faculty and an MSc concentration in global economic history. In addition, O'Brien led in obtaining a multi-year grant from the Leverhulme Foundation that is sponsoring ten conferences at cities around the world, gathering leading authorities on global economic history.⁴⁰ In Japan, Shingo Minamizuka of Hosei University has led in the creation of the Research Institute for World History, an independent non-profit organization conducting world historical research.⁴¹ In addition, there are active groups at Macquarie University in Sydney, at Leipzig University, at Leiden University, at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, at the University of the Western Cape in Cape Town, and elsewhere. And, as noted earlier, the World History Network, Inc. was formed in 2004 in Boston as a nonprofit corporation intended to facilitate worldwide collaboration in world-historical research.⁴²

To restate this growing interest in world-historical research in terms of nations rather than institutions: among the nations with significant numbers of world historians and at least some institutional presence of world history, in addition to the U.S., are Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Germany, India, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Russia, Singapore, South Africa, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. There are other and smaller national groups, including individuals such as Victor Julius Ngoh, the Cameroonian scholar who has published at least two world histories in his own country.⁴³

The main international forum for discussing history is the International Congress of Historical Sciences, which meets every five years (2000 in Oslo, 2005 in Sydney). A complex and largely European-dominated process leads the ICHS, and it makes decisions slowly. I think it would make sense for world historians to make an organized effort to arrange the holding of sessions on world history at the 2009 meeting of ICHS, and if not then go all out for 2013. At the same time, the World History Association, along with other groups of globally oriented historians, should consider seriously whether to create an organization parallel to ICHS—a worldwide congress of world historians.

In addition to talking with each other at the transnational level, world historians may think of talking to transnational institutions and their leaders. UNESCO needs to have some formal connection to organized world historians. The private foundations of wealthy individuals and successful corporations are looking for worthy causes. Paul Keeler, in the U.K., succeeded in drawing on private and governmental interest in funding a historical presentation of connections across the Islamic world to build "The Golden Web," and from that level extended his work to join in a much more comprehensive Electronic Cultural Atlas Initiative.⁴⁴ My own grant-writing efforts included a search for funding for a world history databank, creating systematic social-scientific data for world regions over the past several centuries.⁴⁵ The World Bank and other international organizations will ultimately see the need for investing in such research.

Recommendations for individuals. From the point of view of individual world historians, we do not know what will happen, and we cannot be sure that the world around us will shift its priorities to make world history a more central topic. In attempt to advance world historical study in this uncertain scholarly world the optimum approach, which I call Plan A, is for the individual world historian to work as part of a group. The alternative, Plan B, is for the individual to work effectively though alone.

Let me begin with faculty members able to work in pairs, teaching in programs where advanced students take one or two courses in world history in studying to be teachers of world history or PhD candidates with world history as a minor field. These faculty members, in association with colleagues in area-studies history and other disciplines, can hope to build an effective single-campus program. Such a program is

in place at Rutgers, led by Michael Adas and Allen Howard. Arguably the teacher-preparation programs at California State University – Long Beach and San Diego State, at undergrad and MA levels, fit this category. In another such collaboration at Osaka University, Shigera Akita of the Department of World History and Kaoru Sugihara of the Department of Economics share a World History Seminar which brings speakers from Japan and overseas.⁴⁶ These institutions have much to gain with collaboration among each other and with other institutions active in study of world history.

Then one can imagine faculty members in groups of four or more, whose students take four courses in world history along with regional and interdisciplinary courses and complete global dissertations to become specialists in world-historical research. So far it has proved virtually impossible to create groups of this size, and I think that only in exceptional circumstances can this vision reasonably be pursued on a single-campus model.⁴⁷ The faculty members seeking to train world-history specialists will have to devote substantial energies to creating and sustaining linkages to other doctoral programs and to allies in other disciplines and to fund-raising. I do salute those senior scholars who are going back for another try at creating programs of world-historical research: Terry Burke at Santa Cruz, Zhang Weiwei at Nankai, Mathias Middell at Leipzig, and Patrick O'Brien and his colleagues at LSE. I hope we will soon learn how many such individuals need to be in regular contact before their efforts are sufficient to create programs effective in training of specialist world historians.

There are a few young scholars—notably Adam McKeown at Columbia, Marnie Hughes-Warrington at Macquarie, and Heather Streets at Washington State—who have focused on global issues from the beginning of their careers and who have gained secure bases at major universities where their colleagues are willing to go beyond toleration and provide active support for their work. Without assuming that they will be able to make the one-campus model work for world history where it has failed before, one must note the immense potential in prestige and productivity that can come from their work. Let me also note the energetic and effective work of Stephen Rapp at Georgia State, where the Program in World History and Cultures has potential to become a substantial research program, and of Kerry Ward at Rice, where plans for graduate study are developing with particular support from Gale

Stokes.

Many other world historians must work as individuals, given institutional situations that do not enable them to work either with colleagues in world history or with advanced students in the field. For senior historians, whether still employed or in retirement, it is a question of whether the pens can still keep up with the minds, and if so then continuing to publish is as worthy as ever. William McNeill and Alfred Crosby provide examples of continuing output and new ideas, book after book.⁴⁸ I am not shy about stating my own views about such a path: my preference would be to work in a group of world-historical specialists, in research and graduate training, with adequate institutional support. But I do not control that choice, and my Plan B would be to emulate McNeill and Crosby and find a way to carry on individual research and writing.

For young scholars who are devoted to world history but who do not yet have the prime positions that guarantee them a smooth path, I do want to suggest some priorities. *Publish*—put out those pieces of research you have completed, large and small, and let them add to your own experience and the wider discourse. *Conceptualize*—think about the boundaries and shapes of world history, and ways to study and explain the patterns. *Collaborate*—learn how to work together, and how to get past the inevitable difficulties of sharing projects. Experiment with the various types and levels of collaboration, with old friends close to home and with new acquaintances far away. *Travel*—world history is more than travelogue, but the benefits of frequent and distant voyages should not be underestimated. Travel gives you new perspectives and new connections, and a fresh look at your home. *Read*—there is no way to read it all, but every bit of reading helps. Study languages by improving the languages you have and learning a new language every once in a while. *Study new disciplines*—there is no reason for your learning to be restricted to learning the next operating system on your computer. Better to take on a new social science or a new area of cultural studies, whether it is faddish or just conveniently at hand. And, of course, *teach*—teach as wide a range of courses in world history as possible. The exercise will do you good. Some balance of these activities will keep the world historian alert, perhaps even content, and ready to participate in any larger ventures in the field if and when such larger ventures coalesce.

Conclusion: A Potlatch for the Moment

I had really hoped, as late as the beginning of 2001, that the World History Center could have a continuing existence, and that I might avoid seeing yet another turn in the ten-year cycle of global study rising and then dissipating at an isolated institution. But when it was clear that Northeastern University would not have the resources or the faculty for a major center, my response was unhesitating: better to close the center and leave a memory of its vision than let it carry on as a parody of itself. My decision came in the fall of 2001. Implementing this sunset took over two more years, because each of the responsibilities of the Center—to doctoral students, to funding agencies, to colleagues throughout the history profession—needed to be concluded in an orderly fashion. The idea of a ceremony to wrap it up, some upbeat statement about the future of the world-historical enterprise, came later.

The Boston conference on “World History: The Next Ten Years” was of course an academic meeting. In another way, however the conference was a sort of academic potlatch. The term “potlatch” comes from the peoples of the Northwest Coast of North America and refers to “ceremonial distributions of property to guests specially invited,” often marked by carving of totem poles. Franz Boas of Columbia University, the founder of American professional anthropology, wrote of the potlatches of the Kwakiutl especially in his 1894 visit to their towns on Vancouver Island.⁴⁹ It is a sensible ceremony.

Through hard work and good fortune, the associates of the World History Center had built up a substantial fund of resources and ideas over a decade: books, records of scores of teaching workshops, records of graduate courses, dozens of grant proposals, the collaborative experience of a score of world historians and another score of talented and imaginative center staff members. The Center even brought in some revenue from sale of the Migration CD.⁵⁰ With the conference and its aftermath, the directors of the Center gave away as much as possible of its property as gifts to friends and associates, and carried on discussions about giving away the remainder. Rates for the conference were kept low, so that the Center gave away the last of its funds in bringing participants together for a discussion that was hoped to be productive. Food and drink were presented and consumed in profusion, to add to the quality of the celebration. The World History Center website became an archive at the end of June 2004 as the Center itself closed—the website

remains online, but as a read-only site, not to be updated thereafter.⁵¹ It includes a totem pole on its home page, in memory of the occasion of the closing conference. The potlatch was so that participants would remember the occasion, and in hope that the gifts provided and the experience shared would provide all present with systematic encouragement to maintain their own energies in building this fascinating field of study that is world history.⁵² The point was to enjoy the moment. Who could tell where we would all be in another ten years?

Notes

1. This chapter was delivered orally at the conference on “World History: The Next Ten Years” in Boston, March 13, 2004. It has been revised and updated since then. The references to the past decade and the next decade remain roughly appropriate and have not been changed.
2. Christopher Stringer and Robin McKie, *African Exodus: The Origins of Modern Humanity* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997); Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: World Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
3. These past activities of the World History Center are documented in its archival website, <http://www.worldhistorycenter.org/>.
4. At the World History Association conference in June 2004, NEH staff member Judith Jeffrey Howard distributed a list of roughly 90 awards made by NEH since 1900 that had some connection to world history.
5. Charlotte Crabtree and Gary B. Nash, eds., *National Standards for World History: Exploring Paths to the Present* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1994); see also H-WORLD postings on “National Standards” and related subjects, October 1994–April 1995 (<http://www.h-net.org/~world>). On the growth of public-school instruction in the U.S. on world history, see Susan Douglass, *Teaching About Religion in National and State Social Studies Standards* (Fountain Valley, CA: Council on Islamic Education, 2000).
6. *World History Connected* appeared in 1994 at <http://worldhistoryconnected.press.uiuc.edu>, edited by Heather Streets and Tom Laichas; *The Journal of Global History*, edited by William Gervase Clarence-Smith, is to appear at Cambridge University Press in 2006.
7. I was elected, and serve a three-year term, 2004–2006.
8. Studies in world history were carried out at the University of Wisconsin under Philip Curtin in the 1960s and 1970s; at the Johns Hopkins Univer-

- sity under Philip Curtin from the late 1970s to the 1990s; at the University of Chicago under William McNeill and Marshall Hodgson in the 1960s, with McNeill continuing to the 1980s; and at Northwestern University under Leften Stavrianos in the 1960s and 1970s. In all these cases, the departure of the leading individual led to lapse of study in world history.
9. At latest report, officers of the WHA were discussing the possibility that the organization might join the ACLS.
 10. The AHA sponsored research conferences on "Interactions: Regional Studies, Global Processes, and Historical Analysis" (2001) and on "Seascapes, Littoral Cultures, and Trans-Oceanic Exchanges" (2003); it sponsored summer seminars for community college faculty on "Explorations in Empire" (2001) and on "Trans-Oceanic Exchanges" (2003).
 11. Thomas Bender, Philip M. Katz, and Colin Palmer, *The Education of Historians for the Twenty-First Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004). Implementing a major recommendation of the report, the AHA website began in October 2004 to list detailed information on doctoral programs on its website: <http://www.historians.org>.
 12. Patrick Manning, *Navigating World History: Historians Create a Global Past* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 166.
 13. Hawaii Pacific University won a National Endowment for the Humanities Challenge Grant that helped to provide funding for an endowed faculty position in world history.
 14. UNESCO contributions in world history include the selection of World Heritage sites (<http://www.unesco.org>), a web portal for archives: (http://www.unesco.org/webworld/portal_archives/pages/Archives/), and a web portal for libraries (http://www.unesco.org/webworld/portal_bib/Libraries/).
 15. Some promising new developments are discussed below.
 16. The H-WORLD electronic discussion list is formally open to submissions in any language, and in its early years included a few postings in French, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and German. With time, however, its postings have been in English only, though bibliographical citations are occasionally in languages other than English.
 17. H-WORLD Forum, February 2004.
 18. Wolf Schäfer, "The New Global History: Toward A Narrative for Pangaea Two," *Erwägen, Wissen, Ethik* 14 (2003), 73–88; see also the commentaries and reply following on pages 88–135.
 19. David Christian, *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
 20. Benedetto Croce, *History As The Story Of Liberty* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1941); Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 2 vols., trans. and ed. Joseph A. Buttigieg (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

21. See especially Manning, *Navigating World History*, 297–312.
22. David Christian, H-WORLD, 19 February 2004.
23. Patrick Manning, *Migration in World History* (London: Routledge, 2004).
24. Patrick Manning, "Cross-Community Migration: A Distinctive Human Pattern," forthcoming in *Social Evolution in History*.
25. Patrick Manning, "Homo sapiens Occupies the Earth: A Provisional Synthesis, Privileging Linguistic Data," forthcoming in *Journal of World History*.
26. On Teaching American History grants, see the U.S. Department of Education website at <http://www.ed.gov/programs/teachinghistory/index.html>.
27. On UNESCO global heritage sites, see <http://www.unesco.org>.
28. See note 9 above.
29. Thanks to Allen Howard for the list of Rutgers PhDs with world history as a second field.
30. Columns 2 and 3 show PhDs with world history as *major* field awarded (to 2004) and projected (after 2004) from Northeastern University and from other U.S. institutions; totals are shown for the decades 1994–2004 and 2004–14. Columns 4 and 5 show PhDs with world history as a *second* field awarded (to 2004) and projected (after 2004) from Northeastern University and from other U.S. institutions; totals are shown for the decades 1994–2004 and 2004–14. Figures are approximations as I best surmise.
31. Robert B. Townsend, "History Job Market Report 2002: Gains Despite Poor Economy," *Perspectives* (American Historical Association), December 2002.
32. World History Network, <http://www.worldhistorynetwork.org>.
33. Bender et al., *The Education of Historians*; see also the report of the Committee on the Master's Degree, on the AHA website, <http://www.historians.org>, by search or at <http://www.historians.org/projects/cmd/Dustbin.pdf>.
34. Of the main articles published in the *American Historical Review* in 2004, over 20% include a significant emphasis on world-historical perspectives, by my count.
35. The Fernand Braudel Center at Binghamton University is directed by Immanuel Wallerstein (<http://fbc.binghamton.edu/>); the Institute for Research on World-Systems at the University of California, Riverside is led by Christopher Chase-Dunn (<http://www.irows.ucr.edu/>).
36. This multicampus research group on world history has held regular meetings, though its results have not been made widely available; see <http://repositories.cdlib.org/ucwhw/>.
37. The AHA's new and comprehensive online guide to PhD programs is

- available at <http://www.historians.org>.
38. Newly arrived at UCLA are Bin Wong, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Anthony Pagden. Other active researchers in world history in that department are Richard Von Glahn and Christopher Ehret. The University of Hawaii, similarly, has Jerry Bentley, David Chappell, and Herbert Ziegler as world history specialists and other faculty members with active interest in world history.
 39. Zhang Weiwei and Chen Zhiqiang from Nankai attended the Boston conference in March 2004.
 40. <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/economicHistory/GEHN.htm>.
 41. <http://www.nop-if.jp/riwh>.
 42. Key figures at these institutions include Marnie Hughes-Warrington and Adrian Carton at Macquarie, Pier Vries and Fred Spier at Leiden, Mathias Mittel at Leipzig, Diego Olstein at the Hebrew University, and Leslie Witz at the University of the Western Cape. On the World History Network, see <http://www.worldhistorynetwork.org>, "about us."
 43. Victor Julius Ngoh, *The World Since 1919: A Short History* (Yaounde: Pioneer Publishers, 1989).
 44. On the Electronic Cultural Atlas Project, see <http://www.ecai.org/>.
 45. See <http://www.worldhistorynetwork.org/manning/databank.doc>.
 46. Visiting speakers address students and faculty in the Department of World History and then address a combined audience of historians and economists, thus emphasizing an interdisciplinary approach.
 47. UCLA and Hawaii, as noted above, are potential exceptions, as is LSE in the field of global economic history.
 48. Post-retirement books by Crosby and McNeill include Alfred W. Crosby, *The Measure of Reality: Quantification in Western Europe, 1250-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Crosby, *Throwing Fire: Projectile Technology through History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); William H. McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); W. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Truth: A Historian's Memoir* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2005); and John R. McNeill and William H. McNeill, *The Human Web: A Bird's-Eye View of World History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003).
 49. Franz Boas, "The Potlatch," in Helen Codere, ed., *Kwakiutl Ethnography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 77-104.
 50. Patrick Manning, project director, *Migration in Modern World History, 1500-2000* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2000). This instructional CD-ROM, containing 400 documents, 60,000 words of text and 1000 questions, was produced at the World History Center beginning 1995 with support from the Annenberg/CPB Project.

51. <http://www.worldhistorycenter.org>.
52. Elizabeth Ten-Dyke spoke extemporaneously and eloquently (following the March 13, 2004 presentation of this paper) on the meaning of the potlatch ceremony and its applicability to the World History Center and the Next Ten Years conference. I am grateful for her comment and her insight.

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