Notes

INTRODUCTION: THE BONFIRE OF THE HUMANITIES?

4 Francis Fukuyama, The End of History and the Last Man (New York, 2006); Thomas L. Friedman, Hot, Flat, and Crowded: Why We Need a Green Revolution – And How it Can Renew America (New York, 2008).
5 The inspiration for these popularisations comes from works such as Steven D. Levitt and Stephen J. Dubner, Freakonomics: A Rogue Economist Explores the Hidden Side of Everything (New York, 2005); Gregory Clark, A Farewell to Alms: A Brief Economic History of the World (Princeton, NJ, 2007); and Francis Fukuyama, The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution (New York, 2011).
Notes to pages 8–14


**CHAPTER 1 GOING FORWARD BY LOOKING BACK:
THE RISE OF THE LONGUE DURÉE**


17 Cicero, De Oratore, 11.36: ‘Historia vero testis temporum,lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis, qua voce alia nisi oratoris immortalitati commendatur?’ (‘By what voice other than the orator’s is history – the witness of past times, the light of truth, the life of memory, the guide to life, the herald of antiquity – entrusted to immortality?’)


38 Lewis Mumford, *The Story of Utopias* (New York, 1922); Mumford, *Technics and Civilization* (New York, 1934); Mumford, *The Culture of

39 Charles Beard, American Government and Politics (New York, 1910, and later edns); Arthur Schlesinger, Sr, Political and Social History of the United States, 1829–1925 (New York, 1925, and later edns).


42 John Boyd Orr, A Short History of British Agriculture (London, 1922). The book remained relatively unknown, but Orr’s historically derived view of how institutions could revolutionise agriculture was put into practice on a global scale over the coming decades by the UN organs that he helped to found.


49 See, for example, Paul R. Ehrlich, The Population Bomb (New York, 1968); Erich Fromm, The Revolution of Hope: Toward a Humanized Technology (New York, 1968); R. Buckminster Fuller, Utopia or Oblivion: The Prospects for Humanity (London, 1969); Alvin Toffler, Future


51 Mike Hulme, ‘Reducing the Future to Climate: A Story of Climate Determinism and Reductionism’, Osiris 26 (2011), 256.


53 Bill Vitek and Wes Jackson (eds.), The Virtues of Ignorance: Complexity, Sustainability, and the Limits of Knowledge (Lexington, ky, 2008); Wes Jackson, Consulting the Genius of the Place: An Ecological Approach to a New Agriculture (Berkeley, 2010).


Notes to pages 34–39

59 Wes Jackson, New Roots for Agriculture (San Francisco, 1980).

Chapter 2 The Short Past: Or, the Retreat of the Longue Durée


2 Geoff Eley, A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society (Ann Arbor, MI, 2005), ix.


4 See, for example, Charles Tilly, Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons (New York, 1984); Richard E. Lee (ed.), The Longue Durée and World-Systems Analysis (Albany, NY, 2012).


14 Benjamin Schmidt, ‘What Years Do Historians Write About?’, Sapping Attention (9 May 2013): http://sappingattention.blogspot.com/2013/05/what-years-do-historians-write-about.html. Our thanks to Ben Schmidt for sharing an updated version of his findings with us and for allowing us to use his visualisation of trends in doctoral theses.


19 Eley, A Crooked Line, 184, 129.


26 Antoinette Burton (ed.), After the Imperial Turn: Thinking With and Through the Nation (Durham, NC, 2003); Ulf Hedetoft, The Global Turn: National Encounters with the World (Aalborg, 2003); Winfried Fluck, Donald E. Pease, and John Carlos Rowe (eds.), Re-Framing the Transnational Turn in American Studies (Hanover, NH, 2011); Durba Ghosh, ‘Another Set of Imperial Turns?’, American Historical Review 117 (2012), 772–93.


39 Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (trans.) Alan Sheridan (New York, 1979); Jürgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society (trans.) Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA, 1989).


### Chapter 3 The Long and the Short: Climate Change, Governance, and Inequality Since the 1970s


7 Hulme, in particular, has accused the climate science community of ‘climate reductionism’ in its accounts of historical agency: Richard Peet,


17 Anil Markandya, ‘Can Climate Change Be Reversed under Capitalism?’, Development and Change 40 (2009), 1141.
19 Historians of Germany have documented a crisis in wood that spread through early-modern Europe and propelled the search for new colonies with unfelled timber to exploit, and later coal and oil to burn. Their work has involved examining the court records of dozens of local vicinities across Germany, documenting when and under what conditions peasants received the maximum punishment possible for chopping down trees that were not their own. Paul Warde, ‘Fear of Wood Shortage and the Reality of the Woodland in Europe, c. 1450–1850’, History Workshop Journal 62 (2006), 28–57; Warde, Ecology, Economy and State Formation in Early Modern Germany (Cambridge, 2006). More generally, see Astrid Kander, Paolo Manamina, and Paul Warde, Power to the People: Energy in Europe over the Last Five Centuries (Princeton, NJ, 2014).


24 Joan Thirsk, Alternative Agriculture: A History from the Black Death to the Present Day (Oxford, 1997); Martin Mulligan and Stuart Hill,

28 Mulligan and Hill, Ecological Pioneers.
33 Marsha L. Weisiger, Dreaming of Sheep in Navajo Country (Seattle, 2009).
43 David Graeber, *Debt: The First 5,000 Years* (Brooklyn, NY, 2010).
47 Angus Lindsay Wright, *To Inherit the Earth: The Landless Movement and the Struggle for a New Brazil* (Oakland, CA, 2003); Wendy Wolford, *This Land Is Ours Now: Social Mobilization and the Meanings of Land in Brazil* (Durham, NC, 2010).
Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity (Berkeley, 2002); Rohan D’Souza, Drowned and Damned: Colonial Capitalism and Flood Control in Eastern India (New Delhi, 2006).


65 Tony Judt, ‘A Clown in Regal Purple: Social History and the Historians’, *History Workshop Journal* 7 (1979), 84–5 (on Scott and Sewell, among others). Judt was, however, critical of the effects of Braudel’s *longue durée* on the ‘dismantl[ing] of the historical event altogether. One result of this is a glut of articles about minute and marginal matters’: ibid., 85.


70 Elegies for this moment include Russell Jacoby, *The Last Intellectuals: American Culture in the Age of Academe* (New York, 1987); Michael Bérubé and Cary Nelson (eds.), *Higher Education under Fire: Politics,


Constantin Fasolt, The Limits of History (Chicago, 2004), 19.


Ben Kiernan, Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur (New Haven, 2007); Diarmaid MacCulloch, A History of Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years (London, 2009);

Cynthia Stokes Brown, Big History: From the Big Bang to the Present (New York, 2007); Fred Spier, Big History and the Future of Humanity (Chichester, 2010); David Christian, Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History, new edn (Berkeley, 2011). The questions treated in Harriet Swain (ed.), Big Questions in History (London, 2005), are ‘big’ in the sense of general, not because they necessarily encompass large expanses of time or space.


CHAPTER 4 BIG QUESTIONS, BIG DATA


Tomiko Yamaguchi and Craig K. Harris, ‘The Economic Hegemonization of Bt Cotton Discourse in India’, Discourse & Society 15 (2004),


10 Daniel Rosenberg’s work on the Google Books corpus suggests that the reasons for turns in Ngrams have a great deal to do with the corpus selected for Google Books. Nonetheless, Ngrams remain useful for doing transcontinental, transtemporal comparisons, comparing the rise of words like ‘holocaust’ and ‘shoah’ across English, German, French, Russian, and Hebrew. But in aggregate, supplemented by other kinds of story-telling, the tools of abstraction and synthesis can also offer insight into the basic events and struggles that gave us the modern world. Geoffrey Nunberg, ‘Counting on Google Books’, *Chronicle of Higher Education* (16 December 2010): http://chronicle.


27 Christopher Dyer, ‘Poverty and Its Relief in Late Medieval England’, Past & Present 216 (2012), 41–78. Other experiments with probate records have tested which religious denomination was preferred by the wealthiest individuals in the nineteenth century.


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40 http://landmatrix.org/en/about/.


44 http://seen.co/.

45 https://www.recordedfuture.com/.


47 Stephan de Spiegeleire, personal correspondence to Jo Guldi (2 January 2014).


51 Karabell, The Leading Indicators, 125, 130–5, 147–9.


61 James Vernon, Distant Strangers: How Britain Became Modern (Berkeley, 2014), 133.
63 Compare David J. Staley, History and Future: Using Historical Thinking to Imagine the Future (Lanham, MD, 2007) for parallels between the multicausality of the past and the open-endedness of multiple futures.

CONCLUSION: THE PUBLIC FUTURE OF THE PAST
1 Sanford M. Jacoby, ‘History and the Business School’, Labour History 98 (2010), 212.
3 Lynn Hunt, Writing History in the Global Era (New York, 2014), 120.


