

Notes

Introduction: Postcolonialism, Sociology, and the Politics of Knowledge Production

1. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, Europe is frequently understood as Christian and the historical presence of Jewish and Muslim populations within its borders is generally ignored.
2. In the sense that Marx's standpoint of the proletariat depends upon his perception of their potential agency as the solution to the problems of capitalism and not a statement about the understanding of those deemed to be proletariat.

1 Modernity, Colonialism, and the Postcolonial Critique

1. It must also be noted here that the solutions to colonialism as put forward by Nandy and Said on the one hand and Fanon on the other are radically opposed even if their diagnosis of the condition is similar. While Fanon (1968 [1961]) advocated a central role to violence in struggles for liberation, Nandy (1987) argues that this espousal of violence only bound one more closely to the culture of the oppressor rather than enabling any overcoming of it.
2. In the case of New Zealand/Aotorea, During (1998) suggests that scholars have demonstrated that white invasions were legitimately and productively resisted and in the process the colonizers and colonized, together, contributed to the creation of the contemporary society. The recovery of the colonial subject in history can be seen as analogous to the efforts of feminist historians, such as Joan Kelly (1986 [1984, 1976]), to restore women to history.
3. Burke's critique is admitted, albeit in attenuated form, in Eric Stokes' study, *The English Utilitarians and India*, where he argues that India played no central part in fashioning the qualities of English civilization and, in many ways, 'acted as a disturbing force, a magnetic power placed at the periphery tending to distort the natural development of Britain's character' (1959: xi). However, Stokes does also recognize that, as a disturbing force, India, in the nineteenth century, signified an expansive set of opportunities for an emerging middle class that saw its interests linked with the administration of empire (albeit an administration that then brought utilitarian principles into justification of empire undermining their purported emphasis on liberty). From a different perspective, Sankar Muthu (2003) examines the thought of late eighteenth-century intellectuals such as Diderot and Kant, whom, he suggests, were hostile to both the ideas of imperialism and the emerging political project of empire – a critique that was subsequently lost in the work of most nineteenth-century European thinkers.
4. For an alternative interpretation of the impact of the demise of empire see Holmwood (2000b) for an account of how the shift from a system of

Commonwealth 'preferences' to the EU is associated with a paradoxical 'Americanization' of social welfare arrangements in the United Kingdom and a fundamental shift in constitutional arrangements with the creation of national assemblies in Wales and Scotland.

5. For a discussion of the complex situations through which people come to understandings of nationalism and cosmopolitanism, situations which include those of colonialism and imperialism and their consequences, see Joan Cocks (2002).
6. One of the key components that was thought to mark out European historical consciousness from that of other cultures was its use and advocacy of linear time, for it was not believed that a people could be properly 'historical' if they maintained notions of cyclical time. The cyclical cosmology of the ancient Greeks, however, was not deemed to negate their claim to historical consciousness nor to a distinct identity; this claim was only made in the association of cyclical time with colonized societies (Thapar 1996: 43–4).
7. On the development of the modern idea of childhood see Philippe Ariès' (1965 [1960]) classic study, *Centuries of Childhood*.
8. Notwithstanding this argument, Guha's own premise for study – the '*historic failure of the nation to come into its own*' (Guha 1982: 7; emphasis added) – belies the linear narrative framework within which he himself works.
9. The academic focus on the peasantry in the 1980s in India is perhaps not surprising given the history of peasant rebellions that occurred in significant parts of the country in the late 1960s and 1970s.
10. In truth, Hartssock's version of a Marxist standpoint epistemology owes more to 'sociological' accounts of science after Kuhn (1962) with its emphasis upon social (and psychological) interests in the construction of knowledge.
11. Kaiwar has similarly contested those notions of history which understand themselves as being the 'biography of a people' and has argued for nationalist histories to be understood as crucibles within which global categories and narratives are forged and possibilities for memory and forgetting occur (2003: 51, footnote 2). Within geography, Taylor (2000) has similarly argued for the study of connections and has criticized the disciplines of sociology, politics, and economics of being (nation) 'state-centric'.
12. As Malkki (1997) argues, one of the strongest metaphors within our thinking on identity, for example, is that of roots which, together with our sedentary assumptions about essential attachments to particular places, naturalizes difference in contexts that are plural, mixed, and hybrid.

2 European Modernity and the Sociological Imagination

1. I take it as understood that, except where explicitly stated, the histories of social thought discussed in this chapter make little or no reference to colonial encounters. Heilbron (1995), for example, is able to articulate his understanding of the rise of social theory without a single reference to the imperial activities of the French state during the period under consideration, despite claiming to combine social and intellectual history in his analysis of the birth of social theory.

2. Beate Jahn (1999), for example, has argued that European political thought was strongly influenced by the encounter with the Amerindians. It was in part as a consequence of this encounter, she argues, that 'the Golden Age which had previously been located in the past, in antiquity, gradually came to be placed in the future, the Christian *telos* of salvation replaced by a secular *telos* of human development' (1999: 428).
3. Slaves were regarded by Turgot as a kind of movable wealth similar to money; initially procured 'by violent means and later by way of Commerce and exchange' (1773 [1766]: 148). Although Meek, in his classic discussion of the stages theory, addresses the question of the 'savage' within this framework, he nowhere mentions the institution of slavery (again, except in the context of the ancient Greeks).
4. Buck-Morss (2000) suggests that more than 20 per cent of the French bourgeoisie was dependent upon the slave-connected commercial activity although other scholars, such as Sala-Molins (quoted in Buck-Morss), have suggested that the figure is closer to one third. On the North American fur trade, Eric Wolf writes that it began when European fishermen and sailors began to barter for fur with the local Algonkians (1997 [1982]: 160). While they were initially active participants in the growth of the trade, 'as European traders consolidated their economic and political position, the balanced relation between native trappers and Europeans gave way to imbalance' with the Amerindians gradually re-patterning their social relations and cultural habits around European demands and expectations leading ultimately to their dispossession (1997 [1982]: 194, 161).
5. Glausser states that Locke invested in the Royal African Company that traded along the West Coast of Africa providing slaves to planters in America (1990: 200–1).
6. As Hunting (1978) has noted, some readers of Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws* have been baffled and misled by his use of irony, thinking that he was a supporter of slavery as opposed to being in favour of its abolition. Fletcher (1933), writing much earlier, has also noted that Montesquieu's ironical defence of slavery was misunderstood. Others have suggested, however, that his use of language on the question of colonial slavery was shrewdly ambiguous (see Davis 1971).
7. In his otherwise excellent and informative book on the social theory of the Scottish Enlightenment, Berry (1997) disappoints in his discussion of slavery where there is no mention of its contemporary practice nor the thinkers' responses to it save for this one comment.
8. The setting up of the state and civil society distinction further differentiated the pre-modern from the modern, with the modern being understood in terms of its claims to universalism and the development of impersonal relations, whether of market exchange relations or political obligation. The pre-modern, on the other hand, was bound up in worlds of personal and ascriptive relationships. This way of conceptualizing the gulf between the modern and the pre-modern also located the family, and kinship in general, outside of the public sphere, thereby rendering gender invisible to modern social analysis in a manner that is parallel to that of colonial relations. See Elshtain (1982) for a useful collection of essays on the ways in which political theorists have traditionally dealt with issues of kinship and the family, and contemporary challenges to such thinking.

9. This issue is currently a matter of debate concerning the recent impact of globalization on the social sciences. Taylor (2000) and Beck (2000), for example, regard the disciplines of economics, politics, and sociology as 'state-centric' disciplines. Chernilo (2006) has questioned this charge of 'methodological nationalism', arguing that the classic sociologists operated with a universalistic orientation. Although, neither Taylor nor Beck address issues of colonialism and postcolonialism in making their argument, it does seem straightforward that sociologists did equate 'society' or 'social systems' with 'national society'.
10. Hawthorn suggests that most thinkers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century believed that 'the ideal order was one without interior contradiction' (1976: 86). As such, he continues, '[i]t is clear why this abhorrence of inconsistency should have been so strong in France and Germany. Each in its different ways was incoherent, the one torn by wholly opposing ideologies, the other existing merely as an idea with no structural cohesion at all' (1976: 86).
11. The modern West, for Weber, is characterized by the rise of secular, instrumental rationality: by industrial capitalism, formalistic law, bureaucratic administration, and the ascetic ethic of vocation (Brubaker 1984: 30). This occurs concurrent with the growth of domination, depersonalization, and disenchantment resulting in the 'iron cage' of a modern world from which individuals cannot escape.
12. In the modernist vein, Habermas's *Theory of Communicative Action* has been seen by some commentators as offering a systematic understanding of societal modernization that is 'capable of explaining both the achievement and the pathologies of modernity' (d'Entrevés 1996: 1; my emphasis).
13. In a recent article by Bryan Turner (2006) on 'Asia in European Sociology' what readily becomes apparent is that it is less a consideration of the impact of Asia within European sociology than a consideration of the take up of European sociologists in Asia.
14. For a strong sociological critique of this position see Holmwood, who argues that if 'current social developments and dilemmas of public life cannot be grasped in the categories of current social theories, it is more likely that the problem lies with the theories than that "reality" itself has become intrinsically ungraspable' (1996: 25). 'It is hard to resist the conclusion', he continues, 'that the perception of the "chaotic constellation" of modern social reality derives from the "chaotic" nature of contemporary social theory. If this is so, the challenge is to re-construct its explanatory categories, not to de-construct the explanatory undertaking' (1996: 25).
15. Trouillot argues that the premium of 'difference' can take on a doubly flattering form where praise of the 'other' is also praise for the self that 'accepts' difference and thereby perpetuates that very difference by reproducing the other's otherness as something to be accepted (2003: 72, 73). 'Every time a *français de souche* (a white French citizen endowed with Frenchness since times immemorial) claims to have North African, black, or even Eastern European friends – and implicitly expects recognition for that deed – he also verifies his right to be both French – and therefore universal – yet open to diversity. This claim further locks the "friends" who become merely – at least for the moment – instances of Otherness and thus, by definition non-universal' (Trouillot 2003: 75).

3 From Modernization to Multiple Modernities: Eurocentrism *Redux*

1. Theorists of modernization, such as Rostow (1960) and Lerner (1964), perhaps unsurprisingly given their background in economics, tended to see the dispositions towards modernity as present in all societies, but blocked by certain institutional features. Sociologists tended to be much more influenced by the Weberian understanding that traditionalism in economic motivation was also an obstacle to be overcome.
2. Commenting on this study, Bernstein exclaims that it is hardly surprising that Anglo-American politics appears to approximate the model of a modern political system most closely as the model is derived from a study of Anglo-American politics (1971: 155, footnote 10).
3. Even theorists critical of the concept of modernity, such as Portes (1973), believed that if the psychosocial traits identified with modernity did possess some positive value for social and economic growth, then they needed to be given serious consideration.
4. This assumption is present in Marx – where he writes in the Preface to *Capital*, ‘The country that is more developed only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future’ (Marx 1976 [1867]) – as well as in modernization theorists such as Parsons (1971) with his idea of the USA as the ‘new lead society’, and in Rostow (1960), Lerner (1958) and others.
5. In looking at colonial societies, Bendix suggests that it is necessary to ‘take account of at least two traditions ... the native tradition and the tradition of a dual society created by the colonizing country’ (1967: 323). In the context of ‘European frontier settlements abroad’, however, he did not believe that ‘the native populations were ... strong enough to create the problem of a dual society’ (1967: 323), thus failing to consider the effects of the colonized on the colonizer and seeing the occurrence of change as unidirectional (in contrast, see Wolf 1997 [1982]). While Bendix calls for theoretical considerations to be informed by empirical research, then, this is not necessarily borne out in even his own endeavours.
6. I have not dealt with ‘world system theory’ or Marxism directly in this part of the book, primarily because the former has not had a major influence over contemporary sociological constructions of modernity while the latter contains a similarly endogenous account of social change to that criticized in standard sociological accounts.
7. This is not to deny diversity among the core institutions of state, market, and bureaucracy – for example, Hall and Soskice (2001) refer to varieties of capitalism, distinguishing Anglo-American, German, and Japanese varieties among others – but to identify the way in which it is cultural difference that is believed to produce diversity within the institutional complex. The purpose of this chapter is to criticize the separation of the institutional complex and the cultural programme and the way in which this separation is then used to argue for a European origin of the institutional framework and the separate development of cultural traditions within which that framework can become inflected.
8. Arnason (2000) attributes to modernization theory the belief that communism is not truly modern, and himself argues for its distinctive modernity as one of modernity’s multiples.

9. Anti-Eurocentrism itself, is regarded by Delanty (2006: 267), as having its origins in Europe. While, as we have seen in the previous chapter, European anti-modernism can be associated with the relativity of all values that Delanty claims is intrinsically anti-Eurocentric, two things need to be said. First, this involves the very association of anti-Eurocentrism with the embrace of tradition which I have argued to be problematic and merely the inverse of the modernist position. Second, it does not seem to be the position that Delanty himself advocates, which is a form of universalistic cosmopolitanism that seems to be decidedly Eurocentric. Indeed, his version of cosmopolitanism is both the standard European cosmopolitanism and hostile to particularity. For example, on global cosmopolitanism, Delanty writes that modernity 'is necessarily global in outlook; while it first emerged in western Europe, it is not western, American or European, but is an expression of cosmopolitanism' (2006: 274). Since I have suggested that this universalism is really European particularity projected as a universal it is difficult to see what a European anti-Eurocentrism consistent with cosmopolitanism could possibly be.

Indeed, Delanty regards postcolonial theory as confused (2006: 267) but it is hard to resist the conclusion that the confusions are his own and derive from his unwillingness to concede that there is anything to be learnt from the perspective of those outside the mainstream of Eurocentric social theory.

10. As Harootunian has noted, in a different context, but applicable here nonetheless, 'France, Italy and England were countries where people went for study and research; Japan, Asia and Africa were simply fields that required first-hand observation, recording and, in some instances, intervention' (1999: 136). With this we are back at the problem highlighted in the Introduction and the first chapter where Europe is seen as the site of theoretical innovation and the rest of the world simply supplies the empirical data for those theories. Despite at least two decades of postcolonial and other scholarship, authors still feel able to write their theories in ignorance of the majority of the world and have the arrogance to posit for them a universality that is not applicable. In the case of theories of reflexive modernization it is peculiar, to say the least, to argue for the hegemonic position to be one that claims to understand itself (and others) where throughout the history of social thought, the hegemonic position has generally been the position that could not see beyond itself and was in need of criticism from elsewhere!
11. The idea of 'intersubjective agreement' replacing notions of 'objectivity' has been developed further by Rorty who also attempts to move beyond charges of ethnocentrism by advocating talking to representatives of other communities and trying to weave together their beliefs 'with beliefs which we already have' (1987: 43). While this goes some way to addressing the ethnocentric universalism of much social theory it also remains locked in ideas of 'us' and 'them' which this book ultimately contests. Further, the resolution of the problem appears to reside in incorporating 'other' knowledges into one's own knowledge schemes without an adequate appreciation that incorporation of that knowledge would necessitate a reconceptualization of the original schemes; and that this needs to occur within the context of analyzing the politics of knowledge production that has some schemes be dominant over others.
12. For a discussion of the restricted and problematic nature of ideal type analysis in the context of sociology and its relation to feminism, see Holmwood (2001).

13. The classical tradition in sociology can be seen to provide the basis for the comparative studies associated with modernization theory. The ideal-typical distinction that is set up between traditional societies and modern societies, for instance, finds resonances within the work of sociologists such as Durkheim, Tonnies, and Spencer among others who all set up a fundamental dualism in social organization which attributes to 'the "traditional" type of social organization a prominent emphasis on affectivity, consensus and informal controls and ... to "modern" forms impersonality, interdependent specialization and formal controls' (Moore 1963: 522).
14. Theorists can recognize the violence of the transition to modernity at the same time as representing modernity itself in abstraction from that violence. Thus, John Scott refers to modernity simply as 'the great intellectual and social upheavals that destroyed the medieval European world' (1995: 1) and his ideal-typical representation of modernity is essentially peaceable. The one exception is perhaps Marx who views the violence of the dispossession from collective rights as an indication of the continued 'violence' of private property rights in capitalism, but his approach to capitalism is one which sees it in terms of endogenous processes where the mechanism of transformation is associated with the lead societies of capitalist modernity.
15. Suzanne Rudolph argues that ideal types are effective categories insofar as they 'capture enough of reality to make them credible even while they falsify reality in the service of the necessary hierarchies of domination' (2005: 6).
16. The example of the Haitian Revolution is illustrative here in that the clause abolishing slavery in the French Declaration of Human Rights was only included after a deputation from the colony of Saint Domingue went to France in 1794 and made the argument to the Constituent Assembly (see Dubois 2004; Fischer 2004; and Trouillot 1995 for more details).
17. I do not mean to imply acceptance of the wider claims made by Goldthorpe (1991) about the nature of differences between history and sociology, where the former must rely on 'given' facts, embedded in 'relics', while the latter can construct its facts through the administration of questionnaires and the like. Historical facts are no less artefacts of a research process than sociological facts, a reason that makes the questioning of those research processes of vital significance and makes unlikely any foundational agreement on principles.

4 Myths of European Cultural Integrity – The Renaissance

1. Burke (1964) argues that the realism of historians such as Machiavelli was seen as a 'conceptual realism' which was associated with the Renaissance's shift beyond simply recording events to incorporating a sense of perspective as well. This was understood as distinct from 'medieval realism', he suggests, which was seen to be naturalistic and purely descriptive.
2. While in the nineteenth century sociologists looked to the medieval period in order to provide a comparative offset to modernism and establish the comparative distinction between tradition and modernity (see Nisbet 1966: 15), later sociologists turned to the Renaissance as providing the cultural context for its subsequent emergence (Nisbet 1973; see also Stephen Toulmin 1990;

John Scott 1995). Garner (1990) has also suggested that the classic historian of the Renaissance, Jacob Burckhardt, should be understood as expounding 'sociological' themes precisely insofar as he is 'a theorist of modernity'.

3. The claim has occasionally been made that, because they were intent on restoring a lost condition, it is difficult to see the men of the Renaissance as anything other than conservative, for example, with regard to the Reformation, Elton makes the argument that: 'it is idle to credit the age with the beginning of modern times (in itself a sufficiently uncertain term) if only because its intellectual leaders looked determinedly back rather than forward' (1990: 21). However, it is important to highlight that the recovery of the wisdom of the ancients was not undertaken for its own sake, but in the context of wanting improvement in the present. The modern 'discoveries' of Copernicus and Columbus were believed to have enlarged the realm of the known world and, in doing so, to have surpassed the achievements of the ancients. This contributed, in large part, to their sense of difference from, and superiority over, the ancient world (see Pagden 1993).
4. The emergence of these secular modes of learning have often been used to argue for the Renaissance itself being seen as a secular movement with the humanist challenge to the Church's monopoly over education being seen as a prime example of this shift away from the importance and authority of religion. This, however, misses the fact that the Church, and Christianity more generally, continued to play an important role in both social and political affairs and that there was no necessary decline in religious sentiment in this period (see Ferguson 1953).
5. On the development of historical consciousness in this period and its relationship to later European historiographical trends, see Bouwsma (1965).
6. Rice and Grafton's claim that '[o]nly modern western civilization has produced a fully developed science ... so different and so much more successful than the sciences of the ancient Greeks, the medieval Arabs, the Indians, and the Chinese' (1994 [1970]: 18) is not uncommon within the mainstream literature on the subject.
7. Within the discipline of International Relations it has been suggested that, regardless of the different traditions to which theorists may belong, they all agree that 'the Westphalian treaties were a decisive turning point ... [formalizing] relations between modern sovereign states' (Teschke 2003: 2). Even the few scholars who do contest this particular thesis, however, do not call into question 'the development and dynamics of the European states-system' (Teschke 2003: 4), but rather, simply question the dominant interpretations of it.
8. The attempt to establish common ancestry through the classification of languages over time is one such example – Olender (1994), for example, discusses how the search for the 'original' language of Adam and Eve led to the 'purification' of European languages by, at various times, de-emphasizing Oriental, Semitic, and other influences. To make any sense, boundaries have to be drawn creating internal consistency and coherence even if these boundaries do not relate accurately to languages as they are used. Said further states that the emphasis on demonstrating that radical and ineradicable differences between languages 'set the real boundaries between human beings ... forced vision away from common, as well as plural, human realities' (1978: 233).

9. Rabil, in the introduction to his 'Renaissance Humanism' states that: 'On the basis of the most comprehensive study of its sources ever undertaken Kristeller effectively established the claim that humanism is part of a rhetorical tradition that has been a continuous aspect of western civilization since classical antiquity. Moreover, humanism has specific roots in the medieval culture from which it arose' (1988: xiii).
10. The key issue here, for Johns (1998), is the creation of confidence in the printed word for, as he suggests, such trust is not *inherent* in the texts themselves, but has to be generated in complex social contexts constituted by both printing and reading practices. Thus, the issue is less, as Eisenstein (1969) suggests, about the 'fixity of knowledge' than, as Johns argues, persuading sufficient people of the integrity of that knowledge.
11. Maya Jasanoff (2005) provides an excellent account of how these markets in commodities, and particularly in collectibles, were developed and extended from both 'sides' through imperial expansion in the following centuries.
12. Bartlett documents how 'Frank' came to refer to westerners as settlers or on aggressive missions away from home and writes that it 'is hence entirely appropriate that when the Portuguese and Spaniards arrived off the Chinese coasts in the sixteenth century, the local population called them *Fo-lang-ki*, a name adapted from the Arabic traders' *Faranga*. Even in eighteenth-century Canton the western barbarian carried the name of his marauding ancestors' (1993: 105). It could further be suggested that the English 'foreigner' came from the Hindi 'ferengī' meaning outsider.

5 Myths of the Modern Nation-State – The French Revolution

1. For discussions on the contested nature of interpretations of the French Revolution see Cavanaugh 1972; Furet 1981 [1978], 1990; Sprang 2003.
2. As Ford (1963) argues, de Tocqueville was a notable exception to this trend as he sought to understand the revolution in terms of the history of what had preceded it, that is, in terms of the *ancien regime*. See also Furet (1981 [1978], 1990).
3. As Pocock argues, in the context of constitutions constantly undergoing historical change, authority could no longer rest in principles of antiquity and so the case began to be made for 'sovereignty' to be seen as an 'absolute authority to which appeal might be made in fluctuating and lawless circumstances' (1985: 95). Further, while it could be argued that discussions about the nature and limits of political power go back as far as the emergence of notions of political power, these debates intensified in the sixteenth century with the schism in Christianity and the 'discovery' of the 'New World'.
4. The attempts to break away from claims of papal dominion have a longer history as the long wars between the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor in the Middle Ages indicate (see Elliott 1968; Holmes 1975).
5. Again, it has to be recognized that the French Revolution was not the first instance of a challenge to the centrality of the monarch to political life – the English Civil War, for example, is an earlier instance within Europe and the

emergence of republics in India in a similar period offer non-European instances (Thapar 1966) – nor was it the first to suggest that political power resided in the people. What was significant about the French Revolution and the subsequent Napoleonic Wars was the dissemination of such ideas – and the example of their success in practice.

6. For a discussion of the ways in which the language of rights percolated into the colonies of what was then the French Caribbean and was transformed through the ‘slave’ revolutions in those islands – with that transformation having repercussions back in France as well as throughout the French Empire – see Dubois (2004). Sidbury (1997) also addresses the ways in which slaves in Virginia were inspired by events in Saint Domingue in their own struggles for emancipation and, in doing so, were instrumental in the further diffusion of the language of rights across the Americas.
7. ‘Class’ was established in the nineteenth century as one of the central categories of social analysis and was subsequently seen to be supplemented by categories such as ‘gender’ and ‘the postcolonial’. What this fails to recognize, however, is that ‘class’ was an internal category complicit with the dominant debates of modernity whereas ‘gender’ and ‘the postcolonial’ were positions of critique from ‘outside’ the canonical understandings.
8. For a discussion of sovereignty from a perspective that acknowledges its multiple and related transformations within the modern period and focuses on developments and processes in parts of the world that are usually ignored, see Shilliam (2006).
9. Although, as Talmon notes, continental nationalism was not a mass phenomenon, at most it ‘was a movement of numerical minorities, above all of the intelligentsia’ (1967: 107).
10. Foucault sees the problem of government residing in a double movement ‘of state centralization on the one hand and of dispersion and religious dissidence on the other’ (1991: 88); a movement which, according to him, occurs throughout the West in the eighteenth century (1991: 102, 103). His stated intention was ‘to show how governmentality was born out of, on the one hand, the archaic model of Christian pastoral, and, on the other, a diplomatic-military technique, perfected on a European scale with the Treaty of Westphalia’ (1991: 104): colonialism does not even get a mention.
11. Many historians and theorists (e.g., Mann 1993; Lieberman 1999) direct attention to the emergence of ethnicity-based polities from previously cosmopolitan, or civilizational, entities as indicating a primary tension between the universal aspirations of the Church and the more particularistic ethnic ones. In doing so, however, they fail to recognize that even if ‘proto-ethnic’ or ‘proto-national’ tensions can occasionally be identified in the early modern period, the defining feature of such societies was still the tension ‘between the high culture which was created and promulgated by the new elites and the local or regional values and solidarities which it overrode in the process’ (Moore 1997: 597). Thus, calling into question the importance, and history, of ‘ethnicities’.
12. One result of nineteenth-century political ideology, Rodríguez-Salgado argues, is that we are now less well equipped to understand forms of national identity that do not rest on exclusive ideas of patriotism and, further, that we are unable to integrate an understanding of early modern people, ‘particularly

those living in composite monarchies', as being sensitive to the multiple layers of association and meaning which marked their lives (1998: 234).

13. This term is taken from Johannes Fabian's (1983) *Time and the Other* in which he discusses 'coevalness' in terms of it being anthropology's problem with Time in the context of understandings of 'self' and 'other' (1983: 37).

6 Myths of Industrial Capitalism – The Industrial Revolution

1. Although this is not to suggest that concern with the 'details' of the Industrial Revolution has at all diminished (see, for example, Hoppit 1990). Indeed, it is often contestations around the 'details' that lead to discussions, disputes, and transformations of the frameworks within which the details are located.
2. This is not to suggest that earlier critiques of industrialization did not exist. Cohen (1969) suggests that Bonald for example, writing in the early nineteenth century, prefigured later attacks on the industrial order with his searing critiques of industrialism in which he spoke of the 'sickness' of commerce and industry and decried the emergence of an industrial economy as one based on exploitation and human unhappiness.
3. This rehabilitation is argued for by Berg and Hudson (1992), for example, in opposition to what de Vries (1994) calls the 'Revolt of the Early Modernists', that is, the current gradualist orthodoxy which Berg and Hudson believe underplays the extent of the social and economic transformation apparent to theorists of the time. For recent arguments putting forward the view of the Industrial Revolution as a distinct, and discontinuous, period see also Hoppit (1990), and Greasley and Oxley (1994).
4. Marx, for example, writing in the mid-nineteenth century, linked industrialization to urbanization and proletarianization, and Tönnies (1955 [1887]), similarly, pursued a distinction between *Gemeinschaft*, an earlier, communal, family-based natural society, and *Gesellschaft*, the emerging individualized, contractual, mechanical modern society, of which the city was the archetype.
5. On the question of slavery and sugar production in the West Indies, Smith has the following to say (and this in the context of a discussion where Smith suggests that free labour is ultimately cheaper than slave labour): 'as there are no grounds for thinking that really free blacks will ever, of their own accord, undertake the drudgery of sugar planting, it would seem that compulsory or slave labour is not merely the cheapest that can be so employed, but that it is all but indispensable to the prosecution of the business' (1863 [1776]: 610). See Muthu (2003) for a discussion of the work of Diderot – a contemporary of Smith – but who starts from a position of opposition to the barbaric acts of Europeans towards non-Europeans.
6. This understanding, however, does not acknowledge the argument that the majority of British goods were not produced for internal consumption, but to export and that a lot of the goods bought from the colonies were also for re-export as opposed to domestic consumption (see Washbrook 1997; Frank 1998).
7. For a discussion of the various explanations given for England's primacy and the difficulties in ascertaining 'why' England was first, particularly in relation

to developments in France, see Crafts (1977) who suggests that asking the very question of why England was first is misconceived.

8. As O'Hearn (1994) writes in the context of a discussion of the relationship between the Irish and British cotton industries, the failure of the Irish cotton industry is generally attributed to internal shortcomings such as the lack of entrepreneurial spirit and the failure to modernize with little recognition of the way in which Irish cotton was peripheralized by Britain. Alongside this, Britain's success is also attributed to endogenous factors, an innovative spirit, the English-centred industrial revolution, and so forth. The importance of empire and relations of colonial domination are rarely considered. Not only is the impact of empire not considered in these ways, but the contribution made by immigrants from Ireland and elsewhere is not officially recognized, for example, in the construction of the transport network that is taken to be integral to the success of the Industrial Revolution in England.
9. Higman (2000) argues that above all other commodities, it was the production and trade of sugar that both created plantation economies and slave societies (with two-thirds of all people taken from Africa to the New World destined for the sugar colonies) as well as generating the greatest profits for those involved in this industry.
10. Although it has to be recognized, as Williams (1940) argues, that Negroes were not an uncommon sight in Britain in the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century, or at least not in London. Buck-Morss (2000) similarly makes the argument that African slaves were present in the Dutch Republic, Britain, and France.
11. This is made apparent if we shift the perspectival distance from which the events of modernity are seen from Paris to the Black Jacobins in Saint Domingue (Bhabha 1994: 244).

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