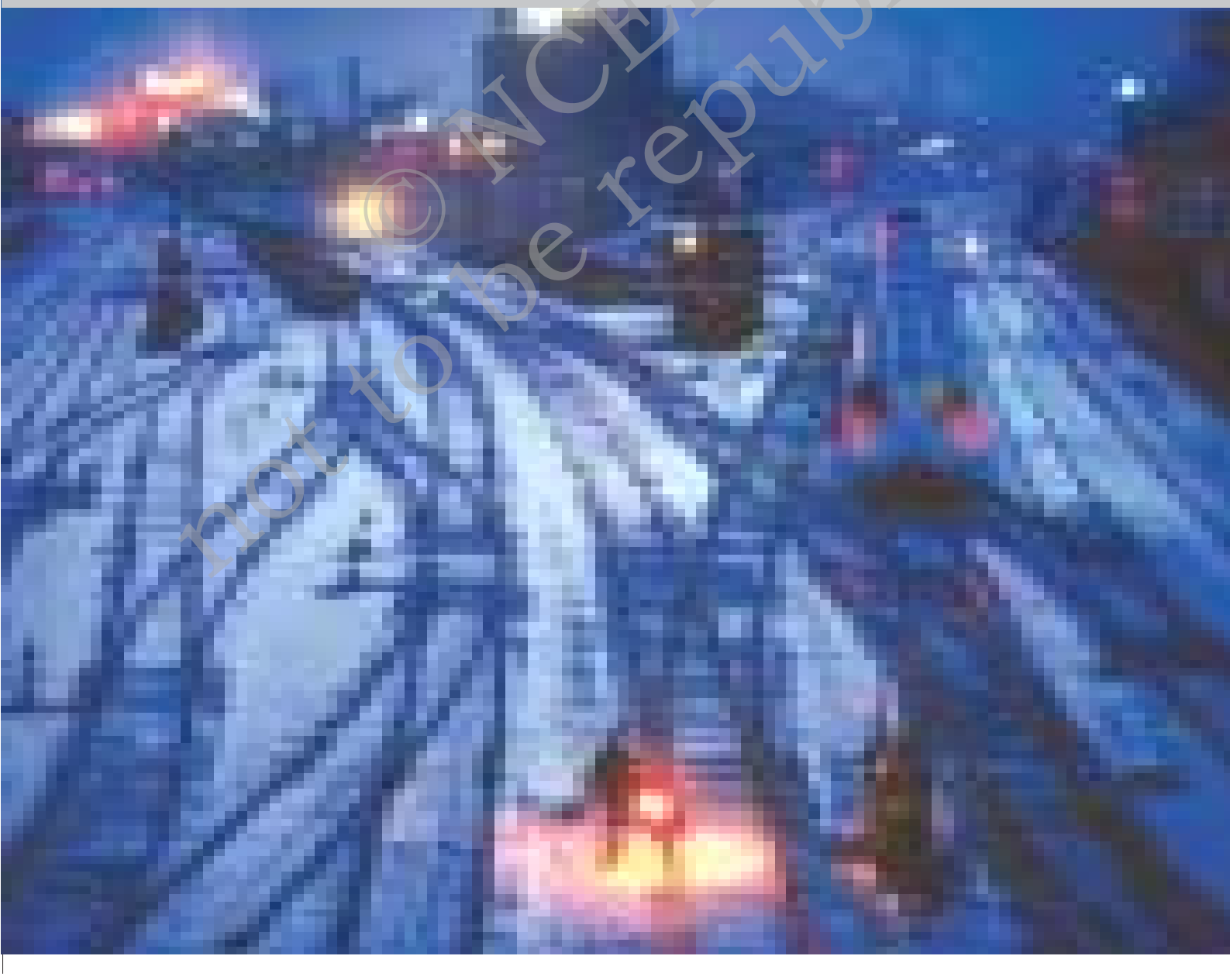
IV

TOWARDS MODERNISATION

The Industrial Revolution

Displacing Indigenous Peoples

Paths to Modernisation



TOWARDS MODERNISATION

IN the previous section you have read about certain crucial developments in the medieval and early modern world – feudalism, the European 'Renaissance' and the encounters between Europeans and the peoples of the Americas. As you would have realised, some of the phenomena that contributed to the making of our modern world gradually evolved in this period, and especially so from the mid-fifteenth century onwards. Two further developments in world history created a context for what has been called 'modernisation'. These were the Industrial Revolution and a series of political revolutions that transformed subjects into citizens, beginning with the American Revolution (1776-81) and the French Revolution (1789-94).

Britain has been the world's first industrial nation and you will read about how this came to be in Theme 9. For long it was believed that British industrialisation provided the model for industrialisation in other countries. The discussion of Theme 9 will show how historians have begun to question some of the earlier ideas about the Industrial Revolution. Each country drew upon the experiences of other nations, without necessarily reproducing any model. In Britain, for instance, coal and cotton textile industries were developed in the first phase of industrialisation, while the invention of railways initiated the second stage of that process. In other countries such as Russia, which began to industrialise much later (from the late nineteenth century onwards), the railway and other heavy industry emerged in the initial phase of industrialisation itself. Likewise, the role of the state, and of banks, in industrialisation has differed from country to country. The treatment of the British case in Theme 9 will hopefully whet your curiosity about the industrial trajectories of other nations such as the USA and Germany, two significant industrial powers. Theme 9 also emphasises the human and material costs incurred by Britain on its industrialisation – the plight of the labouring poor, especially of children, environmental degradation and the consequent epidemics of cholera and tuberculosis.

Linking the world – In 1927 Charles Lindbergh, twenty-five years old, flew across the Atlantic Ocean, from New York to Paris, in a single-engine aeroplane.

In Theme 11 you will similarly read about industrial pollution and cadmium and mercury poisoning in Japan that stirred people into mass movements against indiscriminate industrialisation.

European powers began to colonise parts of America and Asia and South Africa well before the Industrial Revolution. Theme 10 tells you the story of what European settlers did to the native peoples of America and Australia. The bourgeois mentality of the settlers made them buy and sell everything, including land and water. But the natives, who appeared uncivilised to European Americans, asked, 'If you do not own the freshness of the air and the sparkle of the water, how can one buy them?' The natives did not feel the need to own land, fish or animals. They had no desire to *commodify* them; if things needed to be exchanged, they could simply be *gifted*. Quite obviously, the natives and the Europeans represented competing notions of civilisation. The former did not allow the European deluge to wipe out their cultures although the US and Canadian governments of the mid-twentieth century desired natives to 'join the mainstream' and the Australian authorities of the same period attempted to simply ignore their traditions and culture. One might wonder what is meant by 'mainstream'. How does economic and political power influence the making of 'mainstream cultures'?

Linking the world – J. Lipchitz's Figure, *sculpted in the 1920s, shows the influence of central African statuary.*

Western capitalisms – mercantile, industrial and financial – and early-twentieth-century Japanese capitalism created colonies in large parts of the third world. Some of these were settler colonies. Others, such as British rule in India, are examples of direct imperial control. The case of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century China illustrates a third variant of imperialism. Here Britain, France, Germany, Russia, America and Japan meddled in Chinese affairs without directly taking over state power. They exploited the country's resources to their own advantage, seriously compromising Chinese sovereignty and reducing the country to the status of a semi-colony.

Linking the world – Japanese Zen paintings like this one were admired by western artists, and influenced the 'Abstract Expressionist' style of painting in the 1920s in USA.

Almost everywhere, colonial exploitation was challenged by powerful nationalist movements. Nationalisms, however, also arose without a colonial context, as in the West or Japan. All nationalisms are doctrines of popular sovereignty. Nationalist movements believe that political power should rest with the people and this is what makes nationalism a modern concept. Civic nationalism vests sovereignty in *all* people regardless of language, ethnicity, religion or gender. It seeks to create a community of rights-exercising citizens and defines nationhood in terms of *citizenship*, not ethnicity or religion. Ethnic and religious nationalisms try to build national solidarities around a given language, religion or set of traditions, defining the people ethnically, not in terms of common citizenship. In a multi-ethnic country, ethnic nationalists might limit the exercise of sovereignty to a chosen people, often assumed to be superior to minority communities. Today, most western countries define their nationhood in terms of common citizenship and not by common ethnicity. One prominent exception is Germany where ideas

of ethnic nationalism have had a long and troubling career going back to the reaction against the French imperial occupation of German states in 1806. Ideologies of civic nationalism have vied with those of ethnic/religious nationalism the world over and this has been so in modern India, China and Japan as well.

As with industrialisation, so with paths to modernisation. Different societies have evolved their distinctive modernities. The Japanese and Chinese cases are very instructive in this regard. Japan succeeded in remaining free of colonial control and achieved fairly rapid economic and industrial progress throughout the twentieth century. The rebuilding of the Japanese economy after a humiliating defeat in the Second World War should not be seen as a mere post-war miracle. As Theme 11 shows, it resulted from certain gains that had already been accomplished in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Did you know, for instance, that by 1910 tuition fees for studying at a primary school had more or less ended and enrolment had become universal? The Japanese path to modernisation nevertheless, like that of any other country, has had its own tensions: those between democracy and militarism, ethnic nationalism and civic nation-building and between what many Japanese describe as 'tradition' and 'westernisation'.

The Chinese resisted colonial exploitation and their own bureaucratic landed elite through a combination of peasant rebellion, reform and revolution. By the early 1930s, the Chinese Communist Party, which drew its strength from peasant mobilisation, had begun confronting the imperial powers as well as the Nationalists who represented the country's elite. They had also started to implement their ideas in selected pockets of the country. Their egalitarian ideology, stress on land reforms and awareness of women's problems helped them overthrow foreign imperialism and the Nationalists in 1949. Once in power, they succeeded in reducing inequalities, spreading education and creating political awareness. Even so, the country's single-party framework and state repression contributed to considerable dissatisfaction with the political system after the mid-1960s. But the Communist Party has been able to retain control over the country largely because, in embracing certain market principles, it reinvented itself and has worked hard to transform China into an economic powerhouse.

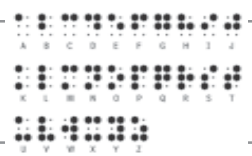
The different ways in which various countries have understood 'modernity' and sought to achieve it, each in the context of its own circumstances and ideas, make a fascinating story. This section introduces you to some aspects of that story.

TIMELINE IV

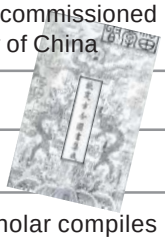
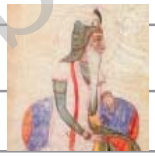
(c. 1700 to 2000)

This timeline will give you an idea of what was happening in different parts of the world in the last three centuries, and how people in different countries contributed to the making of our modern world. It will tell you about the slave trade in Africa and the establishment of the Apartheid regime in South Africa, about social movements in Europe and the formation of nation states, about the expansion of imperial powers and the process of colonisation, and about democratic and anti-colonial movements that swept through the world in the last century. It will also refer to some of the inventions and technological developments that are associated with modernity.

As with all timelines, this one focuses on a few dates. There are others that are important. When you see a series of dates in a timeline, do not think that those are the only dates you need to know. Find out why different timelines focus on different types of dates, and what this selection tells us.

DATES	AFRICA	EUROPE
1720-30	King Agaja of Dahomey (1724-34), West Africa, stops slave trade*; it is reintroduced in the 1740s	
1730-40		Carolus Linnaeus invents a taxonomic system* to classify plants and animals (1735)
1740-1750		
1750-1760	The first outbreak of smallpox (1755) brought by sailors, in Cape Town, South Africa	
1760-1770		
1770-1780	Peak of international slave trade, all the colonial powers are involved in it. Several hundred thousand Black Africans are taken across the Atlantic every year. As many as two-thirds die on board ship itself	Emelian Pugachev heads a peasant uprising (1773 – 75) that sweeps across Russia
1780-90		The beginning of the French Revolution* (1789)
1790-1800		
1800-1810	Mohammed Ali rules Egypt, 1805-48; Egypt breaks away from Ottoman empire	
1810-1820		
1820-30	Liberia founded (1822) in West Africa as home for freed slaves	Louis Braille develops a system of finger reading* (1823); passenger trains introduced in England (1825)
1830-40	Abd-al-Kadir leads Arab resistance (1832-47) against French presence in Algeria	
1840-50		Liberal and socialist movements in several European countries (1848)
1850-60		

DATES	AFRICA	EUROPE
1860-70	Suez Canal*, one of the most important trade routes in the world, opens (1869) 	Russian serfs are freed (1861)
1870-80		Germany and Italy emerge as unified nation-states
1880-90	Beginning of the European "Scramble for Africa"	
1890-1900		The making of the first film (1895); the modern Olympics are held for the first time in Athens (1896)
1900-1910	Mahatma Gandhi* advocates satyagraha to resist racist laws (1906)	
1910-1920	South Africa introduces laws to reserve 87 per cent of land for whites (1913)	World War I (1914-1918); the Russian Revolution of 1917
1920-30		Turkey becomes a republic under Mustapha Kemal (1923)
1930-40	First trans-African railway from Angola to Mozambique completed (1931)	Hitler captures power in Germany (1933) World War II (1939-45)
1940-50	Afrikaner National Party wins power in South Africa (1948). The policy of Apartheid is put in place	Britain recognises Irish independence (1949)
1950-60	Ghana is the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to become independent (1957)	Discovery of DNA; Russia launches the spacecraft Sputnik (1957)
1960-70	Organisation of African Unity founded (1963)	Protest movements in Europe (1968)
1970-80		
1980-90		Mikhail Gorbachev, leader of the USSR (1985) Beginning of the world wide web (1989)
1990-2000	Nelson Mandela* freed in South Africa (1990); process of dismantling apartheid begins	Scientists clone the sheep Dolly (1997) raising new debates about the limits of genetic engineering

DATES	ASIA	SOUTH ASIA
1720-30	*Gujin tushu jicheng**, the largest encyclopaedia ever printed, commissioned by Kangxi, the Manchu ruler of China 	
1730-40		
1740-1750		The Marathas extend control over northern India
1750-1760	Aoki Konyo, a Japanese scholar compiles a Dutch/Japanese dictionary (1758)	Robert Clive defeats Siraj ud daula, Nawab of Bengal, at Battle of Plassey 1757
1760-1770		
1770-1780		
1780-90	The British export of opium* from India to China expands dramatically	
1790-1800		Ranjit Singh* founds Sikh kingdom in Punjab (1799) 
1800-1810		
1810-1820		
1820-30	Javanese revolt against Dutch (1825-30)	Practice of *sati* made illegal (1829)
1830-40	Ottoman sultan Abdul Majid starts a programme of modernisation (1839)	
1840-50		
1850-60	King Rama IV rules Thailand; opens the country to foreign trade (1853)	Railway and telegraph line introduced (1853), the Great Revolt* (1857)
1860-70	French begin to occupy Indo-China (Southeast Asia) (1862)	
1870-80	Opening of the first Japanese railway, Tokyo to Yokohama (1872)	Famine in the Deccan, southern India (1876-78); over five million die
1880-90	Britain annexes Burma (Myanmar) (1885-86)	Foundation of Indian National Congress* (1885)
1890-1900		
		

DATES	ASIA	SOUTH ASIA
1900-1910	Japanese navy defeats Russian fleet (1905)	
1910-1920	Balfour Declaration promises homeland for Jews in Palestine (1917)	
1920-30		Non-Cooperation movement (1921) launched by Mahatma Gandhi; E V Ramaswamy Naicker launches the Self-Respect movement in Tamil Nadu (1925)
1930-40	Opening of British oil pipeline from Iraq to Syria (1934)	Alam Ara by Ardeshir Irani (1931) is the first Indian talkie
1940-50	United States of America drops atomic bombs on Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki* (1945) killing approximately 120,000 civilians. Many more were to die later on through the effects of radiation; formation of People's Republic of China (1949)	Quit India Movement (1942); India and Pakistan become independent (1947)
1950-60	Bandung Conference (1955) strengthens the Non-Aligned Movement	India becomes a republic* (1950)
1960-70	Arab leaders set up Palestine Liberation Organisation to unite Palestinian refugees (1964); war in Vietnam (1965-73)	Sirimavo Bandarnaike* becomes the world's first woman prime minister (1960) 
1970-80	The Shah of Iran is overthrown (1979)	Bangladesh emerges as an independent nation (1971)
1980-90	Mass demonstrations for democracy in Tiananmen Square, Beijing, China (1989)	A leak at the Union Carbide pesticides plant in Bhopal (1984) leads to one of the worst industrial disasters in history, thousands die
1990-2000	The Gulf War between Iraq, Kuwait and the United States of America	India and Pakistan conduct nuclear tests (1998)
		

DATES	AMERICAS	AUSTRALIA / PACIFIC ISLANDS
1720-30	The Portuguese introduce coffee in Brazil (1727)	Dutch navigator Roggeveen reaches Samoa Islands and Easter Island in the Pacific (1722)
1730-40	The Stono Slave Rebellion led by a literate slave Jemmy (1739)	
1740-1750	Juan Santos also called Atahualpa II, leads Native Americans of Peru in unsuccessful revolt (1742)	
1750-1760		
1760-1770	Chief Pontiac of the Ottawa tribe leads protest against the British (1763)	First of British Captain James Cook's three voyages to Pacific* (1768-71)
1770-1780	US Declaration of Independence (1776)	
1780-90	US Constitution drawn up; dollars are first used as American currency (1787)	First British convicts shipped to Botany Bay, Australia (1788)
1790-1800		
1800-1810		Matthew Flinders circumnavigates, then names, Australia; it means "southern" (1801-03)
1810-1820		
1820-30	Simon Bolivar* leads Venezuela to independence (1821)	
1830-40	Trail of Tears; in the USA, thousands of eastern Native Americans are forced to move west, many dying on the way (1838)	Charles Darwin sets out on voyage to Pacific, Galapagos Islands (1831), leading to the development of the theory of evolution
1840-50	Meeting in Seneca Falls, New York, calls for equal rights for American women (1848)	British and Maoris in New Zealand sign Treaty of Waitangi (1840). This was followed by a series of Maori uprisings (1844-88)
1850-60		Beginning of the first regular steamship service between Australia and England (1856)

DATES	AMERICAS	AUSTRALIA/PACIFIC ISLANDS
1860-70	Civil War in USA (1861-65); Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution outlaws slavery	Transportation of prisoners to Australia from Britain ends (1868)
1870-80	Invention of telephone, record-player, electric bulb	
1880-90	Invention of Coca-cola* (1886) 	
1890-1900		Votes for women in New Zealand (1893)
1900-1910	Wright brothers invent the aeroplane (1903)	
1910-1920	Henry Ford begins assembly line production of cars (1913); Panama Canal linking the Atlantic and Pacific opened (1914)	Influenza epidemic kills one fifth of population of Western Samoa (1918)
1920-30	US Wall Street Stock Exchange crashes (1929); Great Depression follows; by 1932, 12 million are out of work	Uprising of Mau people of Samoa against New Zealand government (1929)
1930-40		
1940-50	The US enters World War II	
1950-60	Fidel Castro comes to power after the Cuban Revolution (1958)	
1960-70	Civil Rights movement in the USA (1963)*, US Civil Rights Act (1964) bans racial discrimination. Civil Rights leader Martin Luther King is assassinated (1968); US astronauts land on the moon (1969)	
1970-80	US Congress passes Equal Opportunity Act in response to women's movement (1972)	Tonga and Fiji gain independence from Britain (1970). Papua New Guinea gains independence from Australia (1975)
1980-90		New Zealand declared a nuclear -free zone (1984); Treaty of Rarotonga sets up South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone (1986)
1990-2000		

ACTIVITY

If you compare the four timelines given in the book, you will find that the chronological reference periods in the left-hand column differ. Can you think of the reasons for this? Try and design a timeline of your own, giving reasons for your selections.

THEME 9

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

THE transformation of industry and the economy in Britain between the 1780s and the 1850s is called the 'first industrial revolution'. This had far-reaching effects in Britain. Later, similar changes occurred in European countries and in the USA. These were to have a major impact on the society and economy of those countries and also on the rest of the world.*

This phase of industrial development in Britain is strongly associated with new machinery and technologies. These made it possible to produce goods on a massive scale compared to handicraft and handloom industries. The chapter outlines the changes in the cotton and iron industries. Steam, a new source of power, began to be used on a wide scale in British industries. Its use led to faster forms of transportation, by ships and railways. Many of the inventors and businessmen who brought about these changes were often neither personally wealthy nor educated in basic sciences like physics or chemistry, as will be seen from glances into the backgrounds of some of them.

Industrialisation led to greater prosperity for some, but in the initial stages it was linked with poor living and working conditions of millions of people, including women and children. This sparked off protests, which forced the government to enact laws for regulating conditions of work.

*In the second one, after about 1850, new areas like the chemical and electrical industries expanded. In that period, Britain fell behind, and lost its position as the world's leading industrial power, as it was overtaken by Germany and the USA.

The term 'Industrial Revolution' was used by European scholars – Georges Michelet in France and Friedrich Engels in Germany. It was used for the first time in English by the philosopher and economist Arnold Toynbee (1852-83), to describe the changes that occurred in British industrial development between 1760 and 1820. These dates coincided with those of the reign of George III, on which Toynbee was giving a series of lectures at Oxford University. His lectures were published in 1884, after his untimely death, as a book called *Lectures on the Industrial Revolution in England: Popular Addresses, Notes and Other Fragments.*

Later historians, T.S. Ashton, Paul Mantoux and Eric Hobsbawm, broadly agreed with Toynbee. There was remarkable economic growth from the 1780s to 1820 in the cotton and iron industries, in coal mining, in the building of roads and canals and in foreign trade. Ashton (1889-1968) celebrated the Industrial Revolution, when England was 'swept by a wave of gadgets'.

Why Britain?

Britain was the first country to experience modern industrialisation. It had been politically stable since the seventeenth century, with England, Wales and Scotland unified under a monarchy. This meant that the kingdom had common laws, a single currency and a market that was not fragmented by local authorities levying taxes on goods that passed through their area, thus increasing their price. By the end of the seventeenth century, money was widely used as the medium of exchange. By then a large section of the people received their income in the form of wages and salaries rather than in goods. This gave people a wider choice for ways to spend their earnings and expanded the market for the sale of goods.

In the eighteenth century, England had been through a major economic change, later described as the 'agricultural revolution'. This was the process by which bigger landlords had bought up small farms near their own properties and enclosed the village common lands, thus creating very large estates and increasing food production. This forced landless farmers, and those who had lived by grazing animals on the common lands, to search for jobs elsewhere. Most of them went to nearby towns.

'The man of wealth
and pride
Takes up a space that
many poor supplied;

Space for his lake, his
park's extended bounds,
Space for his horses,
equipage, and hounds;

The robe that wraps his
limbs in silken sloth
Has robbed the
neighbouring fields of half
their growth.'

– Oliver Goldsmith (1728-74),
The Deserted Village.

Towns, Trade and Finance

From the eighteenth century, many towns in Europe were growing in area and in population. Out of the 19 European cities whose population doubled between 1750 and 1800, 11 were in Britain. The largest of them was London, which served as the hub of the country's markets, with the next largest ones located close to it.

London had also acquired a global significance. By the eighteenth century, the centre of global trade had shifted from the Mediterranean ports of Italy and France to the Atlantic ports of Holland and Britain. Still later, London replaced Amsterdam as the principal source of loans for international trade. London also became the centre of a triangular trade network that drew in England, Africa and the West Indies. The companies trading in America and Asia also had their offices in London. In England the movement of goods between markets was helped by a good network of rivers, and an indented coastline with sheltered bays. Until the spread of railways, transport by waterways was cheaper and faster than by land. As early as 1724, English rivers provided some 1,160 miles of navigable water, and except for mountainous areas, most places in the country were within 15 miles of a river. Since all the navigable sections of English rivers flow into the sea, cargo on river vessels was easily transferred to coastal ships called coasters. By 1800, at least 100,000 sailors worked on the coasters.

ACTIVITY 1

Discuss the developments in Britain and in other parts of the world in the eighteenth century that encouraged British industrialisation.

The centre of the country's financial system was the Bank of England (founded in 1694). By 1784, there were more than a hundred provincial banks in England, and during the next 10 years their numbers trebled. By the 1820s, there were more than 600 banks in the provinces, and over 100 banks in London alone. The financial requirements to establish and maintain big industrial enterprises were met by these banks.

The industrialisation that occurred in Britain from the 1780s to the 1850s is explained partly by the factors described above – many poor people from the villages available to work in towns; banks which could loan money to set up large industries; and a good transport network.

The following pages will describe two new factors: a range of technological changes that increased production levels dramatically and a new transport network created by the construction of railways. In both developments, if the dates are read carefully, one will notice that there is a gap of a few decades between the development and its widespread *application*. One must not assume that a new innovation in technology led to it being used in the industry *immediately*.

Of the 26,000 inventions recorded in the eighteenth century, more than half were listed for the period 1782-1800. These led to many changes. We shall discuss the four major ones: the transformation of the iron industry, the spinning and weaving of cotton, the development of steam 'power' and the coming of the railways.

Coal and Iron

England was fortunate in that coal and iron ore, the staple materials for mechanisation, were plentifully available, as were other minerals – lead, copper and tin – that were used in industry. However, until the eighteenth century, there was a scarcity of *usable iron*. Iron is drawn out from ore as pure liquid metal by a process called smelting. For centuries, charcoal (from burnt timber) was used for the smelting process. This had several problems: charcoal was too fragile to transport across long distances; its impurities produced poor-quality iron; it was in short supply because

Coalbrookdale: blast-furnaces (left and centre) and charcoal-ovens (right); painting by F.Vivares, 1758.

forests had been destroyed for timber; and it could not generate high temperatures.

The solution to this problem had been sought for years before it was solved by a family of iron-masters, the Darbys of Shropshire. In the course of half a century, three generations of this family – grandfather, father and son, all called Abraham Darby – brought about a revolution in the metallurgical industry. It began with an invention in 1709 by the first Abraham Darby (1677-1717). This was a blast furnace that would use coke, which could generate high temperatures; coke was derived from coal by removing the sulphur and impurities. This invention meant that furnaces no longer had to depend on charcoal. The melted iron that emerged from these furnaces permitted finer and larger castings than before.

The Cast Iron Bridge near Coalbrookdale, *painting by William Williams, 1780.*

*This area later grew into the village called Ironbridge.

The process was further refined by more inventions. The second Darby (1711-68) developed wrought-iron (which was less brittle) from pig-iron. Henry Cort (1740-1823) designed the puddling furnace (in which molten iron could be rid of impurities) and the rolling mill, which used steam power to roll purified iron into bars. It now became possible to produce a broader range of iron products. The durability of iron made it a better material than wood for everyday items and for machinery. Unlike wood, which could burn or splinter, the physical and chemical properties of iron could be controlled. In the 1770s, John Wilkinson (1728-1808) made the first iron chairs, vats for breweries and distilleries, and iron pipes of all sizes. In 1779, the third Darby (1750-91) built the first iron bridge in the world, in Coalbrookdale, spanning the river Severn*. Wilkinson used cast iron for the first time to make water pipes (40 miles of it for the water supply of Paris).

MAP 1: Britain: The iron industry

The iron industry then came to be concentrated in specific regions as integrated units of coal mining and iron smelting. Britain was lucky in possessing excellent coking coal and high-grade iron ore in the same basins or even the same seams. These basins were also close to ports; there were five coastal coalfields which could deliver their products almost straight into ships. Since the coalfields were near the coast, shipbuilding increased, as did the shipping trade.

ACTIVITY 2

Ironbridge Gorge is today a major 'heritage site'. Can you suggest why?

The British iron industry quadrupled its output between 1800 and 1830, and its product was the cheapest in Europe. In 1820, a ton of pig iron needed 8 tons of coal to make it, but by 1850 it could be produced by using only 2 tons. By 1848, Britain was smelting more iron than the rest of the world put together.

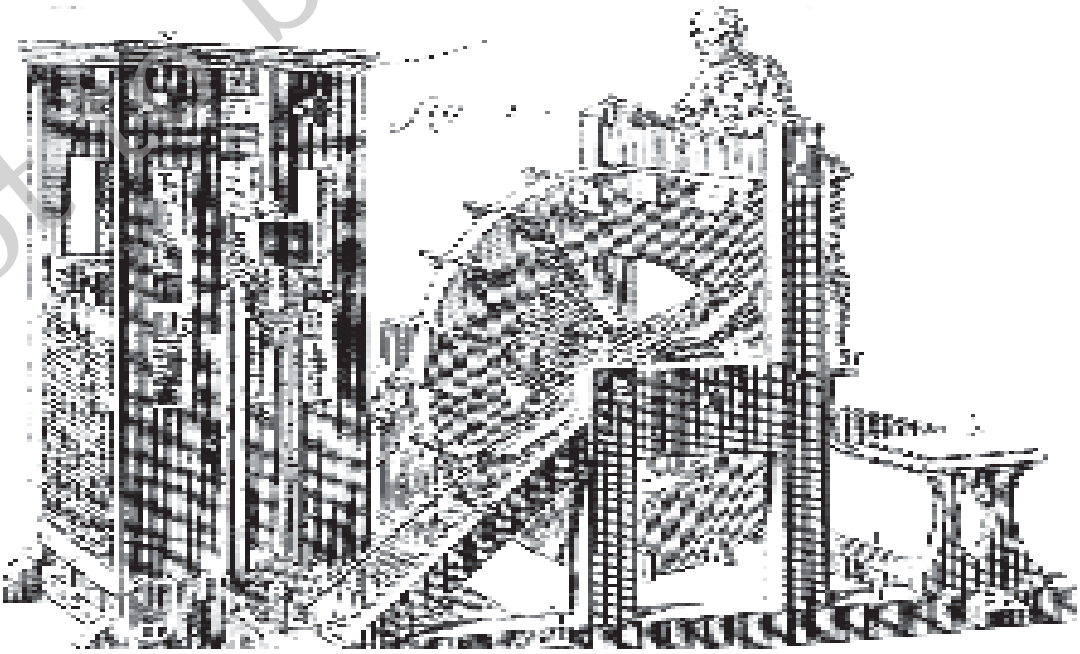
Cotton Spinning and Weaving

The British had always woven cloth out of wool and flax (to make linen). From the seventeenth century, the country had been importing bales of cotton cloth from India at great cost. As the East India Company's political control of parts of India was established, it began to import, along with cloth, raw cotton, which could be spun and woven into cloth in England.

Till the early eighteenth century, spinning had been so slow and laborious that 10 spinners (mostly women, hence the word 'spinster') were required to supply sufficient yarn to keep a single weaver busy. Therefore, while spinners were occupied all day, weavers waited idly to receive yarn. But a series of technological inventions successfully closed the gap between the speed in spinning raw cotton into yarn or thread, and of weaving the yarn into fabric. To make it even more efficient, production gradually shifted from the homes of spinners and weavers to factories.

From the 1780s, the cotton industry symbolised British industrialisation in many ways. This industry had two features which were also seen in other industries.

Raw cotton had to be entirely imported and a large part of the finished cloth was exported. This sustained the process of colonisation,



Manpower (in this picture, woman-power) worked the treadmill that lowered the lid of the cotton press.

1. The **flying shuttle loom**, designed by John Kay (1704-64) in 1733 made it possible to weave broader fabrics in less time and consequently called for more yarn than could be supplied at the prevailing pace of spinning.

2. The **spinning jenny** was a machine made by James Hargreaves (1720-78) in 1765 on which a single person could spin several threads of yarn simultaneously. This provided weavers with yarn at a faster rate than they could weave into fabric.

3. The **water frame**, which Richard Arkwright (1732-92) invented in 1769, produced a much stronger thread than before. This also made it possible to weave pure cotton fabrics rather than fabrics that combined linen and cotton yarn.

4. The **mule** was the nickname for a machine invented in 1779 by Samuel Crompton (1753-1827) that allowed the spinning of strong and fine yarn.

5. The cycle of inventions in the cotton textile industry that sought to maintain a balance between the tasks of spinning and weaving concluded with the invention of the **powerloom** by Edmund Cartwright (1743-1823) in 1787. This was easy to work, stopped automatically every time a thread broke and could be used to weave any kind of material. From the 1830s, developments in this industry concentrated on increasing the productivity of workers rather than bringing new machines into use.

MAP 2: Britain: The cotton industry

so that Britain could retain control over the sources of raw cotton as well as the markets.

The industry was heavily dependent on the work of women and children in factories. This exemplified the ugly face of early industrialisation, as will be described below.

Steam Power

The realisation that steam could generate tremendous power was decisive to large-scale industrialisation.

Water as hydraulic power had been the prime source of energy for centuries, but it had been limited to certain areas, seasons and by the speed of flow of the water. Now it was used differently. Steam power provided pressure at high temperatures that enabled the use of a broad range of machinery. This meant that steam power was the only source of energy that was reliable and inexpensive enough to manufacture machinery itself.

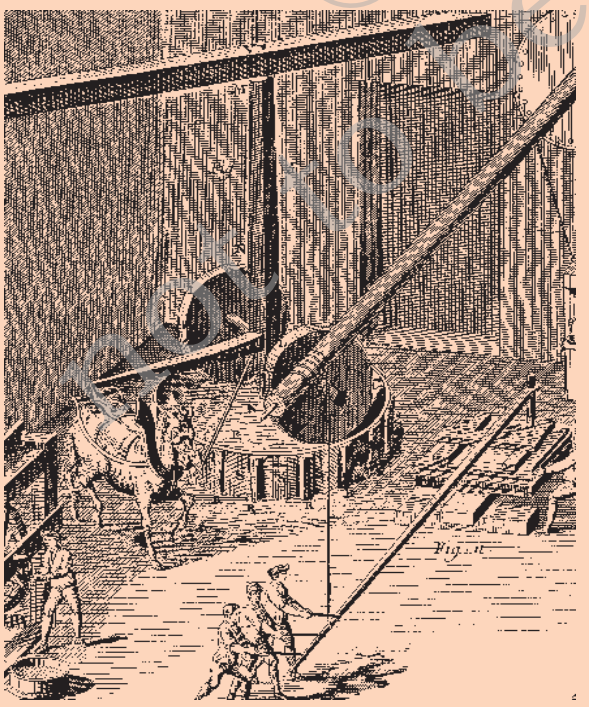
Steam power was first used in mining industries. As the demand for coal and metals expanded, efforts to obtain them from ever-deeper mines intensified. Flooding in mines was a serious problem. Thomas Savery (1650-1715) built a model steam engine called the Miner's Friend in 1698 to drain mines. These engines worked slowly, in shallow depths, and the boiler burst under too much pressure.

Another steam engine was built by Thomas Newcomen (1663-1729) in 1712. This had the major defect of losing energy due to continuous cooling of the condensing cylinder.

The steam engine had been used only in coal mines until James Watt (1736-1819) developed his machine in 1769. Watt's invention converted the steam engine from being a mere pump into a 'prime mover' capable of providing energy to power machines in factories. Backed by the wealthy manufacturer Matthew Boulton (1728-1809), Watt created the Soho Foundry in Birmingham in 1775. From this foundry Watt's steam engines were produced in steadily growing numbers. By the end of the eighteenth century, Watt's steam engine was beginning to replace hydraulic power.

After 1800, steam engine technology was further developed with the use of lighter, stronger metals, the manufacture of more accurate machine tools and the spread of better scientific knowledge. In 1840, British steam engines were generating more than 70 per cent of all European horsepower.

Watt's inventions were not limited to the steam engine. He invented a chemical process for copying documents. He also created a unit of measurement based on comparing mechanical power with that of the previous universal power source, the horse. Watt's measurement unit, horsepower, equated the ability of a horse to lift 33,000 pounds (14,969 kg) one foot (0.3 m) in one minute. Horsepower remains universally used as an index of mechanical energy.



Horses turned the wheels to grind metal. The use of steam reduced the dependence on manpower and horsepower.

Canals and Railways

Canals were initially built to transport coal to cities. This was because the bulk and weight of coal made its transport by road much slower and more expensive than by barges on canals. The demand for coal, as industrial energy and for heating and lighting homes in cities, grew constantly. The making of the first English canal, the Worsley Canal (1761) by James Brindley (1716-72), had no other purpose than to carry coal from the coal deposits at Worsley (near Manchester) to that city; after the canal was completed the price of coal fell by half.

Canals were usually built by big landowners to increase the value of the mines, quarries or forests on their lands. The confluence of canals created marketing centres in new towns. The city of Birmingham, for example, owed its growth to its position at the heart of a canal system connecting London, the Bristol Channel, and the Mersey and Humber rivers. From 1760 to 1790, twenty-five new canal-building projects were begun. In the period known as the 'canal-mania', from 1788 to 1796, there were another 46 new projects and over the next 60 years more than 4,000 miles of canal were built.

The first steam locomotive, Stephenson's Rocket, appeared in 1814. Railways emerged as a new means of transportation that was available throughout the year, both cheap and fast, to carry passengers and goods. They combined two inventions, the iron track which replaced the wooden track in the 1760s, and haulage along it by steam engine.

The invention of the railways took the entire process of industrialisation to a second stage. In 1801, Richard Trevithick (1771-1833) had devised an engine called the 'Puffing Devil' that pulled trucks around the mine where he worked in Cornwall. In 1814, the railway engineer George Stephenson (1781-1848) constructed a locomotive, called 'The Blutcher', that could pull a weight of 30 tons up a hill at 4 mph. The first railway line connected the cities of Stockton and Darlington in 1825, a distance of 9 miles that was completed in two hours at speeds of up to 24 kph (15 mph), and the next railway line connected Liverpool and Manchester in 1830. Within 20 years, speeds of 30 to 50 miles an hour were usual.

In the 1830s, the use of canals revealed several problems. The congestion of vessels made movement slow on certain stretches of canals, and frost, flood or drought limited the time of their use. The railways now appeared as a convenient alternative. About 6,000 miles of railway was opened in Britain between 1830 and 1850, most of it in two short bursts. During the 'little railway mania' of 1833-37, 1400 miles of line was built, and during the bigger 'mania' of 1844-47, another 9,500 miles of line was sanctioned. They used vast amounts of coal and iron, employed large numbers of workers and boosted activity in the construction and public works industries. Most of England had been connected by railway by 1850.

Who were the inventors?

It is interesting to find out who the individuals were who brought about these changes. Few of them were trained scientists. Education in basic sciences like physics or chemistry was extremely limited until the late nineteenth century, well after the technological inventions described above. Since these breakthroughs did not require a full knowledge of the laws of physics or chemistry on which they were based, advances could be and were made by brilliant but intuitive thinkers and persistent experimenters. They were helped by the fact that England had certain features which European countries did not. Dozens of scientific journals and published papers of scientific societies appeared in England between 1760 and 1800. There was a widespread thirst for knowledge even in the smaller towns. This was met by the activities of the Society of Arts (founded in 1754), by travelling lecturers, or in 'coffee houses' that multiplied through the eighteenth century.

Most inventions were more the product of determination, interest, curiosity, even luck, than the application of scientific knowledge. Some inventors in the cotton industry, like John Kay and James Hargreaves, were familiar with the skills of weaving and carpentry. Richard Arkwright, however, was a barber and wig-maker, Samuel Crompton was not technically skilled, and Edmund Cartwright studied literature, medicine and agriculture, initially wished to become a clergyman, and knew little of mechanics.

By contrast, in the area of steam engines, Thomas Savery, an army officer, Thomas Newcomen, a blacksmith and locksmith, and James Watt, with a strong mechanical bent, all had some knowledge relevant to their inventions. The road-builder John Metcalf, who personally surveyed surfaces for roads and planned them, was blind. The canal builder James Brindley was almost illiterate, with such poor spelling that he could never spell the word 'navigation', but he had tremendous powers of memory, imagination and concentration.

Changed lives

In these years, therefore, it was possible for individuals with talent to bring about revolutionary changes. Similarly, there were rich individuals who took risks and invested money in industries in the hope that profits could be made, and that their money would 'multiply'. In most cases this money – capital – did multiply. Wealth, in the form of goods, incomes, services, knowledge and productive efficiency, did increase dramatically. There was, at the same time, a massive negative human cost. This was evident in broken families, new addresses, degraded cities and appalling working conditions in factories. The number of cities in England with a population of over 50,000 grew from two in 1750 to 29 in 1850. This pace of growth was not matched with the provision of adequate housing, sanitation or clean water for the rapidly growing urban population.

Far Left: Coalbrookdale, *Carpenters' Row, cottages built by the company for workers in 1783.*
Left: *The houses of the Darbys; painting by William Westwood, 1835.*

Newcomers were forced to live in overcrowded slums in the congested central areas of towns near factories, while the rich inhabitants escaped, by shifting to homes in the suburbs where the air was cleaner and the water safe to drink.

Edward Carpenter eloquently described such cities in about 1881, in his poem 'In a Manufacturing Town'

'As I walked restless and despondent through the gloomy city,
And saw the eager unresting to and fro – as of ghosts in some sulphurous Hades* –
And saw the crowds of tall chimneys going up, and the pall of smoke covering the sun, covering the earth, lying heavy against the very ground –
And saw the huge-refuse heaps writhing with children picking them over,
And the ghastly half-roofless smoke-blackened houses, and the black river flowing below, –
As I saw these, and as I saw again faraway the Capitalist quarter,
With its villa residences and its high-walled gardens and its well-appointed carriages, and its face turned away from the wriggling poverty which made it rich, …
I shuddered.

**The gates of Hell*

The Workers

A survey in 1842 revealed that the average lifespan of workers was lower than that of any other social group in cities: it was 15 years in Birmingham, 17 in Manchester, 21 in Derby. More people died, and died at a younger age, in the new industrial cities, than in the villages they had come from. Half the children failed to survive beyond the age of five. The increase in the population of cities was because of immigrants, rather than by an increase in the number of children born to families who already lived there.

Deaths were primarily caused by epidemics of disease that sprang from the pollution of water, like cholera and typhoid, or of the air,

like tuberculosis. More than 31,000 people died from an outbreak of cholera in 1832. Until late in the nineteenth century, municipal authorities were negligent in attending to these dangerous conditions of life and the medical knowledge to understand and cure these diseases was unknown.

Women, Children and Industrialisation

The Industrial Revolution was a time of important changes in the way that children and women worked. Children of the rural poor had always worked at home or in the farm at jobs that varied during the day or between seasons, under the watchful eye of parents or relatives. Likewise, in villages women were actively involved in farm work; they reared livestock, gathered firewood and spun yarn on spinning wheels in their homes.

Work in the factories, with long, unbroken hours of the same kind of work, under strict discipline and sharp forms of punishment, was completely different. The earnings of women and children were necessary to supplement men's meagre wages. As the use of machinery spread, and fewer workers were needed, industrialists preferred to employ women and children who would be less agitated about their poor working conditions and work for lower wages than men.

They were employed in large numbers in the cotton textile industry in Lancashire and Yorkshire. Women were also the main workers in the silk,

Woman in gilt-button factory, Birmingham. In the 1850s, two-thirds of the workforce in the button trade were women and children. Men received 25 shillings a week, women 7 shillings and children one shilling each, for the same hours of work.

lace-making and knitting industries, as well as (along with children) in the metal industries of Birmingham. Machinery like the cotton spinning jenny was designed to be used by child workers with their small build and nimble fingers. Children were often employed in textile factories because they were small enough to move between tightly packed machinery. The long hours of work, including cleaning the machines on Sundays, allowed them little fresh air or exercise. Children caught their hair in machines or crushed their hands, while some died when they fell into machines as they dropped off to sleep from exhaustion.

Coal mines were also dangerous places to work in. Roofs caved in or there could be an explosion, and injuries were therefore common. The owners of coal mines used children to reach deep coal faces or those where the approach path was too narrow for adults. Younger children worked as 'trappers' who opened and shut doors as the coal wagons travelled through mines, or carried heavy loads of coal on their backs as 'coal bearers.'

Factory managers considered child labour to be important training for future factory work. The evidence from British factory records reveals that about half of the factory workers had started work when they were less than ten years old and 28 per cent when they were under 14. Women may well have gained increased financial independence and self-esteem from their jobs; but this was more than offset by the humiliating terms of work they endured, the children they lost at birth or in early childhood and the squalid urban slums that industrial work compelled them to live in.

A lane in the poorer quarters of London; engraving by the French artist Dore, 1876.

In his novel *Hard Times*, Charles Dickens (1812-70), perhaps the most severe contemporary critic of the horrors of industrialisation for the poor, wrote a fictional account of an industrial town he aptly called Coketown.

'It was a town of red brick, or of brick that would have been red if the smoke and ashes had allowed it; but as matters stood it was a town of unnatural red and black like the painted face of a savage. It was a town of machinery and tall chimneys, out of which interminable serpents of smoke trailed themselves for ever and ever, and never got uncoiled. It had a black canal in it, and a river that ran purple with ill-smelling dye, and vast piles of building full of windows where there was a rattling and a trembling all day long, and where the piston of the steam-engine worked monotonously up and down, like the head of an elephant in a stare of melancholy madness.'

ACTIVITY 3

Discuss the effects of early industrialisation on British towns and villages, and compare these with similar situations in India.

D.H.Lawrence (1885-1930), British essayist and novelist, writing seventy years after Dickens, described the change in a village in the coal-belt, change which he had not experienced, but about which he had heard from older people.

'Eastwood…must have been a tiny village at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a small place of cottages and fragmentary rows of little four-roomed miners' dwellings, the homes of the old colliers…But somewhere about 1820 the company must have sunk the first big shaft…and installed the first machinery of the real industrial colliery…Most of the little rows of dwellings were pulled down, and dull little shops began to rise along the Nottingham Road, while on the down-slope…the company erected what is still known as the New Buildings…little four-room houses looking outward into the grim, blank street, and the back looking into the desert of the square, shut in like a barracks enclosure, very strange'.

Protest Movements

The early decades of industrialisation coincided with the spread of new political ideas pioneered by the French Revolution (1789-94). The movements for 'liberty, equality and fraternity' showed the possibilities of collective mass action, both in creating democratic institutions like the French parliamentary assemblies of the 1790s, and in checking the worst hardships of war by controlling the prices of necessities like bread. In England, political protest against the harsh working conditions in factories kept increasing, and the working population agitated to be given the right to vote. The government reacted by repression and by new laws that denied people the right to protest.

England had been at war with France for a long time – from 1792 to 1815. Trade between England and Europe was disrupted, factories were forced to shut down, unemployment grew and the price of essential items of food, like bread and meat, soared to heights beyond the level of average wages.

Parliament in 1795 passed two Combination Acts which made it illegal to 'incite the people by speech or writing to hatred or contempt of the King, Constitution or Government'; and banned unauthorised public meetings of over 50 persons. Protest, nonetheless, continued against 'Old Corruption'. This term was used for privileges linked to the monarchy and Parliament. Members of Parliament – landowners, manufacturers and professionals – were opposed to giving the working population the right to vote. They supported the Corn Laws, which prevented the import of cheaper food until prices in Britain had risen to a certain level.

As workers flooded towns and factories, they expressed their anger and frustration in numerous forms of protest. There were bread or

food riots throughout the country from the 1790s onwards. Bread was the staple item in the diet of the poor and its price governed their standard of living. Stocks of bread were seized and sold at a price that was affordable and morally correct rather than at the high prices charged by profit-hungry traders. Such riots were particularly frequent in the worst year of the war,1795, but they continued until the 1840s.

Another cause of hardship was the process known as 'enclosure' – by which, from the 1770s, hundreds of small farms had been merged into the larger ones of powerful landlords. Poor rural families affected by this had sought industrial work. But the introduction of machines in the cotton industry threw thousands of handloom weavers out of work and into poverty, since their labour was too slow to compete with machines. From the 1790s, these weavers began to demand a legal minimum wage, which was refused by Parliament. When they went on strike, they were dispersed by force. In desperation, in Lancashire, cotton weavers destroyed the powerlooms which they believed had destroyed their livelihood. There was also resistance to the introduction of machines in the woollen knitting industry in Nottingham; protests also took place in Leicestershire and Derbyshire.

In Yorkshire, shearing-frames were destroyed by croppers, who had traditionally sheared sheep by hand. In the riots of 1830, farm labourers found their jobs threatened by the new threshing machines that separated the grain from the husk. The rioters smashed these machines. Nine of them were hanged and 450 were sent to Australia as convicts (see Theme 10).

The movement known as Luddism (1811-17), led by the charismatic General Ned Ludd, exemplified another type of protest. Luddism was not merely a backward-looking assault on machines. Its participants demanded a minimum wage, control over the labour of women and children, work for those who had lost their jobs because of the coming of machinery, and the right to form trade unions so that they could legally present these demands.

During the early years of industrialisation, the working population possessed neither the vote nor legal methods to express their anger at the drastic manner in which their lives had been overturned. In August 1819, 80,000 people gathered peacefully at St Peter's Fields in Manchester to claim democratic rights – of political organisation, of public meetings, and of the freedom of the press. They were suppressed brutally in what became known as the Peterloo* Massacre and the rights they demanded were denied by the Six Acts, passed by Parliament the same year. These extended the restrictions on political activity introduced in the two Combination Acts of 1795. But there were some gains. After Peterloo, the need to make the House of Commons more representative was recognised by liberal political groups, and the Combination Acts were repealed in 1824-25.

*This name was made up to rhyme with 'Waterloo'; the French army had been defeated at Waterloo in 1815.

Reforms through Laws

How attentive was the government to the conditions of work of women and children? Laws were passed in 1819 prohibiting the employment of children under the age of nine in factories and limiting the hours of work of those between the ages of nine and sixteen to 12 hours a day. But this law lacked the powers needed for its enforcement. It was not until 1833, after intense protest by workers throughout the north of England, that an Act was passed that permitted children under nine to be employed only in silk factories, limited the hours of work for older children and provided a number of factory inspectors to ensure that the Act was enforced. Finally, in 1847, after more than 30 years of agitation, the Ten Hours' Bill was passed. This limited the hours of work for women and young people, and secured a 10-hour day for male workers.

These Acts applied to the textile industries but not to the mining industry. The Mines Commission of 1842, set up by the government, revealed that working conditions in mines had actually become worse since the Act of 1833, because more children had been put to work in coal mines. The Mines and Collieries Act of 1842 banned children under ten and women from working underground. Fielder's Factory Act laid down in 1847 that children under eighteen and women should not work more than 10 hours a day. These laws were to be enforced by factory inspectors, but this was difficult to do. The inspectors were poorly paid and easily bribed by factory managers, while parents lied about the real ages of their children, so that they could work and contribute to family incomes.

ACTIVITY 4

Argue the case for and against government regulation of conditions of work in industries.

The Debate on the 'Industrial Revolution'

Until the 1970s, historians used the term 'industrial revolution' for the changes that occurred in Britain from the 1780s to the 1820s. From then, it was challenged, on various grounds.

Industrialisation had actually been too gradual to be considered a 'revolution'. It carried processes that already existed towards new levels. Thus, there was a *relatively* greater concentration of workers in factories, and a *wider* use of money.

Until well into the nineteenth century, large regions of England remained untouched by factories or mines and therefore the term 'industrial revolution' was regarded as inaccurate: England had changed in a *regional* manner, prominently around the cities of London, Manchester, Birmingham or Newcastle, rather than throughout the country.

Could the growth in the cotton or iron industries or in foreign trade from the 1780s to the 1820s be called revolutionary? The impressive growth of cotton textiles, based on new machinery, was in an industry that relied on a non-British raw material, on sales abroad (especially

India), on non-metallic machinery, and with few links to other branches of industry. Metallic machinery and steam power was rare until much later in the nineteenth century. The rapid growth in British imports and exports from the 1780s occurred because of the resumption of trade with North America that the War of American Independence had interrupted. This growth was recorded as being sharp only because it started from a low point.

Indicators of economic change occurring before and after 1815-20 suggest that sustained industrialisation was to be seen *after* rather than *before* these dates. The decades after 1793 had experienced the disruptive effects of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Industrialisation is associated with a growing investment of the country's wealth in 'capital formation', or building infrastructure and installing new machinery, and with raising the levels of efficient use of these facilities, and with raising productivity. Productive investment, in these senses, grew steadily only after 1820, as did levels of productivity. The cotton, iron and engineering industries had accounted for less than half of the industrial output until the 1840s. Technical progress was not limited to these branches, but was visible in other branches too, like agricultural processing and pottery.

In searching for an answer as to why British growth may have been faster after 1815 than before, historians have pointed to the fact that from the 1760s to 1815, Britain tried to do two things simultaneously – to industrialise, and to fight wars in Europe, North America and India - and it may possibly have failed with one. Britain was at war for 36 out of 60 years from 1760. Capital that was borrowed was used to fight the wars rather than invested. As much as 35 per cent of the cost of the war was met by taxing people's incomes. Workers were transferred out of factories and farms to the army. Food prices rose so sharply that the poor had little money left for buying consumer goods. Napoleon's policies of blockade, and British reactions to them, closed the European continent, the destination for more than half of British exports, to British traders.

The word 'industrial' used with the word 'revolution' is too limited. The transformation extended beyond the economic or industrial sphere and into society and gave prominence to two classes: the bourgeoisie and the new class of proletarian labourers in towns and in the countryside.

In 1851, visitors thronged the Great Exhibition at the specially constructed Crystal Palace in London to view the achievements of British industry. At that time, half the population was living in towns, but of the workers in towns as many were in handicraft units as in factories. From the 1850s, the proportion of people living in urban areas went up dramatically, and most of these were workers in industry – the working class. Only 20 per cent of Britain's workforce now lived in rural areas. This was a far more rapid rate of industrialisation than had been witnessed in other European countries. In his detailed study of British industry, the historian A.E. Musson has suggested that

The Great Exhibition of 1851 displayed "the Works of Industry of all Nations", particularly the spectacular progress of Britain. It was held in London's Hyde Park, in the Crystal Palace, made of glass panes set in iron columns manufactured in Birmingham.

'There are good grounds for regarding the period 1850-1914 as that in which the Industrial Revolution really occurred, on a massive scale, transforming the whole economy and society much more widely and deeply than the earlier changes had done.'

Exercises

ANSWER IN BRIEF

1. What was the effect on Britain's industries of Britain's involvement in wars from 1793 to 1815 ?
2. What were the relative advantages of canal and railway transportation?
3. What were the interesting features of the 'inventions' of this period?
4. Indicate how the supply of raw materials affected the nature of British industrialisation.

ANSWER IN A SHORT ESSAY

5. How were the lives of different classes of British women affected by the Industrial Revolution?
6. Compare the effects of the coming of the railways in different countries in the world.

THEME 10

DISPLACING INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

THIS chapter recounts some aspects of the histories of the native peoples of America and Australia. Theme 8 described the history of the Spanish and Portuguese colonisation of South America. From the eighteenth century, more areas of South America, Central America, North America, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand came to be settled by immigrants from Europe. This led to many of the native peoples being pushed out into other areas. The European settlements were called 'colonies'. When the European inhabitants of the colonies became independent of the European 'mother-country', these colonies became 'states' or countries.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, people from Asian countries also migrated to some of these countries. Today, these Europeans and Asians form the majority in these countries, and the number of the native inhabitants are very small. They are hardly seen in the towns, and people have forgotten that they once occupied much of the country, and that the names of many rivers, towns, etc. are derived from 'native' names (e.g. Ohio, Mississippi and Seattle in the USA, Saskatchewan in Canada, Wollongong and Parramatta in Australia).

Till the middle of the twentieth century, American and Australian history textbooks used to describe how Europeans 'discovered' the Americas and Australia. They hardly mentioned the native peoples except to suggest that they were hostile to Europeans. These peoples were, however, studied by anthropologists in America from the 1840s. Much later, from the 1960s, the native peoples were encouraged to write their own histories or to dictate them (this is called oral history).

Today, it is possible to read historical works and fiction written by the native peoples, and visitors to museums in these countries will see galleries of 'native art' and special museums which show the aboriginal way of life. The new National Museum of the American Indian in the USA has been curated by American Indians themselves.

European Imperialism

The American empires of Spain and Portugal (see Theme 8) did not expand after the seventeenth century. From that time other countries – France, Holland and England – began to extend their trading activities and to establish colonies – in America, Africa and Asia; Ireland also was virtually a colony of England, as the landowners there were mostly English settlers.

From the eighteenth century, it became obvious that while it was the prospect of profit which drove people to establish colonies, there were significant variations in the *nature* of the control established.

In South Asia, trading companies like the East India Company made themselves into political powers, defeated local rulers and annexed their territories. They retained the older well-developed administrative system and collected taxes from landowners. Later they built railways to make trade easier, excavated mines and established big plantations.

In Africa, Europeans traded on the coast, except in South Africa, and only in the late nineteenth century did they venture into the interior. After this, some of the European countries reached an agreement to divide up Africa as colonies for themselves.

The word 'settler' is used for the Dutch in South Africa, the British in Ireland, New Zealand and Australia, and the Europeans in America. The official language in these colonies was English (except in Canada, where French is also an official language).

Names given by Europeans to Countries of the 'New World'

'AMERICA'	First used after the publication of the travels of Amerigo Vespucci (1451-1512)
'CANADA'	from *kanata* (= 'village' in the language of the Huron-Iroquois, as heard by the explorer Jacques Cartier in 1535)
'AUSTRALIA'	Sixteenth-century name for land in the Great Southern Ocean (*austral* is Latin for 'south')
'NEW ZEALAND'	Name given by Tasman of Holland, who was the first to sight these islands in 1642 (*zee* is Dutch for 'sea')

The *Geographical Dictionary* (pp 805-22) lists over a hundred place-names in the Americas and Australia which begin with 'New'.

NORTH AMERICA

The continent of North America extends from the Arctic Circle to the Tropic of Cancer, from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean. West of the chain of the Rocky Mountains is the desert of Arizona and Nevada, still further west the Sierra Nevada mountains, to the east the Great Plains, the Great Lakes, the valleys of the Mississippi and the Ohio and the Appalachian Mountains. To the south is Mexico. Forty per cent of Canada is covered with forests. Oil, gas and mineral resources are found in many areas, which explains the many big industries in the USA and Canada. Today, wheat, corn and fruit are grown extensively and fishing is a major industry in Canada.

Mining, industry and extensive agriculture have been developed only in the last 200 years by immigrants from Europe, Africa and China. But there were people who had been living in North America for thousands of years before the Europeans learnt of its existence.

The Native Peoples

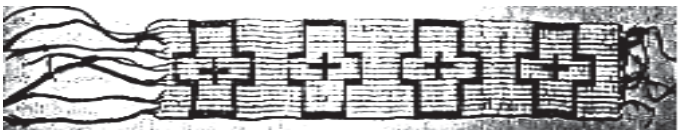
'Native' means a person born in the place he/she lives in. Till the early twentieth century, the term was used by Europeans to describe the inhabitants of countries they had colonised.

The earliest inhabitants of North America came from Asia over 30,000 years ago on a land-bridge across the Bering Straits, and during the last Ice Age 10,000 years ago they moved further south. The oldest artefact found in America – an arrow-point – is 11,000 years old. The population started to increase about 5,000 years ago when the climate became more stable.

> 'At sunset on the day before America [that is, before the Europeans reached there and gave the continent this name], diversity lay at every hand. People spoke in more than a hundred tongues. They lived by every possible combination of hunting, fishing, gathering, gardening, and farming open to them. The quality of soils and the effort required to open and tend them determined some of their choices of how to live. Cultural and social biases determined others. Surpluses of fish or grain or garden plants or meats helped create powerful, tiered societies here but not there. Some cultures had endured for millennia…' – William Macleish, *The Day before America.*

These peoples lived in bands, in villages along river valleys. They ate fish and meat, and cultivated vegetables and maize. They often went on long journeys in search of meat, chiefly that of bison, the wild buffalo that roamed the grasslands (this became easier from the seventeenth century, when the natives started to ride horses, which they bought from Spanish settlers). But they only killed as many animals as they needed for food.

They did not attempt extensive agriculture and since they did not produce a surplus, they did not develop kingdoms and empires as in Central and South America. There were some instances of quarrels between tribes over territory, but by and large control of land was not an issue. They were content with the food and shelter they got from the land without feeling any need to 'own' it. An important feature of their tradition was that of making formal alliances and friendships, and exchanging gifts. Goods were obtained not by buying them, but as gifts.



Wampum belts, made of coloured shells sewn together, were exchanged by native tribes after a treaty was agreed to.

Numerous languages were spoken in North America, though these were not written down. They believed that time moved in cycles, and each tribe had accounts about their origins and their earlier history which were passed on from one generation to the next. They were skilled craftspeople and wove beautiful textiles. They could read the land – they could understand the climates and different landscapes in the way literate people read written texts.

Encounters with Europeans

Different terms are used in English for the native peoples of the 'New World'

aborigine – native people of Australia (in Latin, ab = from, origine = the beginning)

Aboriginal – adjective, often misused as a noun

American Indian/Amerind/Amerindian – native peoples of North and South America and the Caribbean

First Nations peoples – the organised native groups recognised by the Canadian government (the Indians Act of 1876 used the term 'bands' but from the 1980s the word 'nations' is used)

indigenous people – people belonging naturally to a place

native American – the indigenous people of the Americas (this is the term now commonly used)

'*Red Indian*' – the brown-complexioned people whose land Columbus mistook for India

A woman of the Winnebago tribe of Wisconsin. In the 1860s, people of this tribe were moved to Nebraska

Names of native tribes are often given to things unconnected with them: Dakota (an aeroplane), Cherokee (a jeep), Pontiac (a car), Mohawk (a haircut)!

It was indicated on the stone tablets that the Hopis* had that the first brothers and sisters that would come back to them would come as turtles across the land. They would be human beings, but they would come as turtles. So when the time came close the Hopis were at a special village to welcome the turtles that would come across the land and they got up in the morning and looked out at the sunrise. They looked out across the desert and they saw the Spanish Conquistadores coming, covered in armour, like turtles across the land. So this was them. So they went out to the Spanish man and they extended their hand hoping for the handshake but into the hand the Spanish man dropped a trinket. And so word spread throughout North America that there was going to be a hard time, that maybe some of the brothers and sisters had forgotten the sacredness of all things and all the human beings were going to suffer for this on the earth.

– From a talk by Lee Brown, 1986

*The Hopis are a native tribe who now live near California.

In the seventeenth century, the European traders who reached the north coast of North America after a difficult two-month voyage were relieved to find the native peoples friendly and welcoming. Unlike the Spanish in South America, who were overcome by the abundance of gold in the country, these adventurers came to trade in fish and furs, in which they got the willing help of the natives who were expert at hunting.

Further south, along the Mississippi river, the French found that the natives held regular gatherings to exchange handicrafts unique to a tribe or food items not available in other regions. In exchange for local products the Europeans gave the natives blankets, iron vessels (which they used sometimes in place of their clay pots), guns, which was a useful supplement for bows and arrows to kill animals, and alcohol. This last item was something the natives had not known earlier, and they became addicted to it, which suited the Europeans, because it enabled them to dictate terms of trade. (The Europeans acquired from the natives an addiction to tobacco.)

Quebec	American colonies
1497 John Cabot reaches Newfoundland	1507 Amerigo de Vespucci's *Travels* published
1534 Jacques Cartier travels down the St Lawrence river and meets native peoples	
1608 French found the colony of Quebec	1607 British found the colony of Virginia
	1620 British found Plymouth (in Massachusetts)

Mutual Perceptions

In the eighteenth century, western Europeans defined 'civilised' people in terms of literacy, an organised religion and urbanism. To them, the natives of America appeared 'uncivilised'. To some, like the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, such people were to be admired, as they were untouched by the corruptions of 'civilisation'. A popular term was 'the noble savage'. Some lines in a poem by the English poet William Wordsworth indicate another perspective. Neither he nor Rousseau had met a native American, but Wordsworth described them as living 'amid wilds/Where fancy hath small liberty to grace/The affections, to exalt them or refine', meaning that people living close to nature had only limited powers of imagination and emotion!

Thomas Jefferson, third President of the USA, and a contemporary of Wordsworth, spoke of the natives in words that would lead to a public outcry today:

'This unfortunate race which we have been taking so much pains to civilise... have justified extermination'.

It is interesting to note that another writer, Washington Irving, much younger than Wordsworth and who had actually met native people, described them quite differently.

'The Indians I have had an opportunity of seeing in real life are quite different from those described in poetry... Taciturn they are, it is true, when in company with white men, whose goodwill they distrust and whose language they do not understand; but the white man is equally taciturn under like circumstances. When the Indians are among themselves, they are great mimics, and entertain themselves excessively at the expense of the whites... who have supposed them impressed with profound respect for their grandeur and dignity... The white men (as I have witnessed) are prone to treat the poor Indians as little better than animals'.

To the natives, the goods they exchanged with the Europeans were *gifts*, given in friendship. For the Europeans, dreaming of becoming rich, the fish and furs were *commodities*, which they would sell for a profit in Europe. The prices of the goods they sold varied from year to year, depending on the supply. The natives could not understand this – they had no sense of the 'market' in faraway Europe. They were puzzled by the fact that the European traders sometimes gave them a lot of things in exchange for their goods, sometimes very little. They were also saddened by the greed of the Europeans*. In their impatience to get furs, they had slaughtered hundreds of beavers, and the natives were very uneasy, fearing that the animals would take revenge on them for this destruction.

*Many folk tales of the natives mocked Europeans and described them as greedy and deceitful, but because these were told as imaginary stories, it was only much later that the Europeans understood the references.

Following the first Europeans, who were traders, were those who came to 'settle' in America. From the seventeenth century, there were groups of Europeans who were being persecuted because they were of a different sect of Christianity (Protestants living in predominantly Catholic countries, or Catholics in countries where Protestantism was the official religion). Many of them left Europe and went to America to begin a new life. As long as there was vacant

land, this was not a problem, but gradually the Europeans moved further inland, near native villages. They used their iron tools to cut down forests to lay out farms.

Natives and Europeans saw different things when they looked at forests – natives identified tracks invisible to the Europeans. Europeans imagined the forests cut down and replaced by cornfields. Jefferson's 'dream' was a country populated by Europeans with small farms. The natives, who grew crops for their own needs, not for sale and profit, and thought it wrong to 'own' the land, could not understand this. In Jefferson's view, this made them 'uncivilised'.

ACTIVITY 1

Discuss the different images that Europeans and native Americans had of each other, and the different ways in which they saw nature.

Canada	USA
1701 French treaty with natives of Quebec	
1763 Quebec conquered by the British	1781 Britain recognises USA as an independent country
1774 Quebec Act	1783 British give Mid-West to the USA
1791 Canada Constitutional Act	

MAP 1: The expansion of USA

The countries that are known as Canada and the United States of America came into existence at the end of the eighteenth century. At that time they occupied only a fraction of the land they now cover. Over the next hundred years they extended their control over more territory, to reach their present size. Large areas were acquired by the USA by purchase – they bought land in the south from France (the 'Louisiana Purchase') and from Russia (Alaska), and by war – much of southern USA was won from Mexico. It did not occur to anyone that the consent of natives living in these areas should have been asked. The western 'frontier' of the USA was a shifting one, and as it moved, the natives also were forced to move back.

Canada	USA
	1803 Louisiana purchased from France
	1825-58 Natives in USA moved to reserves
1837 French Canadian rebellion	1832 Justice Marshall's judgement
1840 Canadian Union of Upper and Lower Canada	1849 American Gold Rush
1859 Canada Gold Rush	1861-65 American Civil War
1867 Confederation of Canada	1865-90 American Indian Wars
1869-85 Red River Rebellion by the Metis in Canada	1870 Transcontinental railway
1876 Canada Indians Act	1890 Bison almost exterminated in America
1885 Transcontinental railway links east and west coasts	1892 'End' of American frontier

The landscapes of America changed drastically in the nineteenth century. The Europeans treated the land differently from the natives. Some of the migrants from Britain and France were younger sons who would not inherit their fathers' property and therefore were eager to own land in America. Later, there were waves of immigrants from countries like Germany, Sweden and Italy who had lost their lands to big farmers, and wanted farms they could own. People from Poland were happy to work in the prairie grasslands, which reminded them of the steppes of their homes, and were excited at being able to buy huge properties at very low prices. They cleared land and developed agriculture, introducing crops (rice and cotton) which could not grow in Europe and therefore could be sold there for profit. To protect their huge farms from wild animals – wolves and mountain lions – these were hunted to extinction. They felt totally secure only with the invention of barbed wire in 1873.

The climate of the southern region was too hot for Europeans to work outdoors, and the experience of South American colonies had

A ranch in Colorado.

shown that the natives who had been enslaved had died in large numbers. Plantation owners therefore bought slaves in Africa. Protests by anti-slavery groups led to a ban on slave trade, but the Africans who were in the USA remained slaves, as did their children.

The northern states of the USA, where the economy did not depend on plantations (and therefore on slavery), argued for ending slavery which they condemned as an inhuman practice. In 1861-65, there was a war between the states that wanted to retain slavery and those supporting abolition. The latter won. Slavery was abolished, though it was only in the twentieth century that the African Americans were able to win the battle for civil liberties, and segregation between 'whites' and 'non-whites' in schools and public transport was ended.

The Canadian government had a problem which was not to be solved for a long time, and which seemed more urgent than the question of the natives – in 1763 Canada had been won by the British after a war with France. The French settlers repeatedly demanded autonomous political status. It was only in 1867 that this problem was solved by organising canada as a Confederation of autonomous states.

The Native Peoples Lose their Land

In the USA, as settlement expanded, the natives were induced or forced to move, after signing treaties selling their land. The prices paid were very low, and there were instances when the Americans (a term used

to mean the *European* people of the USA) cheated them by taking more land or paying less than promised.

Even high officials saw nothing wrong in depriving the native peoples of their land. This is seen by an episode in Georgia, a state in the USA. Officials had argued that the Cherokee tribe was governed by state laws, but could not enjoy the rights of citizens. (This was despite the fact that, of all the native peoples, the Cherokees were the ones who had made the most effort to learn English and to understand the American way of life; even so they were not allowed the rights of citizens.)

In 1832, an important judgment was announced by the US Chief Justice, John Marshall. He said that the Cherokees were 'a distinct community, occupying its own territory in which the laws of Georgia had no force', and that they had sovereignty in certain matters. US President Andrew Jackson had a reputation for fighting against economic and political privilege, but when it came to the Indians, he was a different person. He refused to honour the Chief Justice's judgment, and ordered the US army to evict the Cherokees from their land and drive them to the Great American Desert. Of the 15,000 people thus forced to go, over a quarter died along the 'Trail of Tears'.

Those who took the land occupied by the tribes justified it by saying the natives did not deserve to occupy land which they did not use to the maximum. They went on to criticise them for being lazy, since they did not use their crafts skills to produce goods for the market, for not being interested in learning English or dressing 'correctly' (which meant like the Europeans). They deserved to 'die out', they argued. The prairies were cleared for farmland, and wild bison killed off. 'Primitive man will disappear with the primitive animal' wrote a visiting Frenchman.

ACTIVITY 2

Comment on these two sets of population data.

	USA: 1820	*Spanish America: 1800*
Natives	0.6 million	7.5 million
Whites	9.0 million	3.3 million
Mixed Europeans	0.1 million	5.3 million
Blacks	1.9 million	0.8 million
Total	**11.6 million**	**16.9 million**

Meanwhile, the natives were pushed westward, given land elsewhere ('theirs in perpetuity') but often moved again if any mineral – lead or gold – or oil was found on their lands. Many tribes were forced to share the land originally occupied by one tribe, thus leading to quarrels

between them. They were locked off in small areas called 'reservations', which often was land with which they had no earlier connection. They did not give in without a fight. The US army crushed a series of rebellions from 1865 to 1890, and in Canada there were armed revolts by the Metis (people of native European descent) between 1869 and 1885. But after that they gave up.

In 1854, the President of the USA received a letter from a native leader, Chief Seattle. The president had asked the chief to sign a treaty giving a large part of the land they lived on to the American government. The Chief replied:

'How can you buy or sell the sky, the warmth of the land? The idea is strange to us. If you do not own the freshness of the air and the sparkle of the water, how can one buy them? Every part of the earth is sacred to my people. Every shining pine-needle, every sandy shore, every mist in the dark woods, every clearing and every humming insect is holy in the memory and experience of my people. The sap which courses through the trees carries the memories of the red man…

So, when the Great Chief in Washington sends word that he wishes to buy our land, he asks much of us. The Great Chief sends word that he will reserve us a place so that we can live comfortably. He will be our father and we will be his children. So we will consider your offer to buy our land. But it will not be easy. For this land is sacred to us. The shining water that moves in the streams and rivers is not just water but the blood of our ancestors. If we sell you land, you must remember that it is sacred and you must teach your children that it is sacred and that each ghostly reflection in the clear water of the lakes tells of events and memories in the life of my people. The water's murmur is the voice of my father's father…'

The Gold Rush, and the Growth of Industries

There was always the hope that there was gold in North America. In the 1840s, traces of gold were found in the USA, in California. This led to the 'Gold Rush', when thousands of eager Europeans hurried to America in the hope of making a quick fortune. This led to the building of railway lines across the continent, for which thousands of Chinese workers were recruited. The USA's railway was completed by 1870, that of

Anthropology

It is significant that it was at this time (from the 1840s) that the subject of 'anthropology' (which had been developed in France) was introduced in North America, out of a curiosity to study the differences between native 'primitive' communities and the 'civilised' communities of Europe. Some anthropologists argued that just as there were no 'primitive' people to be found in Europe, the American natives too would 'die out'.

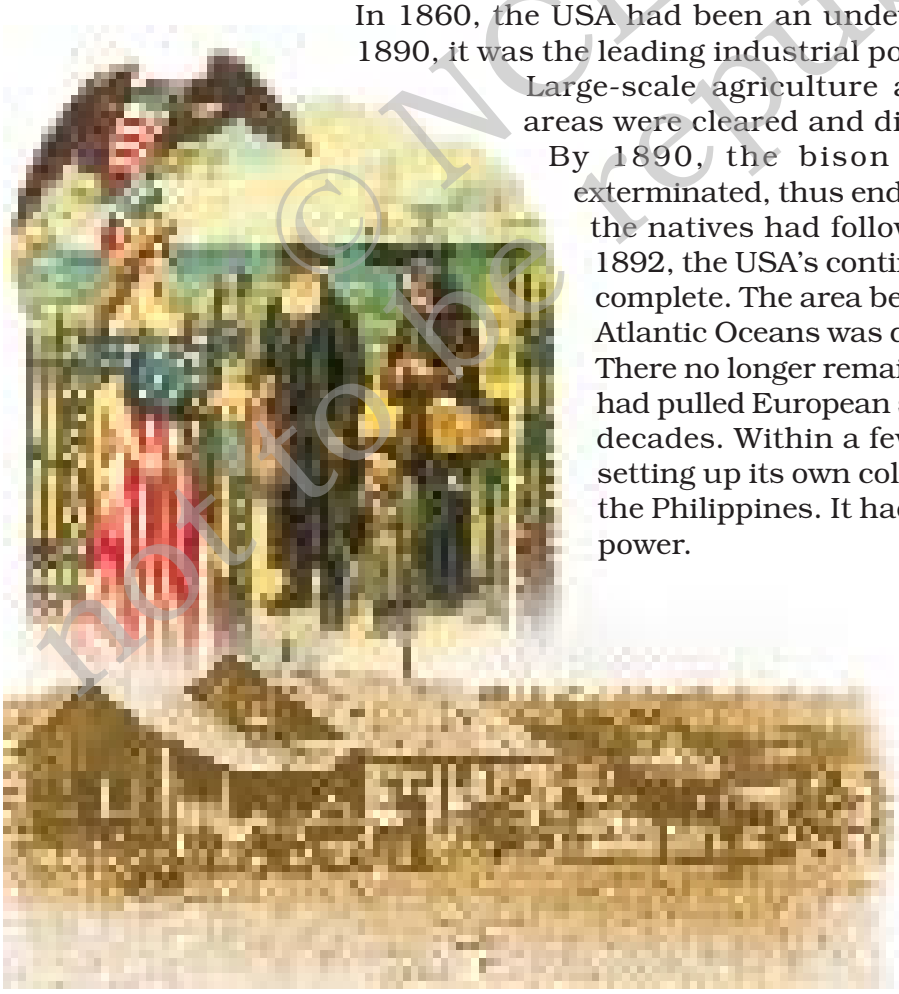
A native lodge, 1862. Archaeologists moved this from the mountains and placed it in a museum in Wyoming.

Moving to California as part of the 'Gold Rush', photograph.

Canada by 1885. 'The old nations creep on at a snail's pace' said Andrew Carnegie, a poor immigrant from Scotland who became one of the first millionaire industrialists in the USA, 'the Republic thunders on at the speed of an express'.

One reason why the Industrial Revolution happened in England when it did was because small peasants were losing their land to big farmers, and moving to jobs in factories (see Theme 9). In North America, industries developed for very different reasons – to manufacture railway equipment so that rapid transport could link distant places, and to produce machinery which would make large-scale farming easier. Industrial towns grew and factories multiplied, both in the USA and Canada. In 1860, the USA had been an undeveloped economy. In 1890, it was the leading industrial power in the world.

Large-scale agriculture also expanded. Vast areas were cleared and divided up into farms. By 1890, the bison had almost been exterminated, thus ending the life of hunting the natives had followed for centuries. In 1892, the USA's continental expansion was complete. The area between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans was divided up into states. There no longer remained the 'frontier' that had pulled European settlers west for many decades. Within a few years the USA was setting up its own colonies – in Hawaii and the Philippines. It had become an imperial power.



Above: Immigrants welcomed by the USA, colour print, 1909.

Below: The ranch on the prairie that was the dream of poor European immigrants, photograph.

Constitutional Rights

The 'democratic spirit' which had been the rallying cry of the settlers in their fight for independence in the 1770s, came to define the identity of the USA against the monarchies and aristocracies of the Old World. Also important to them was that their constitution included the individual's 'right to property', which the state could not override.

But both democratic rights (the right to vote for representatives to Congress and for the President) and the right to property *were only for white men.* Daniel Paul, a Canadian native, pointed out in 2000 that Thomas Paine, the champion of democracy at the time of the War for American Independence and the French Revolution, 'used the Indians as models of how society might be organized'. He used this to argue that 'the Native Americans by their example sowed the seeds for the long-drawn-out movement towards democracy by the people of Europe' (*We Were Not the Savages*, p. 333)

Karl Marx (1818-83), the great German philosopher, described the American frontier as 'the last positive capitalist utopia...the limitless nature and space to which the limitless thirst for profit adapts itself'.

–'Bastiat and Carey', *Grundrisse*

The winds of change...

Not till the 1920s did things begin to improve for the native peoples of the USA and Canada. *The Problem of Indian Administration*, a survey directed by social scientist Lewis Meriam and published in 1928, only a few years before the USA was swept by a major economic depression that affected all its people, painted a grim picture of the terribly poor health and education facilities for natives in reservations.

White Americans felt sympathy for the natives who were being discouraged from the full exercise of their cultures and simultaneously denied the benefits of citizenship. This led to a landmark law in the USA, the Indian Reorganisation Act of 1934, which gave natives in reservations the right to buy land and take loans.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the US and Canadian governments thought of ending all special provisions for the natives in the hope that they would 'join the mainstream', that is, adopt European culture. But the natives did not want this. In 1954, in the 'Declaration of Indian Rights' prepared by them, a number of native peoples accepted citizenship of the USA but on condition that their reservations would not be taken away and their traditions would not be interfered with. A similar development occurred in Canada. In 1969 the government announced that they would 'not recognise aboriginal rights'. The natives, in a well-organised opposition move, held a series of demonstrations and debates. The question could not be resolved till 1982, when the Constitution Act accepted the existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the natives. Many details remain to be worked out. Today, it is clear that the native peoples of both countries, though reduced so much in numbers from what they had been in the eighteenth century, have been able to assert their right to their own cultures and, particularly in Canada, to their sacred lands, in a way their ancestors could not have done in the 1880s.

ACTIVITY 3

Comment on the following statement by the American historian Howard Spodek: 'For the indigenous [people] the effects of the American Revolution were exactly opposite to those of the settlers – expansion became contraction, democracy became tyranny, prosperity became poverty, and liberty became confinement."

Indians under British rule	Taxed arbitrarily; seen as not equal (rationalisation – not *ready* for responsibility of representative government)
Natives in America and Australia	Not seen as citizens; not equal (rationalisation 'primitive' as in no settled agriculture, provision for the future, towns)
African slaves in America	Denied personal liberty; not equal (rationalisation – 'Slavery is part of their own social system', black people are inferior)

AUSTRALIA

As in the Americas, human habitation in Australia has a long history. The 'aborigines' (a general name given to a number of different societies) began to arrive on the continent over 40,000 years ago (it is possible it was even earlier). They came from New Guinea, which was connected to Australia by a land-bridge. In the natives' traditions, they did not *come* to Australia, but had always been there. The past centuries were called the 'Dreamtime' – something difficult for Europeans to understand, since the distinction between past and present is blurred.

In the late eighteenth century, there were between 350 and 750 native communities in Australia each with its own language (even today 200 of these languages are spoken). There is another large group of indigenous people living in the north, called the Torres Strait Islanders. The term 'Aborigine' is not used for these as they are believed to have migrated from elsewhere and belong to a different race. Together, they make up 2.4 per cent of Australia's population in 2005.

Australia is sparsely populated, and even now most of the towns are along the coast (where the British first arrived in 1770) because the central region is arid desert.

The Europeans Reach Australia

1606 Dutch travellers sight Australia
1642 Tasman lands on the island later named Tasmania
1770 James Cook reaches Botany Bay, named New South Wales
1788 British penal colony formed. Sydney founded

MAP 2:
Australia

The story of the interaction between the European settlers, the native peoples and the land in Australia has many points of similarity to the story of the Americas, though it began nearly 300 years later. Initial reports from Captain Cook and his crew about encounters with natives are enthusiastic about their friendliness. There was a sharp reversal of feeling on the part of the British when Cook was killed by a native – not in Australia, but in Hawaii. As often happened, a single incident of this nature was used by colonisers to justify subsequent acts of violence towards other people.

A Description of the Sydney Area in 1790

'Aboriginal production had been dramatically disturbed by the British presence. The arrival of a thousand hungry mouths, followed by hundreds more, put unprecedented pressure on local food resources.

So what would the Daruk people have thought of all this? To them such large-scale destruction of sacred places and strange, violent behaviour towards their land was inexplicable. The newcomers seemed to knock down trees without any reason, for they were not making canoes, gathering bush honey or catching animals. Stones were moved and stacked together, clay dug up, shaped and cooked, holes were made in the ground, large unwieldy structures built. At first they may have equated the clearing with the creation of a sacred ceremonial ground…Perhaps they thought a huge ritual gathering was to be held, dangerous business from which they should steer well clear. There is no doubt the Daruks subsequently avoided the settlement, for the only way to bring them back was by an official kidnapping.'

– (P. Grimshaw, M. Lake, A. McGrath, M. Quartly, *Creating a Nation*)

They did not foresee that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries nearly 90 per cent of them would die by exposure to germs, by the loss of their lands and resources, and in battles against the settlers. The experiment of settling Brazil with Portuguese convicts had been abandoned when their violent behaviour provoked angry reprisals from the natives. The British had adopted the same practice in the American colonies until they became independent. Then they continued it in Australia. Most of the early settlers were convicts who had been deported from England and, when their jail term ended, were allowed to live as free people in Australia on condition that they did not return to Britain. With no recourse but to make a life for themselves in this land so different from their own, they felt no hesitation about ejecting natives from land they took over for cultivation.

The development of Australia

1850 Self-government granted to Australian colonies
1851 Chinese coolie immigration. Stopped by law in 1855
1851-1961 Gold rushes
1901 Formation of Federation of Australia, with six states
1911 Canberra established as capital
1948-75 Two million Europeans migrate to Australia

ACTIVITY 4

In 1911, it was announced that New Delhi and Canberra would be built as the capital cities of British India and of the Commonwealth of Australia. Compare and contrast the political situations of the native people in these countries at that time.

The economic development of Australia under European settlement was not as varied as in America. Vast sheep farms and mining stations were established over a long period and with much labour, followed by vineyards and wheat farming. These came to form the basis of the country's prosperity. When the states were united, and it was decided that a new capital would be built for Australia in 1911, one name suggested for it was Woolwheatgold! Ultimately, it was called Canberra (= kamberra, a native word meaning 'meeting place').

Some natives were employed in farms, under conditions of work so harsh that it was little different from slavery. Later, Chinese immigrants provided cheap labour, as in California, but unease about being dependent on non-whites led to the governments in both countries to ban Chinese immigrants. Till 1974, such was the popular fear that 'dark' people from South Asia or Southeast Asia might migrate to Australia in large numbers that there was a government policy to keep 'non-white' people out.

The Winds of Change...

In 1968, people were electrified by a lecture by the anthropologist W.E.H. Stanner, entitled 'The Great Australian Silence' – the silence of historians about the aborigines. From the 1970s, as was happening in North America, there was an eagerness to understand natives not as anthropological curiosities but as communities with distinct cultures, unique ways of understanding nature and climate, with a sense of community which had vast bodies of stories, textile and painting and carving skills, which should be understood and recorded and respected. Underlying it all was the urgent question which Henry Reynolds later articulated in a powerful book, *Why Weren't We Told?* This condemned the practice of writing Australian history as though it had begun with Captain Cook's 'discovery'.

Since then, university departments have been instituted to study native cultures, galleries of native art have been added to art galleries, museums have been enlarged to incorporate dioramas and imaginatively designed rooms explaining native culture, and natives have begun writing their own life histories. This has been a wonderful effort. It has also occurred at a critical time, because if native cultures had remained ignored, by this time much of such cultures would have been forgotten. From 1974, 'multiculturalism' has been official policy in Australia, which gave equal respect to native cultures and to the different cultures of the immigrants from Europe and Asia.

'Kathy my sister with the torn heart,
I don't know how to thank you
For your dreamtime stories of joy and grief
Written on paperbark.
You were one of the dark children
I wasn't allowed to play with–
Riverbank campers, the wrong colour
(I couldn't turn you white.)
So it was late I met you,
Late I began to know
They hadn't told me the land I loved
Was taken out of your hands.'

– 'Two Dreamtimes', written for Oodgeroo Noonuccal

JUDITH WRIGHT (1915-2000), an Australian writer, was a champion of the rights of the Australian aborigines. She wrote many moving poems about the loss created by keeping the white people and the natives apart.

From the 1970s, as the term 'human rights' began to be heard at meetings of the UNO and other international agencies, the Australian public realised with dismay that, in contrast to the USA, Canada and New Zealand, Australia had no treaties with the natives formalising the takeover of land by Europeans. The government had always termed the land of Australia *terra nullius*, that is belonging to nobody.

There was also a long and agonising history of children of mixed blood (native European) being forcibly captured and separated from their native relatives.

Agitation around these questions led to enquiries and to two important decisions: one, to recognise that the natives had strong historic bonds with the land which was 'sacred' to them, and which should be respected; two, that while past acts could not be undone, there should be a public apology for the injustice done to children in an attempt to keep 'white' and 'coloured' people apart.

1974	'White Australia' policy ends, Asian immigrants allowed entry
1992	The Australian High Court (in the Mabo case) declares that *terra nullius* was legally invalid, and recognised native claims to land from before 1770
1995	The National Enquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families
1999	(26th May) 'A National Sorry Day' as apology for the children 'lost' from the 1820s to the 1970s

Exercises

ANSWER IN BRIEF

1. Comment on any points of difference between the native peoples of South and North America.
2. Other than the use of English, what other features of English economic and social life do you notice in nineteenth-century USA?
3. What did the 'frontier' mean to the Americans?
4. Why was the history of the Australian native peoples left out of history books?

ANSWER IN A SHORT ESSAY

5. How satisfactory is a museum gallery display in explaining the culture of a people? Give examples from your own experience of a museum.
6. Imagine an encounter in California in about 1880 between four people: a former African slave, a Chinese labourer, a German who had come out in the Gold Rush, and a native of the Hopi tribe, and narrate their conversation.

THEME 11

PATHS TO MODERNISATION

EAST ASIA at the beginning of the nineteenth century was dominated by China. The Qing dynasty, heir to a long tradition, seemed secure in its power, while Japan, a small island country, seemed to be locked in isolation. Yet, within a few decades China was thrown into turmoil unable to face the colonial challenge. The imperial government lost political control, was unable to reform effectively and the country was convulsed by civil war. Japan on the other hand was successful in building a modern nation-state, creating an industrial economy and even establishing a colonial empire by incorporating Taiwan (1895) and Korea (1910). It defeated China, the land that had been the source of its culture and ideals, in 1894, and Russia, a European power, in 1905.

The Chinese reacted slowly and faced immense difficulties as they sought to redefine their traditions to cope with the modern world, and to rebuild their national strength and become free from Western and Japanese control. They found that they could achieve both objectives – of removing inequalities and of rebuilding their country – through revolution. The Chinese Communist Party emerged victorious from the civil war in 1949. However, by the end of the 1970s Chinese leaders felt that the ideological system was retarding economic growth and development. This led to wide-ranging reforms of the economy that brought back capitalism and the free market even as the Communist Party retained political control.

Japan became an advanced industrial nation but its drive for empire led to war and defeat at the hands of the Anglo-American forces. The US Occupation marked the beginning of a more democratic political system and Japan rebuilt its economy to emerge by the 1970s as a major economic power.

The Japanese path to modernisation was built on capitalist principles and took place within a world dominated by Western colonialism. Japanese expansion was justified by the call to resist Western domination and liberate Asia. The rapid development underlined the strength of tradition in Japanese institutions and society, their ability to learn and the strength of nationalism.

China and Japan have had a long tradition of historical writings, as history was an important guide for the rulers. The past provided the standards by which they would be judged and

the rulers established official departments to maintain records and write dynastic histories. Sima Qian (145-90 BCE) is considered the greatest historian of early China. In Japan, Chinese cultural influence led to history being given a similar importance. One of the earliest acts of the Meiji government was to establish, in 1869, a bureau to collect records and write, as it were, a victor's version of the Meiji Restoration. There was great respect for the written word and literary ability was highly valued. This has meant that a wide range of written materials – official histories, scholarly writings, popular literature, religious tracts – are available. Printing and publishing were important industries in the pre-modern period and it is possible, for instance, to trace the distribution of a book in eighteenth-century China or Japan. Modern scholars have used these materials in new and different ways.

Modern scholarship has built on the work of Chinese intellectuals such as Liang Qichao or Kume Kunitake (1839-1931), one of the pioneers of modern history in Japan, as well as earlier writings by European travellers, such as the Italian Marco Polo (1254-1324, in China from 1274 to 1290), the Jesuit priests Mateo Ricci (1552-1610) in China and Luis Frois (1532-97), in Japan, all of whom left rich accounts of these countries. It has also benefited from the writings of Christian missionaries in the nineteenth century whose work provides valuable material for our understanding of these countries.

Scholarship in English from Joseph Needham's monumental work on the history of science in Chinese civilisation or George Sansom's on Japanese history and culture has grown and there is an immense body of sophisticated scholarship available to us today. In recent years, writings by Chinese and Japanese scholars have been translated into English, some of whom teach abroad and write in English, and in the case of Chinese scholars, since the 1980s, many have been working in Japan as well and write in Japanese. This has meant that we have scholarly writings from many parts of the globe that give us a richer and deeper picture of these countries.

*In Japan, the surname is written first

Naito Konan* (1866-1934)

A leading Japanese scholar of China, Naito Konan's writings influenced scholars worldwide. Using the new tools of Western historiography Naito built on a long tradition of studying China as well as bringing his experience as a journalist there. He helped establish the Department of Oriental Studies in Kyoto University in 1907. In *Shinaron* [On China (1914)], he argued that republican government offered the Chinese a way to end aristocratic control and centralised power that had existed since the Sung dynasty (960-1279) – a way to revitalise local society where reform must begin. He saw in Chinese history strengths that would make it modern and democratic. Japan, he thought had an important role to play in China but he underestimated the power of Chinese nationalism.

Introduction

China and Japan present a marked physical contrast. China is a vast continental country that spans many climatic zones; the core is dominated by three major river systems: the Yellow River (Huang He), the Yangtse River (Chang Jiang – the third longest river in the world) and the Pearl River. A large part of the country is mountainous.

MAP 1: East Asia

The dominant ethnic group are the Han and the major language is Chinese (Putonghua) but there are many other nationalities such as the Uighur, Hui, Manchu and Tibetan, and aside from dialects such as Cantonese (Yue) and Shanghainese (Wu) there are other minority languages spoken as well.

Chinese food reflects this regional diversity with at least four distinct types. The best known is southern or Cantonese cuisine – as most overseas Chinese come from the Canton area – which includes dim sum (literally touch your heart), an assortment of pastries and dumplings. In the north, wheat is the staple food while in Szechuan spices brought by Buddhist monks in the ancient period, along the silk route, and chillies by Portuguese traders in the fifteenth century, have created a fiery cuisine. In eastern China, both rice and wheat are eaten.

Japan, by contrast, is a string of islands, the four largest being Honshu, Kyushu, Shikoku and Hokkaido. The Okinawan chain is the southernmost, about the same latitude as the Bahamas. More than 50 per cent of the land area of the main islands is mountainous and Japan is situated in a very active earthquake zone. These geographical conditions have influenced architecture. The population is largely Japanese but there are a small Ainu minority and Koreans who were forcibly brought as labour when Korea was a Japanese colony.

Japan lacks a tradition of animal rearing. Rice is the staple crop and fish the major source of protein. Raw fish (sashimi or sushi) has now become a widely popular dish around the world as it is considered very healthy.

JAPAN

The Political System

An emperor had ruled Japan from Kyoto but by the twelfth century the imperial court lost power to shoguns, who in theory ruled in the name of the emperor. From 1603 to 1867, members of the Tokugawa family held the position of shogun. The country was divided into over 250 domains under the rule of lords called *daimyo*. The shogun exercised power over the domainal lords, ordering them to stay at the capital Edo (modern Tokyo) for long periods so that they would not pose a threat. He also controlled the major cities and mines. The samurai (the warrior class) were the ruling elite and served the shoguns and *daimyo*.

In the late sixteenth century, three changes laid the pattern for future development. One, the peasantry was disarmed and only the samurai could carry swords. This ensured peace and order, ending the frequent wars of the previous century. Two, the *daimyo* were ordered to live in the capitals of their domains, each with a large degree of autonomy. Third, land surveys identified owners and taxpayers and graded land productivity to ensure a stable revenue base.

The *daimyo*'s capitals became bigger, so that by the mid-seventeenth century, Japan not only had the most populated city in the world – Edo – but also two other large cities – Osaka and Kyoto, and at least half a dozen castle-towns with populations of over 50,000. (By contrast, most European countries of the time had only one large city.) This led to the growth of a commercial economy, and created financial and credit systems. A person's merit began to be more valued than his status. A vibrant culture blossomed in the towns, where the fast-growing class of merchants patronised theatre and the arts. As people enjoyed reading, it became possible for gifted writers to earn a living solely by writing. In Edo, people could 'rent' a book for the price of a bowl of noodles. This shows how popular reading had become and gives a glimpse into the scale of printing*.

* Printing was done with wood blocks. The Japanese did not like the regularity of European printing.

Japan was considered rich, because it imported luxury goods like silk from China and textiles from India. Paying for these imports with gold and silver strained the economy and led the Tokugawa to put restrictions on the export of precious metals. They also took steps to develop the silk industry in Nishijin in Kyoto so as to reduce imports. The silk from Nishijin came to be known as the best in the world. Other developments such as the increased use of money and the creation of a stock market in rice show that the economy was developing in new ways.

Social and intellectual changes – such as the study of ancient Japanese literature – led people to question the degree of Chinese influence and to argue that the essence of being Japanese could be found long before the contact with China, in such early classics as the *Tale of the Genji* and in the myths of origin that said that the islands were created by the gods and that the emperor was a descendant of the Sun Goddess.

Tale of the Genji

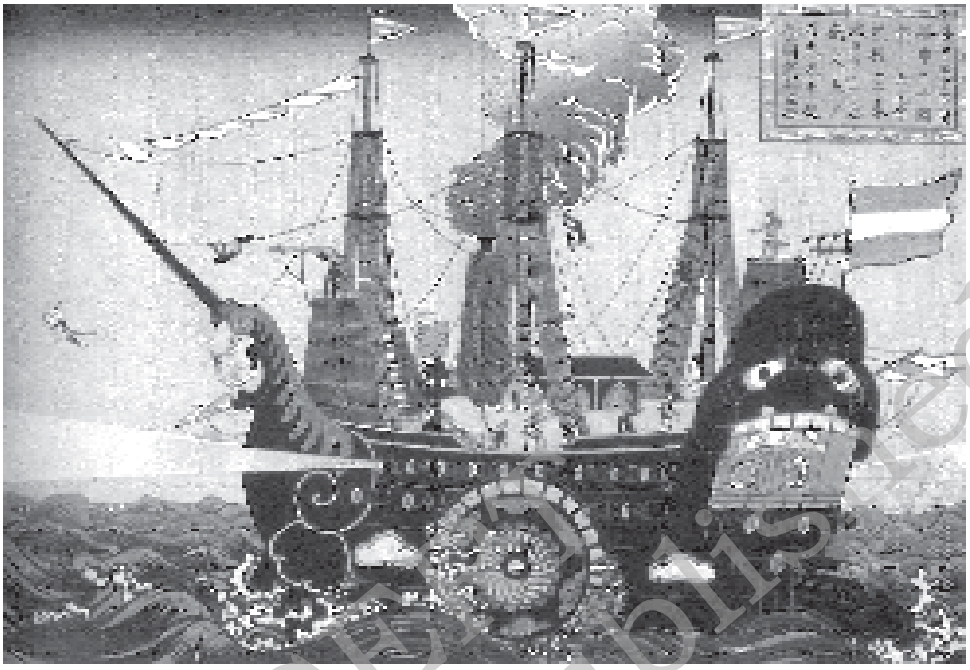
A fictionalised diary of the Heian court written by Murasaki Shikibu, the Tale of the Genji became the central work of fiction in Japanese literature. That period saw the emergence of many women writers, like Murasaki, who wrote in the Japanese script, while men wrote in the Chinese script, used for education and government. The novel depicts the romantic life of Prince Genji and is a striking picture of the aristocratic atmosphere of the Heian court. It shows the independence that women had in choosing their husbands and living their lives.

The Meiji Restoration

Internal discontent coincided with demands for trade and diplomatic relations. In 1853, the USA sent Commodore Matthew Perry (1794-1858) to Japan to demand that the government sign a treaty that would permit trade and open diplomatic relations, which it did the following year. Japan lay on the route to China which the USA saw as a major market; also, their whaling ships in the Pacific needed a place to refuel. At that time, there was only one Western country that traded with Japan, Holland.

Perry's arrival had an important effect on Japanese politics. The emperor, who till then had had little political power, now re-emerged as an important figure. In 1868, a movement forcibly removed the shogun from power, and brought the Emperor to Edo. This was made the capital and renamed Tokyo, which means 'eastern capital'.

Nishijin is a quarter in Kyoto. In the sixteenth century, it had a weavers' guild of 31 households and by the end of the seventeenth century the community numbered over 70,000 people. Sericulture spread and was encouraged by an order in 1713 that only domestic yarn was to be used. Nishijin specialised only in the most expensive products. Silk production helped the growth of a class of regional entrepreneurs who challenged the Tokugawa order, and when foreign trade started in 1859 Japan's silk exports became a major source of profit for the economy struggling to compete with Western goods.



Perry's ship: a Japanese woodblock print.

What the Japanese called 'black ships' (tar was used to seal the joints of the wood) are depicted in paintings and cartoons showing the strange foreigners and their habits. This became a powerful symbol of Japan's 'opening'. (Today, scholars would argue that Japan had not been 'closed', took part in the east Asian trade and had access to knowledge of the wider world both through the Dutch and the Chinese.)

Commodore Perry as seen by the Japanese.

Officials and the people were aware that some European countries were building colonial empires in India and elsewhere. News of China being defeated by the British (see p. 244) was flowing in, and this was even depicted in popular plays, so that there was a real fear that Japan might be made a colony. Many scholars and leaders wanted to *learn* from the new ideas in Europe rather than ignore them as the Chinese were doing; others sought to exclude the Europeans even while being ready to adopt the new technologies they offered. Some argued for a gradual and limited 'opening' to the outer world.

The government launched a policy with the slogan '*fukoku kyohei*' (rich country, strong army). They realised that they needed to develop their economy and build a strong army, otherwise they would face the prospect of being subjugated like India. To do this they needed to create a sense of nationhood among the people, and to transform subjects into citizens.

At the same time, the new government also worked to build what they called the 'emperor system'. (Japanese scholars use this term as the emperor was part of a system, along with the bureaucracy and the military, that exercised power.) Officials were sent to study the European monarchies on which they planned to model their own. The Emperor would be treated with reverence as he was considered a direct descendant of the Sun Goddess but he was also shown as the leader of westernisation. His birthday became a national holiday, he wore Western-style military uniforms, and edicts were issued in his name to set up modern institutions. The Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 urged people to pursue learning, advance public good and promote common interests.

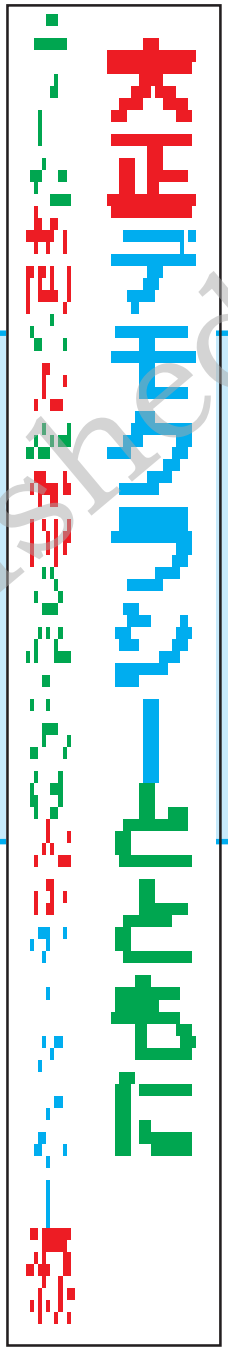
ACTIVITY 1

Contrast the encounter of the Japanese and the Aztecs with the Europeans.

A new school system began to be built from the 1870s. Schooling was compulsory for boys and girls and by 1910 almost universal. Tuition fees were minimal. The curriculum had been based on Western models but by the 1870s, while emphasising modern ideas, stress was placed on loyalty and the study of Japanese history. The ministry of education exercised control over the curriculum and in the selection of textbooks, as well as in teachers' training. What was called 'moral culture' had to be taught, and texts urged children to revere their parents, be loyal to the nation, and become good citizens.

The Japanese had borrowed their written script from the Chinese in the sixth century. However, since their language is very different from Chinese they developed two phonetic alphabets – *hiragana* and *katakana*. *Hiragana* is considered feminine because it was used by many women writers in the Heian period (such as Murasaki). It is written using a mixture of Chinese characters and phonetics so that the main part of the word is written with a character – for instance, in 'going', 'go' would be written with a character and the 'ing' in phonetics.

The existence of a phonetic syllabary meant that knowledge spread from the elites to the wider society relatively quickly. In the 1880s it was suggested that Japanese develop a completely phonetic script, or adopt a European language. Neither was done.



Writing Japanese: Kanji (Chinese characters) – red; katakana – blue; hiragana – green.

To integrate the nation, the Meiji government imposed a new administrative structure by altering old village and domain boundaries. The administrative unit had to have revenue adequate to maintain the local schools and health facilities, as well as serve as a recruitment centre for the military. All young men over twenty had to do a period of military service. A modern military force was developed. A legal system was set up to regulate the formation of political groups, control the holding of meetings and impose strict censorship. In all these measures the government had to face opposition. The military and the bureaucracy were put under the direct command of the emperor. This meant that even after a constitution was enacted these two groups remained outside the control of the government. In all these measures the government faced opposition.

The tension between these different ideals represented by a democratic constitution and a modern army was to have far-reaching consequences. The army pressed for a vigorous foreign policy to acquire more territory. This led to wars with China and Russia, in both of which Japan was the victor. Popular demand for greater democracy was often in opposition to the government's aggressive policies. Japan developed economically and acquired a colonial empire that suppressed the spread of democracy at home and put it in collision with the people it colonised.

Modernising the Economy

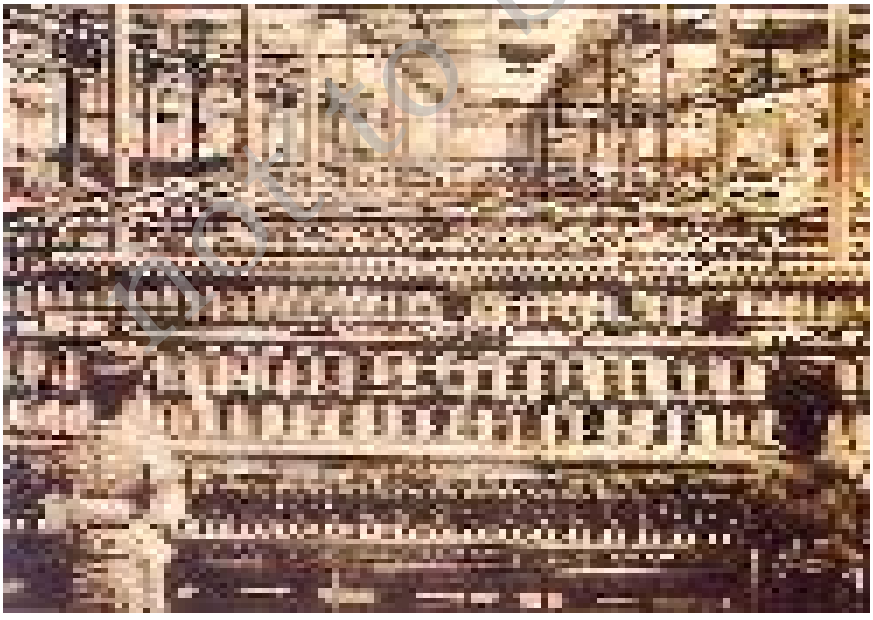
Another important part of the Meiji reforms was the modernising of the economy. Funds were raised by levying an agricultural tax. Japan's first railway line, between Tokyo and the port of Yokohama, was built in 1870-72. Textile machinery was imported from Europe, and foreign technicians were employed to train workers, as well as to teach in universities and schools, and Japanese students were sent abroad. In 1872, modern banking institutions were launched. Companies like Mitsubishi and Sumitomo were helped through subsidies and tax benefits to become major shipbuilders so that Japanese trade was from now carried in Japanese ships. *Zaibatsu* (large business organisations controlled by individual families) dominated the economy till after the Second World War.

The population, 35 million in 1872, increased to 55 million in 1920. To reduce population pressure the government actively encouraged migration, first to the northern island of Hokkaido, which had been a largely autonomous area where the indigenous people called the Ainu lived, and then to Hawaii and Brazil, as well as to the growing colonial empire of Japan. Within Japan there was a shift to towns as industry developed. By 1925, 21 per cent of the population lived in cities; by 1935, this figure had gone up to 32 per cent (22.5 million).

Industrial Workers

The number of people in manufacturing increased from 700,000 in 1870 to 4 million in 1913. Most of them worked in units employing less than five people and using neither machinery nor electric power.

Workers in a textile factory.



Over half of those employed in modern factories were women. And it was women who organised the first modern strike in 1886. After 1900, the number of men began to increase but only in the 1930s did male workers begin to outnumber women.

The size of factories also began to increase. Factories employing more than a hundred workers, just over 1,000 in 1909, jumped to over 2,000 by 1920 and 4,000 by the 1930s; yet even in 1940, there were over 550,000 workshops

that employed less than five employees. This sustained the family-centred ideology, just as nationalism was sustained by a strong patriarchal system under an emperor who was like a family patriarch.

The rapid and unregulated growth of industry and the demand for natural resources such as timber led to environmental destruction. Tanaka Shozo, elected to the first House of Representatives, launched the first agitation against industrial pollution in 1897 with 800 villagers in a mass protest forcing the government to take action.

Tanaka Shozo (1841-1913), the self-taught son of a farmer, he rose to become a major political figure. He participated in the Popular Rights Movement in the 1880s, a movement demanding constitutional government. He was elected member to the first Diet. He believed that ordinary people should not be sacrificed for industrial progress. The Ashio Mine was polluting the Watarase river ruining 100 square miles of farmland and affecting a thousand families. The agitation forced the company to take pollution-control measures so that by 1904 harvests were normal.

Aggressive Nationalism

The Meiji constitution was based on a restricted franchise and created a Diet (the Japanese used the German word for parliament because of the influence of German legal ideas) with limited powers. The leaders who brought about the imperial restoration continued to exercise power and even established political parties. Between 1918 and 1931, popularly elected prime ministers formed cabinets. Thereafter, they lost power to national unity cabinets formed across party lines. The emperor was the commander of the forces and from 1890 this was interpreted to mean that the army and the navy had independent control. In 1899, the prime minister ordered that only serving generals and admirals could become ministers. This strengthening of the military, together with the expansion of Japan's colonial empire, was connected with the fear that Japan was at the mercy of the Western powers. This fear was used to silence opposition to military expansion and to higher taxes to fund the armed forces.

Young people being exhorted to fight for the nation: a magazine cover. Student-soldiers: photographs.

'Westernisation' and 'Tradition'

Successive generations of Japanese intellectuals had different views on Japan's relations with other countries. To some, the USA and western European countries were at the highest point of civilisation, to which Japan aspired. Fukuzawa Yukichi, a leading Meiji intellectual, expressed this by saying that Japan must 'expel Asia'. He meant that Japan must shed its 'Asian' characteristics and become part of the West.

Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901)
Born in an impoverished samurai family, he studied in Nagasaki and Osaka learning Dutch and Western sciences and, later, English. In 1860, he went as a translator for the first Japanese embassy to the USA. This provided material for a book on the West, written not in the classical but in the spoken style that became extremely popular. He established a school that is today the Keio University. He was one of the core members of the Meirokusha, a society to promote Western learning.

In *The Encouragement to Learning* (*Gakumon no susume,* 1872-76) he was very critical of Japanese knowledge: 'All that Japan has to be proud of is its scenery'. He advocated not just modern factories and institutions but the cultural essence of the West – the spirit of civilisation. With this spirit it would be possible to build a new citizen. His principle was: 'Heaven did not create men above men, nor set men below men.'

The next generation questioned this total acceptance of Western ideas and urged that national pride be built on indigenous values. The philosopher Miyake Setsurei (1860-1945) argued that each nation must develop its special talents in the interest of world civilisation: 'To devote oneself to one's country is to devote oneself to the world.' By contrast, many intellectuals were attracted to Western liberalism and wanted a Japan based not on the military but on democracy. Ueki Emori (1857-1892), a leader of the Popular Rights Movement, was demanding constitutional government, admired the French Revolution's doctrine of the natural rights of man and of popular sovereignty, and spoke for a liberal education that would develop each individual: 'Freedom is more precious than order.' Others even advocated voting rights for women. This pressure led the government to announce a constitution.

Daily Life

The novelty of electric goods: a rice-cooker, an American grill, a toaster.

Japan's transformation into a modern society can be seen also in the changes in everyday life. The patriarchal household system comprised many generations living together under the control of the head of the house, but as more people became affluent, new ideas of the family spread. The new home (*homu* as the Japanese say, using the English word) was that of the nuclear family, where husband and wife lived as breadwinner and homemaker. This new concept of domesticity in turn generated demands for new types of domestic goods, new types of family entertainments, and new forms of housing.

In the 1920s, construction companies made cheap housing available for a down payment of 200 yen and a monthly instalment of 12 yen for ten years – this at a time when the salary of a bank employee (a person with higher education) was 40 yen per month.

CAR-CLUB

Moga: An abbreviation for 'modern girl'. It represented the coming together in the twentieth century of ideas of gender equality, a cosmopolitan culture and a developed economy. The new middle-class families enjoyed new forms of travel and entertainment. Transport in cities improved with electric trams, public parks were opened from 1878, and department stores began to be built. In Tokyo, the Ginza became a fashionable area for *Ginbura,* a word combining 'Ginza' and 'burbura' (walking aimlessly). The first radio stations opened in 1925. Matsui Sumako, an actress, became a national star with her portrayal of Nora in the Norwegian writer Ibsen's *A Doll's House*. Movies began to be made in 1899 and soon there were a dozen companies making hundreds of films. The period was one of great vitality and the questioning of traditional norms of social and political behaviour.

Women's car-pool.

'Overcoming Modernity'

State-centred nationalism found full expression in the 1930s and 1940s as Japan launched wars to extend its empire in China and other parts of Asia, a war that merged into the Second World War after Japan attacked the USA at Pearl Harbor. This period saw greater controls on society, the repression and imprisonment of dissidents, as well as the formation of patriotic societies, many of them women's organisations, to support the war.

An influential symposium on 'Overcoming Modernity' in 1943 debated the dilemma facing Japan – of how to combat the West while being modern. A musician, Moroi Saburo, posed the question of how to rescue music from the art of sensory stimulation and restore it to an art of the spirit. He was not rejecting Western music but trying to find a way that went beyond merely rewriting or playing Japanese music on Western instruments. The philosopher Nishitani Keiji defined 'modern' as the unity of three streams of Western thought: the Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation, and the rise of natural sciences. He argued that Japan's 'moral energy' (a term taken from the German philosopher Ranke) had helped it to escape colonisation and it was its duty to establish a new world order, a Greater East Asia. For this a new vision that would integrate science and religion was necessary.

ACTIVITY 2

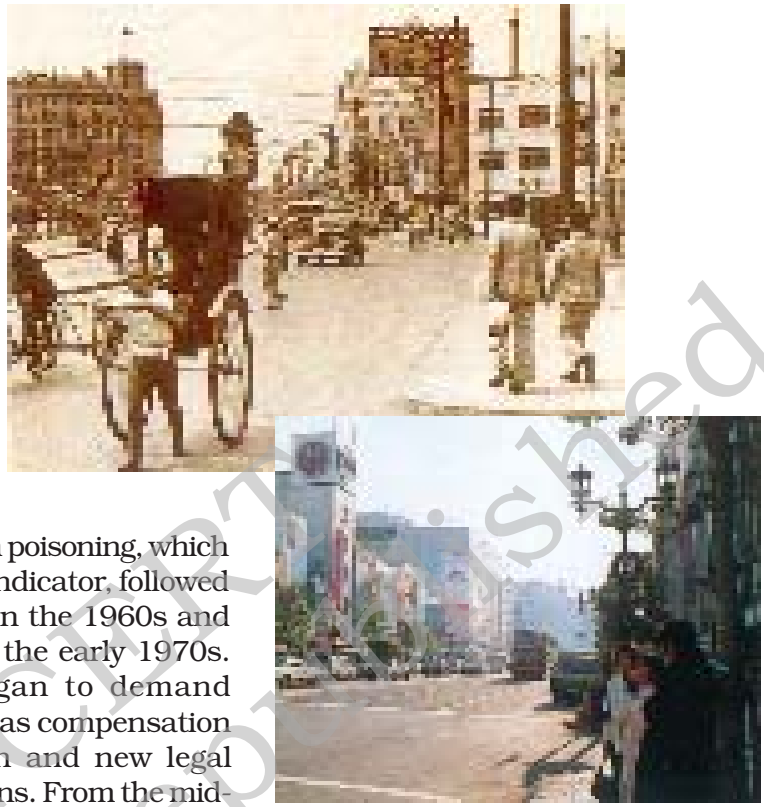
Would you agree with Nishitani's definition of 'modern'?

After Defeat: Re-emerging as a Global Economic Power

Japan's attempt to carve out a colonial empire ended with its defeat by the Allied forces. It has been argued that nuclear bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki to shorten the war. But others think the immense destruction and suffering it caused were unnecessary. Under the US-led Occupation (1945-47) Japan was demilitarised and a new constitution introduced. This had Article 9, the so-called 'no war clause' that renounces the use of war as an instrument of state policy. Agrarian reforms, the re-establishment of trade unions and an attempt to dismantle the *zaibatsu* or large monopoly houses that dominated the Japanese economy were also carried out. Political parties were revived and the first post-war elections held in 1946 where women voted for the first time.

The rapid rebuilding of the Japanese economy after its shattering defeat was called a post-war 'miracle'. But it was more than that – it was firmly rooted in its long history. The constitution was democratised only now, but the Japanese had a historic tradition of popular struggles and intellectual engagement with how to broaden political participation. The social cohesion of the pre-war years was strengthened, allowing for a close working of the government, bureaucracy and industry. US support, as well as the demand created by the Korean and the Vietnamese wars also helped the Japanese economy.

The 1964 Olympics held in Tokyo marked a symbolic coming of age. In much the same way the network of high-speed *Shinkansen* or bullet trains, started in 1964, which ran at 200 miles per hour (now it is 300 miles per hour) have come to represent the ability of the Japanese to use advanced technologies to produce better and cheaper goods.



Tokyo before and after the Second World War.

The 1960s saw the growth of civil society movements as industrialisation had been pushed with utter disregard to its effect on health and the environment. Cadmium poisoning, which led to a painful disease, was an early indicator, followed by mercury poisoning in Minamata in the 1960s and problems caused by air pollution in the early 1970s. Grass-roots pressure groups began to demand recognition of these problems as well as compensation for the victims. Government action and new legal regulations helped to improve conditions. From the mid-1980s there has been an increasing decline in interest in environmental issues as Japan enacted some of the strictest environmental controls in the world. Today, as a developed country it faces the challenge of using its political and technological capabilities to maintain its position as a leading world power.

CHINA

The modern history of China has revolved around the question of how to regain sovereignty, end the humiliation of foreign occupation and bring about equality and development. Chinese debates were marked by the views of three groups. The early reformers such as Kang Youwei (1858-1927) or Liang Qichao (1873-1929) tried to use traditional ideas in new and different ways to meet the challenges posed by the West. Second, republican revolutionaries such as Sun Yat-sen, the first president of the republic, were inspired by ideas from Japan and the West. The third, the Communist Party of China (CCP) wanted to end age-old inequalities and drive out the foreigners.

The beginning of modern China can be traced to its first encounter with the West in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when Jesuit missionaries introduced Western sciences such as astronomy and mathematics. Limited though its immediate impact was, it set in motion events that gathered momentum in the nineteenth century when Britain

used force to expand its lucrative trade in opium leading to the first Opium War (1839-42). This undermined the ruling Qing dynasty and strengthened demands for reform and change.

The Opium War: An European painting.

THE OPIUM TRADE

The demand for Chinese goods such as tea, silk and porcelain created a serious balance-of-trade problem. Western goods did not find a market in China, so payment had to be in silver. The East India Company found a new option – opium, which grew in India. They sold the opium in China and gave the silver that they earned to company agents in Canton in return for letters of credit. The Company used the silver to buy tea, silk and porcelain to sell in Britain. This was the 'triangular trade' between Britain, India and China.

ACTIVITY 3

Does this painting give you a clear sense of the significance of the Opium War?

Qing reformers such as Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao realised the need to strengthen the system and initiated policies to build a modern administrative system, a new army and an educational system, and set up local assemblies to establish constitutional government. They saw the need to protect China from colonisation.

The negative example of colonised countries worked powerfully on Chinese thinkers. The partition of Poland in the eighteenth century was a much-discussed example. So much so that by the late 1890s it came to be used as a verb: 'to Poland us' (*bolan wo*). India was another such example. In 1903, the thinker Liang Qichao, who believed that only by making people aware that China was a nation would they be able to resist the West, wrote that India was 'a country that was destroyed by a non-country that is the East India Company'.

He criticised Indians for being cruel to their own people and subservient to the British. Such arguments carried a powerful appeal as ordinary Chinese could see that the British used Indian soldiers in their wars on China.

Above all many felt that traditional ways of thinking had to be changed. Confucianism, developed from the teachings of Confucius (551-479 BCE) and his disciples was concerned with good conduct, practical wisdom and proper social relationships. It influenced the Chinese attitude toward life, provided social standards and laid the basis for political theories and institutions. It was now seen as a major barrier to new ideas and institutions.

To train people in modern subjects students were sent to study in Japan, Britain and France and bring back new ideas. Many Chinese students went to Japan in the 1890s. They not only brought back new ideas but many became leading republicans. The Chinese borrowed even Japanese translations of European words such as justice, rights, and revolution because they used the same ideographic script, a reversal of the traditional relationship. In 1905, just after the Russo-Japanese war (a war fought on Chinese soil and over Chinese territory) the centuries-old Chinese examination system that gave candidates entry into the elite ruling class was abolished.

The Examination System

Entry to the elite ruling class (about 1.1 million till 1850) had been largely through an examination. This required writing an eight-legged essay [pa-ku wen] in classical Chinese in a prescribed form. The examination was held twice every three years, at different levels and of those allowed to sit only 1-2 per cent passed the first level, usually by the age of 24, to become what was called 'beautiful talent'. At any given time before 1850 there were about 526,869 civil and 212,330 military provincial (*sheng-yuan*) degree holders in the whole country. Since there were only 27,000 official positions, many lower-level degree holders did not have jobs. The examination acted as a barrier to the development of science and technology as it demanded only literary skills. In 1905, it was abolished as it was based on skills in classical Chinese learning that had, it was felt, no relevance for the modern world.

Establishing the Republic

The Manchu empire was overthrown and a republic established in 1911 under Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) who is unanimously regarded as the founder of modern China. He came from a poor family and studied in missionary schools where he was introduced to democracy and Christianity. He studied medicine but was greatly concerned about the fate of China. His programme was called the Three Principles (*San*

min chui). These were nationalism – this meant overthrowing the Manchu who were seen as a foreign dynasty, as well as other foreign imperialists; democracy or establishing democratic government; and socialism regulating capital and equalising landholdings.

The social and political situation continued to be unstable. On 4 May 1919, an angry demonstration was held in Beijing to protest against the decisions of the post-war peace conference. Despite being an ally of the victorious side led by Britain, China did not get back the territories seized from it. The protest became a movement. It galvanised a whole generation to attack tradition and to call for saving China through modern science, democracy and nationalism. Revolutionaries called for driving out the foreigners, who were controlling the country's resources, to remove inequalities and reduce poverty. They advocated reforms such as the use of simple language in writing, abolishing the practice of foot-binding and the subordination of women, equality in marriage, and economic development to end poverty. After the republican revolution the country entered a period of turmoil. The Guomindang (the National People's Party) and the CCP emerged as major forces striving to unite the country and bring stability.

Sun Yat-sen's ideas became the basis of the political philosophy of the Guomindang. They identified the 'four great needs' as clothing, food, housing and transportation. After the death of Sun, Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975) emerged as the leader of the Guomindang as he launched a military campaign to control the 'warlords', regional leaders who had usurped authority, and to eliminate the communists. He advocated a secular and rational 'this-worldly' Confucianism, but also sought to militarise the nation. The people, he said, must develop a 'habit and instinct for unified behaviour'. He encouraged women to cultivate the four virtues of 'chastity, appearance, speech and work' and recognise their role as confined to the household. Even the length of hemlines was prescribed.

The Guomindang's social base was in urban areas. Industrial growth was slow and limited. In cities such as Shanghai, which became the centres of modern growth, by 1919 an industrial working class had appeared numbering 500,000. Of these, however, only a small percentage were employed in modern industries such as shipbuilding. Most were 'petty urbanites' (*xiao shimin*), traders and shopkeepers. Urban workers, particularly women, earned very low wages. Working hours were long and conditions of work bad. As individualism increased, there was a growing concern with women's rights, ways to build the family and discussions about love and romance.

Social and cultural change was helped along by the spread of schools and universities (Peking University was established in 1902). Journalism flourished reflecting the growing attraction of this new thinking. The popular *Life Weekly*, edited by Zao Taofen (1895-1944), is representative of this new trend. It introduced readers to new ideas, as well as to

leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi and Kemal Ataturk, the modernist leader of Turkey. Its circulation increased rapidly from just 2,000 in 1926 to a massive 200,000 copies in 1933.

ACTIVITY 4

How does a sense of discrimination unite people?

Shanghai in 1935: Buck Clayton, a black American trumpet player, in Shanghai with his jazz orchestra lived the life of the privileged expatriates. But he was black and once some white Americans assaulted him and his orchestra members and threw them out from the hotel they played in. Thus, though American, he had greater sympathy for the plight of the Chinese being himself a victim of racial discrimination.

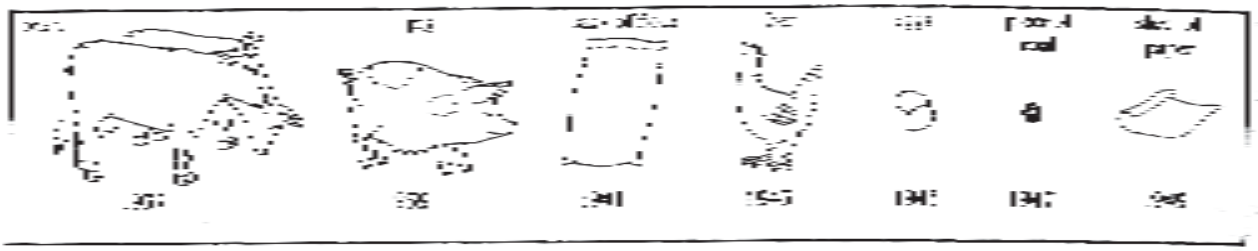
Of their fight with white Americans where they emerged victorious he writes, 'The Chinese onlookers treated us like we had done something they always wanted to do and followed us all the way home cheering us like a winning football team.'

On the poverty and hard life of the Chinese, Clayton writes, 'I would see sometimes twenty or thirty coolies pulling a big heavy cart that in America would be pulled by a truck or horses. These people seemed to be nothing but human horses and all they would get at the end of the day was just enough to get a couple of bowls of rice and a place to sleep. I don't know how they did it.'

'Rickshaw Puller', woodcut by Lan Jia. The novel Rickshaw *by Lao She (1936) became a classic.*

The Guomindang despite its attempts to unite the country failed because of its narrow social base and limited political vision. A major plank in Sun Yat-sen's programme – regulating capital and equalising land – was never carried out because the party ignored the peasantry and the rising social inequalities. It sought to impose military order rather then address the problems faced by the people.

The story of rising prices.



TIMELINE

JAPAN		CHINA	
1603	Tokugawa Ieyasu establishes the Edo shogunate	1644-1911	Qing dynasty
1630	Japan closes country to Western Powers except for restricted trade with the Dutch	1839-60	Two Opium Wars
1854	Japan and the USA conclude the Treaty of Peace, ending Japan's seclusion		
1868	Restoration of Meiji		
1872	Compulsory education system First railway line between Tokyo and Yokohama		
1889	Meiji Constitution enacted		
1894-95	War between Japan and China		
1904-05	War between Japan and Russia		
1910	Korea annexed, colony till 1945	1912	Sun Yat-sen founds Guomingdang
1914-18	First World War	1919	May Fourth Movement
1925	Universal male suffrage	1921	CCP founded
1931	Japan's invasion of China	1926-49	Civil Wars in China
1941-45	The Pacific War	1934	Long March
1945	Atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki	1945	
1946-52	US-led Occupation of Japan Reforms to democratise and demilitarise Japan	1949	People's Republic of China Chiang Kai-shek founds Republic of China in Taiwan
1956	Japan becomes a member of the United Nations	1962	China attacks India over border dispute
1964	Olympic Games in Tokyo, the first time in Asia	1966	Cultural Revolution
		1976	Death of Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai
		1997	Hong Kong returned to China by Britain

The Rise of the Communist Party of China

When the Japanese invaded China in 1937, the Guomindang retreated. The long and exhausting war weakened China. Prices rose 30 per cent per month between 1945 and 1949, and utterly destroyed the lives of ordinary people. Rural China faced two crises: one ecological, with soil exhaustion, deforestation and floods, and the second, a socio-economic one caused by exploitative land-tenure systems, indebtedness, primitive technology and poor communications.

The CCP had been founded in 1921, soon after the Russian Revolution. The Russian success exercised a powerful influence around the world and leaders such as Lenin and Trotsky went on to establish the Comintern or the Third International in March 1918 to help bring about a world government that would end exploitation. The Comintern and the Soviet Union supported communist parties around the world but they worked within the traditional Marxist understanding that revolution would be brought about by the working class in cities. Its initial appeal across national boundaries was immense but it soon became a tool for Soviet interests and was dissolved in 1943. Mao Zedong (1893-1976), who emerged as a major CCP leader, took a different path by basing his revolutionary programme on the peasantry. His success made the CCP a powerful political force that ultimately won against the Guomindang.

Mao Zedong's radical approach can be seen in Jiangxi, in the mountains, where they camped from 1928 to 1934, secure from Guomindang attacks. A strong peasants' council (soviet) was organised, united through confiscation and redistribution of land. Mao, unlike other leaders, stressed the need for an independent government and army. He had become aware of women's problems and supported the emergence of rural women's associations, promulgated a new marriage law that forbade arranged marriages, stopped purchase or sale of marriage contracts and simplified divorce.

In a survey in 1930 in Xunwu, Mao Zedong looked at everyday commodities such as salt and soya beans, at the relative strengths of local organisations, at petty traders and craftsmen, ironsmiths and prostitutes, and the strength of religious organisations to examine the different levels of exploitation. He gathered statistics of the number of peasants who had sold their children and found out what price they received – boys were sold for 100-200 yuan but there were no instances of the sale of girls because the need was for hard labour not sexual exploitation. It was on the basis of these studies that he advocated ways of solving social problems.

MAP 2: The Long March

The Guomindang blockade of the Communists' Soviet forced the party to seek another base. This led them to go on what came to be called the Long March (1934-35), 6,000 gruelling and difficult miles to Shanxi. Here, in their new base in Yanan, they further developed their programme to end warlordism, carry out land reforms and fight foreign imperialism. This won them a strong social base. In the difficult years of the war, the Communists and the Guomindang worked together, but after the end of the war the Communists established themselves in power and the Guomindang was defeated.

Photograph of soldiers on the Long March reclaiming wasteland, 1941.

Establishing the New Democracy: 1949-65

The Peoples Republic of China government was established in 1949. It was based on the principles of the 'New Democracy', an alliance of all social classes, unlike the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'* that the Soviet Union said it had established. Critical areas of the economy were put under government control, and private enterprise and private ownership of land were gradually ended. This programme lasted till 1953 when the government declared that it would launch a programme of socialist transformation. The Great Leap Forward movement launched in 1958 was a policy to galvanise the country to industrialise rapidly. People were encouraged to set up steel furnaces in their backyards. In the rural areas, people's communes (where land would be collectively owned

*This term was used by Karl Marx to stress that the working class would replace the repressive government of the propertied class with a revolutionary government and not a dictatorship in the current sense.

and cultivated) were started. By 1958, there were 26,000 communes covering 98 per cent of the farm population.

Mao was able to mobilise the masses to attain the goals set by the Party. His concern was with creating a 'socialist man' who would have five loves: fatherland, people, labour, science and public property. Mass organisations were created for farmers, women, students and other groups. For instance, the All-China Democratic Women's Federation had 76 million members, the All-China Students Federation 3.29 million members. These objectives and methods did not appeal to everyone in the Party. In 1953-54, some were urging for more attention to industrial organisation and economic growth. Liu Shaochi (1896-1969) and Deng Xiaoping (1904-97) tried to modify the commune system as it was not working efficiently. The steel produced in the backyard furnaces was unusable industrially.

Conflicting Visions: 1965-78

The conflict between the Maoists wanting to create a 'Socialist Man' and those who objected to his emphasis on ideology rather than expertise, culminated in Mao launching the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1965 to counter his critics. The Red Guards, mainly students and the army, was used for a campaign against old culture, old customs and old habits. Students and professionals were sent to the countryside to learn from the masses. Ideology (being Communist) was more important than having professional knowledge. Denunciations and slogans replaced rational debate.

The Cultural Revolution began a period of turmoil, weakened the Party and severely disrupted the economy and educational system. From the late 1960s, the tide began to turn. In 1975, the Party once again laid emphasis on greater social discipline and the need to build an industrial economy so that China could become a power before the end of the century.

Reforms from 1978

The Cultural Revolution was followed by a process of political manoeuvring. Deng Xiaoping kept party control strong while introducing a socialist market economy. In 1978, the Party declared its goal as the Four Modernisations (to develop science, industry, agriculture, defence). Debate was allowed as long as the Party was not questioned.

In this new and liberating climate, as at the time of the May Fourth movement 60 years earlier, there was an exciting explosion of new ideas. On 5 December 1978, a wall-poster, 'The Fifth Modernisation' proclaimed that without Democracy the other modernisations would come to nothing. It went on to criticise the CCP for not solving the problem of poverty or ending sexual exploitation, even citing cases of such abuse from within the Party.

After the 1978 Reforms, the Chinese were able to buy consumer goods freely.

These demands were suppressed, but in 1989 on the seventieth anniversary of the May Fourth movement many intellectuals called for a greater openness and an end to 'ossified dogmas' (*su shaozhi*). Student demonstrators at Tiananmen Square in Beijing were brutally repressed. This was strongly condemned around the world.

The post-reform period has seen the emergence of debates on ways to develop China. The dominant view supported by the Party is based on strong political control, economic liberalisation and integration into the world market. Critics argue that increasing inequalities between social groups, between regions and between men and women are creating social tensions, and question the heavy emphasis on the market. Finally, there is a growing revival of earlier so-called 'traditional' ideas, of Confucianism and arguments that China can build a modern society following its own traditions rather than simply copying the West.

The Story of Taiwan

Chiang Kai-shek, defeated by the CCP fled in 1949 to Taiwan with over US$300 million in gold reserves and crates of priceless art treasures and established the Republic of China. Taiwan had been a Japanese colony since the Chinese ceded it after the 1894-95 war with Japan. The Cairo Declaration (1943) and the Potsdam Proclamation (1949) restored sovereignty to China.

Massive demonstrations in February 1947 had led the GMD to brutally kill a whole generation of leading figures. The GMD, under Chiang Kai-shek went on to establish a repressive government forbidding free speech and political opposition and excluding the local population from positions of power. However, they carried out land reforms that increased agricultural productivity and modernised the economy so that by 1973 Taiwan had a GNP second only to that of Japan in Asia. The economy, largely dependent on trade has been steadily growing, but what is important is that the gap between the rich and poor has been steadily declining.

Even more dramatic has been the transformation of Taiwan into a democracy. It began slowly after the death of Chiang in 1975 and grew in momentum when martial law was lifted in 1987 and opposition parties were legally permitted. The first free elections began the process of bringing local Taiwanese to power. Diplomatically most countries have only trade missions in Taiwan. Full diplomatic relations and

embassies are not possible as Taiwan is considered to be part of China.

The question of re-unification with the mainland remains a contentious issue but " Cross Strait" relations (that is between Taiwan and China) have been improving and Taiwanese trade and investments in the mainland are massive and travel has also become easier. China may be willing to tolerate a semi-autonomous Taiwan as long as it gives up any move to seek independence.

Two Roads to Modernisation

Industrial societies far from becoming like each other have found their own paths to becoming modern. The histories of Japan and China show how different historical conditions led them on widely divergent paths to building independent and modern nations. Japan was successful in retaining its independence and using traditional skills and practices in new ways. However, its elite-driven modernisation generated an aggressive nationalism, helped to sustain a repressive regime that stifled dissent and demands for democracy, and established a colonial empire that left a legacy of hatred in the region as well as distorted internal developments.

Japan's programme of modernisation was carried out in an environment dominated by Western imperial powers. While it imitated them it also attempted to find its own solutions. Japanese nationalism was marked by these different compulsions – while many Japanese hoped to liberate Asia from Western domination, for others these ideas justified building an empire.

It is important to note that the transformation of social and political institutions and daily life was not just a question of reviving traditions, or tenaciously preserving them, but rather of creatively using them in new and different ways. For instance, the Meiji school system, modelled on European and American practices, introduced new subjects but the curriculum's main objective was to make loyal citizens. A course on morals that stressed loyalty to the emperor was compulsory. Similarly, changes in the family or in daily life show how foreign and indigenous ideas were brought together to create something new.

The Chinese path to modernisation was very different. Foreign imperialism, both Western and Japanese, combined with a hesitant and unsure Qing dynasty to weaken government control and set the stage for a breakdown of political and social order leading to immense misery for most of the people. Warlordism, banditry and civil war exacted a heavy toll on human lives, as did the savagery of the Japanese invasion. Natural disasters added to this burden.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw a rejection of traditions and a search for ways to build national unity and strength. The CCP and its supporters fought to put an end to tradition, which they saw as keeping the masses in poverty, the women subjugated and the country undeveloped. While calling for power to the people, it built a

highly centralised state. The success of the Communist programme promised hope but its repressive political system turned the ideals of liberation and equality into slogans to manipulate the people. Yet it did remove centuries-old inequalities, spread education and raise consciousness among the people.

The Party has now carried out market reforms and has been successful in making China economically powerful but its political system continues to be tightly controlled. The society now faces growing inequalities, as well as a revival of traditions long suppressed. This new situation again poses the question of how China can develop while retaining its heritage.

Exercises

ANSWER IN BRIEF

1. What were the major developments before the Meiji restoration that made it possible for Japan to modernise rapidly?
2. Discuss how daily life was transformed as Japan developed.
3. How did the Qing dynasty try and meet the challenge posed by the Western powers?
4. What were Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles?

ANSWER IN A SHORT ESSAY

5. Did Japan's policy of rapid industrialisation lead to wars with its neighbours and destruction of the environment?
6. Do you think that Mao Zedong and the Communist Party of China were successful in liberating China and laying the basis for its current success?

CONCLUSION

THIS book on Themes of World History has taken you across vast stretches of time – ancient, medieval, modern. It has focused on some of the more prominent themes of human evolution and development. Each section has covered the following, increasingly foreshortened, periods:

I c.6 MYA – 400 BCE
II BCE 400 – 1300 CE
III 800 – 1700 CE
IV 1700 – 2000 CE

Although historians tend to specialise in ancient, medieval and modern periods, the historian's craft displays certain common features and predicaments. We have attempted to nuance the distinction between ancient, medieval and modern in order to convey a holistic idea of how history is written and discussed as also to equip you with an overall understanding of human history that goes well beyond our modern roots.

The book would have allowed you a glimpse into the history of Africa, West and Central Asia, East Asia, Australia, North and South America and Europe including the United Kingdom. It would have familiarised you with what may be called the 'case study' method. Instead of burdening you with enormous detail about the history of all these places, we felt it would be better to examine key illustrations of certain phenomena in detail.

World history can be written in many ways. One of these, perhaps the oldest, is to focus on contact between peoples to stress the interconnectedness of cultures and civilisations and to explore the multifarious dimensions of world historical change. An alternative is to identify relatively self-contained – though expanding – regions of economic exchange that sustained certain forms of culture and power. A third method specifies differences in the historical experience of nations and regions to highlight their distinctive characteristics. You would have found traces of each of these approaches in the book. But differences between societies (and individuals) go hand in hand with

similarities. Interlinkages, connections and similarities among human communities always existed. The interplay of the global and the local ('the world in a grain of sand'), the 'mainstream' and the 'marginal', the general and the specific, which you would have gleaned from this book, are a fascinating aspect of the study of history.

Our account began from scattered settlements in Africa, Asia and Europe. From there we moved on to city life in Mesopotamia. Early empires were created around cities in Mesopotamia, Egypt, China, Persia and India. Empires of greater extent followed them – the Greek (Macedonian), Roman, Arab and (from the 1200s) the Mongol. Trading operations, technology and government were often highly intricate in these empires. Very often, they were based on effective use of a written language.

A new era in human history took shape as a consequence of a combination of technological and organisational changes that occurred in Western Europe in the middle of the second millennium CE (from the 1400s onwards). These were linked to the 'Renaissance' or 'rebirth' of civilisation, whose primary impact was felt in the cities of northern Italy, but whose influence spread quickly over Europe. This Renaissance was the product of the region's city life, and of extensive interactions with Byzantium and the Muslim world of the Mediterranean. Over time, ideas and discoveries were carried to the Americas by explorers and conquerors, in the sixteenth century CE. Some of these notions were carried later to Japan, India and elsewhere as well.

European pre-eminence in global trade, politics and culture did not come at this time. It was to be the feature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the Industrial Revolution took place in Britain, and spread to Europe. Britain, France and Germany were able to create systems of colonial control over parts of Africa and Asia – systems more intense and powerful than those of earlier empires. By the mid-twentieth century, the technology, economic life and culture that had once made European states powerful had been reworked in the rest of the world to create the foundations of modern life.

You must have noticed passages quoted in the various chapters of the book. Many of these are extracts for what historians call 'primary sources'. Scholars construct history from such materials, drawing their 'facts' from them. They critically evaluate these materials and are attentive to their ambiguities. Different historians may use a given source-material to advance vastly different, even contradictory arguments about historical phenomena. As with the other human sciences, history can be made to speak to us in varied voices. This is because of the intricate relationship between the historian's reasoning and historical facts.

In your final year at school you will be studying aspects of Indian (or South Asian) history from Harappan times to the making of modern India's Constitution. Again, the emphasis will be on a judicious mix of political, economic, social and cultural history, inviting you to engage

with chosen themes through the case-study method. We hope these books will help you formulate your own answers to so many questions, above all to the question,'Why study History?' Do you know the gifted medievalist, Marc Bloch, began his book, *The Historian's Craft*, written in the trenches during the second World War, by recalling a young boy's question, 'Tell me, Daddy. What is the use of history?'