

ANALYTICAL ISSUES IN THE HISTORY OF IMPERIALISM

THE CLASSIC DEBATES (His 380L; Unique 39767)

Instructor: Antony G. Hopkins

Seminar: Institute for Historical Studies, Thursday (and Wednesday),
9.00am-12.00

Office: Garrison 3.310

Office Hours: Thursday, 1.00-3.00

The following university notices apply:

1. Academic dishonesty. All course work and essays are based on an honors system, whereby students taking the seminar agree to abide by the rules regarding plagiarism and confirm that all work submitted is their own. The UT Honor Code (statement of ethics) and explanatory examples of what constitutes plagiarism are given at:

<http://registrar.utexas.edu/catalog/gi09-10/ch01/index.html>.

2. Religious Observance. UT policy requires that students must give at least 14 days notice before the date of observance of religious holy days. Students who miss a class or associated assignment will be given reasonable time to complete the relevant work.

3. Disabilities. Students with disabilities may request 'appropriate academic accommodations' from the Division of Diversity & Services for Students with Disabilities (471-6259).

The formal requirements for this reading course are as follows:

a) A summary, not exceeding **500** words, of a detailed article or chapter every week to be submitted in double-spaced type by noon on Tuesday of the week of discussion. Hard copies to me in my mail box or by e-mail (tony.hopkins@austin.utexas.edu) with a preference for the former.

b) One essay of between **3,000** and **3,500** words of text, presented in hard copy (with footnotes and a bibliography) in double-spaced type and with a

word count (minus notes and bibliography) entered at the end. These essays should be delivered to the History Office by **4.00pm on Friday 3 May**. Please print and sign your name on the sheet provided in the office to confirm that the essay has been received. Do not send these essays by e-mail.

c) Grades will be determined primarily by the long essay, though other work will be taken into consideration. The final grade will use the alphabetical system and may assign plus or minus grades.

Students should familiarize themselves with the main bibliographical tools: Historical Abstracts; JSTOR; www.history.ac.uk/history-online; and the Royal Historical Society's Bibliography of Imperial, Colonial and Commonwealth History, which can be found at: <http://www.rhs.ac.uk/bibwel.asp>. WorldCat is the most comprehensive source for locating printed materials around the world. This can be used with RLCP (Research Libraries' Cooperative Program), which allows UT students access to libraries at Stanford and UC Berkeley, and has advantages over the general inter-library loan system.

1. Introduction (Thursday 17 January)

Aim of the course and discussion of proposed topics: Smith, Marx, Cobden, Schumpeter, Hobson, Lenin, Gallagher and Robinson, and the New Left.

2. Historiography (Thursday 24 January)

Topics 2 and 3 are not easily separated, so the grouping of the reading that follows is approximate. Most items are relevant for both sessions and indeed for the semester as a whole.

Cain and Hopkins, British Imperialism, pp.1-19, 23-38, 661-81; A. G. Hopkins, 'Back to the Future: From National History to Imperial History', Past & Present, 164 (1999), pp.198-243; Benjamin Cohen, The Question of Imperialism, pp. 3-82 is a golden oldie; Dane Kennedy, 'The Boundaries of Oxford's Empire', International History Review, 23 (2001), pp .604-20, Stephen Howe, 'The Slow Death and Strange Rebirths of Imperial History', JICH, 29 (2001), pp.131-41, Andrew Thompson, 'Is Humpty Dumpty

Together Again? Imperial History and the OHBE', Twentieth-Century British History, 12 (2001), pp.511-27, Douglas Peers, 'Is Humpty Dumpty Back Together Again?', Jour. World Hist., 13 (2002), pp.451-67, are good review essays of the Oxford History of the British Empire (OHBE); Deborah Wormell, Sir John Seeley and the Uses of History (1980); Duncan Bell, 'Unity and Difference: John Robert Seeley and the Political Theology of International Relations', Rev. Internat. Stud. 31 (2005), pp.559-79. Patrick Wolf, 'Imperialism and History: A Century of Theory from Marx to Postcolonialism', American Historical Review, 102 (1997), pp.388-420 is a (rather dense) overview.

Some of the recent work on the United States is relevant for understanding problems of definition, causation and consequences. Frederick Cooper, 'Empire Multiplied: A Review Essay', Comparative Studies in Society & History, 46 (2004), pp.247-72; A. G. Hopkins, 'Capitalism, Nationalism and the New American Empire', Jour. Imperial & Comm. Hist., 35 (2007), pp.95-117; idem, 'Comparing British and American Empires', J. Global Hist., 2 (2007), pp.395-404; Dane Kennedy, 'On the American Empire from a British Imperial Perspective', Internat. Hist. Rev., 29 (2007), pp.84-108; Michael Cox, 'Empire, Imperialism and the Bush Doctrine', Review of Internat. Stud., 30 (2004), pp.585-608.

3. Analytical Issues (Thursday 31 January)

Norman Etherington, Theories of Imperialism (1984) is good on distinctions between types of imperialism; R. Koebner and H. D. Schmidt, Imperialism: the Story and Significance of a Political Word, 1840-1960 (1964) can be dipped into; similarly any of the chapters in Charles Reynolds, Modes of Imperialism (1981); Michael W. Doyle, Empires (1986); and Bernard Semmel, The Liberal Ideal and the Demons of Empire: Theories of Imperialism from Adam Smith to Lenin (1993). David Washbrook, 'Orient and Occident: Colonial Discourse Theory and the Historiography of the British Empire', OHBE, 5 (1999), pp.596-611, provides a concise criticism of postmodernism; Dane Kennedy, 'Imperial History and Post-Colonial Theory', JICH, 24 (1996), pp.345-63, is more sympathetic; Anthony Pagden, 'Fellow Citizens and Imperial Subjects: Conquest and Sovereignty in Europe's Overseas Empires', Hist. & Theory, 44 (2005), pp.28-46; idem, 'Imperialism, Liberalism and the Quest for Perpetual Peace', Daedalus, 134

(2005), pp.46-57, a long view from an authority on the period before the nineteenth century.

The comparative dimension is explored by Gary Miles, 'Roman and Modern Imperialism', Comp. Stud. in Soc & Hist., 32 (1990), pp.629-59; Dominic Lieven, Empire (2000), pp. 3-51; Barbara Goff, ed., Classics and Colonialism (Duckworth, 2005); Richard Hingley, Globalizing Roman Culture (Routledge, 2005); Henry Hurst and Sara Owen, Ancient Colonizations (Duckworth, 2005).

4. Adam Smith (Wednesday 6 February)

Adam Smith, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (1776), Book IV, Chs. 7-8. Book III, Chs.1, 4, and Book IV, Chs.1, 2, 3 (pt.1) give the 'background' to Smith's thinking about colonies. Also, or alternatively, follow the index references to 'slavery' and the 'East India Company'. Andrew Skinner and Thomas Wilson, eds. Essays on Adam Smith, 1975), Chs.10 and 11; Donald Winch, Adam Smith's Politics (1978), Ch. 7.

Refer also to Semmel, The Liberal Ideal; George Shelton, Dean Tucker and Eighteenth-Century Economic and Political Thought (1981); Salim Rashid, 'He Startled as if he Saw a Spectre: Tucker's Proposal for American Independence', Jour. History Ideas, 43 (1982), pp.439-62; Emma Rothschild, 'Global Commerce and the Question of Sovereignty in the Eighteenth-Century Provinces', Modern Intellectual History, 1 (2004), pp.3-25.

5. Karl Marx (Thursday 14 February)

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, The First Indian War of Independence, 1857-1859 (1959); idem, On Colonialism (1960); Shlomo Avineri, ed. Karl Marx on Colonialism and Modernization (1968); V. G. Kiernan, Marxism and Imperialism (1974), chs., 1, 5, 6; Roger Owen and Bob Sutcliffe, eds., Studies in the Theory of Imperialism (1972), ch.1.

6. Cobden & Mill (Thursday 21 February)

Anthony Howe, ed. The Letters of Richard Cobden, 2 vols. (2007; 2010); idem, ed. Rethinking Nineteenth -Century Liberalism: Richard Cobden Bicentenary Essays (2006); Miles Taylor, 'Imperium et Libertas? Rethinking the Radical Critique of Imperialism during the Nineteenth Century', JICH, 19 (1991), pp.1-23; John Breuilly, 'Variations in Liberalism: Britain and Europe in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', Diplomacy and Statecraft, 8 (1997), pp.91-123.

P. J. Cain, 'Capitalism, War and Internationalism in the Thought of Richard Cobden', Brit. Jour. Internat. Stud., 5 (1979), pp.229-47; David Nicholls, 'Richard Cobden and the International Peace Congress Movement, 1848-1853', Jour. British Stud., 30 (1991), pp.351-76; Richard Francis Spall, 'Free Trade, Foreign Relations and the Anti Corn Law League', Int. Hist. Rev., 10 (1988), pp. 405-32; Bruce Kinzer, 'The Failure of Pressure from Without: Cobden, the Ballot Society and the Coming of the Ballot Act in England', Canadian Journal of History, 13 (1978), pp.399-422.

Eileen P. Sullivan, 'Liberalism and Imperialism: J. S. Mill's Defence of the British Empire', Jour. Hist. Ideas, 44 (1983), pp.599-617; Lynn Zastoupil, John Stuart Mill and India (1994); Beate Jahn, 'Barbarian Thoughts: Imperialism in the Philosophy of John Stuart Mill', Rev. Internat. Stud. 31 (2005), pp. 599-618.

7. Schumpeter (Thursday 28 February)

J. A. Schumpeter, Imperialism and Social Classes: Essays (1955); Dale Cramer and Charles Leathers, 'Veblen and Schumpeter on Imperialism', HOPE, 9 (1977), pp.237-55; Charles E. Staley, 'Swedberg's Joseph A. Schumpeter: The Economics and Sociology of Capitalism: A Review Essay', Research in the History of Economic Thought & Methodology, 12 (1994), pp.201-10; P.J. Cain, 'Capitalism, Aristocracy and Empire: Some Classical theories of Imperialism Revisited', JICH, 35 (2007), pp.25-47; Arno J. Meyer, The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War (1981) applies Schumpeter's ideas.

8. Presentation of Long Essay Topics (Thursday 7 March)

SPRING BREAK (Thursday 14 March)

9. Hobson (Thursday 21 March)

J. Townshend, ed. J.A.Hobson, Imperialism: A Study (1988), 'Introduction' and any of the text. J. Phelby, ed. J. A. Hobson after Fifty Years (1994); P.J.Cain, 'J. A. Hobson, Cobdenism and the Development of the Theory of Economic Imperialism', Econ. Hist Rev. 31 (1978), pp.565-84; idem, J. A. Hobson, Cobdenism, and the Radical Theory of Imperialism, 1898-1914, Econ. Hist. Rev., 31 (1978), pp.565-84; idem, 'International Trade and Economic Development in the Work of J. A. Hobson', Hist. Pol Econ., 11 (1979), pp.406-24; idem, 'J.A.Hobson, Finance Capitalism and Imperialism in Late Victorian and Edwardian England', Jour. Imp & Comm. Hist., 13 (1985), pp.1-27; idem, Hobson and Imperialism: Radicalism, New Liberalism, and Finance, 1887-1938 (2000).

10. Lenin (Thursday 28 March)

V. I. Lenin, 'Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism' in Collected Works, 32 (1964); Cain and Hopkins, British Imperialism, Ch. 14; Eric Stokes, 'Late Nineteenth-Century Colonial Expansion and the Attack on the Theory of Economic Imperialism: A Case of Mistaken Identity?', Hist. Jour. 12 (1969), pp.285-301; A. N. Ekstein, 'Is There a Hobson-Lenin Thesis in Late Nineteenth-Century Colonial Expansion?', Econ. Hist. Rev., 44 (1991), pp.297-318; T. McDonough, 'Lenin, Imperialism and the Stages of Capitalist Development', Science and Society, 59 (1995), pp.339-67; Sanjay Seth, 'Lenin's Reformulation of Marxism', HOPE, 13 (1992), pp.99-128; Anthony Brewer, Marxist Theories of Imperialism (2nd ed. 1989); Bill Warren, Imperialism: Pioneer of Capitalism (1980), chs. 3-4.

Also: Leonard Woolf, Empire and Commerce in Africa (1919), or idem, Economic Imperialism (1920); C. C. Wrigley, 'Empire and Commerce in Africa', JICH, 7 (1969), pp.246-50.

11. Gallagher & Robinson (Thursday 4 April)

John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade', Economic History Review, 6 (1953), pp.1-15; 'The Partition of Africa', New Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI (1962); (Robinson) 'Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism', in Roger Owen and Bob Sutcliffe, eds. Studies in the Theory of Imperialism (1972), ch.5; (Robinson) 'The

Excentric Idea of Imperialism’, in Wolfgang Mommsen and Jurgen Osterhammel, eds. Imperialism and After (1986), ch.18; William Roger Louis, ed. Imperialism: the Gallagher and Robinson Controversy (1976), notably the contributions by D. C. M. Platt; Cain and Hopkins, British Imperialism, Chs. 1, 11; John Darwin, ‘Imperialism and the Victorians: The Dynamics of Territorial Expansion’, English Historical Review, 112 (1997), pp.614-42; A. G. Hopkins, ‘The Victorians and Africa: A Reconsideration of the Occupation of Egypt, 1882’, Journal of African History, 27 (1986), pp.363-91; Colin Newbury, ‘The Semantics of International Influence: Informal Empires Reconsidered’, in Michael Twaddle ed., Imperialism, The State, and the Third World (1992), ch.2;

12. Brunschwig & Marseille (Thursday 11 April)

Henri Brunschwig, French Colonialism, 1871-1914: Myths and Realities (1966); Jacques Marseille, Empire colonial et capitalisme francais: histoire d’un divorce (Paris, 1984); Stuart M. Persell, The French Colonial Lobby, 1889-1938 (1983); Marc Lagana, Le parti colonial francais (1990); John Laffey, Imperialism and Ideology: Historical Perspectives (2000).

13. New Left: Frank, Wallerstein et al. (Wednesday 17 April)

Andre Gunder Frank, Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution? (1969); Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World System (1974), pp.2-11, 347-57; Brewer, Marxist Theories of Imperialism; Fernando Enrique Cardoso, ‘Dependency and Development in Latin America’, New Left Review, 74 (1972), pp.83-95; idem, ‘The Consumption of Dependency Theory in the US’, Latin American Research Review, 12 (1977), pp.7-24; Colin Leys, The Rise and Fall of Development Theory (1996), Ch. 28; A. G. Hopkins, ‘Development and the Utopian Ideal’, OHBE, 5 (1999), ch. 40; B.N. Ghosh, Dependency Theory Revisited (2001); Carl Parrini, ‘The Age of Ultra-Imperialism’, Radical Hist. Rev., 57 (1993), pp.7-20; Giovanni Arrighi, The Geometry of Imperialism (1978) and the review by Bernard Semmel, in New Left Review, 118, Nov./Dec. 1979.

14. New Left – Case Studies (Thursday 25 April)

Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (1973); Gavin Kitchin, Development and Underdevelopment in Historical Perspective (1982); Philip C. C. Huang, ed. The Development of Underdevelopment in China (1978); and any of the historical essays in the house journal, The Review.

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