

HIST 295-03:

When the World Became Global: Early Modern Empire, Expansion, and Exchange, 1500-1800

Grinnell College, Spring 2018

TTH @ 1:00-2:20, Science 2024

Syllabus subject to change

Professor Catherine Chou (choucath@grinnell.edu)

Office Hours: MW @ 4:00-6:00 p.m., or by appointment, Mears Cottage 211

Course Description

The term 'globalization' conjures images of up novel forms of interaction and connection in the modern age. But the roots of many of these phenomena lie in developments that took place during the period historians now refer to as the 'early modern' – the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries.

This course will explore how and why the world became integrated, interdependent, and 'global', through 1) processes of colonization and expansion; 2) the emergence of modern capitalist instruments and markets; 3) intensified voluntary and forced migration; and 4) intellectual, cultural, scientific, and biological exchanges. We will engage with foundational and cutting-edge scholarship that has redefined the field of world history by de-centering the role of Europe and distinguishing the heterogeneous imperialism of the early modern era (practiced by Islamic and Asian empires, as well as European ones) from the Western hegemony of the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries. We will also learn to analyze and contextualize a range of primary sources, grappling in particular with the difficulties of reconstructing the history of encounter and exchange in cases where the written record was produced primarily or exclusively by one side.

This course is organized spatially, around four bodies of water that facilitated regional and global entanglement. We begin in the Mediterranean, where we investigate how the flow of ideas, people, and goods from Christian Europe to the Ottoman Empire and vice versa served both to create a common cultural and political space and to sharpen the distinctions (perceived and enforced) between the two.

Next, we will examine how the silver trade – driven by Iberian exploitation of mines in Mexico and Peru, the booming Chinese export market, and European desire for Chinese goods – resulted in the first truly global economic system, spanning both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

Afterwards, we will turn to the emerging Atlantic world, starting with the forced migration of African slaves to the Americas and the impetus that the 'triangular trade' provided for the invention of modern systems of credit and financing. We will study how the encounter between Europeans, Africans, and Native Americans in the Atlantic world resulted in the development of syncretic cultural and religious practices, changing as well as reifying the legal identities of all three groups.

Finally, we will shift our attention to Asia, examining how the long-standing, (relatively) peaceful trade in the Indian Ocean region between China, East Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia and was upset by the arrival in the early sixteenth century of the Portuguese. In turn, the Portuguese empire in Asia was eclipsed by

the Dutch and English East India Companies in the seventeenth century. We will discuss the new forms of 'corporate sovereignty' practiced by these Companies, which also controlled and administered territory, before concluding by investigating two case studies of European and Asian 'co-colonization' in the Pacific, on the islands of Taiwan and the Philippines.

Main Questions

1. What was distinctive about globalization in the early modern era, compared to the periods that came before and after? At what point can we say that the world became 'global' and why?
2. In what ways did early modern European imperialism depend on or enable the imperial ventures of Islamic and Asian powers, and why? Was European imperialism qualitatively different than the kind practiced by other civilizations? How did colonized and subject peoples adapt to and redefine the laws, cultures, and categories imposed on them?
3. Was there indeed a 'Great Divergence' between 'the West' and 'the Rest'? When did it take place and why? Why are historians, politicians, and cultural commentators so interested in this question? How do the readings and discussions in this course challenge the boundaries and characteristics of 'the West' and its role in shaping and defining modernity for 'the Rest'?

Required Books and Readings

Textbook (Available at Pioneer Bookstore)

1. Robert Tignor, et al. *Worlds Together, Worlds Apart, Volume 2* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2015)

Course packet readings available online via P-web; **print the week's readings and bring to class**

A note on the readings

We will not discuss the Tignor textbook much in class; it is intended as a supplement to our lectures and discussions, as well as an additional resource as you complete your writing assignments. **All of the other primary and secondary sources are uploaded to P-web in the form of a course reader; you must bring the entire week's readings to class in hard copy (this counts towards your participation grade).** Whenever possible, I have tried to find substantive primary sources for us to read, sometimes in the original language and format. This is the best way to get a sense of the rhythms, concerns, and perspectives that shaped the early modern period. At various points, we will practice learning to read – to our eyes! – funny and irregular spelling, densely printed type, unfamiliar formatting, etc. **This may seem difficult at first, but the important thing is that you try!**

Assignments and Grading Breakdown

Attendance and Participation (including occasional class assignments): 30%

Reading Responses: 16%

Midterm: 20%

Conference Presentation: 10%

Conference Paper: 24%

Attendance and Participation: 30%

Your success in (and enjoyment of!) this course will depend on your willingness to engage thoughtfully with the material and each other, in your conversation and your note-taking. We will learn a great deal from one another if we come to class prepared, with open minds, ready to contribute and to take intellectual risks. Together, we will practice developing incisive questions, identifying significant passages, tracing common themes, providing evidentiary support for scholarly arguments, and responding productively to disagreements and critiques.

For every class please come prepared with:

1. **Hard copies of the readings – Coming to class without the correct readings = 1/3 absence**
2. A hard copy of your reading response (see below) or a short reaction, consisting of:
 - a. One or two passages from the text that you consider especially significant, **copied out and cited**
 - b. A short explanation (about 250-300 words total) of why you think these passages are especially crucial to the meaning or argument of the text as a whole, and the insights that they provide into the central themes and main questions of our course
 - c. At least one analytical question of your own about the reading
 - d. **I will periodically collect and check your ‘short reactions’ and class notes, counting them towards your participation grade. The most important thing you can do to succeed in this class is to *read carefully and thoughtfully***

Additional ground rules for class:

1. **Initial meeting with Instructor – Please sign up here for a (mandatory) meeting with me, in the first two weeks of the semester. This is so I can get to better know you and your goals for the class!**
2. **No laptops** (except for designated days) – this is a discussion-based course, and as such, it is important that you stay focused on listening to and interacting with your classmates. Respect them and respect yourself by making the most of your class time. **This also means no phone or social media use during class; all your digital devices should be put away before class.**
3. **Attendance** – You are allowed one excused absence, for any reason, without penalty, as long as you notify me ahead of time. Subsequent absences must be approved by Student Services, Athletics Department, Chaplain, etc., or they will count against your participation grade. **Each tardy arrival to class of five minutes or more will also count as half an absence. More than five absences will result in failure of the course.**

Reading Responses – 16%

To help keep you on track (and make class discussion lively), **you will be asked to write a 500-word analysis of five of the assigned texts or sources, three primary sources and two secondary ones (or vice versa).**

Responses to a particular reading are due the day we discuss it in class, in *hard copy*. You must also upload a copy to P-web. One response must be submitted by the end of week two, and you can only write a maximum of one response per week. Each response is worth 4% of your overall grade. The lowest grade will be dropped.

These responses are your chance to show me your thought processes concerning the source at hand. One strategy for making your responses coherent and organized is to start with a central question and then develop (and support) an argument in response. Cite specific quotes or details from the source, as well as from the lectures and additional readings. Avoid the temptation to go online for answers or to become fixated on finding one 'right' interpretation. These sources can be fruitfully read in a number of ways and I am far more interested in what you think than in what outside critics say.

For primary source reading responses:

Possible questions to address

1. What do you consider to be the central arguments of this piece and why? What is the author or artist's intention for producing it? (Include evidentiary support!)
2. What is the audience for this source? How might the source have reached them? (How can the material production of this source point to its distribution and impact?)
3. How can this source help historians understand the broader political, religious, and/or cultural context of the day?
4. How can you put these sources in meaningful conversation with each other and the secondary readings and lectures?

For secondary source reading responses:

Possible questions to address

1. What is the historical problem or question that the author is investigating?
2. Why does he or she consider the existing scholarship (i.e. the historiography) to be inadequate? How does he or she propose to add to or overturn the historiography in the field?
3. What is the author's main argument?
4. What sources does the author rely on and why? What are some of the benefits/pitfalls of utilizing these sources? How might the author's argument change if he or she were to rely on a different source base?
5. How does this reading help to answer one of the 'Main Questions' listed above?

Midterm – 20%, Due Tuesday, March 13th

1. **A take-home midterm will be assigned at the end of Week Seven (and due the beginning of Week Eight).** The exam will consist of two short (900-word) essays. You will choose from three questions that address the main themes covered up to this point: 1) the connected histories of early modern Christian Europe and the Ottoman Empire; 2) the silver trade and the establishment of the first global trading system; and 3) the Atlantic slave trade and its role in spurring the development of modern capitalist instruments and markets.
2. The exam will be open-book; you may use your notes, readings, and response papers, **but you may not consult each other or any online sources.**

Conference Presentation (10%, Tuesday, May 8th or Thursday, May 10th) & Paper (24%, Thursday, May 17th)

The final project will be split into two portions, an academic conference presentation and a paper. You will join one or two other of your classmates to form a 'panel' on a topic and question of your choosing, related to the ones that we have already discussed in class. You will each find a primary source addressing your chosen topic. Your job is to write a 2000-word paper in which you analyze the source in its historical context, focusing on the author/artist's argument and purpose for producing the source the intended audience and potential impact; the rhetorical, linguistic, visual, etc. techniques employed, and how this source can help us better understand the conditions and drivers of global interactions in the early modern period. Please draw on the secondary sources from our course as well as additional scholarly material. The last week of classes, in lieu of covering additional material, we will hold our own academic conference, where you and your panel members will make a 10-minute presentation each on your research, drawn from the longer paper. This is a chance for you to talk to your classmates about your discoveries and to make connections between the conversations in our classroom and those taking place in wider scholarly communities.

Late Assignment Policy

Every student is entitled to a 48-hour grace period on the midterm or final paper. You must notify me if you plan to take the extension. Once you have used your grace period, late assignments will be docked by 1/3 of a grade each day.

Honor Code

Please familiarize yourself with the Grinnell Student Handbook honesty policies and abide by them

Accommodations

If you have any documented needs that require accommodation, please do not hesitate to let me know. More details can be found at: <https://www.grinnell.edu/about/offices-services/accessibility-disability/disability-services>

Readings and Topics

Week One

Tuesday, January 23rd – Introduction

Before next class, submit to P-web 500-word write-up on the ideal global history class; bring hard copy

Thursday, January 24th – What was 'global' about the 'early modern'?

1. Jack Goldstone, 'The Problem of the Early Modern World', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 41, no. 3 (1998), p. 249-84
2. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 31 (1997), p. 735-62

Week Two

Tuesday, January 30th – Towards an Early Modern Ottoman State

1. Linda T. Darling, 'Political Change and Political Discourse in the Early Modern Mediterranean World', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 38, no. 4 (Spring 2008), p. 505-531
2. Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Chapter 2 'Fabricating the Ottoman State', p. 23-54

Thursday, February 1st – Towards an Early Modern Ottoman State, Continued

1. Evliya Celebi, *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the 'Book of Travels'*, eds. Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim (London: Eland, 2010), Volume 1, p. 3-34
2. *Mustafa Ali's Counsel for Sultans of 1581*, ed. Andreas Tietze (Vienna: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979-82)

Week Three

Tuesday, February 6th – Re-Orienting the Renaissance

1. Avner Ben Zaken, *Cross-Cultural Scientific Exchanges in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1560-1660* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), Introduction, p. 1-7 and Chapter 1, 'Trading Clocks, Globes, and Captives in the End Times', p. 8-46
2. *Machiavelli on the Ottomans, The Prince (1513), selections*

Thursday, February 8th – Constructing and Navigating the Christian-Muslim Near East

1. E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects Between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), Chapter 3 'Practicing Conversion', p. 87-122 and Chapter 6, 'Articulating Difference', p. 189-211
1. *Eremya Chelebi Komurjian's Armeno-Turkish Poem 'The Jewish Bride'*, eds. Avedis K. Sanjian and Andreas Tietze, (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1981)

Week Four

Tuesday, February 13th – Constructing and Navigating the Christian-Muslim Near East

1. Eric Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), Chapter 1, 'The Venetian Nation in Constantinople', p. 23-40 and Chapter 6, 'An Urban Middle Ground: Venetians and Ottomans in Constantinople', p. 151-86
2. Selected maps from Palmira Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

Tuesday, February 15th – The Silver Trade and the Emergence of the First Global Economy

1. Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giraldez, 'Cycles of Silver: Global Economic Unity through the Mid-Eighteenth Century', *Journal of World History*, vol. 13, no. 2 (Fall 2002) p. 391-427
2. *The Plum in the Golden Vase, Vol. 1*, trans. David Tod Roy (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993)

Week Five

Tuesday, February 20th – The Silver Trade and the Emergence of the First Global Economy, Continued

1. Andres Resendez, *The Other Slavery* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2016), Chapter 4 'The Pull of Silver', p. 100-24
2. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, selections, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government: On the History of the World and the Incas Up to 1615*, trans. Roland Hamilton (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2009)

Thursday, February 22nd – Forced Migrations: Slavery and the 'Triangular Trade'

1. Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), Chapter 3 'British Commerce and the Triangular Trade', p. 30-50 and Chapter 5, 'British Industry and the Triangular Trade', p. 85-97
2. Edward Littleton, 'The groans of the plantations, or A True Account of their Grievous and Extreme Suffering, By the Heavy Impositions Upon Sugar', 1689

Week Six

Tuesday, February 27th – Forced Migrations: Slavery and the 'Triangular Trade', Continued

1. Randy J. Sparks, *Where the Negroes Are Masters* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), Chapter 1 'Annamaboe Joins the Atlantic World', p. 7-34 and Chapter 3 'Richard Brew and the World of an African-Atlantic Merchant', p. 68-121
2. *The Biography of Mahommah Gardo Baququa: His Passage from Slavery to Freedom in Africa and America*, ed. Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2001)

Thursday, March 1st – Slavery, the Financial Revolution, and the Development of Global Credit

1. Carl Wennerlind, *Casualties of Credit: The English Financial Revolution, 1620-1720* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), Section 3 'Slavery and Credit', p. 161-234
2. T. Armstrong, 'Slavery Insurance and Sacrifice in the Black Atlantic', in *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean*, eds. Bernard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun (New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 167-86

Week Seven

Tuesday, March 6th – Slavery, the Financial Revolution, and the Development of Global Credit

1. Zong case files:
 - a. National Maritime Museum (NMM) REC/19
 - b. Public Record Office (PRO) King's Bench (KB) 122/479
 - c. *Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq. Composed from his own manuscripts and other authentic documents in the possession of his family and of the Africa Institute* (London: Henry Colburn and Co., 1820), p. 242-4
 - d. Henry Roscoe, *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Court of King's Bench, 1782-1785* (London: 1831), p. 232-5

Thursday, March 8th – Midterm review in class

Friday, March 9th – Optional additional review

Saturday, March 10th – Midterm posted to P-Web

Week Eight

Tuesday, March 13th – No class; midterm due by 11:59 p.m. to P-web

Thursday, March 15th – Biological and Ecological Exchanges in the Early Modern Atlantic World

1. Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (London: Praeger, 2003), Chapter One, 'The Contrasts', p. 3-38 and Chapter Two, 'Conquistador y Pestilencia', p. 39-67
2. Jose de Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, ed. Jane E. Magan (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002)

Form groups for conference papers; class visit by librarian on finding primary sources for final project

Weeks Nine-Ten – Spring Break!

Week Eleven

Tuesday, April 3rd – Identity Formation in the Early Modern Atlantic World

1. Brian P. Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), Chapter 4 'Precarious Possessions', p. 90-129
2. Petition and case of natives from San Miguel de Mesquic (in Mexico) against a Spaniard attempting to take their land (Archivo General de la Nacion, Indios, Mexico City (AGNI) 12.47.190v-192v)

Thursday, April 5th – Asia before European Empire

1. Andre Gunder Frank, *ReORIENT: Global Economy in the Asian Age*, Chapter 1 'Introduction to Real World History vs. Eurocentric Social History', p. 1-51

By Thursday, April 6th at 11:59 p.m., submit your primary source choice and group topic to P-web

Week Twelve

Tuesday, April 10th – Asia before European Empire, Continued

1. Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo* (London: Penguin UK, 2015)
2. Zhou Daguan, selections, *A Record of Cambodia: The Land and its People*, translated and edited by Peter Harris (Silkworm Books, 2007)

By Wednesday, April 11th at 11:59 p.m., submit your revised list of sources and questions, plus prelim outline and thesis

Thursday, April 12th – No class; group meetings with Prof. Chou about conference papers/presentations

Week Thirteen

Tuesday, April 17th – Iberians and Ottomans in Asia

1. Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 'A Note on Sources', Introduction 'An Empire of the Mind', Chapter One 'Selim the Navigator (1512-1520), and Chapter Two, 'Ibrahim Pasha and the Age of Reconnaissance', p. 3-52
2. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Europe's India: Words, People, Empires, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), Introduction 'Before and Beyond 'Orientalism'', p. 1-44 and Conclusion, 'On India's Europe', p. 286-326

Thursday, April 19th – Corporate States, Complex Sovereignties

1. Adam Clulow, *The Company and the Shogun: The Dutch Encounter with Tokugawa Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), Chapter 5, 'Power and Petition' and Chapter 6, 'Planting the Flag in Asia', p. 171-228.

Week Fourteen

Tuesday, April 24th – Corporate States, Complex Sovereignties

1. 'The most deplorable case of the poor distressed planters in the island of St. Hellena, under the cruel oppressions of the East India Company: humbly presented to the charitable consideration of the honourable, the knights, citizens, and burgesses in Parliament assembled. By Elizabeth, Martha, Grace, and Sarah, the mournful daughters of John Colson, who was one of those what were murdered by a pretended court-marshal at that place' (London, 1690)
2. William Atwood, 'An Apology for the East India Company: With an Account of Some Large Prerogatives of the Crown of England, Anciently Exercised and Allowed of in our Law, in Relation to Foreign Trade and Foreign Parts' (London, 1690)

By Wednesday, April 25th, you must have visited the Writing Lab with a draft of your conference paper

Thursday, April 26th – Was Colonialism only a European Phenomenon? On 'Co-Colonization'

1. Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan Became Chinese* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), Chapter 5 'Taiwan on the Eve of Colonization' and Chapter 6 'The Birth of Co-Colonization'
2. 'Map of the Island of Formosa', 1636
3. Map of Luzon, Isla Hermosa (Taiwan), and a Part of the Coast of China, 1597
4. 'Raw savages of Danshui, Taiwan' and 'Cooked savages of Taiwan County', from *Qing Imperial Tribute Illustrations* (ca. 1751)

By Saturday, April 28th at 11:59 p.m., submit a draft of your conference paper to Prof. Chou via P-web

Week Fifteen

Meetings with Prof. Chou for drafts of conference papers all week

Tuesday, May 1st – A 'Great Divergence'? Did the West 'Win' and the East 'Lose'?

1. Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), Introduction 'Comparisons, Connections, and Narratives of European Economic Development', p. 3-28
2. Bing Wong and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, *Before and Beyond Divergence: The Politics of Economic Change in China and Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), Introduction 'Miracles, Myths, and Explanations in Economic History', p. 1-12

Thursday, May 3rd – Conclusions and peer discussions of papers

Week Sixteen

Tuesday, May 8th – Conference Presentations

Thursday, May 10th – Conference Presentations

Exam Week

Thursday, May 17th – Conference papers due by 11:59 p.m.