

Chapter 1

Historical Landscapes of the Modern World

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This volume draws together scholars from varied disciplines to examine the historical encounters, cultural entanglements, and local conditions that shaped the modern world. Research has well demonstrated the extent and complexity of the varied local economic and political systems, and diverse social formations that predated European contact. These preexisting systems confronted the expanding European economy and, in doing so, shaped its emergence. The case studies presented in this volume seek to understand how the intersections of these different regional systems formed unique historical and geographical complexes that structured European-indigene interactions, economic relations, and their materialities. Moving beyond the confines of national or Atlantic histories to examine regional systems and their historical trajectories on a global scale, the studies draw examples from the Caribbean, Mesoamerica, North America, South America, Africa, and South Asia. Collectively they ask how did the diverse political economies of the early modern world collide, mesh, and merge, and to what effect on the engaged populations in different world areas? The studies examine how the new economic, social, and cultural relations of the modern world, nascent European colonialism, and the Atlantic slave trade are revealed in landscapes, settlements, plantations, dwellings, and archaeological assemblages. How and why did these landscapes differ in their expression and in their temporalities? The chapters are by researchers who share an interest in the emergence and interconnections of the modern world, and the utility of interdisciplinary vantage. While the contributions are rooted in substantive studies from different world areas, their overarching aim is to negotiate between global and local frames, to reveal how the expanding world-system entwined the

non-Western world in global economies, yet did so in ways that were locally articulated, varied, and often non-European in their expression.

Deep Time and Local Pasts

The studies presented herein build on an extensive body of research across the social sciences that has examined the historical depth and economic interconnections that shaped modernity. The temporal focus is on the economic, cultural, and political entanglements of the past five centuries, a period marked by European expansion across the globe. The emergence of an increasingly Eurocentric global economy drew regional and local economies into new formations that were, if not completely new in their economic structures, (trans)formative in ways that were central to the shaping of the systemic connections, muddles and imbroglions germane to the formation of the modern world.

While the global nature of the connections represented is a central, unifying theme of this volume, the perspective taken in the studies presented is decidedly local. Although varied in their regional and temporal settings, the volume's collective focus is equally on pre-European networks, indigenous social formations, regional economies, and their particularities that are distinctive of the places examined. The contributions are sympathetic to concepts of deep time: local culture histories, traditions, and pasts that shaped indigene-European interactions and ultimately structured the meetings of the capitalist and precapitalist worlds. While the studies presented engage various theoretical frames, they are uniformly accepting of perspectives that situate the changes of the post-fifteenth-century world in the structures, flows, and disjunctures of historical systems. This perspective pushes away from ahistorical perspectives that place societies in static boxes, seemingly unchanging and without agency in the face of European hegemony.

Although the studies engage varied theoretical lenses, they resonate with Fernand's Braudel's view that history should be studied as a long-term process; that understanding of the past ultimately explains the present.¹ Braudel's *longue durée* gives primacy to the long-term historical structures situated in time and place, which have been foundational in the study of the modern world (e.g., Lee 2012, 1–4). Braudel presents this vantage in his classic work *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World* (1972a, 1972b). Braudel's focus is on the world of Philip the II of Spain (1527–1598), ruler of an empire that included outposts, trading

enclaves, and colonies spanning from Hispaniola and Lima to Goa and Macau—an empire on which the sun never set.² Yet Braudel does not remain in the sixteenth century, but rather ranges from classical antiquity to the contours of modernity. In Braudel's view there were many such “Mediterraneans”—particular historical systems that moved from onset and development to decline, and cannot be understood independently from the wider systemic contexts in which they existed. The varied regions of the Americas, Africa, and Asia thus had their own pre-fifteenth-century, pre-European pasts in which the present is intricately imbedded.

The varied patterns, extent, and complexity of many such pre-fifteenth-century, pre-European contact histories have been revealed by a host of scholarship. They have been defined and described in various ways: as cores and peripheries, connectivities, interaction spheres, trading systems, clusters, and world markets. The societies involved evinced varied degrees and manners of socioeconomic formations, political complexity, and cultural confluences. These preexisting regional and inter-regional systems intersected with one another to varying degrees and with varying effects long before the advent of European expansion in the fifteenth century. Indeed, an increasing amount of research has revealed the pre-early modern world to have been far more interconnected than once thought. Demonstrated trade connections between Asia and the East African coast during the first and early second millennia AD (Fleisher et al. 2015), the undeniable Norse settlement in Newfoundland five centuries before the first Columbian voyages to the Americas (Ingstad & Ingstad 2000), and possible genetic evidence for pre-fifteenth-century Polynesian–South American contacts (Moreno-Maynar et al. 2014) hint at deep connections between disparate human populations long before the nascence of the modern world. The cultural confluences represented in some of these meetings may have had limited, transitory effects on the societies involved. For example, Norse–First Nation interactions undoubtedly took place but they may have had negligible impacts on the societies involved. More pointedly, the nuances of these dealings and their consequences are difficult to assess with the data at hand.

Yet if some pre-fifteenth-century cultural contacts were limited in their effects, we can also recognize that long before the era of European expansion the world was divided into economies of varied scope, historical duration, and regional integration. We can also accept that imperialism, hegemony, colonization, slavery, the subjugation of subaltern populations, and the economic underpinnings of these phenomena are not unique to the past five centuries. Many researchers have identified earlier interconnected networks, in some cases suggesting that these were comparable in

their complexity and structuring to those of the modern world. In her seminal work *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350*, Janet Abu-Lughod (1991) argued that an interconnected network—that is, an economically interconnected network—extended across Eurasia before the advent of Renaissance Europe. She further posited that this earlier system was foundational to Immanuel Wallerstein’s (1974) modern world-system and that it was subsequently restructured by it (Abu-Lughod 1991, 361).³ In a similar vein, in considering Wallerstein’s (1974) placement of the long-term economic soundings of the world in the early modern period, Andre Gunder Frank and Barry K. Gills (1993) challenge us to ask if these extend back 500 or 5,000 years.

Researchers from across disciplines have similarly argued for the existence of a multiplicity of “world-systems” of varying durations representing a continuum in size and complexity (e.g., Chase-Dunn & Anderson 2005; Chase-Dunn & Hall 1991, 1997; Kardulias 1999; Pomeranz 2000; Wolf 1982; Wong 2012).⁴ These regional systems formed their own unique historical and geographical complexes that intersected with other systems and were of varied import for the societies involved (see fig. 1.1). At times, these junctions were coercive or forcible, involving subjugation and conquest. In other cases, linkages were extended by the formation

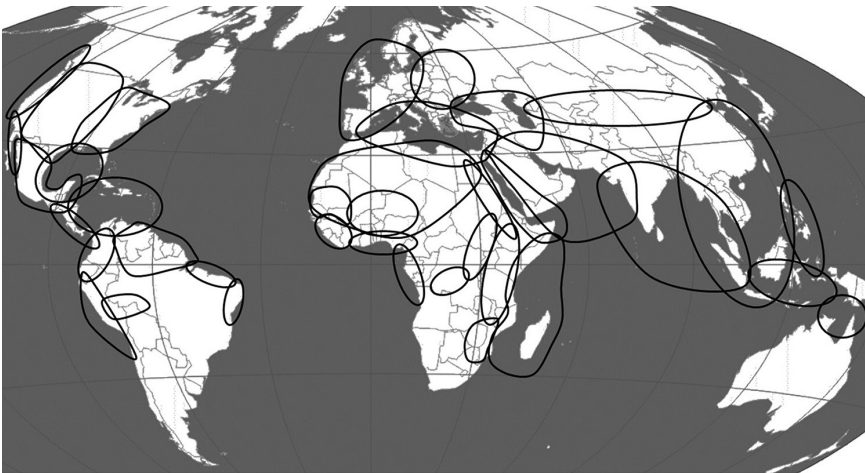


Figure 1.1. Global map with hypothetical, pre-fifteenth-century regional and intraregional networks. Presented here as intersecting circles, the map only hints at the complexity of cultural, social, and economic networks that existed on the cusp of European expansion. (Drawing by Christopher R. DeCorse)

of alliances, treaties, and agreements with indigenous polities, rulers, and emerging elites. In all cases, the participants involved manipulated these convergences to greater and lesser degrees. The fifteenth-century world that Europe encountered was not one of static landscapes, but one populated by preexisting, dynamic societal systems. The crude, hypothetical map in figure 1.1 is only intended to hint at the extent, locations, and multiplicity of regional systems that predated the origins of the modern world.⁵ The gaps on the map in some instances represent the lack of available information, rather than an actual absence of pre-fifteenth-century systems, networks, connectivities, and cores.

While pre-European contact pasts can be accepted as a given and the systems that they represented were integral to economic and cultural formations of modernity, in many instances their histories and the histories of Europe's meetings with them are poorly known, only dimly viewed through documentary accounts provided by European colonizers, oral traditions, and archaeological traces. Notably, discussions of premodern world-systems often have not included large portions of sub-Saharan Africa. In part, this is indicative of the lack of available information for many parts of the continent. Nonetheless, placement of post-fifteenth-century developments within the deeper time of indigenous history has long been a characteristic of studies of the African past. Indeed it is particularly striking how many African and Africanist archaeologists and historians focusing on the past two millennia almost imperceptively move from the first millennium AD through the Atlantic Period.⁶

Yet, in many instances, narratives of European exploration, colonization, and the sociopolitical marginalization of native populations in the past five centuries have overwritten pre-European contact pasts. As Hofman (chapter 3, this volume) observes, while the insular Caribbean was the initial nexus of European–Native American interactions, the indigenous Caribbean became largely unmentioned, undiscussed, and invisible in global history. Stories of European colonial endeavors and the attendant foci on the mineral-rich Aztec, Mayan, and Incan Empires left the histories of the Native peoples of the Caribbean as little more than footnotes in chronicles of the past and only known by names applied by European colonizers.

The contributors to the present volume are sympathetic to the deep soundings of the modern world. Although their focus is on the formulations of the past five centuries, their desire is to recenter study toward local histories that recognize the distinctive aspects and indigeneity of the networks of the Americas, Africa, and South Asia with which Europeans interacted. While recognizing the newness, unique confluences and distinctive structuring of the modern world-system, seeking

an unambiguous divide between modern and premodern times creates an artificial boundary that is counterproductive to historical study and presents narratives that marginalize non-European pasts.⁷ The studies highlight the diversity of historical contexts and contact settings that underlaid and shaped the formative interactions of the past five centuries, and argue the need to bring this perspective to bear in order to fully understand the processes that shaped the modern world. Despite the dramatic differences in the societies and the culture histories considered, the contours of modernity in these different settings are similarly imbedded in deeper pasts.

Although focused on the period of European expansion, many of the cases considered extend back into the first millennium AD and beyond in order to contextualize and understand the transformations associated with the opening of European economic exchanges. Hence, Corinne Hofman (chapter 3) begins her examination of the “Columbian Turn” in the Insular Caribbean with a review of the eight millennia of history that preceded the arrival of the Europeans. When Martindale and his coauthors (chapter 11) examine nineteenth-century colonial encounters and the tribal identity of the Tsimshian of British Columbia, they consider these formulations within the context of indigenous cultural traditions spanning the past several millennia, and the nuances of the Tsimshian legal system, as well as the changing contours of Tsimshian-European interactions. Similarly, Shanguhya’s (chapter 14) examination of British colonial forest and wildlife management policies in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century East Africa, equally considers the economic basis on which British colonial policy was predicated, along with pre-European indigenous land-use practices, social organization, economic networks, and Indian Ocean circuits of exchange. And, as Johnson (chapter 2) reminds us in his imaginary fifteenth-century journey from Dover to Dublin, the cultures, societies, and economies of Britain and Europe were equally transformed by capitalism and the cultural entanglements of the following centuries.

Beyond Nations, Oceans, and Hemispheres⁸

If the contributors to this volume are well attuned to the indigenous sociopolitical structures, cultural formations, and economic networks that shaped the encounters of the past five centuries, they are equally cognizant of the distinctive aspects of the increasingly Eurocentric, hegemonic nature of many of the interactions and exchanges of the post-fifteenth-century world. In this respect, the contributions resonate with

macroscale approaches to social analysis that bridge global and local contexts. Understanding the historical basis of such structural, synergistic interconnections provides a means of examining why such junctures occurred, as well as how changes within one region impact developments across all of the societies and regions involved. This perspective is exemplified by Fernand Braudel's (1972a, 1972b, 1990) view of historically structured systems articulated in *The Mediterranean* and the world-system perspective advanced by Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1980, 1989), both of which can be viewed as methodological approaches, as much as conceptual lenses. While some researchers have criticized the use of broad-scale economic models as explanatory frameworks, such models continue to provide a pragmatic means of examining and explaining developments in different, yet structurally interconnected, parts of the world.⁹ Social network theory and other "glocal" perspectives of globalization and entanglement have been used increasingly in the social sciences as a way of conceptualizing the complexity of human social interactions, cultural entanglements, and, with particular regard to archaeology, their material expressions and incongruities. They are thus more concerned with the epistemological contemplation of cultural continuities and discontinuities than the material relations that are the core of Braudel's *Mediterranean* and Wallerstein's world-system.¹⁰ Yet, while social theorists have employed a diversity of theoretical and methodological approaches, evincing a great deal of variation in the key tenets represented, the explanatory value in recognizing the systemic, relational nature of the interconnections between the societies is central to understanding the contours of modernity.

If there are similarities between premodern systems and that of the modern world, there are also differences in their structures, margins, and temporalities. The modern world-system is greater in geographical scope than any network or system that preceded it. Its contours and soundings were remarkably well delineated from the initial expansion of Europe into the non-Western World in the fifteenth century. This was a global, pan-oceanic network that from the onset was marked by sea routes, trading posts, and, increasingly in the course of the succeeding centuries, by colonial territories. The Portuguese rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1488, reaching Western India in 1498, Ceylon in 1505, and China in 1513. Trade began with the initial arrival of the Europeans, and by 1600 Portuguese forts, merchant enclaves, and settlements had been established from West Africa and Brazil, to Asia. The movement of peoples, plants and animals, concepts, cultures, and natural resources between Europe, the Americas, Africa, and Asia began concurrently. Pre-European networks were interconnected in new and unique ways.

The research presented in this volume pushes beyond the confines of both national histories and oceanic boundaries. While the specifics of particular national histories are important in contextualizing individual contact settings, cultural intersections, and colonial projects, it is the economic confluences and their articulations that underlie the studies presented. Recognizing the importance of European contact, trade, and colonization, the contributions herein resite focus to understand how different regional systems formed unique historical and geographical complexes that structured European-indigene relations. Expanding European capitalism and the European-indigene meetings that took place were more characterized by a diversity of situations and outcomes than by unitary phenomena. A unifying theme of the case studies presented here is their grounding in distinctive local histories, economic networks, and sociocultural rhythms. The studies reveal how local exchange networks and sociocultural traditions encountered were shaped by, and shaped, global interconnections.

Many aspects of the research presented resonate with themes that have been central to Atlantic studies, a field that has burgeoned in the past half century. While the geographic and conceptual parameters of Atlantic studies are somewhat diffuse, collectively the research seeks to untangle the complexity of systemic connections that brought together people in a variety of economic, cultural, social, political, and biological interactions in the past five centuries.¹¹ Research foci such as colonialism, European-indigene interactions, the slave trade, elite-subaltern dichotomies, and their materialities—which have been important foci of Atlantic studies—resonate with the works presented here. Transformations in African settlement patterns in regions impacted by the slave trade (DeCorse 2016a & 2016b) and the colonial landscapes of the Caribbean were consequences of the Atlantic economy and expressive of it. European colonization in many instances created entirely new landscapes, which replaced native topographies. Hence, as Armstrong (chapter 6) illustrates in his study of seventeenth-century Barbados, change in world economy such as the shift from cotton to sugar production are dramatically illustrated in colonial and plantation landscapes (also see Wallerstein 1980, 166–68).

The flows of the Atlantic world are particularly important for understanding the impacts, social transformations, and cultural continuities and discontinuities associated with the emergence, growth, and eventual abolition of the slave trade. The unique historical and geographical complexes of the Atlantic provide a means for understanding the movement and displacement of millions of colonists, enslaved Africans, indigenous populations, and a host of other subaltern populations on

both sides of the Atlantic. As Chouin and Olanrewaju (chapter 12) and Kelly (chapter 13) reveal in their studies, Africa was intricately tied to the contours of the Atlantic World, its ebbs and flows represented in African landscapes from the onset of the slave trade to its abolition. These important foci of Atlantic studies are similarly of important in the works presented here.

Yet, although the “Atlantic” has utility in examining specific regional intersections, its constraints as explanatory frame must also be recognized. It is inherently restrictive, failing to trace the wider spatial and temporal articulations of which both European and indigene were part. The varied interconnections of the modern world were global in scope from the beginning of the sixteenth century onward. The impacts of the slave trade in Africa were not confined to the Atlantic margins, nor were they isolated from the boundaries of earlier, pre-Atlantic networks. As Hauser (chapter 15) illustrates, while the Danish enclaves of the Caribbean and South Asia are distinctive in their cultural settings, regional economies, and administrative networks, they were equally expressive of global articulations.

In a similar vein, the Pacific can be examined in terms of its own boundaries, regional histories, and *longue durées*, and an increasing body of work has sought to delineate the “Pacific World” in manner akin to studies of the Atlantic (e.g., Bentley 2002; Blank & Spier 2002; Gulliver 2011). However, while usefully delineating the distinctive cultural histories, local networks, and regional systems, as in the case of Atlantic Studies, the interconnections of the Pacific extend beyond its shores. As Tolley (chapter 10) demonstrates, the establishment of Franciscan Missions of Alta California and the European-Native entanglements that ensued cannot be divorced from the wider contexts of Spanish, Russian, American, and British rivalries for the fur trade of the western coast of North America, access to Asian markets, and colonial aspirations.

It was the global in nature of the emerging world-system and the varied preexisting systems that it connected that European maritime traders were able to effectively manipulate in new ways with transformative result. Johnson’s (chapter 2) imaginary, fifteenth-century travelers would have found London a far different place if they were to have visited it three centuries later. In 1500, London was a medieval city of perhaps of fifty thousand people that retained the traces of its Roman origins. It could be disparagingly compared to the great city-states of Northern Italy and to the ports of the Low Countries. By 1800, however, London’s population had increased more than tenfold, a sprawling expression of the industrial revolution. More pointedly, it was the nexus of an ever-extending network of trade routes

across the globe. Britain of the modern world had been united by the Acts of Union in 1707, and by 1776 the British Empire in the Americas included a dozen Caribbean colonies, as well as Belize, the thirteen colonies of the nascent United States, and a number of Canadian provinces. The plantations in these colonies were largely dependent on African slave labor and British merchants established far-flung trade networks connecting the Americas, Caribbean, and West Africa.

The eighteenth-century world was a dramatically smaller place than it had been a few centuries earlier. European voyages of exploration sought new lands and opportunities.¹² The accounts of Dampier’s (1699), Bougainville’s (1771), and Cook’s (Hawkesworth 1773) voyages were popular sensations; romantic travelogues with descriptions of exotic peoples and places (see fig. 1.2). The expeditions also

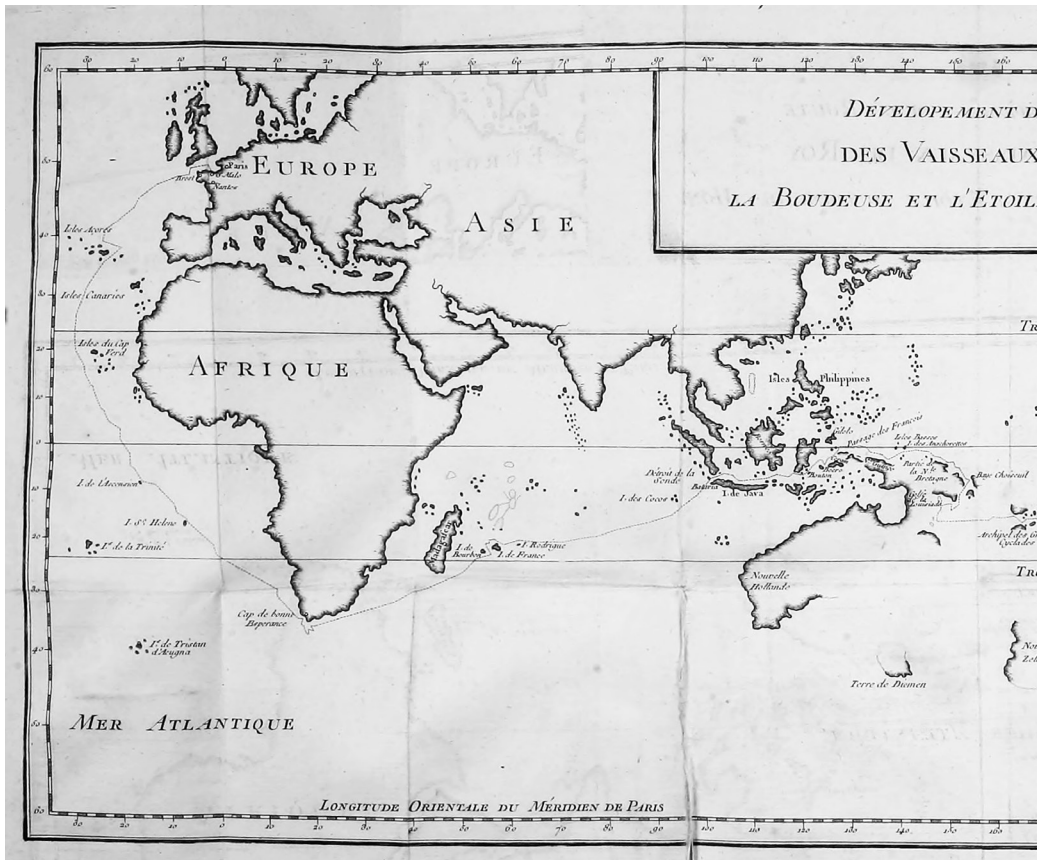
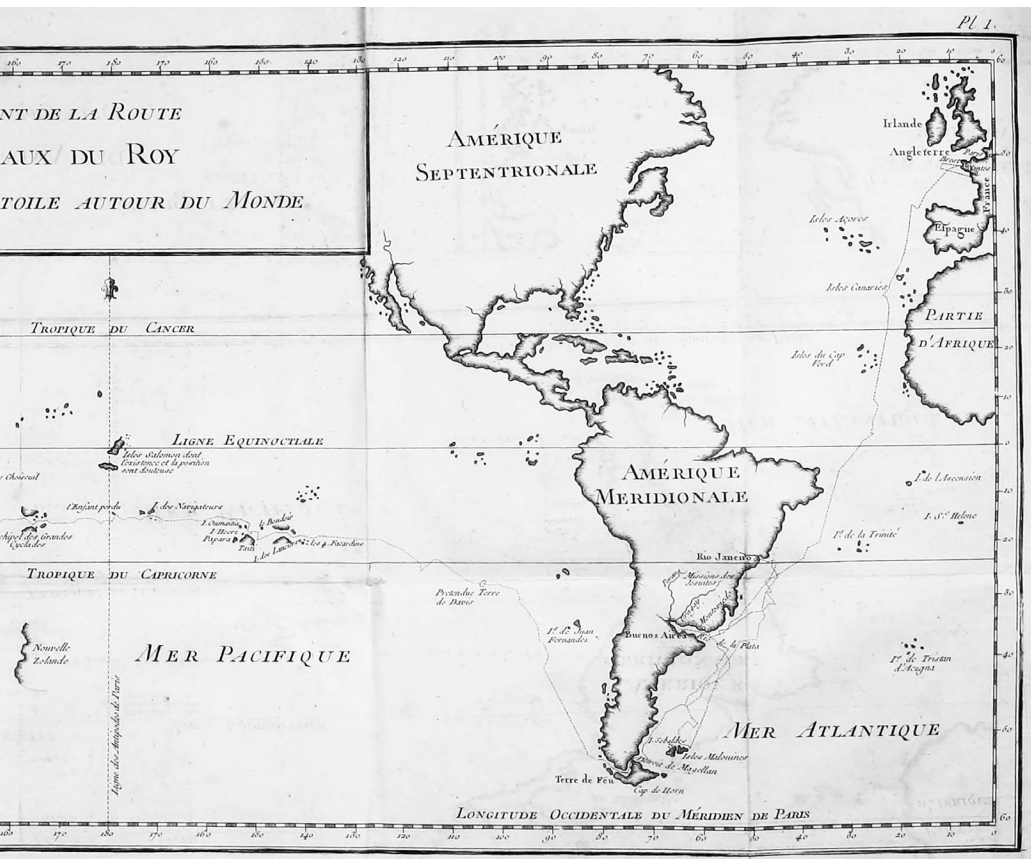


Figure 1.2. Map of Bougainville’s circumnavigation of the globe from his “Voyage autour du monde, par la frégate du roi La Boudeuse, et la flûte L’Étoile; en 1766, 1767, 1768 & 1769.” (Courtesy of the Biodiversity Heritage Library, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/127609#page/71/mode/1up>)

mapped the lands visited, described the peoples encountered, and documented new species of animals. However, if these voyages of discovery had scientific aims, they were equally economic ventures. The undiscovered corners of the globe with exotic creatures, undiscovered plants, and noble savages were also places that possessed resources to be extracted and economic opportunities. This was a different world indeed from the one Johnson's travelers described in 1492.

If the economic confluences that emerged between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries were not completely unlike those of the preceding centuries, the nations of early modern Europe were adept in their ability to insert themselves into these existing economic and social trading networks, fill voids in the networks present, and co-opt existing structures for their own benefit. Products from



previously unconnected spheres were brought together. As well demonstrated by Sampeck's (chapter 5) discussion of Tacuscalco and Europe's infatuation with cacao, Europeans were shrewd at finding new markets for old products. In doing so they initially co-opted existing social organizations and means of production, but subsequently transformed places such as Tacuscalco into something new. As Pezzarossi (chapter 4) illustrates, colonial Guatemala lacked the mineral wealth of other regions and the Spanish colonial government subsequently sought profit by inserting themselves into precolonial tribute systems reliant on regionally available produce such as cacao. Further to the north in Alta California (in Tolley, chapter 10), the Franciscan missions similarly developed their own mercantile economies, based on their respective hinterlands and wells of Native labor and knowledge. As a counterpoint to prevailing focus on the European quest for mineral wealth, the missions' trade in such mundane products as hides, otter pelts, tallow, locally produced cloth, wine and foodstuffs demonstrates that treasure is where you find it.

The economic structuring and cultural exchanges of the modern world-system are writ large materially, from the presence of trade goods that reflect distant trade relations to dramatic changes in settlement patterns indicative of the restructuring and reorientation of social, political, and economic relations. The establishment of the slave trading emporia of the West African coast neatly mirrored the expansion

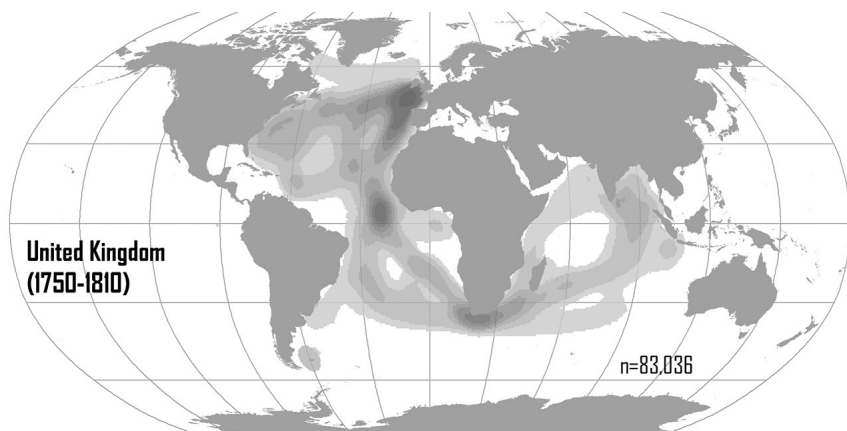


Figure 1.3. Map charting the British shipping as indicated by ship logs. The darkest shading on the image represents a density of more than fifty log entries. (Courtesy of J-P Rodrigue, *The Geography of Transport Systems*, 4th ed., New York: Routledge, 2017)

of the plantation colonies in the Americas (e.g., see DeCorse 2016a & 2016b). Archaeologically, it is remarkable to walk across sites of the past five centuries in Brazil, Curaçao, Sierra Leone, Maryland, and England and find the same artifacts: coarse and refined earthenware, gunflints, glass, and the myriad other trade materials that delineated the margins of the European economic frontier—a readily definable archaeological horizon.¹³ The material record does not, however, simply consist of artifacts that provide temporal markers, but also landscapes, buildings, features, and archaeological assemblages that are expressions of unique historical and geographical complexes. They reveal the emerging networks of the early modern world as constellations of strategies, adjustments, and negotiations, rather than fixed-templates of social, cultural, and economic interactions. Europeans and the indigenous populations with whom they interacted pursued varied agendas and strategies, negotiated by local conditions and schema.

Historical Landscapes of the Modern World

The scope of this volume is pointedly broad in temporal and geographic foci to illustrate the scope, depth, and diversity of intersections represented in the historical contours of the modern world.¹⁴ Yet the volume's coverage is unavoidably limited. The largest omissions are the absence of examples of early European-Asian exchanges—the European enclaves of China, Southeast Asia, and the webs of systemic relations of which they were part. The only historic landscapes of the Pacific margins discussed deal with colonial contexts in Peru, Alta California, and northwestern North America on the Pacific's eastern rim. Examination of the economic contours and studies of the *longue durées* of other areas would provide both corollaries and counterpoints to the chapters on early European-Native American, African, and South Asian confluences that are presented. In a similar vein, the historical trajectories of the Iberian Peninsula, France, the Low Countries, Brandenburg-Prussia, Scandinavia, the Apennine Peninsula, and the circum-Mediterranean would afford interesting contrasts with the description of the fifteenth-century British landscape presented in chapter 2.

With the preceding omissions in mind, the studies presented herein nonetheless wonderfully illustrate the varied nature of the entanglements of the modern world and the complexity of the economic, social, and cultural interactions that unfolded. The organization of the chapters is both spatial and temporal, moving

across geographical regions and through time within those regions. In chapter 2, Matthew Johnson leads us on an imaginary journey across the British Isles in 1492. He takes us overland from Dover, northeast through London to Caernarvon, then across the Irish Sea to Dublin. Rather than providing a template of nascent capitalism through which to examine European expansion and colonization, the purpose of Johnson's fictional journey is to underscore the transformative nature of the past 500 years for all of the societies involved—Britain and Europe included. The landscapes of the fifteenth-century British Isles were distant in their social, cultural, political, and economic materialities from those that emerged in the following centuries, the seeds of the changes to come at best only hazily seen in the fifteenth century.

Johnson's journey across the British landscape is followed by chapters by Corinne Hofman, Guido Pezzarossi, and Katheryn Sampeck, which examine early European-Native American interactions. Hofman (chapter 3) contextualizes European contact and colonialism in the Americas through the examination of archaeological, documentary, and ethnographic data from across the insular Caribbean. Hofman introduces the richness of Native American social, political, and economic networks that long predated the arrival of the Europeans in the fifteenth century, but were subsequently utilized, transformed, and co-opted by them.

The chapters by Guido Pezzarossi and Kathryn Sampeck, both focusing on colonial Guatemala (including, respectively, modern Guatemala and El Salvador), similarly situate early European colonization within the frame of indigenous, pre-European networks, power dynamics, cultural constructions, and economies. Drawing on his archaeological research in highland Guatemala, Pezzarossi (chapter 4) examines both the frictions and congruencies between emergent European colonialism and earlier Mayan political and economic infrastructures. Rather than presenting the colonized peoples as passive inhabitants of a marginalized periphery, he highlights the colonized as active participants in an integrated, locally articulated system that was integral to the shaping of the colonial world.

In the following chapter, Sampeck (chapter 5) draws on archaeological, ethnographic and documentary data to examine transformations in Tacusalco, the largest pre-Columbian settlement within the Izalcos polity in what is today western El Salvador. The region's colonial collisions are illustrative of the extreme coercion, violence, population relocation, and hegemonic depredations found in many colonial settings. Following their arrival in the sixteenth century, Spanish colonists vied to divide the region's resources following precolonial boundaries, while the native

Izalcos were forcibly resettled in Spanish-style towns. Tacuscalco was transformed from a major Izalcos settlement and center of native cacao production, into a barrio within a Spanish urban community. Having displaced the Izalcos, colonial cacao plantations relied on enslaved laborers from distant areas with no heritage of cacao cultivation. In recognizing these dramatic changes, Sampeck nonetheless reveals the distinctive local shaping of Tacuscalco's colonial intersections.

The following chapters by Douglas V. Armstrong, Christopher K. Waters, and Erik R. Seeman focus on the varied, colonized landscapes of the American Atlantic world. Drawing on archaeological and documentary sources, Armstrong, in chapter 6, concentrates on the nascence of the plantation system in seventeenth-century Barbados. In the 1620s, the English colony of Barbados was dotted with small-scale farms that grew varied crops, including cotton. Within decades, the island had shifted to sugar plantations dependent on enslaved African labor. Integrating data from the site of Trents Plantation, Armstrong considers the global structuring of the Caribbean economy and its material manifestations on the Barbadian landscape. Waters (chapter 7) affords a different view of the Caribbean colonial landscape through his examination of eighteenth-century Antigua's island-wide defensive system. Often badly planned, shoddily constructed, and ill-suited to meet the island's defense needs, Waters moves beyond simply viewing these defenses as poorly designed military works and reveals them as expressions of colonial power dynamics. In chapter 8, Seeman provides contrasting perspectives of cultural continuity and change through the examination of Jewish graveyards on Curaçao and the African Burial Ground in New York City. He sees these as expressive of power, as well as varying degrees of cultural transformations in the populations represented.

Chapters 9 and 10, by Noa Corcoran-Tadd and Thomas Edward Tolley, illustrate dramatically different examples of Spanish colonies on the Pacific margins. Focusing on the hinterlands of the silver mining centers of the Bolivian Plateau, Corcoran-Tadd examines the integration of pre-European exchange systems, trade routes, and technology into emergent European trade and colonization during the sixteenth century. Extending his focus beyond mineral extraction and agriculture production, he populates the landscape, revealing the importance of seemingly marginal spaces to both pre-Hispanic and colonial political and economic networks as both exchange routes and resource areas. Moving northward to Alta California, and temporally into the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Tolley considers the economic and cultural intersections that stemmed from the founding of missions by the Catholic Church and the regal government of New Spain between 1769

and 1823. Focusing on Mission San Buenaventura, Tolley reframes the missions as native landscapes that were negotiated, exploited, and colonized in varied ways, often not in the manner originally intended.

In chapter 11, Andrew Martindale, George MacDonald, and Sage Vanier focus on European contact and colonization of the Tsimshian territory near Prince Rupert, British Columbia, on the Northwest Coast of North America. The authors complicate perspectives of European-indigene interactions by reconstructing Tsimshian society at the time of contact, in or about 1787, until today. Underscoring the interpretive challenges of the varied sources of data used, they provide a rich ethnography of the Tsimshian, as well as the cultural and economic pressures that European trade and colonization presented. In doing so, Martindale and his coauthors afford a view of a native-lived colonialism, in which Tsimshian people flexed and changed, but were not wholly transformed by the European encounter.

Chapter 12, by Gérard Chouin and Olanrewaju Lasisi, and chapter 13 by Kenneth Kelly shift, attention to West Africa's engagement with the Atlantic World. The chapters provide seminal works that define the scope, temporal depth, and economic framing of the slave trade from its earliest manifestations to its nineteenth-century abolition. European expansion and the nascence of the Atlantic world began in Africa with the development of European trade and the establishment of trading enclaves on the West African coast and the Atlantic Islands of Cabo Verde, São Tomé, Príncipe, and Biagos in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Thus, some of the sites and African-European interactions discussed predate the first Columbian voyages to the Americas. However, the preceding examination of the early colonial landscapes of the Americas provides necessary context for the understanding the changes in African economies and sociopolitical systems that were intricately tied to European expansion and the subsequent development of the plantation economies of the Americas.

In chapter 12, Chouin and Olanrewaju consider pre-Atlantic sociopolitical developments in the Bight of Benin to assess how the Portuguese, arriving at the end of the fifteenth century, were able to commence a trade that brought enslaved Africans from the Bight of Benin in Nigeria to the Mina coast in present-day Ghana, where they were sold to African merchants. Slaves were only one aspect of the early European trade, which also brought cloth and iron from different regional markets for resale on other parts of the African coast. Focusing the Upper Guinea coast and transformations in the nineteenth century, Kelly's chapter consid-

ers the changes in African societies that resulted from the abolition of the slave trade by Britain and other European nations during the nineteenth century. The continuation and expansion of the slave trade in some areas following abolition led to the dramatic reorientation of African political economies and concomitant sociopolitical transformations.

The concluding chapters shift attention to East Africa and South Asia. In chapter 14, Martin S. Shanguhya deconstructs the political and economic motivations of wildlife conservation efforts in colonial East Africa—Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda—from the 1890s through the 1930s. Although imbedded in discourses of environmental preservation, Shanguhya reveals the policies to have been inextricably linked to the economic interests of the colonial governments and settler communities, whose interests often ran counter to those of the indigenous communities that had traditionally occupied, and depended on, the lands on which the game reserves were created. The chapter provides a nuanced example of the different and locally specific ways colonial governments had to identify and exploit local resources as a means of sustaining their economies and the colonial enterprise.

In chapter 15, Mark Hauser brings the volume appropriately to a close with a comparative study of Danish trading enclaves the Indian and Atlantic Oceans that are illustrative of European administrative categories, as much as expressions of global linkages and locally articulated intersections. Drawing comparisons from Tranquebar (Tharnamgambadi) in southern India and the Danish colonial settlements in the Virgin Islands, Hauser illustrates dramatically contrasting cultural encounters. The Danish East India Company acquired Tranquebar through lease from the Thanjavur Nayak kingdom in 1620. It subsequently became the Asian headquarters of the Company and its descendants, a nexus of both regional and global trade networks. St. John, St. Thomas, and St. Croix in the Caribbean, in contrast, were plantation islands established by Danish West India Company. These contrasting settings underscore the extent and complexity of local economic and political systems, the diverse social formations, varied historical encounters, and cultural entanglements of the modern world. Yet, as Hauser suggests, despite the distinctiveness of their settings, these Danish enclaves on opposite sides of the world “rhymed,” that is, were linked through material relations and similarly expressive of the Danish colonial enterprise. In this respect, they are exemplary of the volume’s themes—counterpoints of an economic system that shaped the contours of modernity.

Notes

1. “The Past Explains the Present” is the subtitle of the final chapter in the English translation of Braudel’s (1980, 177–218), *Essays on World History* by Sarah Matthews. Also see Braudel (1990, 79–117). This perspective echoes many of the threads expressive of the broader historic turn within the social sciences over the past half-century (e.g., see McDonald 1996).

2. The empire of Philip II resulted from the dynastic union of the crowns of Portugal and Spain following the Portuguese succession crisis of 1580, a union that lasted until 1640. It should, however, be noted that while the entire Iberian Peninsula, as well as Spanish and Portuguese overseas possessions, were brought under one rule, throughout this period Spain and Portugal continued to maintain their respective spheres of influence as laid out in the Treaties of Aláçovas and Tordesillas.

3. Wallerstein (1974, 1980, 1989) situates the genesis of the modern world-system in the sixteenth century, and sees it as a system dominated by a European core and economic peripheries that is fundamentally different from earlier systems. He does not consider world-system theory applicable to premodern societies.

4. Discussion of the details and critiques of these perspectives are not considered here; the more general point is that the existence, if not the specifics and structuring, of such interconnected pre-fifteenth-century systems is well demonstrated.

5. It is impossible to trace the extent and complexity of the varied regional economies, networks and social formations that predated the pre-fifteenth-century world. For general overviews and theoretical framing, see: Abu-Leghod (1991); Braudel (1972a & b); Chase-Dunn and Hall (1991); Chouin and DeCorse (2010); Dietler (2010); Finley (1981); Frank (1998); Frank and Gills (1993); Gosden (2004); Kardulias (1999); Lamberg-Karlovsky (1989); Orser (1996, 2009); Pomeranz (2000); Pomeranz and Topik (2015); Tomich (2012); Stein (1999); Wolf (1982); Wong (2012). For additional examples of premodern regional systems, see Blandon, Kowalewski, and Feinman (1992); Chávez and Spence (2012); Dietler (2010); Fleisher et al. (2015); Howell (2010); Green (2012); Hodos (2017); Keegan and Hofman (2017); Kuznar (1999); LaLone (1994); Malpass and Alconini 2010; Marcus and Williams (2009); Monroe (2013); Pauketat (2004); Persson (2014); Rosenswig (2014); Seetah (2018).

6. For review and discussion, see DeCorse 2014. Notably the recent, substantive treatments of Africa in the Atlantic world by Thornton (2012) and Green (2012) and begin, respectively, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

7. For example, Braudel (1990, 82–85); Abu-Leghod (1991, 364–73); Kohl (1989, 232–38); and Schmidt and Mrozowski 2013.

8. This heading is adapted from a title used by Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erik Seeman (2007) in their edited volume: *Introduction: Beyond the Line: Nations, Oceans, and*

Hemispheres. This volume similarly pushes away from restrictive national or Atlantic perspectives to a wider conceptual vantage (Cañizares-Esguerra & Seeman 2007, xxiii–xxviii).

9. For example, El-Ojeili 2014; Lee 2012. A major criticism of Wallerstein’s world-system perspective has been what some perceive as an overemphasis on the degree to which the European core structured developments in the peripheries. It should be noted, however, that Wallerstein himself underscored the distinctiveness of local systems and the varied nature of connections with the core (see, e.g., Wallerstein 1986, 101–37).

10. See, for example, Martindale et al. and Pezzarossi (this volume). Also see Coronil 2000; Escobar 2001; Ingold 2012; Knappett 2013; Latour 2005; Martindale 2009; Mills 2017; Ortner 2016; Orser 2009; Pezzarossi 2018.

11. See, for example, Bailyn and Denault 2011; Benjamin 2009; Canaries and Seeman 2007; Canny and Pagdan 1987; Crosby 2003; Gilroy 1993; Greene and Morgan 2009; Landers 2011; Nunn and Qian 2010; Ogundiran and Falola 2007; Solow 2001; Tomich 2004; Thornton 2012; Yerxa 2008.

12. By the middle of the eighteenth century, a dozen or so voyages that circumnavigated the globe had been undertaken, including three by William Dampier (Kelsey 2016; Preston & Preston 2005). In Bougainville’s case, the economic rationale for the expedition and his intention to identify potential colonial territories of strategic importance were made clear from the outset (Dunsmore 2002, xix–xxiv). Bougainville’s circumnavigation is also notable as being the first to include a full complement of naturalists and scientists.

13. The horizon concept in archaeology refers to cultural traits, artifact types, and attributes that are representative of a broad and rapid spread. Archaeological assemblages with features characteristic of a horizon are assumed to be contemporaneous. The horizon concept has been widely used in archaeology and was first applied to the archaeology of European expansion by Stanley South (1978). Horizons can be contrasted with, and are crosscut by, archaeological traditions, which are represented by cultural traits, artifact types, and attributes that extend over long periods.

14. These broad temporal and geographic foci are comparable to those of the original Braudel Center colloquium on which the volume is based. Extensively revised versions of all of the original colloquium papers have been included here, except for two, owing to the authors’ commitments elsewhere: one that dealt with Caribbean plantation landscapes and one on South Asia. Two additional papers that could not be presented at the original colloquium are included in the volume; those by Noa Corcoran Tadd on Peru and Thomas Tolley on the Spanish Missions of Alta California.

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