

# World History Bulletin

Spring 2008



Vol. XXIV No. 1

**H. Micheal Tarver**  
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March 2008

Dear WHA Colleagues,

I am pleased to announce that the *World History Bulletin* has named an Assistant Editor, Alexander Mirkovic. Alex holds the PhD from Vanderbilt University in Religious Studies, along with an MA in History from the University of South Florida and a BA in Religious Studies from the National University of Athens. He has been an Assistant Professor of World History at Arkansas Tech University for the last two years, coming to us from McNeese State University, where he was also on the faculty as an Assistant Professor of World History. In addition to his current work as an Assistant Era Editor for ABC-CLIO's world history project, Alex has published in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*, *The eHistory Bulletin*, *Gouden Hoorn: Tijdschrift over Byzantium* (Golden Horn: Journal of Byzantium), and *The Ecole Initiative: Early Church On-Line Encyclopedia*.

Alex joins a very capable and productive editorial team, which includes Peter Dykema as Book Review Coordinator, Carlos Marquez as Copy Editor, and several graduate students in History at Arkansas Tech University who serve as Editorial Assistants. I hope that you will join me in complimenting them on their work, which for the most part, is voluntary.

As always, enjoy this issue of the *Bulletin*.

Micheal

## ***World History Bulletin***

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### ***Editor***

**H. Micheal Tarver**

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## ***Call For Contributors***

The *World History Bulletin* is seeking quality essays for inclusion in upcoming issues.

**Volume XXIV Number 2 (Fall 2008):** *Focus Issue:* Science and Technology in World History. *Deadline:* 15 September 2008. *Guest Editor:* Paul Buckingham, Morrisville State College

**Volume XXV Number 1 (Spring 2009):** *Focus Issue:* Asia in World History. *Deadline:* 1 February 2009. *Guest Editor:* Dorothea A. L. Martin, Appalachian State University

**Volume XXV Number 2 (Fall 2009):** *Focus Issue:* Eastern Europe in World History. *Deadline:* 15 September 2009. *Guest Editors:* David Krueger and Alexander Mirkovic, Arkansas Tech University

Essays and classroom activities are also sought which deal with any aspect of the teaching of world history. Interested parties should direct their inquiries to Micheal Tarver, *WHB* Editor, at either [bulletin@thewha.org](mailto:bulletin@thewha.org) or (479) 968-0265. International submissions are especially encouraged. Submission guidelines are available online at: [www.thewha.org/WHB.pdf](http://www.thewha.org/WHB.pdf)

# Letter From the President

February 2008

Dear Colleagues,

First things first: many, many thanks to Michele Forman who has just concluded her two-year term of office as president. Much has she accomplished during her tenure. Under her leadership we have turned twenty-five in as sound and healthy condition as we have. Especially notable have been her efforts to expand our membership and to strengthen our financial base. Thanks as well to all the Council members and others who have contributed significantly to making the WHA the success it is today.

With the London WHA around the corner (make your plans now if you haven't already done so!) and the AHA in New York in January 2009 we have much to look forward to in the coming months. I, for one, have always thought that our annual meetings are one of the most intellectually stimulating, collegial, and enjoyable of all the scholarly conferences I regularly attend. Thanks to the intrepid work of Al Andrea and his Conference Committee we already know where we will be convening in 2009 (Salem, Massachusetts) and for many years thereafter. What a change from a few years ago when we were struggling to line up future venues.

The vitality of our annual meetings and, really, of our organization depends to a large measure on how effective we are in growing our membership. In my tenure in office I expect to work with Council members and to think of additional ways to expand our base. We must continue the good work that Michele and her predecessors have put in and increase our membership even more and to solidify our financial standing.

Internationalization is another area in which we need to forge ahead. I am confident that our annual meetings in London and Beijing (our 2011 conference site) will build on the momentum initiated in Morocco and push us further in the direction of internationalizing our organization. This drive, however, is more than just about enlisting new members—it is, above all, about reconceptualizing and reconfiguring the WHA and the field of world history that it represents by bringing in new voices and new perspectives from everywhere. There can be no world in our organization if we do not transcend our North American boundaries.

We also need to press ahead on our research agenda. In part this drive will involve enhancing the scholarly content and integrity of the annual meeting; in part this will require us to raise our profile in the AHA and to support colleagues interested in organizing research conferences on their campuses; and in part this will necessitate our enrolling as a member of the American Council of Learned Societies, the principal federation of major scholarly organizations in the country. Fortunately, our scholarly credentials are already prominently on display in our flagship *Journal of World History*. And with the *World History Bulletin* and *World History Connected* also part of our repertoire of publications, we are already well underway in our efforts to highlight our research and teaching mission through the print and electronic media.

Last but not least, I am pleased that I get to begin knowing that I will have excellent staff support from Hawaii. I am delighted that C. Kieko Matteson has returned to the WHA fold, doctorate in hand and once more our executive director. I look forward to two eventful and exciting years working with all the wonderful people who make up the WHA family. See you all in London. Cheers,

Anand Yang

## Further Recollections

*The following essay by Kevin Reilly was inadvertently left out of the Fall 2007 issue of the Bulletin. The Editorial Staff apologizes for this oversight and encourages readers to enjoy this article with a renewed reading of the last issue and the special Presidential Suite of essays.*

The joke is that though the World History Association is only twenty-five years old, we already have two creation stories. One we might call the California account, not only after two of its leading proponents, Ross Dunn and Craig Lockard, but also because they situate the earliest proposals for a WHA at the AHA meeting in Los Angeles in December, 1981. The other school is the Cameroonian, named for the baker's dozen of historians who met on the AHA sponsored trip to Cameroon in the summer of 1982 and then played such an important role in the early years of our organization.

I was the link between these two groups. I had not been at the Los Angeles meeting, but I met Ross and Craig, as well as Jerry Bentley, Bill McNeill, and too many others to name, all for the first time, at a meeting at the Air Force

Academy in May, 1982. The Air Force Academy was one of the first institutions of higher education in the country to teach world history to all its first year students. This was the inspiration of then Colonel Carl Reddel, a Russian historian, who was history department chair and Dean of the faculty. Most of the Academy's history department consisted of young lieutenants who had MA degrees in history and enjoyed teaching; but because most were also pilots, the turnover of teachers was very high. Carl Reddel found a way of training an ever changing coterie of world history instructors by holding annual summer workshops for the history department. He would bring in people of the stature of McNeill and Leften Stavrianos, the authors of the books the cadets would be reading. Reddel recognized the value of these sessions to a larger audience

and invited high school teachers from Colorado to attend and participate.

I read the announcement of the May, 1982, meeting in the AHA *Perspectives* in late April and hurriedly sent in a paper proposal. The very next day I received a call from Captain Joe Dixon who informed me that they already expected me since I had been designated the official representative of the AHA (which had evidently forgotten to tell me). I learned later that the Air Force Academy had asked the AHA to designate the meeting as an official Teaching Division conference on world history. Evidently some AHA staff and the Vice President of the Teaching Division, David Van Tassel, associated me with world history since I had argued the case at a closed conference on the introductory course at Annapolis in 1980. In any case, I think my plane ticket was all the

Academy got from the AHA.

The Academy expected fewer than fifty people. Something like 150 from all over the country responded. Many straggled in during the course of the opening night, slowed by a blizzard that closed down the mountain passes to Colorado Springs. It was a long night. There were numerous speeches, dinner was delayed, and people were hungry. It must have been close to 10 pm when someone said: "And now Kevin Reilly will bring greetings from the American Historical Association." I walked up to the podium, surveyed the tired faces and said: "Greetings from the American Historical Association." As I turned to sit down, the applause was deafening.

It was a raucous group, but everyone had made a special effort in terrible weather to come to talk about world history. The fact that we were all stranded by the snow, together for the duration, far from the family and friends who were left behind in a place that still knew spring, no doubt added to the intensity of our discussions. Over the course of the weekend (May 12-14), papers were presented by McNeill, Dunn, Lockard, Cyril E. Black, Howard Mehlinger, H. Loring White, Alan Wood, and myself, but discussions turned increasingly to the shared sense of many at the meeting that we should call for the formation of an association of world history teachers at the coming AHA meeting in December. A few agendas were implicit in the nature of the group that met in May. It would be a national organization: Martin Yanuck and Marjorie Ganz came from Spelman College in Atlanta; Loyd Swenson came from Houston, Allan Wood from Walla Walla; Jerry Bentley made the first of a zillion trips from Hawaii. It would be an organization that included secondary school as well as university teachers: Heidi Roupp and Marilyn Hitchens and dozens of teachers from the Colorado area were full participants in the planning; most had more experience in teaching world history than the college teachers. And, the Air Force Academy would continue to play a helpful role with its annual teaching conferences and its outreach to Colorado high school teachers: Captain Joe Dixon was to become our first Executive Director; and the Rocky Mountain Regional Association was virtually synonymous with the World History Association for the first few years.

Later that summer, I joined twelve other historians on a five week trip to Cameroon. The program was organized by the AHA as an introduction to Africa (Cameroon chosen as a microcosm of the continent) for historians interested in integrating African history into world history. We traveled throughout the country in a twelve passenger van, talking constantly about world history as well as Africa. The group included Lynda Shaffer, Ray Lorantas, Marc Gilbert, John Russell-Wood, Sarah Hughes, Dana Greene, Walter Nimocks, and Ann Barstow, most of whom were already teaching world history and later played a pivotal role in the early years of the WHA.

In the autumn Ross Dunn, Morris Rossabi, and I got together in New York to

plan the organizational meeting for the AHA conference in Washington D.C. at the end of December. All of the "Cameroonians" came to the AHA as we presented a panel on our African experience. Phil Curtin, the outgoing President of the AHA and our instructor in the trip orientation, joined us for the session and the organizing meeting. Many of the participants of the Air Force Academy conference also came to Washington. There was standing room only at the organizational meeting. Ross reported on the discussion at the Air Force Academy. A general resolution was passed to form a world history organization. I agreed to serve as president pro-tem. Ray Lorantas told us that his Dean at Drexel had agreed to fund a newsletter and Ray was willing to edit it. Howard Mehlinger offered to ask contacts at the Wingspread conference center in Racine about inviting a dozen or so of us for a meeting to draft a constitution and get started. I took names and collected contributory dues.

Wingspread, the Johnson Wax Foundation conference center in Racine Wisconsin, was an idyllic spot to gather for a few days. Our host, Henry Halsted, gave us a tour of the Frank Loyd Wright built home of S.C. Johnson and provided meeting rooms, taped our sessions, and provided meals and coffee and sherry breaks. Among the participants were (I think) Ross Dunn, Craig Lockard, Marc Gilbert, Marilyn Hitchens, Loyd Swenson from the University of Houston, Sam Ehrenpreis of Bronx Community College, Mary Rossabi of the Fieldston School, and Margery Ganz and Martin Yanuck of Spelman College. We decided to call ourselves the World History Association, to become an affiliate of the AHA, to encourage both research and teaching in world history, and to include high school teachers and teaching issues as an important part of our mission. Using the AHA constitutional model brought by Marty Yanuck, we passed a constitution that provided for a strong Executive Council of nine members, a third of whom were elected each year for three years (very much like the Council of the AHA) and a secretary, treasurer, a single Vice-President who succeeded the president, and a president (who remained on the Council for a post-presidential year). It must have been at that meeting that Ross was elected president and I was elected vice-president because I remember coming home and telling my wife that I had just committed myself to another five years of meetings. We also decided to have an Executive Director to handle day to day management and conference issues and chose Joe Dixon of the Air Force Academy since he had institutional support and had already scheduled another meeting at the Academy for the summer of 1983.

Gradually over the course of the next few years, we added other bases of support besides the Air Force Academy. A vibrant Rocky Mountain Regional Association planned our annual summer meetings in Aspen three times, Fort Collins twice, Denver, Boulder, and Salt Lake City. Heidi Roupp organized the meetings at the Aspen Institute. These were giddy times for us as we realized how many people

whose work we admired were similarly interested in world history. Lynda Shaffer recalled such a moment at one of the conferences at the Aspen Institute:

I still have a vivid recollection of being on the Institute's patio talking to some people that I hadn't met, and my eyes suddenly focused on a name tag—Andre Gunter Frank. Frank had been a mythic figure at the University of Texas when I was a student. I was having trouble believing my own eyes. In my mind he floated in the heavens, but I guess if asked to locate him on the planet, I would have said Chile. I couldn't believe he was in Aspen at a WHA conference.

From the beginning, Drexel University in Philadelphia took over some of the administrative duties, first with Ray Lorantas as newsletter editor and then with Dick Rosen as Executive Director. During my second presidency we also held Executive Council meetings at Tufts University (organized by Lynda Shaffer). At one of these Jerry Bentley approached me with the idea of starting a journal. My philosophy at the time was to give an enthusiastic "yes" to anyone who wanted to do something (and ask questions later). In this case, I could hardly have been more prescient. And when the questions came years later (I think it was President Heidi Roupp who asked about our "contract" with the University of Hawaii) I think the WHA was able to fill in the blanks that I had left empty. The success of the journal (chosen best academic journal in its first year) put the organization on the map, gave legitimacy to world history as a research field, and gave us another center of gravity in Hawaii.

Other individuals and institutions provided crucial support in those early years of the WHA. Phil Curtin and Bill McNeill, and later Gunder Frank, joined our meetings and deliberations. Peter Stearns served on the Executive Council. In addition to Spelman College, Iona College was one of the first colleges in the East to require world history of all its students. Among its faculty Ernest Menze, Mary Evelyn Tucker, and Michael Zaremski played important roles in the early WHA.

If there is one thing that stands out in my mind about the first five years of the WHA, it is the congeniality and generosity of spirit of my colleagues. I don't know how many times a new member expressed surprise at how friendly and helpful the world historians were. "Nothing like my department," they would say. I have a theory as to why this should be so. World historians were unusually cooperative and uncompetitive because we were all learning from each other. No one was afraid to say "I don't know" or "what do you think?" We all knew that we couldn't possibly know everything. It was nothing like our department meetings where everyone had turf and reputation to protect. I hope that as we become more knowledgeable, we do not lose that spirit of open curiosity and generous exchange. -- Kevin Reilly, *Raritan Valley Community College*

# 17<sup>TH</sup> ANNUAL WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE REGISTRATION FORM

June 25 - 29, 2008/University of London, Queen Mary College, Mile End Campus

## Registration Fees

### Members

### Non-Members<sup>\*</sup>

\_\_\_\_ WHA Members: \$130

\_\_\_\_ Non-Members: \$195

\_\_\_\_ WHA Student Member: \$40

\_\_\_\_ Student Non-Member: \$70

\_\_\_\_ Member one-day pass: \$70

\_\_\_\_ Non-Member one-day pass: \$100

If you purchase an accommodations package, it includes your registration fee. Do not pay for a separate registration fee.

\*Non-members qualify for the member fee by joining the WHA in conjunction with their conference registration. A person does not qualify for a rebate if he/she registered for the conference as a non-member and subsequently joins.

## Accommodations Packages at Queen Mary College, Mile End Campus

ALL packages include: Room accommodations (for requested length, single/double occupancy, with single beds) at Queen Mary College, 4 breakfasts, 4 lunches, 5 refreshment breaks, and conference registration fee.

### SINGLE ROOM ACCOMMODATIONS

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#### 5 Nights, June 25-30

#### 5 Nights, June 25-30

\_\_\_\_ WHA Members: \$800

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#### 4 Nights, June 26-30

#### 4 Nights, June 26-30

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\_\_\_\_ List your partner here if you are a registering couple and would like a double room (2 single beds). Please note that both guests must purchase a full accommodations package, including registration fee. A hotels listing is also available at [www.thewha.org](http://www.thewha.org)

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# WHB Issue Focus

## “Food in World History”

**Rick Warner**  
Guest Editor

### ***Food in World History: Introduction***

**Rick Warner**  
Wabash College

About nine years ago, an article in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* defended the emergent field of “Food Studies” from charges that the discipline was essentially “scholarship lite.”<sup>1</sup> Is this an extension of home economics, or can Food Studies be understood as a research field? Perhaps the argument sounds familiar: Is World History a research field?

In recent years, Food Studies and World History have continued to gain their deserved acceptance into the scholarly world. It is worth, however, meditating on the ways in which Food Studies might NOT be a theoretically-rigorous academic field of study. As historians, we have long been aware that food commodities travel the world, and trade in food products has become important in the “world that trade created” and in the “encounters” that developed out of historical connections, such as the Columbian Exchange. Tomatoes and pasta arrive in Italy, from west and east, respectively, at about the same time. Life has never been the same since. Garlic and lime traveled the Atlantic and soon became required elements of Mexican cuisine. The traveling potato has a well-stamped passport.

From the standpoint of a chef, these happy encounters emerge in expanded potential for creativity. Our larders are impressively stuffed with items that originated in far-flung places on the globe. When we cook, the histories of these ingredients are temporarily irrelevant, in comparison with

the chemistry that we are about to produce. In a sense, food can be understood in the synchronic method that an ahistorical anthropologist might employ to analyze a culture.

However, anthropology has taken a historical turn and Food Studies has experienced a theoretical shift as well. Despite the temptation to follow the extreme environmental determinism that might grant historical agency to the foods themselves, most culinary change has come at the hands of humans. Choices are made, as they are in political or religious matters in history. Sidney Mintz pushed us along analytically some twenty years ago when he changed the terms of discussion of the subject of slavery and sugar away from our preoccupation with the supply side of the slave trade, to a consideration of the demand side of European sugar consumption.<sup>2</sup> His short book on the subject raised more questions than it answered about the culture of sugar consumption in early modern Europe and, more importantly, provoked world historians to ask questions about food that are related to global patterns of change. Food has now become an important aspect of all areas of world history, from world systems analysis to comparative studies of gender hierarchies. The producers of the excellent video series, *Bridging World History*, devote an entire unit to “Food, Demographics and Culture.”<sup>3</sup> The focus has appropriately shifted to human agency in the production and consumption of food.

Despite the maturity of the field, the academic subject of food is delightfully unwieldy, occasionally even random in character. So it is with the selections presented here, which vary from consideration of foodstuffs, to teaching opportunities, to various theoretical treatments of the subject.

Hopefully the reader will see that Food Studies in a world historical context has emerged as a rigorous field of study, but one that has not as yet lost its fresh flavor. Happy reading and Bon Appétit!

<sup>1</sup> Jenifer K. Ruark, “A Place at the Table,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, July 9, 1999.

<sup>2</sup> Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: the Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985).

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.learner.org/channel/courses/worldhistory/>, unit 16.



### ***Food in World History: Some Preliminary Proposals***

**Rachel Laudan**

The history of food is rapidly evolving from a hobby for food enthusiasts to a popular classroom topic and an area of research for historians. But what exactly are we doing when we write the history of food? Is it a collection of commodity histories, of musings on identity, and of analyses of government policies on health and nutrition? Is it possible to tell a world history of food? And, conversely, does food have something to contribute to world history and, if so, what?

I believe the answer to both of the latter questions to be yes, in order to see why it is important to frame food history, but in a way that allows one to structure a narrative and connect with themes that matter to world historians. Creating such a frame at the moment is exceptionally difficult. In the United States, Europe, and many other parts of the world, food is shrink-wrapped in myth and nostalgia. A sunlit past of home cooks, family meals, small farms, and organic natural food is favorably contrasted to modern food, condemned as uniquely tasteless,

unsafe, unhealthy and immoral.<sup>1</sup> This “bottom up” myth takes for granted that food is rooted in the local environment, gives priority to the peasant cook, and sees the consolidation of regional cuisines into national cuisines at the natural course of events. These pervasive and unquestioned assumptions fit well with environmentalism and sensitivities about race, class, and gender. At the same time, though, they distort and narrow inquiry into the history of food. Indeed they are, in large measure, responsible for the fact that much food history seems quaint and antiquarian.

In this brief essay, I offer six proposals for ways of thinking about food with a view to going beyond a one-sided bottom-up model to see how a world narrative of food might be structured, and where food might fit in world history.

**Proposal 1. Food is something that has been**

**cooked:** Human food—what we ingest and digest and turn into our own bodies—is something that has been cooked. Humans eat bread and steaks, not wheat berries and steers. Yes, some people, almost always unsuccessfully, try to live on raw food. Yes, all of us eat some raw food: fruits, milk, even meat and fish. These, however, are minor exceptions to the general rule that what we eat is cooked. Consider roast beef, tamales, cooking oil, polenta, sweeteners, bourbon, cornstarch, grits, beer, and chicha, a distinctive South American beer. All have been created from a single raw material by different ways of cooking—treating with alkali, with acids, grinding dry, grinding wet, fermenting, distilling, chewing, or digesting in a steer’s stomachs—which produce foods with utterly different tastes, textures, culinary properties and nutritional qualities.

Cooking is one of the activities that marks off humans from animals.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, anthropologists are now mounting persuasive arguments to the effect that cooking and human evolution co-evolved as a result of consuming food that had been previously cooked, putting less strain on the stomach and allowing the brain to develop to a size unknown in other primates. Perhaps because it was so advantageous, cooking is an activity common to all humans, no known society failing to cook.

Surely this means that anyone writing about the history of food has to take cooking into account. Yet, all too often, a history of agriculture passes for a history of food. For example, although Jared Diamond titles the first third of his best-selling *Guns, Germs and Steel* a history of food, it is actually a thought-provoking history of domesticated plants and animals.<sup>3</sup> Yet no one would call a history of quarrying a history of

housing, nor a history of open-range iron mining a history of the railroad or the automobile.

So let’s think about cooking for a moment. In everyday language, cooking is often limited to the use of heat. But those who have thought about the matter agree that it involves much more, comprising all those processes that food scientists and technologists lump together under the unlovely term “post-harvest processing” (though perhaps in the case of animals, birds, and fish, it should be called post-slaughter processing). In other words, it includes cleaning, blending and mixing, as well as husking rice, grinding wheat or maize, churning butter, processes once done in the home kitchen but now industrialized.

Although, tellingly, no one has collected the data, anecdotal evidence suggests that cooking has consumed more human time and energy than farming. But consider just one example, in Mexico, until the 1960s (and in many areas still today), women had to spend about five hours every day grinding maize, far more than their husbands spent growing it.<sup>4</sup> They had little time to nurture their children and none for paid work. Contrast this with the Middle East and Europe where, from the Middle Ages on, water mills eliminated this drudgery. It hardly bears pointing out what a difference this must have made to the family, society, and the economy.

One reason that cooking is worth the effort is that cooking pre-chews and pre-digests food. Unlike the apes, who have no choice but to spend five hours a day simply chewing, humans save huge amounts of time and energy. Or rather, some humans do. The trade-off, of

course, is that if everyone has extra time and energy because they do not have work so hard to chew and digest, some of them have to use a good bit of that time and energy doing the cooking.

Another reason cooking was worth the effort is that it increases the safety, nutritional value, and tastiness of foods. It makes toxic raw materials, such as taro and cassava, safe to eat. It makes maize, when treated with alkali, more nutritious. And it creates a range of foods, from beer to oil, that are not found in nature. Once more, there was a downside as cooked food could cause a sequence of health problems from madness, to beriberi and obesity, but the tradeoff has been universally accepted.

Cooking, despite the claim of TV celebrity chef Emeril Lagasse that “it is not rocket science,” is no simple matter. It has always involved the most up-to-date techniques from the use of an animal-driven pestle in sugar refining in India in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE to the use of steam power in

brewing, and centrifuging to refine sugar and condense milk and stock in the 19<sup>th</sup> century CE. It has always drawn the attention of scientists from Caraka and Susruta in India, the Hippocratic school in the Mediterranean, and the Taoists in China, who advanced theories of a culinary cosmos more than two millennia ago to German, French, and Japanese chemists who studied fermentation in the late-19<sup>th</sup> and early-20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Yet we have only the foggiest notion of the history of cooking, whether it be the distilling, extracting oil, making pasta, or creating soy sauce. Working this out might seem a modest task. Perhaps, but doing so would enable us to offer a richer account of phenomena as diverse as the division of labor, the energy budgets, and the nutritional status of different societies.

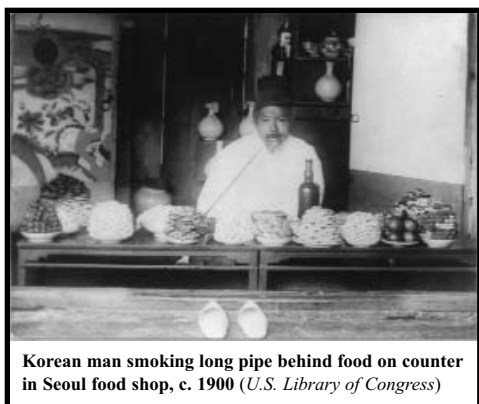
**Proposal 2. Cuisines and culinary traditions are useful analytical concepts:**

Because cooking involves thought, work, and organization, human food is structured, not a series of random nibbles. Factors such as when you eat, who you eat with, how you combine foodstuffs to make dishes, and how you combine dishes into meals, add up to different styles of cooking. These styles of cooking can be called cuisines, their historical trajectories culinary traditions.<sup>5</sup>

Cuisines are tightly-integrated systems. Although they change over time as the logic of their basic premises is worked out, they remain distinct. No one would confuse Italian Cuisine with Japanese Cuisine, for example. Cuisines are to food history what states are to political history or styles to art history. Luckily for the world historian, the number of major culinary traditions that have had global impact is probably less than fifty, although, of course, they can be infinitely subdivided.

Cuisines and culinary traditions, like states and styles, are more difficult to define than they are to identify. Rather than attempt the fruitless task of definition, it is useful to think of cuisines as composed of three elements: at the core are the foodstuffs, the culinary techniques, the dishes, the meals, and their tastes and textures; shaping this core are the ideas about what it good to eat (a topic to which we will return in Proposal 4); and supporting the core is an infrastructure that includes farming, but also many other factors.

As an example, take French High Cuisine. Since its invention between 1600 and 1650, its core has remained remarkably constant. There are six main foodstuffs: meat and meat extracts; white flour; white sugar; butter, wine; and characteristic vegetables and fruits. The key culinary techniques involve combining flour, butter, liquid, and seasonings in multiple ways to make sauces and desserts. The archetypal meal is the formal dinner for adults, often just men, served in the evening. The main course typically consists of a sauced piece of meat, bread or potato, and simply-prepared vegetables. This means that cooks have to be able to count on an infrastructure that



Korean man smoking long pipe behind food on counter in Seoul food shop, c. 1900 (U.S. Library of Congress)

includes the raising of beef cattle, dairying, sugar plantations and refineries, vineyards and wineries, long-distance shipping, specialty stores, and (later) department stores that sell ovens, china, glassware, and silverware, formal dining rooms with wooden furniture, curtains and carpets, mirrors and paintings, and, until recently, formal dress.

When, between 1880 and 1930, French High Cuisine became the cuisine of the global elite, from the Japanese Emperor to Indian nawabs, from American industrialists to Peruvian mine owners, it was far more than a mere change in fashion. This elite commanded such a disproportionate proportion of the world's resources that their demand for canned asparagus and paté supported the fledgling canning industry, their demand for white flour, the construction of roller mills around the world, their need for china, the proliferation of companies such as Wedgwood and Meissen, and their desire for fresh ingredients was responsible for the introduction of peas and carrots into Japan, cattle to the Mekong Delta, and tea to India. In short, the globalization of French Cuisine set in motion changes in social life, food technology, business organization, retailing, transport, and agriculture.<sup>6</sup> More generally, since food has been such an important item of consumption, changes in cuisine have huge knock-on effects.

**Proposal 3. High and meager cuisines have to be distinguished:** With the appearance of complex societies several thousand years ago, cuisines split into two major categories: High Cuisines, like French High Cuisine, for the wealthy, and Meager Cuisine for everyone else. Because their historical trajectories were (and are) so different, it is important for the historian to distinguish them.

High Cuisines were traditionally the privilege of perhaps 10% of the population. This group dined on meals rich in meat, in the prestigious grains such as wheat or rice, and in exotic ingredients, the best known being spices. Their meat was accompanied by delicious sauces believed to enhance health. They enjoyed sweet dishes and confectionary. They ate their meals in special areas set aside for dining using expensive dining paraphernalia, whether chased-silver drinking horns, lacquer ware, or fine china. An extensive culinary literature, including cookbooks, gastronomic poetry, nutritional treatises, and menus recorded, explained, and celebrated the cuisine. Far from suffering from hunger, the diners were more likely to suffer from diseases that we now associate with a modern lifestyle such as obesity and alcoholism.

High Cuisines were prepared by professional male cooks, millers, brewers, sugar masters, confectioners, alchemists, and chemists. The Master Cook at an royal court worked closely with other senior functionaries such as the steward, who oversaw the finances and protocol, the head physician and the head gardener. The

kitchens that he ran were some of the largest enterprises in the pre-industrial world, complete with production lines, site security and inventory control. Those of Henry VIII at Hampton Court Palace, for example, which was not a particularly large court, covered 40,000 square feet. It was not unusual for these kitchens to employ hundreds, even thousands, of people. It is to these kitchens, with their demanding patrons and ample resources, that we owe almost all culinary innovations, a few examples of which include white leavened bread, tea, korma, sherbets, halvahs, coffee, tofu, mayonnaise, ice cream, and béchamel.

Meager Cuisines were the lot of the other 90% of the population. This large majority ate soupy stews and porridges, and flat breads of the lesser grains such as sorghum, millet, barley, oats, or rye. They might have salt fish or flesh from small animals and birds. Rarely did they include exotic ingredients or sweet dishes. I think it fair to say that very few people in the advanced world have any first-hand experience of meager cuisine. The "ethnic" cuisines that are often taken to be peasant cuisines are usually High Cuisines adapted to, say, American, European, or Japanese tastes. They are a far cry from the pounded yam with a little hot sauce that villagers in West Africa eat day after day, or the unvaried diet of beans and tortillas of the poorer Mexican *campesinos*.

Meager Cuisines were prepared by women in the home. There was no special dining area, little in the way of special dining equipment beyond a communal bowl and spoons, and no written culinary tradition. Because meager cuisines used local ingredients, the diners, with good reason, lived in constant fear of shortages caused by crop failure or by warfare. Their characteristic food-related diseases were malnutrition, deficiency diseases, diarrhea, and food poisoning caused by bad food and water.

Compared to High Cuisines, Meager Cuisines changed slowly and infrequently. Common sense dictated that it was unwise to experiment with scarce foodstuffs that took so much of the budget. Many of the changes that did occur were in fact imposed from above: Rulers who converted to say, Islam or Christianity, enforced religious food rules and regulations. Other states insisted that farmers grow crops that produced cheap, filling, and frequently unpopular foodstuffs, such as Champa rice in 14<sup>th</sup>-century

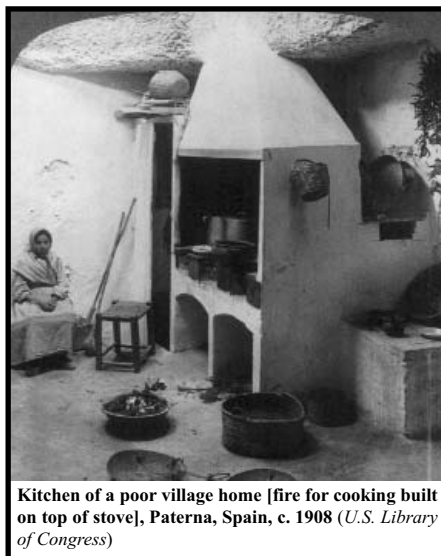
China, sorghum in 12<sup>th</sup>-century Islam, and potatoes in 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century Europe.<sup>7</sup>

Of course this distinction is too rigid. In the cities, well-to-do bureaucrats and merchants, for example, had decent, often lavish cuisines. In drylands, nomads had their own characteristic cuisines. Servants went back and forth between their home kitchens and palace kitchens. But the point remains that, for millennia, what people ate depended on where they stood in the social scale, a situation that owed as much to policy as to scarcity.

It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the divide between High and Meager cuisines broke down, first in the West and so quickly as to be almost simultaneous in other modernizing countries, such as Japan.<sup>8</sup> In these parts of the world, everyone now eats the kind of cuisine once reserved for the elites. Even a hamburger has white bread, meat, and a sauce. Meager cuisines, however, remain the lot of a large proportion of the world's population.

**Proposal 4. Changes in ideas cause changes in cuisine:** So what causes change in cuisine? I suggest that new ideas are the most important source of change. A few minutes' consideration reminds us that when we plan a meal we have to take into account the diners' religious beliefs, health concerns, and political and social philosophies.<sup>9</sup> If those ideas change, so will the way people eat. When Dr. Robert Atkins convinced Americans that carbohydrates made it difficult to lose weight, a large proportion of the population refused to eat bread or pasta. As I write this article, the attack on high fructose corn syrup (actually identical to sugar) is panicking many diners into refusing to eat any food or drink that contains it.

These relatively trivial examples should alert us to the power of ideas in changing cuisines. Whenever a dramatic change in medical, religious, and political beliefs occurred in the past, a change in cuisine was likely to follow. When Western political thinkers, echoing ideas that went back to Socrates and the Stoics, began arguing for republican or liberal forms of government, their followers began to argue against the dichotomy between High and Meager Cuisines and for a decent cuisine for all.<sup>10</sup> When late-16<sup>th</sup> century physicians, followers of Paracelsus, began promoting a new Protestant theory of diet and nutrition to displace the centuries-old humoral theory in the courts of Europe, diners demanded and cooks invented a radically-new cuisine, Western Cuisine, with French High Cuisine as its most elite expression.<sup>11</sup> When the Buddha's preaching



Kitchen of a poor village home [fire for cooking built on top of stove], Paterna, Spain, c. 1908 (U.S. Library of Congress)

attracted disciples, they followed his advice to avoid the meat and alcohol of the courtly meal, as well as dishes of rice, vegetables, clarified butter, and refined sugar.

Even the introduction of new plants and animals, often assumed to be a major engine of change in food habits, is so only when people know what to do with them, that is if they have ideas about where they fit. If they slip into a niche in an existing cuisine, they may be accepted rapidly and assimilated to the diet. Europeans thought of maize as a substitute for millet in polenta and prepared it in the same way, while settlers in New England used maize as they had used oatmeal in their home country. But potatoes and tomatoes had no obvious European analogs and only after a long period and with great reluctance were they accepted.

Because big new ideas in health, politics, and religion come along only rarely, major culinary revolutions are rare. When they do occur, the change is often surprisingly rapid. The fundamentals of Buddhist Cuisine were put in place in a couple of hundred years. The fundamentals of Western Cuisine (of which High French Cuisine, British and American cuisines, and many others, are all members) were worked out within a generation between 1600 and 1650 CE. On a smaller scale, the admission of the state of Hawaii to the United States and the success of the multi-racial Democratic party, stimulated the creation of a regional cuisine, Local Food, also in less than a generation.<sup>12</sup> Such rushes of inventive activity are followed by long periods during which the possibilities of the new cuisines are explored, and farming, trade, and manufacturing are transformed as the cuisine spreads to different social groups or geographic areas.

**Proposal 5. Empires have been the major theater of food history:** The history of cuisines goes hand in hand with the history of empires.<sup>13</sup> In saying this, I am simply using a working definition of an empire as a political unit whose ruler commands a large territory and many peoples without the consent of the ruled. As I have mentioned, royal kitchens are centers of culinary innovation. But rulers also use cuisine as a political tool, and cuisines are roughly co-extensive with empires.

Rulers have counted on cuisine as being central to power. To use some examples, from Ashurbanipal's renowned ten-day feast for 70,000 guests in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, to the spectacles put on by Louis XIV in the 17<sup>th</sup> century CE, the court banquet, with its lavish displays of the most important items of consumption, symbolized political might to both subjects and to visiting dignitaries. Foodstuffs collected as taxes or tribute until surprisingly recently, were processed in the imperial kitchens, adding considerable value. Much of this food became the rations that were an important part of the pay of the military, the bureaucracy, the court, and the servants. The quality of the rations was carefully graded, driv-

ing home social distinctions between classes. Provisions for the military, both their quantity and their quality, preoccupied rulers from Alexander the Great to Napoleon.<sup>14</sup> Granaries and charity were two ways of averting the mass hunger or starvation that threatened a ruler's legitimacy and the stability of the empire.<sup>15</sup>

Cuisines tend to be roughly co-extensive with empires for a number of reasons. One is that rulers were apt to impose their cuisines (or meager versions thereof) on as many of their subjects as possible. On converting to Buddhism, Asoka decreed an end to the sacrifice, insisted his court change to a less meaty diet, and posted edicts across the empire so that no one in power could be unaware of the policy. A similar pattern was repeated as successive states across Asia made Buddhism the official religion. On converting to Christianity, Europeans joined with bishops in enforcing Christian ways of eating, banishing the sacrificial feast and the eating of horse meat and enforcing days of fasting.<sup>16</sup> Another is that trade routes, systems of supply, and patterns of migration tend to be shaped by imperial boundaries. Buddhist, Hindu, Islamic, and Christian states all spread cuisines far beyond their places of origin. Portuguese, Spanish, British, and French migrants established, often at great effort and cost, their own cuisines wherever they settled. The settlement colonies of the former British Empire still share cakes, curry, and crackers.

Again, there are exceptions to this generalization. Empires have always contained minorities who have maintained some food habits. Medieval Islam found the fact that both Christian and Jewish minorities made wine both profitable and a useful source of supply. What is important, though, is that nations, which shape the telling of so many histories of food, are, as the world historian well knows, johnnie-come-latelies on the historical scene. So to talk, for example, about a history of French food stretching back to the early Middle Ages misses the fact that until the seventeenth century, the French elite ate a pan-European High Cuisine.

**Proposal 6. Cuisines are linked over time and across cultures:** Cuisines have been knitted together in a far-flung network from very early times, particularly High Cuisines. Meager cuisines were relatively limited to their local areas though even those who ate meager cuisines took cuisines with them when they migrated. African slaves managed to transfer at least some of their cuisine to the Americas. Asian indentured laborers took whole cuisines around the tropical world.

High Cuisines have been linked over time because inventing a totally-new cuisine is not easy. Most cuisines have been created by transforming or fusing earlier ones. The early cuisine of Mesopotamia was modified by the Achaemenids. In turn, this was modified by the Greeks, and then later by the Romans. Buddhist, Muslim, and Christian Cuisines were formed by

rejected aspects of the predecessor cuisines that had been associated with sacrifices to the gods. Christian Cuisine, for example, had fused together elements of the cuisine of the Roman Empire and Jewish Cuisine (that itself was much influenced by the cuisine of the Roman Empire).

Furthermore, High Cuisines have been knitted together in a far-flung urban network that often extends beyond the boundaries of empires. The constant stream of diplomats, royal brides, armies, raiders, merchants, missionaries, and migrants who crossed imperial frontiers had good reason to take elements of cuisines, or even whole cuisines with them, making these borders a counterpoise to urban centers in food history. Merchants dealt in exotic foodstuffs. Missionaries expounded new theories of diet and nutrition as well as the dietary norms of their chosen religion. Armies had to be provisioned and were instructed to capture cooks and secure valuable plants as part of the spoils of war. Diplomats and brides needed an entire cuisine to symbolize their state or empire.

Take Medieval Perso-Islamic Cuisine, one of the world's most influential. One version of it reached India with successive waves of Islamic invaders. Another reached al-Andalus, was Christianized, and was taken, at enormous cost and effort, by conquistadors, missionaries, and Viceroy to New Spain.<sup>17</sup> Mexican *mole* and Indian curry, as well as many other elements of these two cuisines, are both the descendants of Medieval Perso-Islamic dishes.

**Conclusion:** Such a short essay must necessarily raise more questions than it answers. I hope, however, that it is enough to suggest that the pervasive and largely-unquestioned bottom-up model of food history is, by itself, inadequate. And I would like to think that the hints I have offered about how a top-down element might provide balance, also suggest ways in which we could begin to construct a coherent narrative, and hint at the areas where food history connects with such major historical topics as religion, imperialism and colonialism, trade and commerce, and consumption.

*Many thanks to Kelly O'Leary and Janet Boileau for comments on an earlier draft of this essay.*

<sup>1</sup> Rachel Laudan, "Why We Should Love Fast, Modern, Processed Food: A Plea for Culinary Modernism," *Gastronomica* 1 (2002), 36-44; Carol Helstosky, *Garlic and Oil: Food and Politics in Italy* (Oxford: Berg, 2004).

<sup>2</sup> Richard Wrangham and N.L. Conklin-Brittain, "The Biological Significance of Cooking in Human Evolution," *Comparative Biochemistry and Physiology* (2003) Part A 136: 35-46.

<sup>3</sup> Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs and Steel* (New York: Norton, 1997).

<sup>4</sup> Arnold Bauer, "Millers and Grinders: Technology and Household Economy in Meso-America," *Agricultural History*, 1990, 64: 1-17.

<sup>5</sup> Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) uses cuisine to mean elaborated high cuisines and cookery for meager cuisines. Because I want to emphasize that both are organized systems, I use cuisine for both.

<sup>6</sup> Katarzyna Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine: Food, Power and National Identity* (London: Reaktion, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> Much of the best work on this topic has been done by members of the *Annales* school, for example, E. Ashtor, "Essai sur l'alimentation des diverses classes sociales dans l'Orient medieval," *Annales ESC* 23 (1968) 1017-1053). Louis Stouff, *Ravitaillement et alimentation en Provence au XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Mouton: Paris, 1970). Many of the studies there are reprinted in Jean Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari, eds. Trans. Albert Sonnenfeld, *Food: A Culinary History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999). If you can find the French edition, you'll have the benefit of the full text and footnotes too.

<sup>8</sup> Nutritionists refer to this as the nutrition transition and wring their hands. Economists and historians tend to be more sanguine. Robert W. Fogel, *The Escape from Hunger and Premature Death, 1700-2100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>9</sup> For cooking and religion, see, for example, Veronica Grimm, *From Feasting to Fasting, The Evolution of a Sin* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996); D. N. Jha, *Holy Cow: Beef in Indian Dietetic Traditions* (New Delhi: Matriz, 2001); Sonia Corchera, *El fraile, el indio y el pulque: Evangelización y embriaguez en la Nueva España (1523-1548)* (FCE: México, 1991).

<sup>10</sup> For Dutch views on Republican food, Simon Schama, *An Embarrassment of Riches* (Vintage, 1997 for 1987), ch. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Rachel Laudan, "The Birth of the Modern Diet," *Scientific American* 238 (2000), 63-68.

<sup>12</sup> Rachel Laudan, *The Food of Paradise: Exploring Hawaii's Culinary Heritage* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996).

<sup>13</sup> There are few studies of food on an imperial scale. One that hints at the possibilities is Paul D. Buell and Eugene N. Anderson, *A Soup for the Qan* (London: Kegan Paul Internacional, 2000) and Thomas Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>14</sup> Joanathan Roth, *The Logistics of the Roman Army at War* (264 BC - AD 235) (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999).

<sup>15</sup> Pierre-Etienne Will and R.Bin Wong, *Nourish the People: The State Civilian Granary System in China, 1650-1850* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, 1991).

<sup>16</sup> Bonnie Effros, *Creating Community with Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

<sup>17</sup> Rachel Laudan, "The Mexican Kitchen's Islamic Connection," *SaudiAramco World* (2004), 32-29.



## The History of Sharing and Not Sharing Comfort Food

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"These matters seem as well worthy of study as the political and military troubles or the glories of nations." -- Richard Bennett and John Elton in *History of Corn Milling*<sup>1</sup>

My grandmother thought it was a joke when, in the 1960s, in the United States, culinary schools and big-time restaurants discovered a special, and therefore more expensive, item called *pasta* to put on their menus. My family called it spaghetti, not just because we're Italian, but because that's what noodles on a plate generally become when

they are mounded up in mahogany gravy, layered in with pieces of sliced roast that spread the rich color and flavor to whatever strands they touch. Pasta, the ultimate comfort food, makes us feel better about the search for meaning in our lives. The history of sharing and not sharing of grains, specifically wheat and corn, has taught us that the availability of food is the comfort that millions have sought but have not always found.

There is a legend from 1174, set in Alessandria, Italy, where a peasant, Gagliaudo, saved the town from invasion from the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa. He allowed himself to be captured by the enemy with his cow to which he had fed the last grain of the city. The German soldiers cut open the cow to cook it, but the cow's stomach was full of grain, and they asked him, "What is the reason to waste such a rich meal?" He lied to them, saying, "I was forced to feed my cow with the grain because Alessandria has so much wheat. There is no place left to put it except inside cows." The Emperor did not want a long siege with a city so fortified so he left the city free. The malaria scare was just incidental. A statue of Gagliaudo stands in the town square, not Frederick. To the victor and the other cows goes the grain.<sup>2</sup> And to make pasta you need that grain.

The making of *pasta fresca* for immediate use in daily cooking is one thing. The utility of *pasta secca* is something else. The invention of macaroni or any dry pasta, has a nebulous history, but it has been attributed to the Etruscans, the Chinese, the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs, and, incorrectly, Marco Polo. Perhaps the original pasta maker is not so important as what effects pasta has had on civilizations: perennial famines could be controlled because dried pasta had a very long shelf life, governments could warehouse surplus for times of low yield, and a plentiful supply allowed longer sea voyages and, thus, more exploring.<sup>3</sup>

One historian suggests that Sicilian Jews inherited the culinary practices concerning pasta from Arab/Norman Sicily, an odd triumvirate of culinary promise and compromise. A Genoese document relates the story of a soldier named Ponzio Bastono, dated 1279, who owned a *barixella una plena de maccaronis*, a chest full of macaroni, and in the early fourteenth century, Tuscan recipes described vermicelli cooked with

the Arab additions of almond milk, sugar, and saffron.<sup>4</sup>



Two Italian Boys Eating Pasta, undated (U.S. Library of Congress).

My grandmother's village is in the middle of the world. If you look at a map and put a dot at the median point of Torino, Milan, and Genoa, there lies the village of Bassignana in the province of Alessandria in Piedmonte. It is my family's

ancestral home and the center of the best cooking in the world. My grandmother can make the most simple salad dressing taste like dessert. She would be so proud of Gagliaudo's and Ponzio's devotion to the forethought of saving the grain and the packing of the *pasta secca*; to her, the liberties of the Tuscan/Arab recipe -- *pazzo* -- are crazy!

Marchione di Coppo Stephani did NOT feel the comfort of pasta when he wrote in the 1370s, that corpses from the Black Death were layered in open pits like cheese in between lasagna noodles, a graphic and unappetizing metaphor for a relatively-new dish.<sup>5</sup> To balance the future of unending lasagna casseroles, Italian chefs created pastas of all shapes and sizes. To cover those noodles, grandmothers in every town of every Italian province created a litany of sauces that made the angels weep and changed cooking for the next 700 years. Catherine de Medici even shared what those Italian women knew with those French guys who, pretty much, picked up the pasta ball and ran away with the spoons of sauces.<sup>6</sup>

By the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, *pasta secca* had become so common that it had developed into a metaphor, though pejorative, for a literary style known as *ars macaronica*, the macaronic way—a mixing of the dialect from Mantua, Latin, and Italian, describing something "gross, crude, and rustic like macaroni made with flour and water and mixed with cheese and butter."<sup>7</sup> Macaroni and cheese, the ultimate comfort food, an inexpensive and easy dish to make for the masses. *Gourmet? Non. Mangia si bene? O, si! Comforting? You bet.*

Italians smirk about polenta, a stiff pad of stone-ground grits found under shrimp or andouille sausage at restaurants, serving a Creole Sunday brunch all over the world. Peoples on the Italian peninsula, since the invention of the water mill by the Greeks and borrowed and improved upon by the Romans in the first few decades of the first century, have served polenta for hot breakfasts at home, and when anyone is sick, especially children and old people.<sup>8</sup> It is a gift for people who live in a close or an extended family, which can mean just about anyone, trying to get well from any illness -- from the pains of childbirth to the boils of the Black Death.

Polenta is a prescription of cooked cornmeal, although historically Italians used red *ceci* (*garbanzo*) beans until maize came from America, but the recipe remains the same. Women boiled the coarse corn meal in salted water or stock in a round-bottom copper pot, a *paiolo*, and stirred it constantly with a long wooden spoon, a *tarello*, for about forty minutes.<sup>9</sup> It is cooled, sliced in thick-inch slabs, then fried in olive oil or butter until crispy, and then served with slight dustings of grated Parmesan cheese and black pepper. It is also served on a flat wooden communal platter in a big hot mound where each family member, sitting in a circle, scrapes the board, each one consuming bite after bite, moving toward the center, where in good times there might be piled meat and gravy. In modern times, people tend to use their spoons only to go after communal desserts, usually involving birthday candles, cake, chocolate, ice cream, nuts, and whipped cream, not polenta for breakfast on Ash Wednesday or other days ending in y.

My grandmother asked if I had paid for the polenta the one and only time I told her that I had ordered the dish at a restaurant. I guess she thought that the restaurant whipped it up for me just for walking in with an unknown ailment. She knew that all good kitchens keep cornmeal on hand, but she was never sure of how to spell the word. It seems odd to eat something so basic to life and yet with no linguistic imprint that can be put on a sign, and yet, millions of people accomplish that feat everyday, thankful to have the nourishment in their mouths no matter what it tastes like or how the word is pronounced or configured.

The history of comfort food seems like it would be a lesson in commonalities. People over the centuries needed small movable feasts to tide them over in hard times. Before we had cathedrals, churches, temples, synagogues, and mosques, we had kitchens. They and their minimal staffs had to work hard, hunting and gathering, trading and stealing, bargaining and lying, in order to find and provide real and spiritual sustenance and clean water, or people would not live to see another day.

People have their standards for food that soothes their conscience and their consciousness, after the conspiracies, the conscriptions, and the conflagrations. War, famine, genocide, politics, plague, and tsunami never leave our past lives and our immediate ones, and in these times of horror, war victims and refugees spend much of their time in the acquisition of any food or water, clean or otherwise, searching for and yet never finding any *new* water.

War-induced famine is not a modern invention, even though our weapons and soldiers serve to make it happen faster and more efficiently. The Roman siege on Jerusalem<sup>10</sup> and the Thirty-Years War are two events known for the politics and the carnage, but the famine, not so much.<sup>11</sup> After the invention of canning in 1809, Napoleon's troops were refreshed to invade, rape, loot, and pillage, fortified to go again.<sup>12</sup> In England during the First World War, 40% of the men were unfit for joining the army because of malnutrition, and with that knowledge they, and all military cooks since then to this very day, have worked to improve the nutrition of soldiers with abandon.<sup>13</sup> Stalin in the 1930's and again during World War Two, denied food to millions of Russia's own citizens, ethnic minorities, and political prisoners.<sup>14</sup> The Nazis lied to their own troops at the front about winning and the availability of supplies and thus doomed them along with the millions they starved in the concentration camps.<sup>15</sup>

Mao, during the Great Leap Forward, rerouted food, wheat, corn, and rice from the farmers and starved millions in order to feed the city workers and the military forces. Because farmers in the provinces placed sand and straw under their stores of wheat and corn to show the bureaucratic inspectors that they had met their quota, not realizing that their "surplus" would be taken for govern-

ment use, they were left with nothing. In fact, the Chinese government made many farmers make "steel" in their backyards or farm mountain ledges where crops could not flourish, in order to prove that a refocused communal will could make a difference in the success of their industries and their harvests.<sup>16</sup> Poet Zhang Zhimin reminded his readers of the horrifying demands, "Make wet rice, wheat, and yellow corn grow on top of the mountain; And beans, peanuts, and red *gaoliang* (sorghum) rise on sheer rocks."<sup>17</sup> The mass delusion was overwhelming and complicitous.

In the period between 1846 and 1878, it is estimated that human lives lost in China from overpopulation, famine, floods, and civil wars numbered over 44,000,000.<sup>18</sup> Millions of people also died from war-induced famine in the latter part of the twentieth century in places like Biafra, Bangladesh, Japan, Kampuchea, Zimbabwe, Somalia, India, Korea, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, and Bosnia.<sup>19</sup> What does it say about our civilizations that we fatten men up for the slaughtering and lead the victims of war like hungry lambs to the slaughter? Do these overwhelming numbers numb the comfort zones of historic denial? And if not, what have we done to turn the repetitive tide since we discovered the staggering numbers? Why haven't we kept it from happening again? Why doesn't John Donne's entreaty serve to remind us that each man's death diminishes us? Why, as humans, are we not "involved with mankind?"<sup>20</sup>

Comfort food becomes the fringe finger food choices of the winners, we "eaters of flour," according to Homer.<sup>21</sup> It helps combat stress temporarily and to defuse the nebulous memories of the questionable cost of the winning, floating away like my grandmother's raviolis in steamy broth. The uncomfortable history of food distribution is dismal from the first day that Tribe A did not share with Cave B, to today's denial of the urgency in the Sudan and too many other places thwarted by contrived justifications over political struggles. The very idea of keeping people from eating the "cheap bread with which the welfare of the masses is so ultimately concerned" should and must stick in our collective craw.<sup>22</sup> The idea must be made too cruel anywhere. Food cannot be comfort just for the winners. Wheat and corn must be comfort for us all. The comfort of sharing food must be a given.

The denial of distributing grains does not have to be violent or overt: it can be the slow, legal, yet deliberate reallocation of land. USDA statistics tell us that 70% of the grain produced in the U.S. and 40% of the world's supply is fed to livestock -- primarily cattle.<sup>23</sup> Instead, the descendants of Gagliardo's cow end up as too many all-beef patties, and they haven't saved anyone's city. In fact, many precious rain forest and prairie acres a day are lost to the grazing of cows for the world's consumption of beef.<sup>24</sup> Channeled directly to humans rather than diverted to cattle, this grain would represent a huge difference in comforting people

with famine relief.

Why do we continue to serve up masticated grains with special sauces and even on fine china and white linen to countries with oil and other natural resources? Ask the victims of politically-motivated famine that question, but hurry. People who do not have the access to the comfort of food do not speak loudly, or often, at all.

The Bantu feel that the exchange of food makes a contract between people, a "clanship of porridge."<sup>25</sup> In Long Bow Village in northern China, the villagers eat *keta* (corn dumplings) for breakfast, corn noodles for lunch, and, to celebrate the harvest, wheat noodles at dinner.<sup>26</sup> Jews eat horseradish at Seder dinners to commemorate their ancestors' struggles in Egypt. The ancient god Mais reminds the Hopi to revere corn, and in Chinese Taoism, humans do not search for the apple in the paradise garden but, instead, the peach of immortality.<sup>27</sup>

At my grandmother's house, cook and eat and you are well. Cooking good food is medicine. Sharing good food is a mental-health program. Eating good food together is communion.

We mark our days with meals and celebrate our lives with rituals: Sunday-night dinners, grave sites, and funeral tables, with great displays of heaped-up platters that make us feel better about not having enough of something (maybe love), surviving while some people do not, (maybe luck), and relishing the abundance that accompanies being on one of the sides that wins (maybe grain).

We can keep ourselves and others sated with staples such as wheat and corn because these grains are more than available during a time of obvious surplus, and they can be stored for use and distribution in the bleakest of times. To insure that future generations describe us -- all of us -- historically, we must reintroduce food distribution as a global responsibility.

#### A simple recipe:

- Save seed.
- Share seed.
- Plant seed.
- Take care of the land.
- Harvest plants.
- Cook food.
- Share food at home with family and friends.
- Share food with people whose faces you will never see.

These ingredients yield the comfort of food for everyone.

#### ENDNOTES

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<sup>3</sup> Clifford A. Wright, "The History of Macaroni," accessed 30 January 2008, [http://www.cliffordawright.com/caw/food/entries/display.php/topic\\_id/16/id/50](http://www.cliffordawright.com/caw/food/entries/display.php/topic_id/16/id/50)

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., accessed 30 January 2008.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 1992), 243.

<sup>7</sup> Wright, accessed 30 January 2008.

<sup>8</sup> Bennett and Elton, preface.

<sup>9</sup> Justin Demetri, *Life in Italy* accessed 30 January 2008,



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<http://www.lifeinitaly.com/food/polenta.asp>

<sup>10</sup> Jona Lendering, "Wars Between the Jews and Romans: the Destruction of Jerusalem (70 CE)" in *Livius*, accessed 30 January 2008, [http://www.livius.org/ja-jn/jewish\\_wars/jwar04.html](http://www.livius.org/ja-jn/jewish_wars/jwar04.html)

<sup>11</sup> Jerry H. Bentley and Herbert F. Ziegler, *Traditions and Encounters* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2003), 642.

<sup>12</sup> Toussaint-Samat, 737.

<sup>13</sup> The British Library, accessed 28 January 2008, <http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/booksforcooks/1900s/1900sfood.html>.

<sup>14</sup> Peter Sterns et al, *World Civilizations: The Global Experience* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2006), 742-3.

<sup>15</sup> Stearns, 759.

<sup>16</sup> Jung Chang, *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China* (London: HarperCollins, 1993), 291-293.

<sup>17</sup> Zhang Zhimin, "Let's Attack Here!," from *Personalities in the Commune*, quoted in Judith Shapiro, in *Mao's War Against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), forward.

<sup>18</sup> Ta Chen, *Chinese Migrations, with Special Reference to Labor Conditions* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923), 6.

<sup>19</sup> AllAfrica.com, accessed 25 January 2008, [allafrica.com/stories/200101080509.html](http://allafrica.com/stories/200101080509.html).

<sup>20</sup> John Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* (1623), (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), Meditation 17.

<sup>21</sup> Homer, *The Odyssey*, translated by W.H.D. Rouse, (New York: Signet Classics, 1999), Book 16, lines 403-81.

<sup>22</sup> Bennett and Elton, preface.

<sup>23</sup> ERS/USDA, "Food Availability: Documentation," 16 March 2007, <http://www.ers.usda.gov/Data/FoodConsumption/FoodAvailDoc.htm#grain>, accessed 30 January 2008.

<sup>24</sup> Mark Bittman, "Rethinking The Meat-Guzzler," *New York Times*, 27 January 2008, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/27/weekinreview/27bittman.html>, accessed 30 January 2008.

<sup>25</sup> Diane Ackerman, "The Social Sense," in *A Natural History of the Senses* (New York: Random House, 1990).

<sup>26</sup> William Hinton, *Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village* (New York: Vintage Books, 1966), 23-25.

<sup>27</sup> Frederick J. Simoons, *Food in China: A Cultural and Historic Perspective* (Caldwell, N.J.: The Telford Press), 218.

For Further Reading, see Joel Denker, *The World on a Plate* (Boulder: Westview Press), 2003.



## ***Tasting the History of Globalization: Foods of the Caribbean\****

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Each year on the Feast Day of Saint Laurent, elegantly dressed cooks from all over the Caribbean island of Guadeloupe assemble on the Rue d'Ennery at the Maison des Cuisinières in Point-a-Pitre for a colorful procession to the St. Peter and St. Paul Cathedral. Wearing creole-style dresses in bright plaid and flowery designs over lacy white petticoats, the women will celebrate

the historic Fête des Cuisinières. The cooks of the sponsoring association carry elaborately-gathered creole foods -- fruits, pastries, seafood -- in baskets and on portable wooden altars. In the Cathedral, the foods and foodways are blessed, and then activities move to a nearby celebratory community feast of magnificent proportions. Later that afternoon, at the banquet's close, the costumed women dance to the drums of the traditional Guadeloupe village. African-style drumming reveals the survival of the complex rhythms that extend back to slavery. While the celebration of food is at center stage, the unique role of women in the reproduction of society is remembered as reaching far beyond the kitchen. Even the eldest of the women -- an eighty-four-year "young" Madame Cuisinière -- lifts her skirts and apron to the drums and mimics the sex act. She moves her buttocks in a frenzied vibrato, thrusts her pelvis forward toward the drums, and sticks out her tongue at the man next to her. Her body speaks to the memory of food as an essential life-giving force.

In her decidedly erotic dance, she joyously breathes life into the central meaning of cooking: to cook is to reproduce and sustain the most intimate and significant aspects of cultural identity.

The complex story of the globalization of world cultures culminates in the Caribbean, where maritime journeys first brought together peoples and their foods from Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas in a dazzling array of culinary encounters. The major food of many early Atlantic voyages was dried and salted codfish, still a beloved dish in the Caribbean. Its magical reconstitution symbolizes the processes of sea change and transformation experienced by all the people who met in the islands. More than any other force, it was the encounters brought about by the transatlantic slave trade that created an African Diaspora and shaped Caribbean cuisine. Food, understood in both cultural and imaginative ways, quickly became a means of control and domination. These culinary encounters entailed both minor and major changes to foodways, altering peoples' lives on an intimate, daily, and ongoing basis. Yet the Caribbean cuisine's African roots are testimony to intentional cultural survival as well as to the fact that food served as far more than a site of cultural encounters.

Food played an ambiguous role in Caribbean life and history. Food nourished the survival of slaves and indentured laborers. And while it thus prolonged the conditions of enslavement and exploitation, food also sustained the cultural identities of the enslaved and exploited. The survival of Caribbean cooks, their cuisines, and those they fed necessarily played key roles in both the resistance to and the perpetuation of exploitative plantation systems. Both poisonings and herbal healings relied on the extensive knowledge that enslaved Africans had acquired of

the plants and environments of the New World. Pepper pot was an adopted Native American dish and suggests how the theme of resistance emerged from the interaction between indigenous and enslaved. Pepper pot starts with cassarepe, the syrup produced from removing poisonous juices from cassava, and then receives every kind of meat into its dark and peppery flavors. A pepper pot can last a cook's lifetime, thanks to the practice of reusing the seasoned cassarepe stock, adding more, and augmenting the dark contents with new additions of bush meat. Similarly, from the poisonous beginnings of oppression came a resilience and resistance that flavored a distinctively-Caribbean attitude. Ritual and prescriptive behavior in relation to food helped mark and define the contours of daily life.

The triangular trade that connected Africa, Europe, and the Americas (and, by later extensions, Asia) had a cultural dimension that flowed

through the kitchens of the Caribbean, generation after generation. Shared foods helped fuse Caribbean culture, and, out of the ingre-

dients and inspiration of four continents, a truly global cuisine first appeared. Its fusion relied both on force and resistance to oppression. Food was the ultimate substance of power. Food represents the remembered essence of a past embodied in cultural expression. Like the eloquent movements of the Guadeloupe cook, the memory of food is expressed in repeated bodily actions associated with its preparation and ingestion. As the edible vocabulary of ritual and belief, food allowed women cooks to claim the first and last word of each and every day in Caribbean history.

\* This short article is extracted from a book-length manuscript.



## ***Commerce, Cookbooks and Colonialism: Cross-Cultural Cuisine in the Age of Empire***

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Food might be "the world's most important subject," argues historian Felipe Fernández-Armesto. "It is what matters most to most people for most of the time."<sup>1</sup> Modern Western consumers would heartily agree with Armesto. Discussions about food -- its origins, its preparations, its health benefits, its effect on our bodies and minds -- are everywhere; television shows reflect the popularity of "celebrity chefs" and a host of new magazines cater to an increasingly-informed reader-

ship. Books such as *The Omnivore's Dilemma* and *Fast Food Nation* have challenged us to think about our systems for producing food.<sup>2</sup> Modern transportation networks enable us to enjoy products from across the world and to sample and learn about a diverse range of cultural traditions. With all of this information in the public domain, it is surprising how little our students know about food history and how it has shaped the modern world. Studying food provides us with a window on to much larger social, economic, and cultural developments in world history. In what follows, I would like to provide some examples from cookbooks that were designed to introduce European readers to new foods, recipes, and ideas during the period of colonial expansion in the late-19<sup>th</sup> and early-20<sup>th</sup> centuries. My hope is that this brief discussion will inspire further interest in the topic of food and its relationship to the history of European expansion.

Cookbooks are valuable sources that capture students' imaginations and present new avenues for discussion about past societies. The appearance of a wider range of cookbooks in the nineteenth century speaks to the growing demand for information and ideas about food among an increasingly literate middle-class audience in Europe and America. Excerpts from *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management*, for example, have found their way into many primary source readers for high school and university students.<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Beeton's instruction manual for Victorian women provides insight into the changing tastes of the bourgeoisie and working classes in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and her focus on managing a household allows us to interrogate the mores, culture, and preoccupations of women in nineteenth-century Britain.<sup>4</sup> Close readings of cookbooks can also take us beyond a particular society and reveal the connections between different peoples and traditions as they came into closer contact over time. In the late-19<sup>th</sup> and early-20<sup>th</sup> centuries, just as cookbooks became more popular, western Europeans began a new phase of colonial expansion, acquiring new territories throughout much of Africa, and cementing their control over older colonies in Asia and the Americas. Many new cookbooks that were published during this period reveal important things about the emergence of new kinds of cross-cultural connections across empires. Cookbook writers introduced new products and ingredients and promoted new methods and preparations. Their work demonstrates how eating habits and ideas about food could change as a result of colonial expansion, the development of global communication and transportation networks, and an increase in travel – for both commodities and people. Studying cookbooks also allows us to explore food industrialization and commodity capitalism at the level of intimate practice. In presenting new ideas in familiar ways, or cautioning against certain habits, the authors of cookbooks also tell us a great deal about the persistence of custom, ritual, and symbol in European food practices despite

the expansion of their power and the emergence of global trade and cultural exchange in the modern period.

Food can be a borderland between cultures, and what we choose to eat can be a cross-over point, a bridge – and in these crossing points, these entanglements with the basic sustenance of other cultures, we find forms of integration, as uneven as they can be, at the popular level. A variety of cookbooks that explore, celebrate, or define aspects of “colonial cuisine” between 1900 and 1930 point to the increased interest in new tropical ingredients in Europe, the industrialization of food production that made these ingredients available in most urban centers, and the attempt by cookbook writers to convince their readers of the value of new ingredients and preparations in enriching their diets and lives. These cookbooks were designed for one of two audiences: one was the settler population, for whom the cookbooks were as much about preserving traditions from the home culture as they were about making healthy meals using the locally-available foodstuffs. A second target audience was metropolitan Europe. In what follows, I will briefly touch on several examples of British, German, and French cookbooks that reflect a rising preoccupation with new ingredients and preparations.

In his 1903 book *Curries and How to Prepare*

*them*, Joseph Edmunds celebrates the “valuable and economical Indian condiment” of curry as an exciting addition to British cooking. After supplying a short history about the origins of curry in India, Edmunds presents a variety of recipes that were provided by, among others, the former chef to the Prince of Wales and the Director of the “Universal Cookery and Food Association” in Britain.<sup>5</sup> Edmunds' book provides an interesting example of an attempt to claim both authenticity for the recipes and a distinct kind of British-ness; curry is presented not as an exotic mystery but as a flavorful condiment to complement classic British ingredients. The book teaches readers how to correctly boil rice and how to make a variety of soup, fish, meat, vegetable, and egg curries. This is empire at the level of the street; Edmunds' recipes were aimed not just at housewives but also at workers: he devotes an entire section to “cheap currie dinners for working men.” His recipes were also published in the *Universal Cookery and Food Association's* “Food and Cookery,” marking the importance that people in the food industry were beginning to place on Indian dishes as an innovation to British cuisine.

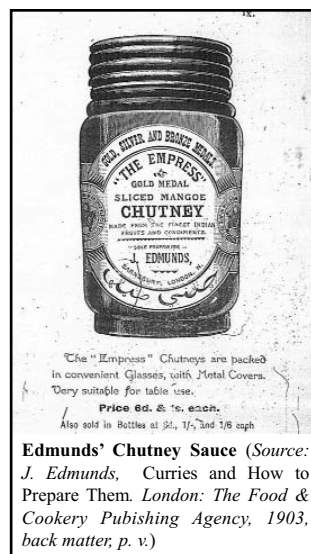
Edmunds' personal motivations for publishing this cookbook become clear with the first

recipe for Mulligatawny soup. The ingredient list includes mutton or tinned meat, apples, water, onions, turnips, leeks, flour, and “Empress” curry powder. The latter ingredient, as the advertising pages in the back reveal, came in a jar from the manufacturer, who was J. Edmunds. Sister products included “Empress Currie Paste” and a variety of chutneys. To further his credibility, Edmunds includes testimonials about his products from French and British chefs, Indian guests at the Colonial Exhibition of 1886, H.R.H. the Maharaj of Kuch Behar, Indian and British military personnel, and various club men. Further advertising reveals that Edmunds' products had won eighty-four awards, including five at the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1900 “for excellence of quality,” and that they enjoyed royal

patronage.<sup>6</sup> Edmunds' promotion of Indian cuisine in Britain reflects, therefore, reflects not only his personal enthusiasm for a style of cooking that originated in Britain's largest colony, but also his desire to profit from a new taste for “exotic” cuisine and flavors deriving from an expanding empire. The introduction of curry into the British market, therefore, was a result not just of the growing public interest in Indian dishes but also the ability of British manufacturers and advertisers to seize on this interest and exploit the new opportunities presented by the expansion of British trade and empire.

There is other interesting evidence about British food habits and cross-culinary contacts in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in this volume. The influ-

ence of French cooking, for example, is strongly apparent and reflects the long historical relationship between French traditions and British culinary habits.<sup>7</sup> Recipes are often presented with French names followed by British translations, including “*Champignons à l'indienne* (curried mushrooms)” and “*Chouxfleur au gratin à l'indienne* (curried cauliflower au Gratin).”<sup>8</sup> The most curious example of this Indian-French-British hybrid cuisine is in a recipe for “Curried Celery Fritters,” which appears to combine elements of French and Indian tastes in a way that might have appealed to British diners. The recipe calls for mixing Empress mulligatawny or curry paste with a *Béchamel* sauce (defined vaguely as “a rich white sauce”) and then using it to thoroughly coat boiled white celery. The whole mixture is then battered and deep fried in boiling fat and coated in Empress curry powder. “Asparagus, cucumber or marrow may be treated in the same manner,” Edmunds adds helpfully to his readers at the end of the recipe.<sup>9</sup> Because of the simplicity with which recipes demonstrate public interests and cultural preoccupations, Edmunds' book stands as a fascinating example of how empire could come home to “ordinary” people at the level of their daily habits.



Along with demonstrating the rising interest in new ideas and the commercial potential of marketing the colonies, colonial cookbooks can also demonstrate how food production in this period was becoming increasingly industrialized and global. Canning, for example, was relatively new, and it was the exigencies of long-distance travel, particularly to the tropics, that helped the industry to develop.<sup>10</sup> In the 1910 book *Practical West African Cookery*, authors S. Leith-Ross and G. Ruxton provide a list of must-have pantry items which include an assortment of British and American condiments and prepared foods from what were certainly the cookbook's sponsors, including Lazenby's anchovies, tinned salmon and chutney, Huntley & Palmer's Fancy Lunch biscuits, Quaker Oats, McDoddie's vegetables and Bernese Alpine chocolate cream tins.<sup>11</sup> The necessity of provisioning oneself against potential hardships and unfamiliar environments meant the strengthening of Europe's food service industries. Many companies greatly expanded their commercial reach by providing an array of preserves and prepared foods to European markets across Africa, India, and Asia. The array of companies that advertised in *Practical West African Cookery* is telling and demonstrates the importance of studying commodities in world history to see how diet and daily living are influenced by the industrialization of food production. Products include LEMCO pure concentrated beef, preserves from Maconochie's, and McDoddie's Evaporated Vegetables. McDoddie's advertisement assured readers that they supplied both the War Office and India Office, as well as "all great Expeditions and to Mining Camps throughout the world."<sup>12</sup> Most of the advertisements emphasized both the safety of the products and their European origins, linking commodities to "home" culture as symbols of Britain in exotic locales, and reflecting the cultural attachment of Europeans to the familiar even as they were exposed to new ideas and preparations. The acquisition of the new, these cookbooks reveal, was uneven, partial and incomplete, and the continuing attachment to home among expatriates made room for companies to expand the reach of "European" products in new markets and assisted in the development of food service multinationals.

Leith-Ross and Ruxton's recipe suggestions demonstrate some of the ways in which European expansion influenced Europeans and changed their habits and tastes, but also how Europeans strove to introduce and maintain their own culinary traditions in new environments. As in Edmunds' volume, *Practical West African Cookery* reflects a mélange of local and European ideas and the authors were quick to assure readers that the recipes were "nearly all French ones, adapted to Nigerian needs." Suggested meals include pumpkin soup followed by "Jollof Rice," "Lime sponge," and "Eggs on anchovy toast."<sup>13</sup> The authors are clearly reliant on stock "European" vegetables including cucumbers, parsley, lettuce, and carrots, and remind readers

that "the white man who has some little experience" will likely be successful in cultivating these vegetables. They recommend visiting Vilmorin and Sons in Paris, or Sutton & Sons in London, to obtain the most suitable varieties of seeds to transplant in the tropics.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, Leith-Ross and Ruxton also provide a detailed glossary of definitions for local West African ingredients, including amara (a tuber used to make flour), ground nuts, yams and gauta (a tomato-like fruit with a taste resembling aubergines), all staples of local cuisine. As a result, despite their desire to recreate a version of European cuisine in Africa, the book also serves to introduce both Europeans in the colonies and in metropolitan Britain to a wide range of new products and ingredients.

German cookbooks from the same period echo similar themes and trends. Like their British counterparts, German writers such as Olga Rosenberg (author of *Kolonial-Kochbuch*) and Antonie Brandeis (*Kochbuch für die Tropen*) highlight the benefits of prepared condiments and sauces, particularly items such as bouillon cubes and tinned soups from the soon-to-be ubiquitous Maggi family of products.<sup>15</sup> French influences are evident in the German books as well. Suggested recipes in Rosenberg's book included *Pot au Feu* and *Französische Suppe* (the latter was a "French" soup of water, onions, carrot, turnip, spices and garlic). The German books also reveal some other unexpected influences. Rosenberg's book, for example, provides recipes for Enchiladas, Irish Stew, Indian Lemon pudding and "American cake." She also celebrates what had originally been a Chinese condiment, *catsup* (ketchup), and gives readers a range of tomato, walnut, pickle, horseradish, and other catsup recipes.<sup>16</sup> Also under "catsups" is something called *Tappsauce*, denoted as "English" in brackets but which appears to be a hybrid of Indian and British recipes – a similar version described as "Tap Sauce" can be found in an earlier British publication called the *Indian Cookery Book*.<sup>17</sup> Both the German and English versions of *Tappsauce* call for mangos, dried ginger, and raisins, formulations that had clear tropical roots but that now entered the culinary lexicon of numerous European cuisines. *Tappsauce* leftovers, Rosenberg told readers, were useful for curries, a dish the German writers appear to have embraced in the same way as Edmunds did in Britain.<sup>18</sup> Rosenberg's love of Indian flavors is made more explicit in an entire chapter devoted to curries and chutnies; recipes include chicken curry with tomatoes, fish curry, and "Bengal-Chutnee."<sup>19</sup>

These cookbooks, along with demonstrating the clear crossover of Indian and other foods into national cuisines, offer hints about the role of women in preserving European domestic traditions in the modern period.<sup>20</sup> The attention devoted to managing servants in the colonies also point to the racial inequalities that characterized modern European colonialism. Cookbooks, therefore, can also be starting points for discussions about

race, gender roles, and relationships in the colonial world. Europeans were never expected to cook for themselves and were warned about the possible ineptitude of some "native" cooks. Leith-Ross and Ruxton caution that "[i]t must always be remembered that [the native cook] cannot have the least idea of how a dish ought to look or taste, he will never know why a white man prefers his soup thick and his sauce unburnt, and hardly anything in his own native cooking can help him to arrive at the results we expect of him."<sup>21</sup> The cookbooks give the impression that the ideal household was run by a European woman whose primary function was to supervise an army of "native" servants and teach them the "civilized" ways of Europeans. The books also reflect a rising preoccupation with nutrition and the "science" of food: Rosenberg hopes that the use of her recipes will help in the development of "a rational diet," and insists that food choices are particularly important for Europeans who face acclimatization challenges in the tropics.<sup>22</sup> Antonie Brandeis' 1913 cookbook reminded her readers that although European women needed to learn to cook before going to the colonies, it was difficult for them to cook in the tropics because the climate was too taxing. Their jobs, Brandeis argues, was to teach and supervise their local cooks.<sup>23</sup> The assumptions about race and class in books that were targeted to women point to several interesting correlations between women in the colonies and women in metropolitan centers, who were also obliged to supervise domestic servants and act out a set of proscribed bourgeois "norms," but they also reveal important aspects about social hierarchies and racial assumptions in European colonies across the world.

Moving to the post-World War One period, a series of cookbooks from France further demonstrates a rising interest in colonial food and products, a result of the French desire to celebrate France's role as an empire and a cultural crossroads of global importance. Exploring French cookbooks from this period also tells us about post-War France's economic reliance on its colonies, and the attempt by a small group of enthusiasts to introduce new ideas into French cooking. The desire to promote the "exotic" is evident in the book *La Cuisine Exotique chez soi*, where the author, known only as "Catherine," pays tribute to the supremacy of French cuisine but admonishes her readers to rid themselves of prejudice. "Exotic cuisine?" she asks, "don't be frightened away. You have well accepted the tomato, even the least refined species of this large acidic apple, unworthy of the small gold apples of Italy. You have well accepted the banana, which is the preferred fruit of your children, and curry has stopped being, little by little, an extraordinary curiosity and has become one of the elements of cuisine. We have resisted until now, more than other peoples, culinary exoticism; the Dutch accepted Javanese cuisine a long time ago."<sup>24</sup> "Catherine" has as her goal taking her readers on a global culinary tour; the book is set up as a

series of chapters where she consults a local “expert” (who might be a visiting dignitary, a former colonial official, a settler, or a “native” who lived in Paris), and after a discussion of the importance of a particular culinary tradition, a list of best recipes follows. Her rapid world tour includes India, Indochina, Malaysia, Polynesia, China, Japan, Morocco, Africa, the Antilles, Latin America, and the Balkans. Most of the recipes, she assures readers, “allow you to give to your dinners a note of originality that will not fail to be greatly appreciated by your guests. Curries, chutneys, aromatic chickens, bananas smothered in cream, and delectable pineapples, all these ways to prepare rice (which we absolutely do not know how to cook in France), will bring to you verita-

the wars, and the fascination with the “exotic” that contributed to food globalization. Isnard, moreover, does not seek only to integrate “African” ingredients into French cuisine, although he acknowledges French supremacy, but rather to open the doors to an entirely new set of ideas derived primarily from North African methods and traditions. This increasing celebration of another country or culture’s entire offerings, presented alongside one’s own, marked a new phase in the development of cross-culinary exchanges afforded by global economic integration. In a review of the book appended to the back of the 1930 edition, the director of the *Annales africaines*, Ernest Mallebay, noted that readers should consider “Arabic, Italian, Spanish, Maltese, and Jewish dishes that are consumed just as much in the Algerian villages as in the cities.” He praised this food and noted that “because Algeria is a gathering place of all of the Mediterranean peoples, it is natural that we practice all of these cuisines.”<sup>27</sup> Although resistance to new ideas would continue, the colonization of European cuisines by their colonies was well under way.

This brief survey of a number of colonial cookbooks from France, Germany, and Britain points to several interesting ideas that students can engage with as part of a larger discussion about culture, gender and race stereotypes, the economics of food production and food industrialization, and the reshaping of everyday life through the expansion of global trade. Colonial cookbooks also raise interesting ques-

tions about how we incorporate the unfamiliar into our daily lives, and how the economics of food and trade have an impact on our intimate practices. Cookbooks teach us about both the possibilities and the limits of global integration in the modern period, and help to explain the current global popularity of certain cuisines, such as French, Indian, and, most recently, African.<sup>28</sup> In thinking about how European expansion shaped eating practices across the world, we can also turn the idea of colonization on its head. In a sense, even the most rigidly “European” of the cookbooks allowed for the incorporation of traditions from across the colonized world and celebrated aspects of the “exotic.” The colonization of European dietary practices by other traditions began with European expansion, and, while this culinary colonization was partial, uneven, and inconsistent, so too was European dominance over the world in the modern period.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Felipe Fernández Armesto, *Near a Thousand Tables: a History of Food* (New York: The Free Press, 2002), xi.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Pollan, *The Omnivore’s Dilemma: a Natural History of Four Meals* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2006); Eric Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation: What the All-American Meal*

*is Doing to the World* (London: Penguin, 2002) [2001].

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, the useful excerpt from *The Book of Household Management* in the primary source reader by James Brophy et al., *Perspectives from the Past Volume II* (New York: Norton, 2002), 489-91.

<sup>4</sup> For an account of Mrs. Beeton’s life as a writer and full business partner of her husband Sam Beeton, see Kathryn Hughes, *The Short Life and Long Times of Mrs. Beeton: The First Domestic Goddess* (New York: Knopf, 2006).

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Edmunds, *Curries and How to Prepare Them* (London: The Food and Cookery Publishing Agency, 1903), 1-10.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 59-61; 14-16; , ii-xii.

<sup>7</sup> For more on the importance of French methods and preparations in Britain, see Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996).

<sup>8</sup> Edmunds, 47.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>10</sup> For more on the history of canning, see Reay Tanahill *Food in History* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1989), 310-313.

<sup>11</sup> S. Leith-Ross and G. Ruxton, *Practical West African Cookery* (Chichester: J.W. Moore, 1910), 8-9.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, (back matter).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, preface, 34.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 21-23, 28-32.

<sup>15</sup> Olga Rosenberg, *Kolonial-Kochbuch* (Berlin: Süsserott, 1906); Antonie Brandeis, *Kochbuch für die Tropen* (Berlin: Verlag von Dietrich Reimer, 1913).

<sup>16</sup> Rosenberg, 41, 100, 124, 143. For “catsup” recipes see 65-66; for soup recipes see 6-14.

<sup>17</sup> Anonymous, *The Indian Cookery Book* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., c. 1900), no. 332. See project Gutenberg, <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks05/0500071h.html#R301> (consulted January 1, 2008)

<sup>18</sup> Rosenberg, 66.

<sup>19</sup> Rosenberg, 75-78

<sup>20</sup> For more on gender, cooking, and the introduction of curry into the British diet, see Susan Zlotnick, “Domesticating Imperialism: Curry and Cookbooks in Victorian England,” in *Frontiers* 16, Nos. 2-3 (1996), 51-54.

<sup>21</sup> Leith-Ross and Ruxton, 16.

<sup>22</sup> Rosenberg, preface. The belief that white people had difficulty acclimatizing to the tropics has been explored by a number of historians. See Pascal Grosse on acclimatization and gender in “Turning Native? Anthropology, German Colonialism, and the Paradoxes of the ‘Acclimatization Question,’ 1885-1914” in H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl, eds., *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 179-197. For more on the medical discourse surrounding acclimatization, see Eric Jennings, *Curing the Colonizers: Hydrotherapy, Climatology, and French Colonial Spas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

<sup>23</sup> Brandeis, preface; 4.

<sup>24</sup> Catherine, *La Cuisine exotique chez soi* (Paris: Éditions des Portiques, 1931), 14.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>26</sup> Léon Isnard, *La Gastronomie africaine* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1930), preface.

<sup>27</sup> Ernst Mallebay, “L’Afrique Gourmande,” in Isnard, 462.

<sup>28</sup> The Ethiopian-born, Swedish-raised chef Marcus Samuelsson has recently published a cookbook on the best of African regional cuisine. See *The Soul of a New Cuisine: A Discovery of the Foods and Flavors of Africa* (New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, 2006).



Advertisement for cookbooks published by John Weik, showing people cooking and eating, c. 1856 (U.S. Library of Congress)

ble gastronomic revelations.”<sup>25</sup> Not only do these recipes give historians a chance to explore attempts by some French cooks to integrate new flavors and ideas into their traditional cuisine, but they also demonstrate French attitudes towards their colonies and beyond, as well as pointing to the importance that the outside world had for the development of modern European culture, material life, and fresh ideas that challenged old paradigms.

The final example of the impact of colonial cooking on metropolitan traditions comes from Chef Léon Isnard, whose book *La Gastronomie africaine* ran through several editions in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Isnard sought not only to give French readers a taste of French Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, but also to elevate the food of North Africa to the status of true gourmet food. Dedicated to “young girls who wish to marry,” the book also sought to educate this group and enable them to “acquire a solid culinary understanding that is indispensable today when material life is more difficult.”<sup>26</sup> These clues as to the motivations behind the growing interest in colonial ingredients and ideas speak to broader themes in modern French history, including the reliance of France on its food imports between

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## Paprika

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In 1937 the Nobel prize for “Physiology or Medicine” was awarded to Albert Szent-Györgyi, a professor of biochemistry at the University of Szeged in Hungary. For the first time, he and some colleagues, including the American Joseph Svirebely from the University of Pittsburgh, were able to isolate Vitamin C, ascorbic acid.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding Linus Pauling (another Nobel prize laureate) and Szent-Györgyi himself, vitamin C may not cure or prevent the common cold, but it certainly cures the vitamin deficiency known as scurvy or scorbutus (hence “ascorbic” acid) which plagued English (and other) sailors of yore, who were deprived of fresh fruit and vegetables during their long voyages. Vitamin C is also a major anti-oxidant.

It took Szent-Györgyi a while to find the most economical raw material for his experiments and for producing the vitamin, until he hit upon the idea of using the product, or produce, for which the Szeged region of southern Hungary is so famous, namely paprika, or red pepper.<sup>2</sup>

Paprika (*capsicum annum*), our topic, can be approached from various angles.<sup>3</sup> In Korea, the spicy paste prepared from red chili pepper is called *gochujang* (known as *gochugaru* in powder form) often added to *bibimbap*. Paprika or chili is also the key ingredient in *kimchi*, which in turn is a key dish in the Korean diet. Instead of a trip to Japan or Hong Kong, taken by most of my comrades in the military, I remember spending my R and R (Rest and Recuperation) on a beach on the Eastern coast of the Korean peninsula. Our hotel room was a cabin with an outhouse, and our meals consisted of rice for breakfast, rice for lunch, and rice for dinner. The same was true of the diet of most Koreans in those days, preceding the boom of the South Korean economy. What made the fare palatable, balanced, and nutritious, what relieved the monotony of white rice, was precisely *kimchi* -- in other words, paprika.

Similar circumstances affect the diet in many African countries. When financial circumstance permits, West Africans allow themselves the luxury of goat pepper soup or fish pepper soup, based on chili peppers. On the other side of the continent, in Ethiopia, a common dish is *dora wat*, the main ingredients of which are chicken and hot red pepper, served on *injera* flat-bread. Capsicums, including the *capsicum annum*, is commonly referred to as “African pepper,” “African red pepper,” or “Guinea pepper” — Guinea being a traditional geographic term from the times of the Transatlantic trade, denoting the African continent in general.<sup>4</sup>

In fact, chilis or hot peppers are one common denominator in the diet of peoples living in tropical regions around the world. There appears

to be a positive correlation between the heat of the climate and the hotness of the cooking forming the local diet.

We could also broach our subject from the point of view of cinema, in particular the prize-winning Japanese animation film titled *Paprika*, directed by Satoshi Kon, released in 2006, and based on a Japanese novel by the same title. The film has a science-fiction plot, about a research therapist whose fearless alter ego is an 18-year old “dream detective,” able to penetrate the dreams or the unconscious of others; she plays the title role and Paprika is her name. The film is not about food or cuisine, but the reference is obvious. The heroine of the story is red, or at least has flaming red hair, and her disposition is “spicy”—active, positive, fearless, no trace of wimpiness.<sup>5</sup> There are other peppers on the markets in Japan, such as the *togarashi*, described as small and very hot, available in ground form under the name *ichimi*.<sup>6</sup> Yet these words did not become the title of a Japanese film. Thus, while ground paprika itself may not be a major ingredient in Japanese cuisine, the novel and the film are indication enough that it is recognized in the country, and around the world, widely enough.

The subject of this essay is paprika. This may give rise to all sorts of confusion. Although the botanical term is *capsicum annum*, a designation which includes chilis and most peppers other than black pepper (*piper negro*), the word itself is of Hungarian and Serbian or Serbo-Croat derivation. In Hungary, the word refers to any fruit (i.e., vegetable) that belongs to the Capsicum family, as well as to the finely-ground powder derived from that fruit, while outside of Hungary, the word is applied more strictly to the powder. Hungary is recognized as the best source of this spice, but it is grown and ground in other lands as well, including Spain, Portugal, Malawi, and the United States (California). Thus, while tropical nations around the globe make use of chilis in their cuisine, the production of paprika is rather more limited.

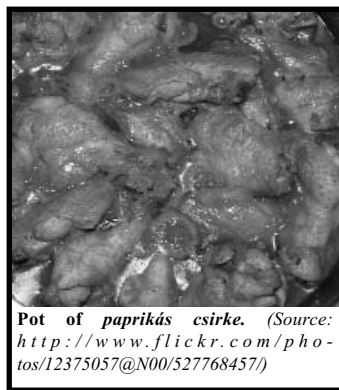
There are several varieties of *capsicum* -- albeit all of them originated somewhere in South America, even the one identified as *Capsicum chinense* -- but they may be used in combination.<sup>7</sup> A couple of examples of mixtures may suffice: the “Louisiana hot sauce” surrounding my canned fish includes both paprika oleoresin (*capsicum annum*) and cayenne pepper (*capsicum frutescens*). The curry powder we use at home to prepare Indian or West Indian dishes includes both “black pepper” and “red pepper.” The “Tabasco pepper” or cayenne pepper for which Louisiana is famous was acclimatized only as late as mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>8</sup>

We identify paprika, the word and the spice, primarily with Hungary.<sup>9</sup> It is the spice with

which many (but certainly not all) Hungarian dishes are seasoned. It is the distinguishing feature of *gulyás*, *székelygulyás*, *bográcsgulyás*, *halászlé* (fish-soup), *paprikás csirke* (chicken), *pörkölt* chicken (unlike the former, the latter does not make use of sour-cream as an ingredient), and other famous or not-so-famous Hungarian dishes. Somewhere in his reminiscences, General Béla Király writes about his group escape from a Soviet P.O.W. transport train; crossing the Carpathians into Transylvania under cover of darkness, they happened upon an encampment of shepherds who “offered us *gulyás* soup, still warm in the cauldron. Indeed, the food was the best I ever tasted, or at least that was my feeling at the moment.”<sup>10</sup> Each of those dishes I listed above has a history of its own, but not a very long history, since pepper or paprika was introduced into Hungary, and Europe in general, as late as the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

*Gulyás*, as well-traveled teachers and students know, is a soup. It was originally cooked in a cauldron by cattlemen and shepherds in the field. *Bográcsgulyás* and plain *gulyás* may have a variety of ingredients, but the constant elements, often the only ones, are beef, onion and, of course, paprika. The internet lists varieties of paprika that are sold as spice, in powder form, but the most common are sweet (*édesnemes*, literally, sweet and noble) and hot (*erős*, strong). Hungarian cooks, cowboys or not, tend to use both, in varying proportions. Another variety of *gulyás* is *székelygulyás*, -- named after a creative chef named Székely, rather than the Székely people of Transylvania -- which is not a soup, but sauerkraut with some meat (usually pork), sourcream, and paprika. Since these dishes include meat, they were mostly part of middle-class or petty nobility fare; they are “pseudo-peasant” dishes more than true country fare, for the East-Central European peasant of yore, and once again the peasant of today, cannot afford meat on a daily basis. On the other hand, *Paprikás krumpli*, or potatoes cooked with onions and paprika, are indeed an affordable, common fare.

Paprika is also a basic ingredient in sausage (*kolbász*, especially of the Gyulai and Csabai variety) as well as salami or *szalámi*, for which Hungary is famous. To be sure, the *chorizos* from Spain and Portugal, and even the *kielbasa* from Poland, are also among my favorite dishes, and they too depend on paprika. Hungarian cuisine makes wide use of peppers, including green or bell pepper (as in stuffed pepper), but the dishes tend to be mild rather than hot. In fact, Hungarians have some difficulty adjusting to hot Asian foods, such as Vindaloo-style cuisine from India, Szechuan Chinese, or *kimchi* from Korea.



Paprika was unknown in the Old World before the Columbian exchange (of course, the same goes for potato, corn/maize, tomato, chocolate, cassava/manioc, and dozens of other staples of modern Eurasian and even African diet). The mistakes of the leader of the expedition, Admiral Cristoforo Colombo (Christopher Columbus), hardly need recounting: the Indians he met were in fact Native Americans, the Indies he “discovered” were actually the islands of the Caribbean, half way around the globe from India, and the peppers he may have brought back to Europe were not *piper* (black pepper) and had nothing to do with Asia, or with the black and white ground varieties placed on our table at restaurants.<sup>11</sup> True, Columbus would not have referred to these as “peppers” (the English pronunciation), but possibly as *pimiento*, *pimentón*, or *piper*.

Suffice to say, Columbus or one of his companions named chili, *capsicum annuum* and all other varieties, piper, because he was vaguely familiar with the source of *piper negro* or black pepper, which indeed originated from India and the Spice Islands (Indonesia), and which is also pungent; he assumed he had reached the outlying areas of that region. In fact, the lucrative spice trade in black pepper and other spices is what had attracted European merchants from Italy, Portugal and elsewhere. To quote from Columbus’ *Journal* (15 January 1493) the pepper from the islands “is worth more than our pepper, and none of the people eat without it as it is found to be very salutary....”<sup>12</sup> Zoltán Halász gives credit to Chanca, the surgeon who traveled with Columbus, who mentioned the new spice as “chilli” and as “aji.”<sup>13</sup> Although black (or white, grey) pepper, and red (or green, yellow, etc.) are not botanically related, they ended up bearing the same name in English.

Red pepper was cultivated in Spain already in the 16<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>14</sup> and spread to Hungary as well, definitely by 1567.<sup>15</sup> It was used across all strata of society by 1775.<sup>16</sup> It took much longer for paprika, the powder, to get tamed. Experimentation, beginning in 1918, led to hybridization of different strains, until the farmers were able to grow a sweet paprika that had the aroma, color and other attributes of chillis, but not the heat (pungency). For the most part, this is the kind of paprika grown today in southern Hungary and ground by a complicated process into the powder that gives paprika dishes its special flavor.<sup>17</sup> There is a vast literature, mainly in Hungarian, on the cultivation, botanical properties, and processing of red paprika. At the end of each of his chapters Somos includes a bibliography listing hundreds of titles pertaining to paprika, green or red.<sup>18</sup>

Just when or how chili pepper came to Hungary and was first ground into a powder is not clear. The novelist Géza Gárdonyi related a scene, in his most famous novel *Egri Csillagok* [*Stars of Eger*] published in 1901, in which a Turkish janissary orders one of his Hungarian prisoners to cook up some lamb *gulyás*, with

“onions followed by plenty of paprika.” It turned out too hot for the Turk<sup>19</sup> even though the Turks are credited with bringing pepper and paprika to Hungary.

According to another version, paprika was not mass produced in Hungary until the Napoleonic wars, when black pepper had become scarce and expensive -- similar to what happened with the sugar processed from sugarcane vs. that processed from sugarbeets. In other words, it was a case of import substitution.

Dictionaries and encyclopedias derive the word paprika from the Hungarian.<sup>20</sup> This is not necessarily the case in other languages. For instance, the French refer to paprika as paprika or *piment*, but to black pepper as *poivre*. Paprika has a different name in Arabic and Hebrew, *peperone* in Italian, *bansho* in Japanese, *ardei* in Romanian, *pimiento* in Spanish. In fact, it may be possible to follow the trail of paprika from the Western Hemisphere to Hungary<sup>21</sup> and beyond, by noting the earliest occurrence of the term paprika or some similar-sounding cognomen.<sup>22</sup>

Paprika or red pepper derives its kick from a substance called *capsaicin* which, according to the online journal *Happy Living*, can be “used for everything from cooking, to self-defense, to pain relief.”<sup>23</sup> There is even the Scoville scale, in which Scoville Units are applied to any chili, red pepper, or pepper derivative, measuring the amount of *capsaicin* the pepper contains. Pure *capsaicin* -- 450,000 units on that scale -- may cause severe burns. It is not soluble in water, but will dissolve in alcohol, fat, or oil, which may explain why the latter two bring out the flavor in paprika.

Chili peppers, especially cayenne, have been credited with all sorts of health benefits, as a cure for allergies, angina, anorexia, arthritis, asthma, blood pressure (high or low), cancer (especially prostate cancer), the common cold, delirium tremens, diabetes, frostbite, gout, heart attacks, heat strokes, hemorrhage, hemorrhoids, malaria, multiple sclerosis, paralysis, senility, sore throat, stomach or peptic ulcers, even death<sup>24</sup>: “when a 90-year-old man in Oregon had a severe heart attack, his daughter was able to get Cayenne extract into his mouth. He was pronounced dead by the medics, but within a few minutes regained consciousness...”<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, many of these benefits do not apply to the most famous paprika from Hungary, since Hungarian sweet paprika has a near zero Scoville index, and practically no *capsaicin*, hence no heat. Some paprikas, however, are hot: apparently, the consumption of paprika mitigates to some extent the ill-effects of the pure lard Hungarians used to consume in huge quantities (*szalonna* in its smoked form).

In fact, peppers, including so-called “Hungarian pepper,” are now widely consumed in the United States; the time when paprika was used merely to add color, as a fancy decoration on finger-food, is in the past. Nowadays there is even a National Pepper Conference, held every other year, at locations known for their cultiva-

tion of pepper, such as Texas, Louisiana, California, New Mexico, even Maryland.

In 2004, Hungary experienced a paprika crisis. A batch of paprika containing high levels of the carcinogenic substance aflatoxin had to be recalled from grocery stores at home and abroad.<sup>26</sup> It was assumed that the contaminated paprika had been imported from South America, since the toxin, we are told, does not survive under the Hungarian climate.<sup>27</sup> Thus, while on the one hand genuine Hungarian paprika was off the hook since it remained safe, the Hungarian paprika industry had its reputation severely compromised, since it turned out that the paprika it peddled was not strictly Hungarian.

The crisis was a blow to the Hungarian economy and to Hungarian restaurants, which have yet to recover. Not too long ago, all categories of restaurants in Hungary would provide salt-, pepper-, and paprika-shakers at every table. Although the crisis is over by now, on my last visit to Hungary I had difficulty getting paprika at the table in most restaurants, even upon request. I assume -- but this is mere guesswork on my part -- that the uncontaminated paprika produced in the Szeged and Kalocsa regions is barely sufficient for export, let alone home consumption. Presumably, some of the paprika--possibly the contaminated paprika -- had been imported to make up for the shortfall.

\* I owe thanks to Dr. Joonseong Lee and Ms. Fusako Ito for their help in preparing this essay, especially the linguistics aspects of it.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Albert Szent-Györgyi, “Oxydation, energy transfer, and vitamins,” Nobel lecture, December 11, 1937. [http://nobel-prize.org/nobel\\_prizes/medicine/laureates/1937](http://nobel-prize.org/nobel_prizes/medicine/laureates/1937)

<sup>2</sup> The Albert Szent-Györgyi Papers, Profiles in Science/National Library of Medicine. Profiles.nlm.nih.gov/WG/Views/Exhibit/narrative/szeged.html

<sup>3</sup> D. C. Jarvis, “The Health Benefits of Cayenne.” Dr. Jarvis’ Unpublished Notebook. [www.crows.com/cayenne.html](http://www.crows.com/cayenne.html), 1-48.

<sup>4</sup> Jarvis, 5

<sup>5</sup> [www.myspace.com/paprikamovie](http://www.myspace.com/paprikamovie)

<sup>6</sup> Jill Norman, *Spices: Roots & Fruits*. (Toronto: Bantam books), 11.

<sup>7</sup> [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chili\\_pepper](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chili_pepper)

<sup>8</sup> [www.botgard.ucla.edu/html/botanytextbooks](http://www.botgard.ucla.edu/html/botanytextbooks)

<sup>9</sup> András Somos, *The Paprika* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 1984), 11.

<sup>10</sup> Béla K. Király, *Wars, Revolutions and Regime Changes in Hungary, 1912-2004*. (New York: Columbia U. Press, 2005), 181.

<sup>11</sup> Somos, 13.

<sup>12</sup> John Boyd Thacher, *Christopher Columbus. His Life, his Work, his Remains*. 3 vols. (New York: AMS Press, 1967), Vol. I, 646.

<sup>13</sup> Zoltán Halász, *Hungarian Paprika through the Ages*, (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1963), 14.

<sup>14</sup> Halász, 18.

<sup>15</sup> Margit Széchy’s correspondence, quoted in Halász, 24.

<sup>16</sup> József Csapó, mentioned in Halász, 30-31.

<sup>17</sup> Halász, “From the Pepper-Pot to Hungarian Sweet Paprika” in *Hungarian Paprika...*, 34 ff. See also “Hungarian Paprika” in *Budapest Tourist Guide*. [www.budapest-tourist-guide.com/hungarian-paprika.html](http://www.budapest-tourist-guide.com/hungarian-paprika.html), 1-7.

<sup>18</sup> Somos, *Paprika*, *passim*.

<sup>19</sup> Géza Gárdonyi, *Egri csillagok* (Budapest: Holnap, 2005, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1901), Part I, 68.

<sup>20</sup> For instance, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paprika.

<sup>21</sup> See maps in Somos, 14.

<sup>22</sup> www.uni-graz.at-katzer/engl/Caps\_ann.html, 1-23.

<sup>23</sup> www.happynews.com/living/cooking/capsaicin.html.

<sup>24</sup> See Jarvis and also Heidi Allison, *The Chili Pepper Diet*, (HCL, 2002).

<sup>25</sup> Jarvis, 35.

<sup>26</sup> www.danieldrezner.com/archives

<sup>27</sup> foodsafetynetwork.ca/fsnet/2004. Also, www.whfoods.org/genpage.php?tname+foodspice....

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## Culinary Interchange in 16<sup>th</sup> - Century Peru: A Multi-Ethnic Exercise in Building a Cuisine

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When Francisco Pizarro set out to conquer Peru in 1532, his objectives extended well beyond adventure and material gain.<sup>1</sup> He embraced the Spanish mission to educate the indigenous peoples in the Catholic faith and he dedicated his best post-conquest efforts to building the capital city of Lima.<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence, however, that he had any intention of beginning a culinary interchange between the three ethnicities thrust upon one another in the new land. Yet, as the 16<sup>th</sup> century unfolded, the Spanish, their African slaves, and the indigenous Peruvians found themselves the players in the development of what was to become one of Latin America's most exciting cuisines. Together in a land with interesting geographical challenges and complex social networks, these three groups contributed to the initial confluence of culinary ideas<sup>3</sup> that ultimately produced Peruvian cuisine.

The signature dishes of Peruvian cuisine, *ceviche* (fresh fish "cooked" in a citrus marinade) and *anticuchos* (spicy marinated beef hearts strung on skewers and grilled over an open flame), as well as the cocktail *Pisco sour*, rely on ingredients unknown to the pre-conquest Incas: limes, beef, and grapes. But that is not to say that these dishes are, or have ever been, "Spanish." Neither are they African or indigenous. They belong uniquely to Peru and are part of a long history of culinary invention that began with an interchange between the Spanish, the indigenous peoples, and the Africans.

The prequel to that history was the agrarian lifestyle of the indigenous peoples in the Inca period (1438-1532). Without knowledge of the wheel, with only one large domesticated mammal (the llama), and without any dairy products, the Incas took masterful advantage of their immensely varied landscape. An extensive network of terraces and irrigation canals covered the country in all climate zones. Fertilization and natural pest control techniques were known and practiced, as were cross-breeding and crop development.<sup>4</sup> The multi-climate geography of Peru provided ideal growing locations for each of the most important European crops that were to come after the conquest: wheat, rice, grapes, olives, and sugar. However, the multiplicity of microclimates limited the development of monoculture cash crops. Peru never developed the kind of plantation economy that appeared in sugar, cotton, and coffee growing regions elsewhere in the "New World," in part, for geographical reasons.<sup>5</sup> At least three major mountain chains run the length of Peru. As one author describes it, "this 'vertical' landscape often incorporates a stunning variety of ecological microenvironments within a relatively small

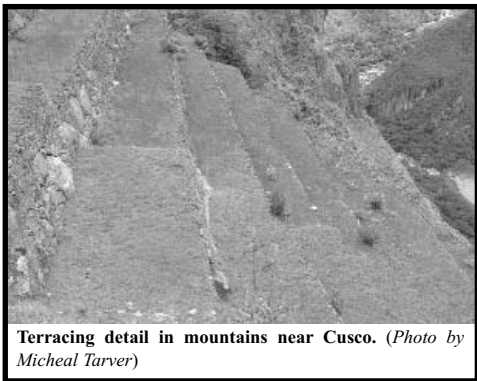
area."<sup>6</sup> The inability of any one crop to dominate such a varied geography, coupled with the reality of a built-in population of agricultural workers with crops of their own, produced an environment resistant to homogenization.

Moreover, agriculture in the new country remained largely in the hands of the indigenous peoples due to Spanish laws which prohibited their enslavement and displacement.<sup>7</sup> Some scholars equate the *encomienda* system with slavery and insist that laws passed concerning the governance and protection of the natives had little influence on actual practice.<sup>8</sup> However, few scholars mention the other side of this argument: Indigenous people were not pushed off their land, they were not bought and sold, and they were not separated from their families. They were a large population (est. 1.5 million at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.) that intermarried, interacted, and engaged in culinary interchange with their conquerors. What seems most important to the initial phase of culinary development is that the natives remained involved in agriculture and had a certain mastery over crops and food choices.

Nevertheless, the place where cuisine is developed is not in the field, but in the kitchen. The first food environment in post-conquest Peru was doubtless the kitchen of the *casa poblada* (occupied house) of the *encomendero*. *Encomenderos* in Peru were required to set up a *casa poblada* on the land where their indigenous workers lived. Cooks in the *casa poblada*, usually indigenous or African women, regularly fed the *encomendero's* family, friends, relatives, compatriots, and even renters.<sup>9</sup> In addition to these, sometimes upwards of 40 diners, a number of other people were fed from the same kitchen: indigenous household staff, African slaves, Spanish artisans with their own indigenous and African servants, and foreign merchants.

The likelihood of culinary interchange in this setting is obvious, but becomes more so when one considers the family environment in early Peru. Spanish women certainly dominated the domestic and, therefore, culinary scene. However, Spanish women raised "not only their own fully-Spanish offspring, but large numbers of *mestizo* children, fathered by Spanish settlers who were not content to see them raised as Indians."<sup>10</sup> In addition, it was not uncommon for childless or "charitable" Spanish women to adopt and educate, even provide substantial dowries, for *mestizo*, indigenous, and African dependents.<sup>11</sup> The incorporation of mixed races into the intimate family structure created a setting ripe for culinary experimentation. Further down the social scale, interchange increased as indigenous or mixed-race former mistresses of Spanish nobles married Spanish commoners, establishing "Spanish" households where the domestic economy was entrusted to non-Spanish women.

One dish that illustrates this blending of cultures is *olluquito con charqui*, a Peruvian dish developed during this period, which relies both on indigenous and Spanish food traditions. *Olluco*



Terracing detail in mountains near Cusco. (Photo by Micheal Tarver)

is a native tuber of the Peruvian Andes. *Charqui* is salted and air-dried meat. *Charqui* was common during the Inca period, but became more abundant once Spanish livestock arrived providing an option to llama meat. In *olluquito con charqui*, the *olluco* and the *charqui* are cut in a fine julienne and cooked in an *aji* (Peruvian chili pepper) garlic sauce.<sup>12</sup> *Olluquito con charqui* is served with rice -- a hint of the Arab roots of Spanish cooking. The amusing Spanish diminutive "*olluquito*," always in the singular in the name of this dish<sup>13</sup>, is a linguistic clue to the dish's origins and acceptance among Spanish diners in early Peru.

Other dishes that became part of Peruvian cuisine relied not only on indigenous traditions and rural agriculture, but on the small-scale agriculture<sup>14</sup> surrounding new urban centers. These gardens and orchards, where European and semi-tropical Peruvian fruits and vegetables were grown, were chiefly the domain of Afro-Peruvians. Afro-Peruvians also dominated the beef business as muleteers, cattle ranchers, and slaughterhouse workers. Africans are credited with the invention of many beef dishes, such as *anticuchos*, a dish most often sold by black street vendors in cities. As domestics in the service of the Spanish, African women were often called upon to create elaborate dishes and desserts to impress guests, the most famous of which is *Turrón de Doña Pepa*. This dessert -- anise cookie logs bathed in a molasses-fruit glaze -- is directly derived from the Spanish pastry tradition, but the "*negra*" Doña Pepa's recipe was so successful that it practically replaced Spanish *turrónes* in Peru.<sup>15</sup>

The contrast between the African slaves in Peru and the slaves in plantation economies is noteworthy. In Peru, the ratio of slave to master was approximately 4:1, a ratio that clearly indicates the absence of large-scale slave owners.<sup>16</sup> Since Peru already had a large population of indigenous agricultural workers, African slaves were embedded in the fiber of upwardly-mobile, urban Spanish households. The economic growth opportunities available in the developing country benefited the Spanish as well as their African dependents. Where a Spanish artisan or businessman saw an opportunity to diversify his economic interests, he could leave his trained African slave in charge of his primary business. Africans, who were hispanized rapidly in comparison with the indigenous peoples,<sup>17</sup> mimicked the entrepreneurial behavior of their masters and established side businesses of their own.<sup>18</sup> Many times, these businesses were food-related, a natural result of Africans' involvement in small-scale agriculture and domestic service. The desires of the urban population to dine out and be "seen" in public created a niche for Africans, who eventually went into street vending, selling prepared foods<sup>19</sup> and even owning *picanterías* (rustic eateries).<sup>20</sup>

The first cookbooks published in Peru (not until the 18<sup>th</sup> century) document the beginnings

of a new Peruvian cuisine. Doña Josepha, Spanish mistress of one of the most splendid mansions in the glittering city of Potosí, wrote her classic *Libro de Cocina* in 1776. At Doña Josepha's banquets much of the food, not to mention the table decoration (porcelain from China, crystal from Venice, lace from Brussels), was brought to Potosí, at an altitude of 13,415 feet above sea level, by mule-train.<sup>21</sup> However, despite the ostentation and desire to establish a culturally-superior idiom<sup>22</sup>, the food served by Doña Josepha was not quite what her guests would have had in Spain. Doña Josepha flavored her meats and stews with Peruvian *aji*, served platters of different colored potatoes and sweet potatoes in the place of bread, and provided *chicha de jora* (corn beer) as a beverage option.<sup>23</sup> This emerging cuisine seems inextricably tied to the multi-ethnic exchange that began in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

As Peru developed from a newly-conquered outback to the capital of South America, the desire to establish a permanent society, to "convert the heathen" indigenous peoples, to incorporate African slaves into a growing economy, to address the mestizo children leftover from the conquest period, as well as the love of urban life and ostentation were all factors that favored the development of new and different foods. These varied and rich, if somewhat chaotic and disorderly, circumstances seem to reveal an underlying attitude of openness -- perhaps a clue to what it takes to develop a cuisine with the originality and breadth of Peruvian cuisine.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> "From an early time Pizarro identified himself deeply and permanently with the Peruvian venture, not just or mainly for treasure, but as governor of Peru." Lockhart, James, *Men of Cajamarca* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), 150.

<sup>2</sup> Besides founding and building the country's capital, Lima, Pizarro founded a number of cities "in order that God and his Majesty may be served therein." *Documents from early Peru: The Pizarros and the Almagros, 1531-1578*, tr. Stella Risely Clemence (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1936), 105.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase "initial confluence of culinary ideas" as well as other concepts I find helpful for describing the development of cuisine, are from Arjun Appadurai, "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 30, no. 1 (Jan., 1988).

<sup>4</sup> Santiago E. Antúnez de Mayolo, "Puede la dieta precolombina superar la malnutrición contemporánea?" in *Cultura, Identidad y Cocina en el Perú*, ed. Rosario Olivas Weston (Lima: Universidad San Martín de Porres, 1993), 43-46. In addition, popular chef and Peruvian food historian, Gastón Acurio writes, "the original Peruvians genetically dominated the native tubers, developing hundreds of varieties of potatoes, ocas, sweet potatoes, ollucos, uaco, arracachas, chiras and yucas." Gastón Acurio, *Perú: Una Aventura Culinaria* (Quebecor World Peru S.A., 2003), 14.

<sup>5</sup> Graubart, K. B. (2007). *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.

<sup>6</sup> Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 3-5.

<sup>7</sup> Gustavo Pons Muzzo, *Historia De La Cultura Peruana* (Lima: Editorial Universo S.A., c.1970), 91-93. .

<sup>8</sup> Henry Kamen, *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003), 492

<sup>9</sup> James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru 1532-1560*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 23.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 185

<sup>12</sup> Peruvian chiles (*aji*) are spicy, but not as biting as Caribbean or Mexican chiles. From the earliest recorded recipes, it seems *aji* was the flavoring ingredient of preference, trumping black pepper, and at times even garlic and onion. See Rosario Olivas Weston, *La Cocina en el Virreinato del Perú*, (Lima: Universidad de San Martín de Porres, 1996) or Doña Josepha de Escurrechea, "Libro de cocina" (1776), in *La Gastronomía en Potosí y Charcas*, ed. Beatriz Rossells, (La Paz, 1995).

<sup>13</sup> Juan Jose Vega, "La influencia morisca y mora: tres casos específicos," in *Cultura, Identidad y Cocina en el Perú*, ed. Rosario Olivas Weston (Lima: Universidad de San Martín de Porres, 1992), 161.

<sup>14</sup> Graubart, K. B. (2007). *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.

<sup>15</sup> "Este pastel de anís cubierto con almíbar se ha convertido en un emblema nacional," says Tony Custer in his haute cuisine-style cookbook *El Arte de la Cocina Peruana* (Quebecor World Peru, S.A., 2003), 202. Most Spanish-style turrónes are thick, sweet pastes made from almonds, molded into blocks, and later cut into bars. The base of *Turrón de Doña Pepa* is a drier, log-shaped cookie (no almonds), but once the cookie logs are bathed in syrup, they are molded into the familiar block (which is also bathed in syrup) and left to harden slightly before it is cut into bars.

<sup>16</sup> Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 200-201.

<sup>17</sup> Some African slaves came from Spain or from other Spanish-speaking parts of the "New World." The others came from diverse language groups in Africa. They did not live and work together in large groups, they did not share a common language besides Spanish, and they were distanced culturally from Africa. It seems that music was their only non-Hispanic shared cultural heritage. See Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 207-213.

<sup>19</sup> Olivas Weston, *La Cocina en el Virreinato del Perú*, 307.

<sup>20</sup> Rosario Olivas Weston, *La Cocina Cotidiana y Festiva de los Limeños en el Siglo XIX* (Lima: Universidad de San Martín de Porres, 1999), 133.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas B.F. Cummins, "Silver Threads and Golden Needles: The Inca, the Spanish, and the Sacred World of Humanity" in *The Colonial Andes, Tapestry and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 4.

<sup>22</sup> Appadurai's terms

<sup>23</sup> Doña Josepha de Escurrechea, "Libro de cocina" (1776), in *La Gastronomía en Potosí y Charcas*, ed. Beatriz Rossells, (La Paz, 1995).

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## How the Chili Pepper Got to China\*

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[An orthographical note: In this article, I use the conventional American spelling of chili with one "l". The British use two: "chilli" — thus the discrepancy in spelling in some of the citations. Other chili aficionados choose to use more obscure spellings, such as "chile" — I leave the choice to the author I cite.]

**"Good to Think With"** - As Claude Levi-Strauss is said to have written, "Food is good to think with."<sup>1</sup> It is particularly good to think about world history with. In *Food in Global History* Raymond Grew calls world history and the history of food an "explosive" combination. "They intersect so easily," he writes, "because each sends forth tentacles of relevance that reach across conventional limitations of time, region, and scholarly specialization."<sup>2</sup> Anthropologists and cultural studies scholars have long recognized the importance of food in understanding the human story.<sup>3</sup> Historians and even journalists have more recently noticed that food, like sex, sells.<sup>4</sup> For students of world history, as well as for historians of different specializations and scholars from different disciplines, food is an accessible and compelling subject that encourages engagement, introspection, and active learning.<sup>5</sup>

**Hot Stuff** - The chili pepper is eaten by more than a quarter of the world's population each day, making it "the most used spice and condiment in the world."<sup>6</sup> Chilis, a product of the nightshade family, *solanaceae*, of the genus *capsicum*, are native to the southern Brazilian highlands and were already being consumed by humans almost 10,000 years ago. They were first cultivated between 5,000 and 3,000 BCE.<sup>7</sup> Chilis come by their popularity like many other exciting New World products: they are chemically addictive. "When capsaicinoids [one of the alkaloids that give chilis their punch] come into contact with the nerve endings in the tongue and mouth, the brain is tricked into thinking that your tongue and mouth are actually on fire....The brain, perceiving it has been injured, secretes a natural painkiller, endorphin, that acts like morphine. This is the chile high."<sup>8</sup> Through time and space, as humans, hearts pounding, have drooled, sniffled, sweated, and cried over chilis, they have also fallen in love with this little fruit.

Chilis have come into their own in America over the past 50 years. Already an important moniker of spiciness on Asian-American menus of many stripes, the hot red chili pepper has become a celebrity in its own right in the U.S., spawning chili pepper specialty outlets selling everything from hot sauce to

anthropomorphic chili dolls; chili pepper statues that introduce their chili-centered cities to the world (Las Cruces, NM; Pueblo, CO); and fortuitously colored chili pepper-shaped Christmas tree lights. "Rate My Professor.Com" has endeared the symbol of the chili pepper to the academic community, indicating as it does how "hot" a professor is to his or her student body. In other words, the chili pepper is a well-known product, one that resonates with audiences of all varieties.

The visibility of the chili pepper makes it a particularly good product to think -- and to teach -- with. Students "know" about chilis, but, of course, like most of us, they have never really thought about them. Decentering the known is one of the most intellectually challenging aspects of teaching world history, and the "peripatetic chili pepper"<sup>9</sup> and its journeys and triumphs around the globe both reset the lens on an "American" product, and, at the same time, make global connections the focus of an easily swallowed -- yet seductively spicy -- world history lesson.

**How the Chili Pepper Got to China** - In America, much of Chinese food is actually Hunanese or Sichuanese food, often served at restaurants offering interregional menus. The prevalence of the chili pepper in these two regions' dishes leads many Americans to associate the chili pepper with China at large. In fact, many Chinese also consider the chili pepper "native." It plays such a vital role in China's regional cuisine that even locals in Sichuan and Hunan are not aware that it

### Combination Platters

(Served with Egg Roll & Pork Fried Rice)

C 1.	Chicken Broccoli .....	6.45
C 2.	Shrimp Chow Mein .....	6.45
C 3.	Shrimp with Lobster Sauce .....	6.45
C 4.	Beef with Broccoli .....	5.95
C 5.	Pepper Steak .....	6.45
C 6.	Roast Pork Lo Mein .....	5.95
C 7.	Sweet and Sour Chicken or Pork ...	5.95
C 8.	B-B-Q Spare Ribs .....	6.95
C 9.	Moo Goo Gai Pan .....	6.95
C10.	Roast Pork with Chinese Vegetables ..	5.95
C11.	Chicken with Garlic Sauce .....	6.95
C12.	Baby Shrimp with String Bean .....	6.95
C13.	Chicken w. String Beans .....	6.45
C14.	Baby Shrimp w. Mixed Vegetables ..	6.95
C15.	General Tso's Chicken .....	6.95

Detail from menu at King Palace (Lake Charles, LA) showing use of Chili Peppers to denote spiciness.

is not indigenous to their areas. In his 1992 award-winning movie "The Story of Qiu Ju," Director Zhang Yimou represents China's peasant heartland with the character Qiu Ju (Gong Li), the wife of a chili farmer who trundles bundles of chilis to the provincial capital to pay for her search for justice. The chilis themselves form a well-understood visual metaphor for China's indomitable peasantry, and the trope is repeated throughout the film with Zhang's usual stunning color and imagery. But as Lizzie Collingham tells us about chili peppers in India, where, she claims, "it is difficult to imagine Indian cookery without them,"<sup>10</sup> or as Jean Andrews ("the

Pepper Lady" -- an epithet she has had trademarked) notes of "Old World cuisines" in general, "Five hundred years ago, none of the people in these countries had ever seen or heard of a chili pepper. No Old World language had a word for chili peppers before 1492."<sup>11</sup> Seeing how chilis have become integral to Chinese cuisine, when and how did they get there?

It is now well accepted that *capsicums* originated in South America and moved to Asia via Spanish and/or Portuguese traders. But their actual trajectories remain a mystery. "Unfortunately, documentation for the routes that chilli peppers followed from the Americas is not as plentiful as that for other New World economic plants such as maize, tobacco, sweet potatoes, manioc, beans and tomatoes."<sup>12</sup> Almost all food historians concur that the transfer was rapid and radical, a "wildfire spread"<sup>13</sup> that "reduced the usage of white or black pepper in that area....constitut[ing] a marked change in [the] food culture" of Asia.<sup>14</sup> But how and when they entered China is not well explained.

Most histories of the chili pepper's entrance into China are based on Ho Ping-ti's now-classic 1955 article, "The Introduction of American Food Plants into China,"<sup>15</sup> and assume that chili peppers moved with their frequent companions, the "Mesoamerican food complex" (Jean Andrews' phrase) of beans, squash, and maize. This grouping was said to have taken root in China by the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>16</sup> The teleological argument runs as follows: "In the Szechuan and Hunan provinces in China, where many New World foods were established within the lifetime of the Spanish conquistadors....American foods were known...by the middle of the sixteenth century, having



reached these regions via caravan routes from the Ganges River through Burma and across Western China (Ho 1955).<sup>17</sup> The cuisines of southwestern Szechuan and Hunan still employ more chilli peppers than any other area in China.”<sup>18</sup>

But if we use Ho’s own methodology and source base, deep reading China’s ancient and copious local histories (“gazetteers”), we discover a different story.<sup>19</sup> Despite the ultimate success of the chili in redefining the cuisines of Sichuan and Hunan, these provinces are not necessarily the original points of entry for this New World fruit.

A thorough examination of China’s local gazetteers from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century on produces a number of provocative data points on the introduction of the chili pepper into China. This data challenges much of conventional scholarship on the subject.<sup>20</sup> According to these sources, the first recorded instance of the chili in China’s local histories comes from Zhejiang province, on China’s southeast coast, corroborating conjecture about the chili’s Chinese debut via the sea. The *Shanyin County Gazetteer* of 1671 notes “*Laqie* is red hued...and can be substituted for pepper” (the pepper referred to here is *piper* spp., which produces pepper corns, not *capsicum* spp.). Although this date is considerably later than the conventionally used entry date of 1550, the important part here is not to fix an exact date of entry, but to understand the relative chronology of the flow of chilis into China.<sup>21</sup> References to chilis in this

gazetteer and . . . the first recorded instance of the chili in China’s local histories comes from Zhejiang province, on China’s southeast coast, corroborating conjecture about the chili’s Chinese debut via the sea.

others in Zhejiang continue through the Qianlong period and peter out after that, suggesting that, although chilis arrived early to this region, they did not find a particularly receptive audience there, leaving a relatively bland (although still delicious) cuisine.

The next reference we have is a surprising one, found in the 1682 *Gaiping County Gazetteer* from Liaoning province, in China’s far northeast. Successive records of chilis from Liaoning continue right through the Republican period (1911-1949). For example, the 1690 *Liao Zai Qianji* (*Collected Records of Liaoning*) discusses the plant known as “*qinjiao*, also known as *fanjiao*” (both terms translate as “foreign pepper”). Liaoning’s proximity to Korea and its increased intercourse with that kingdom during the years of the Manchu transition (Korea became a Qing Dynasty [1644-1911] tributary until 1894) suggest that one of the chili’s earliest entrances into China was through Korea, where it would have arrived via Japan and the Portuguese trade. (Kimchi and Korean cuisine become newly interesting in this light.)

Equally surprising is how late the chili pepper appears in Sichuan’s gazetteers, given the role it was to soon play in Sichuan’s cuisine. The first mention does not appear until 1749, more than 60 years after nearby Hunan’s first reference (1684),

and it is not until the 1800s that the plant clearly takes off throughout this province, finally becoming the hot commodity we know today. Similarly telling is the very late date (1894) indicated for its introduction into Yunnan province, the area neighboring Burma, which would have been critical if the pepper had indeed come overland from India through Burma. Thus we can see that a focused investigation into local sources is critical in rounding out the story of transnational food-stuffs. It’s not enough simply to set them afloat on one side of an ocean; global networks should not obscure equally important regional flows and details of local receptions.

**History Lessons** - The story of how the chili pepper got to China has a moral or two, as many good stories do. The first is that we must not ignore the local story, even as we are telling a global tale. If we ignore what happens when a product reaches its destinations, we lose the agency of the very people world history hopes to re-enfranchise. Our students will understand the story better if we let them participate in this agency, asking them to name dishes unthinkable without the chili, creating a tasting menu (if only visually) of Indian *vindaloo* curries and Sichuan *mapo toufu*, Southwestern *salsas* and Thai *prik king*. It is human taste and sensibility that take a commodity and create a cuisine—or not. And although I have not done so here, it is also an important part of the story to explore the agency,

t h e “actant-ality” (to borrow

Latour’s unusable term) of the chili pepper itself. Its definite personality, its hardy nature, its vitamin content, and its addictive properties, all must have played a part in the reception it sparked, both in different parts of China and elsewhere around the globe. Why was the chili so well received in Hunan and Sichuan, and yet allowed to languish in Zhejiang? How do the factors mentioned above influence the outcome of the story? Can we really hope to access them?

Finally, as Brillat-Savarin once said, “Tell me what you eat and I will show you who you are.”<sup>22</sup> Show me a Chinese chili eater and I will show you a local actor, a global player, and an individual embedded firmly in his own regional networks -- whether he knows it or not. Think local -- eat global!

\* I would like to thank my research assistant, Hong Bao, for his work on this project, as well as Harvard University’s and Emmanuel College’s superb reference librarians for their help.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Levi-Strauss did not actually write this phrase in this way, but it is often attributed to him nonetheless. It fits his work and certainly the work inspired by his *oeuvre* very well, leading to the confusion. See Barbara Santich, who discusses this problem: <http://www.arts.adelaide.edu.au/centrefooddrink/publications/articles/santichlevistrauss0paper.html>

<sup>2</sup> Raymond Grew, ed. *Food in Global History* (Westview Press, 1999), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Claude Levi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked*; Jack Goody, *Food and Love*; James Watson on MacDonald’s and Theodore Bestor on the tuna trade.

<sup>4</sup> For the latter, note the success of Mark Kurlansky’s best-sellers *Cod* and *Salt*.

<sup>5</sup> Rebecca Wendelken suggests similar points about dress in “Are we what we wear?” *World History Bulletin*, vol. XX, No. 2 (Fall 2004), 7-11.

<sup>6</sup> Kenneth Kiple and Kriemhild Conee Cremelas, eds., *Cambridge World History of Food* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 281.

<sup>7</sup> J. G. Vaughan and C. A. Geissler, *New Oxford Book of Food Plants* (Oxford University Press, 1997), 138.

<sup>8</sup> Terrence W. Haverluk, “Chile Peppers and Identity,” *Journal for the Study of Food and Society*, vol.6, No. 1 (Winter 2002), 46.

<sup>9</sup> Jean Andrews, “The Peripatetic Chili Pepper: Diffusion of the Domesticated Capsicums Since Columbus,” in Nelson Foster and Linda S. Cordell, eds., *Chilies to Chocolates: Foods the Americas Gave the World* (The University of Arizona Press, 1992).

<sup>10</sup> Lizzie Collingham, *Curry: A Tale of Cooks & Conquerors* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 47.

<sup>11</sup> Jean Andrews in James Gerber and Lei Guang, eds., *Agriculture and Rural Connections in the Pacific, 1500-1900* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2006), 39; Collingham, 47.

<sup>12</sup> *Cambridge World History of Food*, 282.

<sup>13</sup> *Cambridge World History of Food*, 1753; also Jean Andrews, “Diffusion of Mesoamerican Food Complex to Southeastern Europe,” *Geographical Review*, April 1993, vol. 83, issue 2, 194-205.

<sup>14</sup> *The New Oxford Book of Food Plants*, 138.

<sup>15</sup> Ho, Ping-ti, “The Introduction of American Food Plants into China,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 57, No. Part 1 (April 1955), 191-201.

<sup>16</sup> Ho, 197; see Gerber and Lei, xxi, following Ho.

<sup>17</sup> Ho does not mention chili peppers in his article.

<sup>18</sup> *Cambridge World History of Food*, 282.

<sup>19</sup> China’s gazetteers, “local histories” that detail social customs, economic data, botanical facts, population statistics, and a wealth of other information, offer historians of pre-modern and modern China an embarrassment of information many other regional specialists can only dream of. Luckily, many of these gazetteers from across China have been preserved and are available to scholars in America as well as in China.

<sup>20</sup> This section is based on Jiang Mudong and Wang Siming, “*Lajiao zai Zhongguo de Chuanbo ji qi Yinxiang*” in *Zhongguo Nongshi*, 2005.2, 17-27.

<sup>21</sup> There is also no reason not to accept that there were multiple points of entry for the pepper.

<sup>22</sup> The reference is to Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin’s 1826 classic, *The Physiology of Taste*.



While in Peru to attend the November 2007 Association of Third World Studies annual conference, WHB Editor Micheal Tarver takes time to visit with locals in Saqsaywaman, near Cusco.

# Teaching Forum

## *The Columbian Exchange Cookbook*

**Monty Armstrong**  
*Cerritos (CA) High School*

Locate a recipe from your ethnic group. If you are of mixed background, just pick one.

What are the myths or stories connected to this recipe?

Go through the recipe and research the origin of the recipe's ingredients.

On a map of the world, locate the items at their point of origin and then trace to the country where the recipe began.

How would these products have first arrived at the country of origin for your recipe?

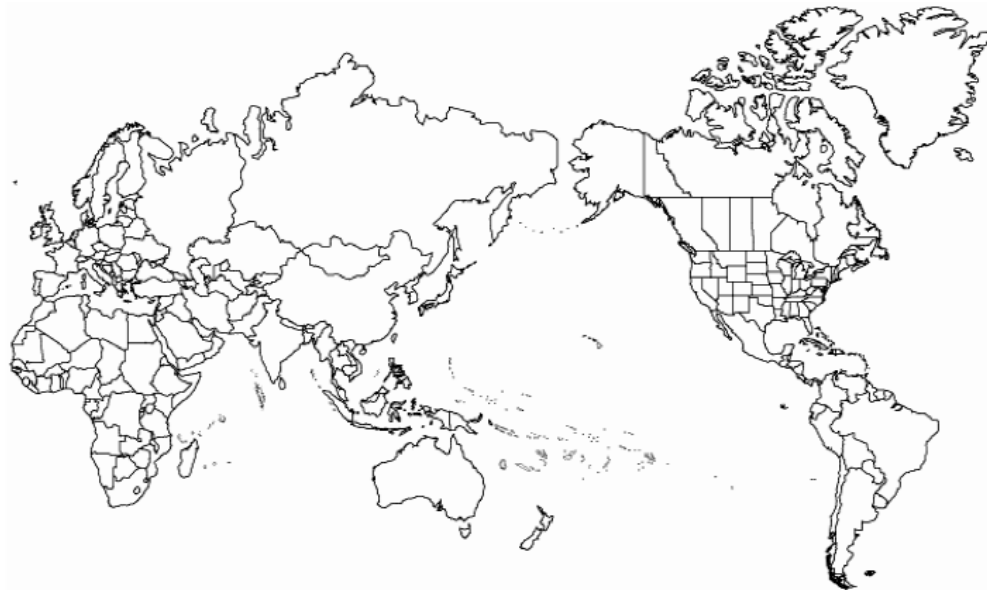
Write out the recipe in the following fashion:

2 potatoes

Potatoes originated in the Andes mountains of Peru and Bolivia and have been cultivated for at least 2400 years

1 tsp. Pepper

The plant originated in India, Malaysia, Madagascar, China and Indonesia.



## ***WALKING TOUR OF EAST LONDON FOR WHA CONFEREES***

***Al Andrea, Conferences Committee Chair***

Conferees who arrive early for the WHA Conference at Queen Mary College, University of London, will have the opportunity to enjoy a free walking tour on Thursday, 26 June, of the historic East End, led by Dr. John Marriott, Reader in History and Co-Director of the Raphael Samuel History Centre, School of Social Sciences, Media and Cultural Studies, University of East London. The tour, which for logistical reasons will be limited to the first 25 persons to sign up on site at Queen Mary, is free and will include a pay-your-own-way stop at an East End pub for lunch. The tour begins at 10:00 a.m. and returns to Queen Mary around 2:00 p.m., allowing tour participants to freshen up before registration, the ABC-CLIO hosted reception, and the meeting of the Executive Council begin.

A sign-up sheet will be available at Queen Mary College's housing registration office, France House Reception, Wednesday, 25 June.

Dr. Marriott describes the walking tour as follows:

*I think the best walk will be along the Mile End Road and then around Whitechapel and Spitalfields. This area is the historic centre of East London, the first to experience significant settlement, and the heart of silk manufacture. Inhabited for the most part by the poor, it was always seen as a site of deprivation, but in the course of the nineteenth century emerged as one of gothic horror, particularly around the time of the murders carried out by that archangel of retribution, Jack the Ripper. The tour will pass the Peoples Palace, London Hospital, Bishopsgate, Artillery Lane, and the famous Brick Lane.*

## The Guinea Pig: American Pet - Andean Culture and Food

Dale A. Hueber LTC, USA (ret.)

East Bay High School

**Teacher:** OK kids, we have been studying about Incan culture so what does the book have to say about any domesticated animals they may have had?

**Student:** Well, it says the llama, alpaca, and the guinea pig.

**Teacher:** What did they use the llama and alpaca for?

**Student:** Mostly transport and wool. It doesn't say anything about meat or leather.

**Teacher:** OK, and the guinea pig.

**Student:** It doesn't say, but probably as pets like we do today.

**Teacher:** Actually, I have here several recipes for guinea pig, or as they call it in Peru, cuy.

**Students:** Oh yuk! They ate them? They ate pets?

Food has long since been recognized as an important element of a society's culture. We can easily identify the association of kosher with Jewish culture, abstinence from alcohol with Muslims, fugu – the if-not-properly-prepared-its-poisonous blowfish – with the Japanese, mare's milk with the Mongols, Hindus do not eat beef, etc. We often identify, whether correctly or not, certain foods as originating from a specific culture. For example, our favorite Italian pasta dishes are Italian creations made from ingredients that come from South, Central, and North America, India, China, and Southeast Asia. As we have learned from various sources, some foods are often used for different purposes by different cultures. A superb example of a cultural food source that has found different meanings in other cultures is the guinea pig. In most parts of the Northern Hemisphere, they are domesticated as pets and used for laboratory research. In South America, they played, and continue to play, substantial culinary, religious, and medicinal roles in native cultures, as well as being a social class determinant.

The guinea pig (*Cavia porcellus*), also called *cavy* (in the native tongue, *cuy*), is a small rodent native to the Andean region of South America. In the wild, *cavies* inhabit almost all topographic areas from Colombia and Venezuela, south to Brazil and northern Argentina. Living in groups of 10 or so, they inhabit burrows they either dig themselves or borrow. They are mostly nocturnal, foraging for a variety of plant materials. Adults reach a top weight of about 700 grams and have an average length of 30 cm. There is a great deal of biological diversity within the species. *Cuy* fur can be long or short, single or multi color, smooth or rough. Black-haired *cuy* are rare among the native species and are often selected for special traditional medicinal or religious use.

As a food source, guinea pigs have much to recommend themselves. They are higher in protein content at 21% than poultry, pork, and beef. Their 8% fat content is lower than these three also. And they are considerably less expensive to breed. With 20 breeding females and 2 males, a family of 6 can be provided with a year-round adequate supply of nutritious meat. Because of their size, even in numbers, they can, and are, usually reared in the home with table scraps augmented by home-garden greens like alfalfa. If grown for profit, which most households at least attempt, they have the advantage of needing small initial investments but providing fast and relatively sure returns, are small and thus require small overhead or transport requirements, and are prolific breeders with the end result of being of little economic risk but of much gain.

*Cavies* may have been domesticated as early as 5000 BCE in regions of modern-day Peru and Bolivia with evidence of *cavy* domestication dating

back as early as 900 BCE in Chavín de Huántar excavations. Archaeological evidence for clear exploitation of the rodent is clear from 200 CE on. They made their way to Europe after the Spanish conquest of the region and became popular as pets. Even England's Queen Elizabeth I had one as a pet. The origin of the name guinea pig is hard to pin down. Morales (1995) speculates that the name may be a corruption of Guiana or perhaps that Europeans thought they came from Guinea on the West Coast of Africa because they often came off slave ships. Another speculation is that Europeans may have paid a guinea (coin) for the friendly little rodent that squeaks like a pig.

Regardless of its transport to Europe and, eventually, to Asia, Africa, and Europeanized North America, the *cavy* played an important role as a source of protein and in cultural and social rituals in the Andean region for centuries. Although there is debate over the significance of the role of the *cuy* as a source of protein during the time of the Inca, it is clear that it was still used in religious ceremonies and for medicinal purposes. As with the bull in the Middle East and Mediterranean polytheistic cultures, the guinea pig represented the notion that coming into contact with the earth, wind, fire, and water turned a living thing into a nutrient to sustain human life and growth. The *cuy* represented something that man could experience through his senses and that connected him to those things for which he had no explanation. Although certainly not identified with the strength and virility of the bull (although the latter certainly could be considered – like most rodents, the *cuy* is an extremely prolific reproducer), as one of the few domesticable animals of the Andes region, it assumed a central role in Andean culture.

Although subdued by the Roman Catholic Spanish in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the natives held onto their cultural traditions, many involving the *cuy*. A 17<sup>th</sup>-century native chronicler, Guamán Poma de Ayala, wrote that the Incas sacrificed 1000 white guinea pigs along with 100 llamas in Cuzco's main plaza each July "so that neither the sun nor the waters would harm the food and the fields." From the beginning of Spanish colonization, the Catholic

Church brutally suppressed Indian religious icons, but the guinea pig was spared.

Gerónimo de Loayza, the first bishop of Lima (1545 - 1575), refused a request by Spanish priests to order the mass extermination of the



Detail from *The Last Supper* by Marcos Zapata in the Cathedral of Cusco showing Jesus and his disciples dining on roasted cuy.

rodents, fearing it would spark a rebellion. The Spanish colonizers made Indian artists paint, weave, and carve items with Catholic themes to decorate churches and evangelize the natives. Artists copied prints imported from Europe but added Peruvian touches which often included *cuy* representations.

Despite changes throughout the centuries, rites involving the *cuy* still survive among Andean peasants, with many assuming their part in Catholic rituals as well. For example, country regions and villages hold festivals honoring their patron saint with *cuy* as the main dish. In some villages, *cuy*, potatoes, and other items are tied to crossbeams on long poles and young boys and men climb the poles to claim their prize. Other quasi-religious uses of the guinea pig include omen foretelling and as good luck and protection charms. Some communities in the Andes believe that when a *cuy* stands on its hind legs and demonstrates a whistling, cough-like sound, it is bad luck

and a prediction of death in the family. The animal is immediately killed and cooked. Others believe in keeping the right foot of the *cuy* as a good luck charm when traveling long distances. Some offer *cuy* skulls to the *ahuilus*, spirits of ancestors that live in the mountains, in exchange for protection from storms that could prevent them from reaching their destination safely.

Daniel Sandweiss, an archaeologist from the University of Maine, during excavations in the Chincha Valley, near Peru's central Pacific coast in the 1980s, proved that current ritual healing practices with guinea pigs date back at least to the Inca Empire (which reached its height in the 1400s before the Spanish conquest). Peruvians of varying social classes still seek out ritual healers, or *curanderos*, who use guinea pigs to diagnose illnesses. The *curandero* rubs a guinea pig over the patient's body and then splits the creature down the middle to look for discoloration that is believed to indicate illness in the corresponding organ or body part of the human. "We use CAT scans, and they use guinea pig scans. That's the idea," Sandweiss said.

A recent news article about guinea pigs notes that in the village of Huasao, a third generation *curandero*, treats bad luck with tipsy guinea pigs. Forcing a jet-black guinea pig to drink a tall glass of beer -- its power to remove bad luck is believed to be stronger when it is drunk -- the *curandero* then adorns the glassy-eyed rodent with colored ribbons before rubbing it over a patient. The guinea pig is set free in the countryside, ribbons and all, but remains highly contagious with bad luck that will pass to anyone who has the misfortune to cross its path.

There may well be upwards of over 50 million *cuy* in the Andean region at any given time, with Peru alone accounting for 30 million and Ecuador for over 10 million. Approximately 100 million are slaughtered annually just within the region of Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Colombia for food purposes. Throughout the Andes (meaning rural as opposed to the city) almost every Peruvian family has about 20 *cuy*. Indeed, about 90 percent of the *cuy* population is produced within traditional households. The rodents do not compete with humans for food; although they prefer alfalfa, they are often fed kitchen scraps such as potato peelings, grass, corn cobs, carrots, and, in lower altitudes, ripe bananas. The animals are kept in the kitchen although some people keep them in special cubbyholes or hutches. Despite the fact that they are household animals, they are not considered pets, are not named, and even if owned by children, are considered more like cash (much like American children would have an allowance).

Local and national governments often provide incentives for local communities and villages to build and run cooperatives where people raise *cuy* for local consumption and for sale in markets. There are few attempts to commercialize the production of *cuy*, although Morales reports of some *cuy* farms. Most production is done at the village or home level. National governments have *cuy* production information on their agricultural websites that include recipes as well as stock production information. *The Economist* reports that the Peruvian government is experimenting with raising a "super-*cuy*" that would weigh up to 3.2 kilograms.

Interesting social aspects revolving around *cuy* production and eating include its use in festivals and social class discrimination based on how one eats their *cuy*. At the village level, a *pachamanca* is a natural barbeque that literally takes a village to prepare. Seemingly similar to the Hawaiian *luau*, the *pachamanca* sees a group preparing a small igloo-shaped oven with stones used to cook the seasoned meat, often along with vegetables and corn beer. This type of meal is becoming more popular as a form of restaurant entertainment in the city. At other festivals, *cuy*, along with bottles of beer, fruits, and sacks of potatoes are tied to poles and young men vie for the honor of climbing the pole to claim their prize. Ceremonial *cuy* dinners are prepared for formal negotiations, including traditional marriages, asking for favors, or to honor a special guest or local political figure. Other occasions include infant christenings and celebrating a boy's first haircut. Socially, one can discriminate between an urban *mestizo* and a peasant native by the way they cook and eat their *cuy*, perpetuating a social structure, whether formal or informal, that has existed since the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Guinea pig production has recently become an item of interest in Africa. A technical paper written for *Livestock Research for Rural Development* notes that the guinea pig is a very promising micro-livestock

for rural development because it requires little capital, equipment, space, and labor. *Cuy* production promises to provide inexpensive, readily-available and high-quality meat as it does for many other developing nations' families. Feeding off of mostly table scraps, the guinea pig does seem a likely candidate for family and village production in many parts of Africa where meat is at a premium.

Of course, the alternative use of the guinea pig, at least in the Northern Hemisphere, is as a pet. A multitude of websites and books at local bookstores and pet stores can provide information about these adorable little rodents with their cute whistles and grunts. Easy to maintain and friendly, they make great pets. And of course, if one gets tired of them one can always find a good recipe for brined or barbequed *cuy* on the Internet.

## Fried Guinea Pig (Ayacucho-style)

### *Cuy Chactado*

1 guinea pig, de-haired, gutted, and cleaned  
1/2 c. flour  
1/4 - 1/2 t. ground cumin  
salt and black pepper to taste  
1/2 c. oil

Pat dry the skin of the guinea pig and rub in the cumin, salt, and pepper. Preheat oil. Dust the carcass with the flour and place it on its back in the oil, turning to cook both sides. Alternately, the guinea pig can be cut and fried in quarters. Serve with boiled potato or boiled manioc root, and a salad of cut tomatoes and slivered onions bathed in lime juice and a bit of salt. Have cold beer on hand.



Roasted *Cuy* in Cusco, Peru (Photo by Micheal Tarver)

Sources: There are, of course, literally thousands of hits on the Internet and hundreds of books about guinea pigs. Most contain great information about the animal but only a few concern the guinea pig as a regional cultural icon. My major source of information on the use of guinea pigs as other than pets was the wonderful book by Morales listed directly below. In addition to the information about guinea pigs, it is a great source of information for local customs and traditions among the natives of the Andean region.

"A Guinea Pig For All Tastes And Seasons," *The Economist*. Aug 2004. Accessed on the Internet at <http://perufood.blogspot.com/2006/05/economist-super-cuy.html>  
Josephs, Leslie, "Guinea pigs appear on the menu in Lima restaurants," accessed on the Internet at [http://www.usatoday.com/travel/news/2007-12-28-guinea-pigs-lima\\_N.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/travel/news/2007-12-28-guinea-pigs-lima_N.htm)  
Martin, Franklin, "Guinea Pigs for Meat Production," accessed on the Internet at <http://www.echonet.org>, published 1997.  
Mitchell, Chip, "Guinea pig: It's what's for dinner in Peru -- and the U.S.," *The Christian Science Monitor*. Accessed on the Internet at [www.csnmonitor.com](http://www.csnmonitor.com).  
Morales, Edmundo. *The Guinea Pig: Healing, Food, and Ritual in the Andes*. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson AZ. 1995  
Nuwanayakpa, M., S. D. Lukefahr, D. Gudhal, and J. D. Ngoupayou. "The current stage and future prospects of guinea pig production under smallholder conditions in West Africa," *Livestock Research for Rural Development*, Vol 9, No. 5, November 1997.

## SEEKING CONTRIBUTORS

ABC-CLIO, the leading publisher of academic reference works, is in the process of developing a comprehensive 21-volume Encyclopedia of World History. We are looking for interested scholars to prepare 500-1500 word articles with a global perspective in specific areas, including Africa, Asia, Oceania, Pre-Columbian Americas, Science and Technology (particularly in the earlier eras), and Environmental history (again, particularly in the earlier eras). If you are qualified to write in these areas, and have an interest in participating in the creation of a ground-breaking new resource, please send a current CV and an e-mail indicating your areas of interest to [whesubmissions@abc-clio.com](mailto:whesubmissions@abc-clio.com). We particularly value the participation of members of the World History Association. It has been our experience that WHA people have the sort of broad perspective that will be invaluable to teachers and students preparing to meet the challenges of today's increasingly globalized world.

# *Teaching Food Studies*

**Rick Warner**  
Wabash College

*In my college, professors are asked to teach freshman seminars of twelve to fifteen students, to introduce them to critical reading, discussion, and writing skills. The small size of these classes, compared to many entry-level courses, makes it easier for professors to work individually with students on these key areas when they first arrive. The choice of course topic is left up to the professor, but we are encouraged to pursue study in an area that may not be covered by the standing curriculum, and, more importantly, is a FUN idea. I have colleagues who have explored their hobbies in scholarly directions, such as fantasy literature, baseball, or video gaming. Since I had worked for a decade as a professional chef, and continue to cook for my family and friends as an avocation, I wasted no time in selecting the subject of food when the opportunity arose. This year, I am offering the second version of a freshman seminar I call "Food in the Liberal Arts."*

*While not strictly a world history course, I thought that readers of the Bulletin might still benefit from viewing the syllabus, which I have reproduced below. Basically, I try to introduce students to various ways of scholarly thinking regarding the subject of food. Early in the semester, they interview a professor in a particular academic discipline, asking him/her how their discipline deals with the subject of food. They return to report out on these. Economists and chemists obviously have more to say than mathematicians, but, in the end, these reports are a good way to see the various lenses that disciplines bring to a subject.*

*Throughout the semester, the theme of food and scholarly lens continues to be played out. I have students read books and articles from various genres of academic literature. As often as possible, I try to pair the discussion of these pieces with a class visit by another professor. For example, a chemist visits to teach the class about chemical emulsions. Then, we make a couple of these: hollandaise and mayonnaise. Thus, the connection between academic and applied knowledge is made. On many days, we spend time learning about how food works from the perspective of a chef, how to use knives and other equipment, how to buy fruit, etc. The class helps me make homemade soup for the monthly Social Science Colloquium that meets at lunchtime. We make and share meals. They eat "weird" and "ethnic" foods, and learn something about cultural differences. We also see movie clips too numerous to mention.*

*The historical text that I have a fondness for in this class is Jeffrey Pilcher's Que Vivan Tamales! (I am not sure why the title is in Spanish, but the prose is indeed in English.) Now in its second edition, this is a splendid undergraduate text. Pilcher studies what he has called the "tortilla discourse" as it relates to nation-building in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Mexico. Whether one eats wheat or maize tortillas is more than a question of taste; like many food decisions, this is a marker of identity. I have always believed that the culinary decisions (and, therefore, histories) and religious decisions (and, therefore, histories) are often made in the home by women. Pilcher carries this sort of recognition further with some remarkably clear cultural history that is, well, delicious. Lots of questions about food and identity emerged from our discussion of this book. Students were able to think widely and personally about the subject of food and national identity. On the final day of our discussion of Pilcher's book, the students turned to a debate about what constitutes "American" food. Very rich, indeed.*

*I offer no further introduction to the syllabus that you will not already find within. Perhaps H WORLD can become a site of tortilla, or other food "discourse."*

## **FOOD AND THE LIBERAL ARTS A FRESHMAN TUTORIAL Spring 2008, Wabash College Prof. Rick Warner**

**Office: Baxter 32  
Office Hours: 9 -11 am MWF  
warnerri@wabash.edu  
x6028**

**9:45 a.m. T TH  
Detchon 211  
Spring 2008**

Can there be anything more central to life than food? Can such a simple subject be made complicated by critical thinking skills in a liberal arts setting? Are there potential connections between EXPERIENCE and REFLECTION that might be gathered by the serious study of food?

This freshman seminar will explore the subject of food from numerous disciplinary perspectives; among these are included the disciplines of history, political science, chemistry, economics, and anthropology. We will discover that Food Studies is a new yet fertile academic field. In the end, the course will serve as an introduction to scholarly diversity within the liberal arts, as we hone our skills of critical thinking and expression. And... you will learn how to cook!

**Course Texts:**

Anthony Bourdain, *Kitchen Confidential*  
 Barbara Kingsolver, *Animal, Vegetable, Miracle: A Year in Food Life*  
 Jeffrey Pilcher, *Que Pasa Tamales*  
 Stephen Webb, *Good Eating*  
 Selected Handouts

**Course Requirements:**

Reading Responses, 1-2 pp (5)  
 Short Papers, 3-5 pp (4)  
 Final Project, Bibliography and Prospectus  
 Attendance and Participation  
 Occasional “lab” work  
 Oral interview of one professor

**COURSE SCHEDULE**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Subject/Activity</b>	<b>Student Responsibility</b>
10 January	Course Introduction	Chronicle of Higher Ed. Article (handout)
15 January	Restaurant Work	Bourdain, 3-102, <b>RR 1</b>
17 January	The Kitchen	Bourdain, 105-178
22 January	Food and the Scholarly Disciplines	Report on Scholarly interviews
24 January	Make Soup (Rogge Lounge)	Finish Bourdain
25 January	Paper Due	<b>Paper 1 Due 4 pm</b>
29 January	Local Eating	Kingsolver, 1-123
31 January	Global Eating	Kingsolver, 124-218
5 February	Seasonal Eating	Finish Kingsolver
7 February	Diversity and Food	Cookbook Selections
8 February	Paper Due	<b>Paper 2 Due 4 pm</b>
12 February	Chemistry of Food	Chemistry handout, <b>RR 2</b>
14 February	Economics of Food	Economics handout, <b>RR 3</b>
19 February	Politics of Food	Green Revolution handout, <b>RR 4</b>
21 February	Food and Art, Make Soup	Bring example of food art, meet in Rogge Lounge
26 February	Psychology and Food	Psychology handout, <b>RR 5</b>
28 February	No Class	NO CLASS
1-10 March	SPRING BREAK	NO CLASS
11 March	History and Food	Pilcher, chs. 1-3
13 March	Mexican Food	Pilcher, chs. 4-5 (Finish over weekend)
17 March	Paper Due	<b>Paper 3 due 4 pm</b>
18 March	Food Films	Film TBA
20 March	Make Soup	Cookbook Selections, Rogge Lounge
25 March	Food and the Bible	Webb, 11-101
27 March	Food and Christianity	Webb, 102-178
1 April	Food and Meaning	Finish Webb
2 April	Paper Due	<b>Paper 4 due 4 pm</b>
3 April	Class Lunch	308 W. Wabash Ave
8 April	Research Time – no class	NO CLASS
10 April	Research Time – no class	NO CLASS
15 April	Presentations	Attendance Required
17 April	Special Topics, Soup	Meet in Rogge Lounge
22 April	Presentations	Attendance Required
24 April	NO CLASS	NO CLASS

**FINAL PROJECT DUE THURSDAY MAY 1**

# *An Edible Survey*

*Jeffrey M. Pilcher*

*For years, I taught the world history survey as part of the core curriculum required of all students at The Citadel, the Military College of South Carolina. Because of my research interests, I always used food as examples to illustrate points, but knowing my students, I hesitated to teach an entire course around the topic (although I had no trouble getting cadets to enroll in a class called “Drink in History”). When a mid-career move to the University of Minnesota encouraged me to rethink the survey, I decided to try an experiment doing precisely that, serving up world history on a plate to 200 unsuspecting freshmen in the fall of 2006.*

*I had just finished writing a short book for Routledge’s “Themes in World History” series called Food in World History (2006), and used it to provide the outlines for my lectures. Some topics leant themselves naturally to the task, for example, the global connections of the Columbian Exchange and of sugar and African slavery. Yet, with a little thought, most any subject has some culinary dimension, especially given Minnesota’s comparative approach to world history. Monarchs the world over have gained or lost legitimacy based on their ability to feed their subjects, and there is ample literature on comparative food riots. For a week on industrialization, I offered three different perspectives. First, I outlined the longue durée of one particular industry (beer) from pre-modern domestic brewing to the mass production for global markets, and, finally to post-industrial micro-breweries. Next, we looked at geographic transformations, and the creation of food chains bringing chilled meat, canned vegetables, and white flour from around the world to industrial workers of the global north. The week concluded with a discussion of the human experience of factory labor as well as the costs and benefits of industrial-processed foods. As the syllabus below shows, writing assignments based on food and cookbooks were also easy to pose, if not to answer.*

*Naturally, the focus on food allowed students a unique taste of history. I thought about demonstrating the effects of industrialization through a comparative tasting of beef jerky and Spam, but, in deference to vegetarians, we tasted chocolate instead, comparing samples of Mexican cacao, roughly ground with sugar and cinnamon, and smoother European milk and dark chocolates. When discussing slavery, I brought in a cleaver to split apart stalks of sugar cane and cones of dark panela. Fortune cookies provided an illustration of the cultural encounters resulting from proletarian migrations. My most elaborate culinary lesson — an Aztec banquet — was based on a teaching exercise originally developed by my colleagues M. J. Maynes and Ann Waltner. Rather than prepare 200 tamales, a serious undertaking in mid-semester, I brought in exactly ten, then had the students draw lots. The fortunate few “nobles” feasted on a whole tamal, while everyone else got a chip. More than one student mentioned this lesson in social inequality on the exam, and, because they never knew what might happen in class, the food demonstrations may well have helped keep attendance up as the semester wore on.*

*Overall, I consider the experiment a success. Several students voiced their skepticism of the approach, and, doubtless, some dropped the class to take something more “serious.” Others wrote on their evaluations about how surprised they were to learn the importance of food in world history. In the end, I decided not to repeat the class. Last fall, I taught the general survey as a history of the ups and downs of globalization more broadly, and made food into a topics class of its own. Although I only did the survey once in quite that fashion, putting food at the center of the table helped me to rediscover the wonder of world history.*

## **History 1012W: The Age of Global Contact (Writing Intensive)**

**Instructor: Jeffrey Pilcher**

**Course Objectives:** This class will gaze into the belly of world history from about 1500 to 1950. This means that food will provide the primary focus for studying the rise of the modern, interconnected world in which we live. The main topics will be the global diffusion of foods and cultural contacts between cooks and eaters, as well as the social and ecological consequences of creating a modern, industrial diet. Emphasis will be placed on reading and interpreting a variety of primary documents, including cookbooks. The course is designed to meet the needs of history majors and non-majors alike. In addition to introducing students to the basics of how historians write history, we will teach important analytical skills. The course fulfills lower-division writing-intensive requirements.

**Required Texts:** James McCann, *Maize and Grace: Africa’s Encounter with a New World Crop, 1500-2000* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005); Richard Wilk, *Home Cooking in the Global Village* (Oxford, 2006); Lizzie Collingham, *Curry: A Tale of Cooks and Conquerors* (New York, 2006).

**Grading:** Class Participation and Discussion - 10%; Term Paper - 30%; Other Out-of-class Writing Assignments - 30%; In-class-examinations- 30%.

**Class Participation** will be based on the discussion section meetings with your TA. This is your opportunity to exchange ideas with your classmates and to debate historical issues. You will also discuss basic writing skills and methods of historical analysis that will help

you achieve a good grade. You are responsible for doing the assigned readings prior to each session.

**In-Class Examinations** will consist of essays and map identifications. The former will be based on the study questions posed at the beginning of each lecture. The latter will be discussed in sections.

**Out-of-Class Papers.** You will write a term paper of eight pages and two shorter essays of four pages each. A brief explanation follows, and more detailed instructions will be handed out during the semester. Please pay attention to these instructions and answer the questions that are posed. I am more interested in the process you use to find an answer than in the final answer that you come up with. Looking it up on Wikipedia is not a sufficient research strategy.

You are encouraged to re-write all essays, but the re-write should be exactly that, a significant reworking of the paper's content. Simply correcting superficial mistakes will not improve your grade. Actually rethinking the paper will bring your grade up by a full letter.

**Essay 1. Conflicting Interpretations:** Write an essay of four double-spaced pages explaining which author, Jean Soler or Marvin Harris, offers a more convincing explanation for Hebrew dietary rules, and why? [Soler, "The Semiotics of Food in the Bible," and Harris, "The Abominable Pig," both in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, edited by Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (New York: Routledge, 1997), pages 55-79] You first need to set out the basic historical problem of why Leviticus allows the consumption of some foods but not others. Next, summarize the rival interpretations of each author. This may be easier for Harris than Soler, but try to understand how the latter uses "semiotics," or the structures and rules that govern languages, and how dietary practices reflect similar rules. What primary source evidence do they cite in support of their interpretations? Once you understand both positions, you can explain which one makes a better historical argument. Note that each author uses "history" in a different way. What chronology does Soler refer to, and how does it correspond with historical time? What sorts of change over time does Harris identify in his argument? What are the strengths and weaknesses of these historical approaches?

**Essay 2. Primary Source Analysis:** Write an essay of four double-spaced pages describing what Mrs. A. C. Carmichael can tell us about slave life in her account, *Domestic Manners and Social Condition of the White, Coloured, and Negro Population of the West Indies* (1833) [vol. 1, pages 161-202]. To do so you need to think about the different levels at which we can read a historical document. Start by examining the **text**, the words that Mrs. Carmichael recorded in her memoir of life in the Caribbean. Then place this text within a wider historical **context**. For corroborating material about the institutions of slavery, use details from lectures and discussions, as well as the reading by Sidney Mintz [*Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), pages 33-49]. Knowledge of the history of slavery will help you test the accuracy of the author's statements and point out gaps in her descriptions. Based on this context, you can start to discern the **subtexts**, the unspoken points the author is making, consciously or unconsciously. Does her writing engage with debates about the legitimacy of slavery? When did Mrs. Carmichael publish her account and how did her timing reflect changes that were happening in the institution of Caribbean slavery? Does her gender make a difference in the story she presents? Finally, can you read between the lines and hear perhaps distant echoes of the voices of slaves themselves?

**Term Paper.** Choose one of the following three texts, available online from Michigan State University's, "Feeding America" project, and write an eight-page essay based on the questions provided.

**1. What Mrs. Fisher Knows:** Fisher, Abby. *What Mrs. Fisher Knows about Old Southern Cooking, Soups, Pickles, Preserves, etc.* San Francisco: Women's Co-operative Printing Office, 1881. [http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/cookbooks/html/books/book\\_35.cfm](http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/cookbooks/html/books/book_35.cfm); Questions: Did writing a cookbook allow a former slave, Abby Fisher, to speak with her own voice? How and for whom was the cookbook written? Can you see African legacies in her cooking? How have they been creolized or changed by American influences? Were these recipes intended for African-American family cooking or for domestic service?

**2. La Cuisine Française:** Tanty, François. *La Cuisine Française. French Cooking for Every Home. Adapted to American Requirements.* Chicago: Baldwin, Ross & Co, 1893. [http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/cookbooks/html/books/book\\_46.cfm](http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/cookbooks/html/books/book_46.cfm); Questions: Was French cuisine generally accepted as a status symbol in Gilded Age America? Who was the intended audience of this cookbook? Was there tension between marking the elite status of French cuisine and the goal of offering it "for every home"? How were the recipes "adapted to American requirements"? Who might have resisted French culinary hegemony?

**3. Foods of the Foreign Born:** Wood, Bertha M. *Foods of the Foreign-Born in Relation to Health.* Boston: Whitcomb & Barrows, 1922. [http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/cookbooks/html/books/book\\_75.cfm](http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/cookbooks/html/books/book_75.cfm); Questions: Did food provide a significant tool for immigrant assimilation in the early twentieth century? Why was this book written and for whom? What are the strengths and weaknesses of foreign cuisines as described by the author? Were important groups of people or foods omitted by the author? Can you see evidence of immigrants changing the food habits of Americans?

## Class Schedule

Week	Topic	Reading
Week 1	Introduction and Syllabus	
Week 2	East Asian Civilizations	Wilk, 1-26; Collingham, 1-46
Week 3	Indian Ocean World	Collingham, 47-79; Soler; Harris
Week 4	Columbian Exchange	Wilk, 27-50; McCann, 1-22
	<b>First Essay Due: Conflicting Interpretations</b>	
Week 5	African Slave Trade	McCann, 23-58; Carmichael; Mintz
	<b>First Examination</b>	
Week 6	Spice Wars	Collingham, 81-106

Week 7	Moral and Political Economy	McCann, 59-93; Wong
Week 8	<b>Second Essay Due: Primary Source Analysis</b>	
Week 9	Nationalizing the Banquet	Pilcher; Spang
	The Industrial Kitchen	Wilk, 51-104; Horowitz
	<b>Second Examination</b>	
Week 10	Empires of Food	Collingham, 107-86
Week 11	Migrant Cuisines	Collingham, 215-57; Gabaccia
Week 12	Westernization	McCann, 94-119; Coll'ham, 187-213
	<b>Term Paper Due</b>	
Week 13	Modernism	Wilk, 105-54
Week 14	Guns and Butter	McCann, 140-215
Week 15	Feeding the State	Wilk, 155-204

Additional readings excerpted from:

Gabaccia, Donna R. *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Horowitz, Roger. *Putting Meat on the American Table: Taste, Technology, Transformation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.

Pilcher, Jeffrey M. *¡Que vivan los tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998.

Spang, Rebecca L. *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Wong, R. Bin. *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997.

### *Mini-Essays on Food and World History*

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### *The Spice of Life: The Trade in Spices, 1000-1500*

Erik Gilbert

Spices are so commonplace now that it is difficult for the modern reader to imagine the economic role they once played. That wars have been fought over pepper, something that is now given away free in restaurants, and imperial policy shaped by nutmeg and cloves, is difficult to fathom. Ancient Roman authors even fretted that the pepper Rome imported from India was leaving the empire with a crippling trade deficit.

While there are many spices and herbs that are used to flavor the food of the world's various cuisines, there are four spices that are esteemed widely and cross-culturally. These are: pepper, cloves, cinnamon, and nutmeg. Pepper was and still is the most widely consumed of all four. The other three, which are collectively known as the "fine spices," have always been rarer and, hence, more expensive. Now, when the fine spices are used by modern Western cooks, they usually appear in sweets, but between 1000 and 1500 CE, they were widely used in savory dishes, such as meats, and to flavor wine and beer. They were also believed to have medicinal qualities in many parts of the world. Cloves were used as breath fresheners and for their

oral anesthetic qualities. The cuisines of India, the Middle East, and China all made extensive use of pepper and the fine spices, especially in the foods that were consumed by the elite. Thus, since long before 1000 there had been a spice trade.

All of the spices thrive in tropical places and refuse to grow in cold or dry places. Most of the people who ate these valuable foods lived far from where the spices grew, making spice one of the earliest goods to be traded over long distances. Most of the world's pepper, the dried seed of a viney plant, came from the southern tip of India. The best cinnamon, the bark of a shrubby tree, came from the island of Ceylon (modern Sri Lanka). Cloves, the dried flower buds of a tree, came from the Molluccas Islands in what is now Indonesia, as did nutmeg, which is the stone of a tree fruit. Thus, all grew in fairly restricted places that were distant from the markets where they were desired.

Within the Indian Ocean trading world, pepper was widely traded and treated less as an exotic rarity and as more of an expensive staple. Unlike the fine spices, the production of which was restricted to islands (and rather small islands in the cases of nutmeg and clove), pepper was grown throughout southern India and, thus, was reasonably plentiful and in reasonable proximity to its markets. Ships calling at the pepper ports of Calicut, Cochin, and Mangalore in southern India carried large quantities of pepper to the Middle East and China. The fine spices, in contrast, were valuable even within the Indian Ocean and were treated as luxury foods.

The spice trade had been responsible for bringing Indian influence, especially Hinduism and Buddhism, to the court culture of coastal Southeast Asia during the early centuries of the Common Era. After 1000, it was more often Islam that spread along the spice trade routes. The pepper ports of southern India had significant Muslim populations, some of whom were local converts, called *mapillas*, as well as Arab merchants who became permanent residents. These pepper ports were also home to Jews, Armenians, and Persians who came there to pursue the spice trade. An interesting feature of these ports was the growth of mystical religious groups

that appealed to both Hindus and Muslims. In Southeast Asia, Islam spread through the region during this period, gradually moving from the port cities into the countryside, and, until about 1500, it was the dominant religion of insular Southeast Asia.

For Europeans, pepper remained a rare luxury. Pepper consumption was minimal in Europe before the 12<sup>th</sup> century, when the crusades brought large numbers of Europeans into contact with the spice-using cuisines of the Arab world.

Once they realized what they had been missing, Europeans became enamored of pepper and the fine spices. It was, however, difficult for them to gain access to the spice markets of the Indian Ocean. Their spice supply had to go through the Red Sea to Egypt. The rulers of Egypt sold spice to only one group of Europeans, and that was the Italian city-state of Venice. The Venetians sent an annual convoy to the Egyptian port of Alexandria, where they purchased as much spice as they could. They then sold that spice to Europe at a very high price.

Long after pepper had become relatively common place in the cuisines of Asia, the long chain of middlemen and monopolists who stood between Europe and the pepper fields of India, kept pepper a dear commodity in Europe. The 15<sup>th</sup> century saw several efforts by European mariners to bypass those middlemen and sail directly to India. One of those voyages, that of Christopher Columbus in 1492, failed to find India but did find the Americas. The second, that of Vasco da Gama in 1497-98, made it to India and returned laden with a cargo of pepper. Thus, two of the most significant voyages in world history were triggered by the Europeans' desire for cheaper pepper.

### *Peruvian Fishing*

Kevin M. McGeough

The relative importance of marine resources in the ancient Peruvian diet is an oft-argued issue in South American archaeology. Sometime between 3000 and 2500 BCE, more inland sites in Peru were aban-

doned for coastal sites. Some scholars have suggested that part of this change in settlement patterns may have resulted from a need to allow for greater exploitation of marine resources. It has been suggested that these reliable fish resources led to the emergence of more complex settlements, eventually creating the first Peruvian states. Others have argued that marine resources were too unreliable to form the basis of subsistence, and that Peruvians of this period lacked the capability to fully exploit this type of food source. However, scholars argue that sites prior to 3000 BCE also relied on fishing, and thus, there is no real change in subsistence strategy that can be dated to the period of 4000-1000 BCE. These scholars would argue that the origins of complex civilization in Peru have no basis in fishing.

Whether or not fishing facilitated the development of complex civilization, there is significant evidence for fishing in Peru during the period from 4000 to 1000 BCE. The remains of mollusks, fish, and sea mammals have been retrieved from a number of sites. The evidence is preserved as bones or shells or (as direct evidence that humans consumed these foods) in the intestinal remains of preserved bodies or in the coprolites at these sites. Artifacts also attest to the importance of fishing: fishhooks, nets, net-weights, and floats all would have been part of a fishing economy. Anthropologists who have studied the physical remains of ancient Peruvians have identified physical conditions typical of repetitive diving in cold water, the clearest evidence being inner ear bone growth.

Different types of marine creatures required different acquisition strategies. Fish were gathered much as they are today, using hooks or nets. Mollusks would have been collected by hand or rake from the shores (or close to the shores) of beaches. Mammals would have been hunted using similar techniques to those used on land: clubbing, or spearing. There is not much archaeological evidence for the use of watercraft, but this possibility should not be discounted entirely.

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## Equatorial Agriculture in Africa

Candice Goucher

Cattle herding and banana cultivation provided the basis for socially-complex and economically-viable food systems in Equatorial Africa during the period between about 1000 and 1500 CE. The mix of pastoral and farming communities also reflects the growing diversity of regional political strategies. Linguistic, ethnographic, and archaeological perspectives suggest that shifting food economies may also correlate with new political and social identities during the period.

The Great Lakes region comprises what is today southern Uganda, eastern Rwanda, and north-western Tanzania, and scholars disagree about the historical origins of distinct cultural identities attached to contemporary herders and banana farmers in those areas. The long process of Bantu expansion, a series of long-distance migrations over millennia, involved both iron technology and mixed agriculture, eventually assimilating Cushitic and Sudanic linguistic groups. Intensive cattle herding appears after about 300 CE and as late as the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries in some areas. Longstanding trade and other connections brought into contact the varying economic lifestyles organized around livestock, cereal farming, fishing, and growing yams. Banana cultivation added to this mix by at least 1200 CE and subsequently spread to multiple groups. Based on historical, linguistic, and archaeological evidence, historian David Schoenbrun has argued that strug-

gles for wealth and political authority may date from the period of the introduction of intensive banana cultivation.

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***Whether or not societies emphasized cattle or bananas depended on religious specialists and political officials and their vocabularies of power.***

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Around the end of the first millennium or the beginning of the second, extensive iron metallurgy and clearing of land with iron hoes led to the diminishment of secondary forests south of the Kagera Region (which is situated along the shore of Lake Victoria in present-day Tanzania). Specialized herding by Rutaran-speakers eventually resulted in their migration into the drier and more open grasslands. Not only people, but also practices shifted across the landscape of equatorial Africa. Whether or not societies emphasized cattle or bananas depended on religious specialists and political officials and their vocabularies of power. The family heads and chiefs, who controlled lands available for intensive cultivation, stood to gain in wealth and prestige as they distributed access to free lands.

Evidence of an increasingly-important social hierarchy in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries comes from the period's construction of large earthworks. These imply the highly centralized control over resources, including labor, at sites such as Ntusi, Bweyore, and Bigo, all in present-day Uganda. Burial sites have been excavated and reveal that elites and even their children were buried with extensive grave goods, such as decorated pottery, jewelry, ivory, glass beads, cowries, and metal currency shaped as crosses. Control over people and land, whether devoted to herding or farming, may have formed the foundations for great wealth and political authority within indigenous state formation.

Estimates of population are extremely difficult to make with any certainty during the pre-colonial period. Some scholars have claimed that the region's agriculture supported the most densely populated region in Africa. The vegetable banana thrived in the regions of generally good rainfall and fertile soils, and, when cooked, provided a staple food for large numbers of people. Populations along the lakesides shifted during periods of occupation. Sharp increases in child burials can be interpreted as evidence of high child mortality or significant population increase, or both. The close association of populations with animal herds may have contributed to the spread of disease, while also supporting exceptional levels of agricultural productivity.

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## Organic Foods Movement and Vegetarianism

Kimberly Dukes

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the organic foods movement and vegetarianism moved from the fringe toward the mainstream of popular culture, as part of a growing concern with the environment and personal health. For participants, these movements may constitute part of a complex of ethical commitments to the local and global environments. At the same time, these interlinked lifestyle choices emphasize personal health benefits for the individual, the family, or society and suggest the growing importance of a "green" business model to consumers.

While restrictions and definitions vary between countries, in general organic food production focuses on maintaining ecological balance in farming, and organic farmers avoid the use of synthetic fertilizers and pesticides, hormones, or genetically modified

organisms (GMOs). The organic foods movement stems from many origins, but was early influenced by the work of Rudolf Steiner in the 1910s, and Sir Albert Howard, Lady Eve Balfour, and Hans Peter Rusch in the 1940s.

Vegetarians follow a diet that eschews meat, and sometimes all animal products. Some want to prevent killing or mistreatment of animals; others choose the diet for health reasons or assert that a plant-based diet can help resolve the global food shortage. While vegetarianism has long been practiced for health, religious, or philosophical reasons, during the 19<sup>th</sup> century some Western Christian groups began to link vegetarianism with natural food and a responsibility toward animals, while more secular groups connected it with a return to higher moral or ethical standards.

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, vegetarianism became associated with other movements that often mistrusted modernity or technology and for some time were perceived as fringe movements. These included the back-to-the-land movement, early environmentalism, alternative medicine, and alongside the broader health- or natural-food movement, sustainable and organic agriculture. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in the United States, Bernarr McFadden promoted vegetarianism and health food as boosting masculinity, fertility, and muscles; some of his ideas influenced students such as J. I. Rodale, whose magazine *Organic Farming and Gardening* helped popularize the organic foods movement during the 1950s. In the 1960s and 70s, both organic foods and vegetarianism became associated with the counterculture in the West, hippiedom, Eastern spirituality and yoga, and a larger context of social justice and environmental advocacy.

A growing consumerist interest in individual and global wellness toward the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century helped change the public perception of these movements. In the 1970s, the mounting public concern with health and diet coincided with the preoccupations of nutritional science, leading to a growing appreciation of the nutritional value of a more vegetarian diet, and of health food in general. The public also questioned the widespread use of pesticides in farming, leading to greater interest in organic foods. During the 1980s, organic foods moved out of the counterculture and became increasingly associated with elite tastes and high prices.

Since the mid-1990s, especially, both the organic foods movement and vegetarianism have grown ever more mainstream, with their benefits showcased in popular menus, magazines, and cookbooks. Internationally, organic foods capture an increasingly larger market share, especially in the United States, Western Europe, and Japan. Particularly since 2000, organic foods have become big business for major companies from Wal-Mart and Tesco to General Mills, and greater acreage worldwide is reported as under organic production. This has led to increased availability and lower prices for organic foods, but it has been accompanied by questions about the processes used in producing this food.

The organic foods movement and vegetarianism, while they have become more mainstream, often remain associated with a larger complex of ethical, social, environmental, and economic choices. Other associated international food movements include the Slow Food movement, the Community Supported Agriculture movement, and the local foods movement.



The World History  
Association

# Phases of Missionization Around the Pacific Ocean, 1500-1900<sup>1</sup>

Tanya Storch

University of the Pacific

Making sense out of the history of global religious exchanges is not easy. One way of approaching it is by looking at the ocean, which before the twentieth century, was the main way by which religions spread from one continent to another. In the 1990s, scholars of economic history suggested that the Pacific Ocean should be approached as a coherent unit of analysis -- i.e., its maritime connections should be analyzed in a manner analogous to analyses of the Atlantic and Indian oceans over a number of years.<sup>2</sup> In volume IV of *The Pacific World* series, Flynn and Giraldez suggested another important idea. They visualized general periodization of Pacific history in terms of several phases of trade and trade-related economic activities around the world's largest ocean.<sup>3</sup> In this article, I use their theory of periodization as a framework for exploring religious exchanges, specifically, missionary activities around the Pacific Ocean from the sixteenth through the nineteenth

centuries. A central conclusion of my research is that religious activities in the Pacific correspond, in a surprisingly direct fashion, to the phases of the trans-oceanic trade. That is, in the areas that lacked Pacific trade, there also was no missionary activity. Moreover, whenever and wherever Pacific trade blossomed, missionary activities either accompanied or followed the trade. An abundance of illustrative cases are detailed herein; examples include, but are not limited to, the spread of Islam and Iberian Catholicism connected to the spice and silk trade; arrival of Russian Orthodox priests at the sea-animal hunting and fur-trading stations along the Pacific West coast; and infiltration of Buddhist and Hindu ideas into the American public consciousness as a result of the waves of Asian immigration also connected to the Pacific trade.

My research makes clear that, in order for the globalization of religious exchanges to take place via oceanic commercial routes, important additional conditions were required. Although commerce was the ultimate force that drove and made religious exchanges possible, political forces within individual societies (including those within respective religious movements themselves) were next in importance. For instance, relations between missionaries and religious institutions in their home countries played crucial roles in dissemination of religions, because these relations determined the degree of freedom and flexibility that missionary agents were permitted when adapting to foreign cultures. Relations were, in turn, affected by Pacific trade conditions and economic gains, but religious politics sometimes precluded a mission's success, resulting in

serious economic loss for countries sponsoring such missions.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, certain ideological principles of the missionizing religion could determine the success or failure of a given mission, and these principles stemmed from the internal history of a particular religion rather than from the phases of trade around the Ocean.<sup>5</sup>

My argument that trade promoted and economically supported religious missions is not meant to reduce religious exchanges to the level of offshoots of commercial activity. Certainly, many factors contributed to such exchanges, including the important roles played by imperial expansionism and colonial administration. These two factors are commonly known and well-studied aspects of globalization. As I pointed out in the beginning of my paper, my goal was to attempt a theory of periodization of religious exchanges in the Pacific, and it appears that the phases of trade around the ocean might provide the most convincing scheme to date.

Recognizing the fact that multiple and complex factors have influenced the globalization of religious exchanges among the peoples connected by the Pacific Ocean before the twentieth century, this essay proposes six major phases of religious exchange: (1) an Islamic Phase, (2) an

Iberian Catholic Phase (3) a Jewish Self-Exile Phase, (4) a Russian Orthodox Phase, (5) an Industrial-Protestant Phase, and (6) an Asian Migration Phase.

**The Islamic Phase:** Islam was apparently the first religion to affect large areas along coasts of the Pacific Ocean. Medieval chronicles from Indonesia contain rich material that describes the introduction of Islam to indigenous cultures beginning in the eleventh century and continuing for hundreds of years. Along with these records, numerous archeological sites exist in today's Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines confirming the presence of Islam in these areas in the distant past. A tombstone in Atchin and *sharia* inscriptions from Trengganu are probably the most famous examples.<sup>6</sup>

Chinese dynastic chronicles add to this information by describing how Chinese merchants, who traveled to Indonesia and the Philippines, began converting to Islam instead of Buddhism. The trend was rather noticeable for it caused concern to the Emperor who demanded an investigation. On this occasion, a Chinese convert to Islam, Ma Huan, wrote a report in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century in which he described the principles of Islam and stated that it was an official religion of Sumatra. He reported that big colonies of Muslims existed on other islands, with some of the colonies being Chinese.<sup>7</sup>

Two main factors contributed to the Islamization of southern Asia in the eleventh-fifteenth centuries. The first was the spice trade that was operated by Muslims and was an enormous attraction for all merchants in the region. As

Arabs sailed across the Indian and Pacific oceans searching for ginger, nutmeg, cinnamon, and cloves, they also built small communities along the shores, and it is widely accepted that it is from these communities that Islam spread.

The second factor can be seen in the nature of Islam itself. We know that merchants who confessed other religions such as Zoroastrianism, Confucianism, and Manichean Christianity, also actively participated in the spice trade and had their colonies on the islands. However, they were not able to produce noticeable conversions.<sup>8</sup> Undoubtedly, proselytism inherent to the entire Islamic tradition, as well as the military political clout of the great Muslim empires, such as the Ottoman and Mughul empires, played a large role in spreading this religion.

Islamization of southern Asia became a different story entirely after the arrival of Europeans. During the 16<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch exerted their colonial influence over various areas of southern Asia and used different tactics in dealing with Islam. For instance, the Portuguese and Spanish often signed agreements with local sultans when that served their economic interests, but turned against Muslims as soon as superior military force was on their side.<sup>9</sup> The Dutch administration actively disseminated Christian Protestantism in Indonesia at the same time it imposed severe limitations on Islamic education and practices in the controlled territories.<sup>10</sup> It must be noted, however, that it was not one particular policy but rather the whole process of colonization, particularly land annexation, that brought about the unexpected new wave of spreading Islam throughout South East Asia beginning in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Anger against the colonists forced members of various religious communities, even peaceful Buddhists, to abandon their centuries-old traditions and become Muslims. Neither Buddhism nor Hinduism, nor native Shamanic religions, were capable of creating an ideological platform which would inspire active military resistance to the occupiers. At the same time, heroes of all successful national movements were Muslims, like Prince Diponegoro and Raden Trunajaya, to name just two. Thus, most certainly, European colonialism resulted in the merging of Islamic ideology with the national identity of new South Asian nations, such as Indonesia and Malaysia. Islam became synonymous with the free and happy life they had enjoyed before the occupation.<sup>11</sup>

The Europeans helped the spreading of Islam in Asia in yet one more noticeable way. They introduced superior sea vessels to Asian culture, enabling local Muslims to travel to Mecca on a regular basis. While in Mecca, they studied the *Qur'an* with Arab teachers, radically changing their knowledge of Islam. Upon return to their homes, the *hajjis* would make up a new kind of leadership -- the ones who enforced strict obedience to the *Qur'an* and its laws.

**The Iberian Catholic Phase:** Catholics appeared in the Pacific in connection with trade expansion. European merchants were determined to bypass the Arab middlemen and buy spices directly from their producers. Their entrance into the trade arena was not peaceful. Hostilities ensued almost immediately and involved Catholics from Portugal and Spain, and Muslims of Arab and Asian descent.<sup>12</sup> The Iberian Catholic phase of missionization was also marked by the use of religion as a means of suppressing the conquered peoples. Religious and cultural intolerance, along with tight links between conversion to Christianity and national political agenda, thus became hallmarks of this phase of missionization.

No case from the history of the Iberian Catholic missions illustrates this better than the offices of Inquisition established in all Spanish-conquered territories from Mexico to the Philippines. Similarly to Europe, the Inquisition in the colonies served as a political instrument of the Spanish monarchy. Agencies involved in the investigation and persecution of heretics sought to eradicate dissenters of any kind since they were viewed as a potential threat to Spain's interests. This is why the heretics investigated and persecuted included Jews, Muslims, witches, Armenian Christians, Masons, and Protestants. Procedures were the same in Spain, Latin America, and southern Asia. A unique feature of the Spanish Inquisition acting overseas was its absolute reliance on marine connections between Asia and South America. The reason the Philippine branch of the Holy Office could exist and operate in accordance with the commands of its center in Mexico was the availability of sea-vessels and relatively-safe routes across the Pacific Ocean. The system of dispatching the inquisitorial suspects and exchanging documentation from Manila to Acapulco by using commercial galleon ships existed for over three hundred years.<sup>13</sup>

Despite some differences between the Iberian Catholic and Islamic phases of missionization, they shared dependency on the trans-Pacific trade and trade-related commercial activities. This aspect of Islam has been already discussed. As for the Europeans, it is known that the Jesuits subsidized their religious missions by serving as commercial mediators between the Japanese and Chinese governments and European merchants. At the same time, involvement of Catholic clergy in the galleon trade became an unprecedented theological scandal that lasted for several centuries.

As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, the church took serious measures aimed at terminating the clergy's participation in the galleon trade. Such measures included suspension of clerical duties and even excommunication. However, according to a treaty written by a Jesuit scholar in the first half of the seventeenth century, the practice was so widely accepted that even those who wished to oppose it were, in fact, supporting it.

The treaty belongs to Diego de Bobadilla of Manila, who insisted that several important conditions be met if clergy were to be allowed to take part in the trade. First, it must be done out

of economic necessity rather than a desire for profit. Second, they were not allowed to deal in commodities associated with immoral behavior such as female stockings, playing cards, and make-up. Third, they could buy and sell without restrictions if the value of the goods bought was increased by industry and work. For example, they could buy cotton or silk, have clothes made out of them, and then sell at a higher price. Fourth, clergy had to use market agents to sell and buy and were not to be seen in the market. If all these conditions were met, Bobadilla argued, clergy could go as far as owning their own production factories.<sup>14</sup>

It is obvious that no real boundary was set by the Catholic Church to restrict its priests from getting rich by participating in the production of goods and selling them through the trans-Pacific trade connections. The industriousness of the clergy, in fact, grew increasingly from the 17<sup>th</sup> through the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, when they began to serve as financial agents for the Dutch and French manufacturers and opened large-scale banks and charity operations throughout the world.

Financial and trade operations had to be handled differently in China and Japan than in the Philippines. Significant annexation of land by the Europeans did not happen in East Asia until the late-18<sup>th</sup> and early-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. All operations before that time had to be conducted on a condition of respect for the Chinese and Japanese governments, as well as their national religions. This explains why, in the 17<sup>th</sup> and early-18<sup>th</sup> centuries, Catholic missions to Japan and China acted differently than they did in southern Asia.

One particular mission serves as an example. A Jesuit priest, Matteo Ricci, spent many years in China studying its language and compiling Latin-Chinese and Chinese-Latin dictionaries. Ricci also understood the principles of the Chinese society and the role which *junzi* – educated government officials — played in it. This is why he organized his mission in such a way that it addressed the *junzi* by satisfying their desire for knowledge. Ricci presented court officials with European history and geography, he taught them geometry, music, and astronomy, and by reaching these Confucian scholars in respectful and intelligent ways, he was able to open churches in the Chinese capital and baptize several high-ranking officials.

Regardless of Matteo Ricci's great success, Church officials soon decided that it was unacceptable for Catholics to embrace Confucian religious rites. In 1704, the Pope prohibited Western missionaries and Chinese converts from participating in any of the Chinese court rituals. As soon as this news reached the Emperor, he ordered all churches in China to be closed and the missionar-

ies expelled from the country, while Chinese converts were forced to abdicate Christianity or face horrible death. Similar developments took place in Japan, where Western missionaries were not merely expelled from the islands, but subjected to torture and brutally murdered in Nagasaki.<sup>15</sup>

On more occasions than this, Iberian Catholics showed disrespect toward those whom they wished to convert. Sometimes, entire civilizations were wiped out as a result of their cultural pride.<sup>16</sup> In this respect, there is a clear dividing line between the pattern of missionization of the early Islamic phase and the later Iberian Catholic phase.

By all accounts, Muslims in Asia were tolerant of local religions. The native animism of the Filipino people remained intact throughout the Islamic phase. However, it was severely persecuted and, ultimately, driven underground by the Catholic Inquisition. Similarly, the Buddhist and Hindu communities of Java and Sumatra were strong when they coexisted with big numbers of Muslim settlements on these islands, but suffered later when the European colonists arrived. Various suggestions have been made to explain this. Some scholars argue that the old merging between Islam and Asian native religions made Islam more tolerant. Others point out that Arabs restricted the *shariah* to their own groups and did not impose them on others.<sup>17</sup>

Even though Iberian Catholics often destroyed native forms of worship, while early Muslims in Asia acted in a more tolerant way, both religions created different forms of syncretism. For instance, in Indonesia, visiting graves of dead relatives over a period of seven years is still believed to be equal in merit to the pilgrimage to Mecca. The oldest mosques in that part of the world look more like Hindu temples than mosques and on some occasions the call to prayer is conducted by beating the tabla drums which is yet another aspect of Hindu influence. Another example is found among the Filipino Muslim women who are not required to wear a veil and can keep their feet and hands uncovered. Such privilege, which the Arab Muslim women do not have, is due to the Filipino native religion.<sup>18</sup>

Examples of Catholicism-based syncretism are abundant. One case involves the Californian Indian missions, dozens of which were established in the late-17<sup>th</sup> through the 18<sup>th</sup> century. According to one report, Indians who spent ten or more years with the missionaries had no understanding of the most general ideas of Christianity. Not only did they continue practicing their old religions outside the mission but they constantly created new cults, such as the Toloache cult, which spread like wild fires among the native population.<sup>19</sup>

Even in Mexico, where people faced the Inquisition for practicing Shamanism or using Christian symbols outside the churches, they still

created new forms of religion. Oftentimes, the religious syncretism of the Iberian phase was due to the psychological needs of oppressed people who saw their land taken away and their culture and society ruined by the invaders. Worship of the Virgin of Guadalupe by the Mexican Creoles is one good example of that. The Virgin of Guadalupe combined the traits of the Christian Mary and the Toltec tribal Mother, *Tonantzin*. Because of that, Mexicans were able to identify with her and preserve their ethnic identity through her worship. This so-called nahuatilization of Catholicism was a widely-spread phenomenon which sometimes had a chilling effect on Christians who did not realize that they were, at least, partially responsible for its creation. For example, Mayan priests continued their practices of human sacrifice required by their religion even after they were baptized and made full members of the Christian community. What they added to their practice was a fusion of Christian and Mayan symbols, and that created the most horror because they sacrificed their victims on the cross.<sup>20</sup>

**The Jewish Self-Exile Phase:** Jews disseminated their religion along the Pacific Ocean not because they sought domination in the spice-trade or for any other lofty economic reason. The spread of this religion and the mission-like activities of its agents happened in the coastal areas where they were involved in trans-oceanic trade. Persecution against Jews began in Spain as early as the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Many of them were killed or deprived of their properties. Oftentimes, rather than facing persecution they embarked on the galleon ships sailing for Asia or America. When practitioners of Judaism arrived in different places along the Pacific coast and began their religious practices, they shared one trait — these practices were conducted secretly because of the fear of persecution. Thus, in East Asia, Jews disguised themselves as Muslims or Manicheans or Christians. Sometimes, they accepted a strange name for their religion, such as “The Plucking Sinews People,” just to avoid identification with persecuted Judaism.<sup>21</sup> Despite that, Judaism’s influence on the religious beliefs of other people was profound.

A story of Antonio de Montezinos and his adventures in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Colombia is a good example. A Portuguese by nationality and a Jew by faith, he was introduced to a secret brotherhood of Indians who recognized him as a Jew and told him about their religion. They believed that God had brought children of Israel to Colombia many centuries before the Spanish arrived. When Indians came to this land in later centuries, they discovered that Jews were already there and attacked them, driving their prophets underground. At that point, the Jewish prophets sent the Indians a message saying that the Indians would be punished for their transgression against God by being enslaved by a ferocious nation the likes of which they had not seen. When the Spanish

arrived with their horses and weapons, Indians realized that the Jewish prophecy was fulfilled and began seeking contact with the underground prophets. After they found them, they converted to Judaism in hopes that the curse might be lifted from their land.<sup>22</sup>

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***Orthodox missions were intensely involved in the lives of local people because of the customary intermingling between merchants, clergy, and native populations.***

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Whether Antonio de Montezinos had an actual meeting with the practicing Judaic Indians is nearly impossible to determine. Yet, the story of his life contains historical truth which is precious. From his documents, we know that he ran away from persecution and used commercial boats for that purpose. We also know that traveling to South America did not solve his problems entirely for he was arrested and interrogated by the Inquisition when he was already in Colombia. Finally, we know that when Montezinos found a safe place in Amsterdam and started a Jewish congregation there, the congregation shared the messianic vision which Montezinos had received in South America. Some members of the Amsterdam Jewish community even raised money to take a trip to Colombia (but the trip never manifested), while others sent religious education materials to South America.<sup>23</sup>

As earlier mentioned, Judaism existed in Asia for many hundreds of years, yet local people rarely, if at all, were aware of its existence. That Judaism was practiced in China throughout the entire medieval period became known to us only in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and through an unusual chain of events. One of the Protestant missions purchased an old building in Kaifeng and began selling antiquities excavated on that land, including some ancient-looking stele which contained inscriptions. Local Chinese historians protested the sale of national historical monuments and petitioned the government. This led to an investigation, and as a result it was discovered that these stele belonged to the oldest synagogue in Asia. The Chinese government took pride in that Judaism was practiced in China centuries before the first European Christians arrived in Beijing, and the news was made public.<sup>24</sup>

**The Russian Orthodoxy Phase:** Russians began their imperial expansion later than Spain, Portugal, and France, yet they followed the same path as earlier expansionists, that is, merchants, missionaries, and navy all worked in unison to ensure domination by the Russian Tsar over new territories. During the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, Russians conquered Siberia, thus opening the way into the northern and eastern Pacific. Alaska also became Russian, and along the western coast of America, Russian expeditions traveled as far south as present-day San Diego in California.<sup>25</sup>

Similarly to Catholics, who took advantage of the galleon trade across the ocean, Russian

Orthodox priests followed their merchant expeditions and engaged in killing sea animals and fur trade (the so called liquid gold trade). Russian archives contain records indicating that it became customary for a new trade expedition to hire a group of priests to go along with them on a mission.<sup>26</sup> Similarly to Catholics, Russians spread diseases as they settled and preached among the native peoples. Often, it was a Russian priest who stopped the epidemic through the use of vaccination, and thereby ascribing such a miraculous deed to the Orthodox Christians.

The Russian clergy was associated with both devastation and progress in the eyes of native peoples. Priests built schools for the Alaskan Indians, recorded their folklore, compiled dictionaries of native languages, and taught history and mathematics. The Russian campaign for public education was so successful that local schools founded by Orthodox clerics continued to provide education for students of all tribes until the Bolshevik revolution of 1917.

Orthodox missions were intensely involved in the lives of local people because of the customary intermingling between merchants, clergy, and native populations. Orthodox priests, unlike their Roman Catholic counterparts, were allowed to marry. Therefore, almost as soon as Russians settled in Alaska, intermarriages between ethnic Russians and the indigenous people began to take place. According to one report,<sup>27</sup> by the 1870s, most members of the Orthodox Church in Alaska were persons of mixed ancestry. Not only were such unions widely accepted, but children of mixed heritage enjoyed the same rights as ethnic Russians.

Russian experience in Siberia must have greatly influenced the way in which they dealt with the native peoples of the northern and western Pacific. Russians came to these new-for-them territories while being already educated in the principles of ancestral life style and Shamanism.<sup>28</sup> They encouraged healing and prophetic gifts from local people calling them “the work of God parallel to the ministry of Hebrew prophets.”<sup>29</sup> This certainly allowed for greater integration and naturalization of Russians into the native culture, and, respectively, allowed native people quick access into the Russian-controlled areas of trade, economy, and education.

Familiarity with the local’s tribal social organization and religion gained during the conquest of Siberia, most certainly gave Russians the advantage which other missionaries did not have, enabling them to win the friendship and economic support of the native peoples and avoid hostilities and warfare.<sup>30</sup> However, this advantage caused them a great trouble later on. As the mixed population grew and family ties between settlers, clergy, and tribes became tighter, the process of indigenizing the Orthodox faith was under way.

Specifically, tribal sodalities began manipulating influential Russian priests in order to win political battles against other tribes. Sometimes, they successfully pitted Russians against Anglo-

Saxon Americans and Protestant ministers, or used them to support their opposition against the United States government, which happened more and more frequently as Alaska was transferred to the United States in 1867.

The bitterest fruit of the indigenization of Russian Orthodoxy was the inability of its clergy to observe proper religious conduct among their own brotherhoods because they were so infused with the Shamanic element. According to reports of several Russian missions in Alaska, Russian Christians found themselves constantly pardoning the sinful actions of their Creole and indigenous brothers, while regular worship was more reminiscent of tribal festivities than of Christian church observance.<sup>31</sup>

**The Industrial-Protestant Phase:** Economic expansion by the Dutch, English, and Germans ushered a new, industrial-Protestant phase of missionization around the Pacific Ocean. One important factor that characterized this phase is greater availability of commercial ships to private citizens. For example, the first Germans who arrived in Australia in 1830-40 did so because of the economic situation in Germany which made traditional farming nearly impossible. However, if the sea voyage was not as accessible as it already was during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, their search for free land would not have taken them all the way across the Pacific Ocean to Australia.

These new settlers, however, found themselves without the usual support system which was characteristic of the commercial and missionary expeditions of the previous centuries. This might have been one of the reasons explaining their failure in dealing with the aboriginal peoples, which was followed by a conflict with their own church in Germany, as well as with the first Lutheran missionaries who arrived soon after. Settlers sought to impose their beliefs on the Aborigines, but their knowledge and skills in that area were insufficient and their methods were brutal. The Aborigines were angered to the point of hostility. Annexation of land for farming was another important reason why settlers were viewed as enemies.<sup>32</sup>

At the same time, German Lutherans in New Guinea reported great progress in their relationship with the Aborigines. In Australia, only two hundred of them converted to Christianity by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, but in New Guinea more than 10,000 people were baptized during the same time period. It appears that the difference between these two missionary experiences was in the economic success of the New Guinean settlers. Before the arrival of the Europeans, the Papua tribes of New Guinea were engaging in continuous warfare and blood revenge as a result of the shortage of food supplies. As we have seen,

the agricultural development of Australia was approached with great hostility by its native peoples, but in New Guinea it was welcomed because it enabled tribes to quickly increase their food supplies. As a result, New Guineans did not object to converting to Christianity and often-times received collective baptism as a tribe.

Throughout the industrial-Protestant phase, missionaries' participation in the economic development of the local peoples became a decisive factor in the outcome of the mission. Besides the above featured comparison between the two Lutheran missions, a convincing argument is found in the Christianization of the Hmong, the ethnic minority among the Thai and Chinese in South East Asia. When English Protestants reached the Hmong in the late-19<sup>th</sup> century, they were found in desperate economic and political condition, feared and despised by all other ethnic groups. Because of that, the Hmong converted to Christianity in huge numbers -- more than a thousand people per day. It can be argued that, if they had not converted, they would have died out from starvation.<sup>33</sup>

Another important factor defining the industrial-Protestant phase of missionization is a change in the attitude toward the missionary field. T. Doraisamy argues in "Patterns of Ministry in Singapore and Malaysia," that, in the 1870-1880s, a number of Methodist missionaries proclaimed economic independency from their home churches and entered government jobs to pay for their ministries.<sup>34</sup> Self-supported Methodist missions, which were run like a company or private business, appeared in many countries, including Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore, Japan, and China.

One of such business-modeled missions was started by Mr. Oldham in Singapore. All members of his mission were obliged to have an independent source of income by working for the government. Alarmed by this news, American and British Protestants started a heated theological debate. Eventually, Oldham successfully defended the involvement of his fellow Christians in secular job employment. Moreover, his method had a deep impact on all Methodist missions overseas. This new type of mission was actively involved in local campaigns for social reform. They headed public opposition to gambling and opium-smoking, and pioneered a women's liberation movement.

American Methodists set an example of missionary involvement in public education in Asia which was unprecedented. Head of the Chinese mission, Mr. Allen, took employment with the Chinese government and studied Chinese history, language, and culture. He decided to combine Christian theology with Western philosophy and natural science, and by doing so, he attracted the Chinese-educated elite to Christianity. Within a few years of his mission, he started publishing two magazines, *The Church News* and *The Review of the Times*. *The Church News* combined

religious and secular material, but the contents of *The Review of the Times* were almost exclusively devoted to Western philosophy and culture. Readers were introduced to the principles of natural science and modern technology, as well as provided with comments on economic and political issues of Chinese and American societies. The magazine became so popular that members of the Chinese government read it regularly.<sup>35</sup>

The accomplishments of the American Methodists are reminiscent of Matteo Ricci and his mission but with one significant difference. When it was discovered that Catholics immersed themselves in the Chinese culture, the mission was ended by the decision of the Pope. The American mission continued despite the obvious process of secularization and condolence to Chinese religious traditions. In its later years, the American Methodist mission opened several public colleges and universities across the southeastern provinces of China. Some of its members served as the first diplomats mediating between the American and Chinese governments.

American Methodists could be compared to Muslims in Asia before the Europeans arrived, in terms of their respect for local cultures and religions. However, Mormonism -- and not Methodism -- is the 19<sup>th</sup> century's champion of cultural tolerance. When Mormons discovered Hawaii and New Zealand, they also discovered that the Maori, the native people of the islands, experienced humiliation and discrimination from the Anglican church and White settlers. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS) launched a campaign against the Anglicans and supported the Maori in their legal grievances over their land losses. LDS embraced many features of the Maori's religion such as magic healing, writing genealogies, rescuing dead relatives from bad afterlife, as well as prophecy and divination. During LDS meetings, similar respect was paid to the converted Maori as to the American members of the church. The result of this cultural sensitivity of the early Mormon missionaries is that, today, the LDS plays an active part in cultural restoration projects and in the tourism industry in New Zealand and Hawaii.<sup>36</sup>

**Asian Migration Phase:** The last half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw the rise of a new phase of global missionization as hundreds of thousands of Asian people crossed the Pacific to participate in the Gold Rush economy, or were hired by Western companies to work in Mexico, Canada, and the United States of America. As Asian communities grew, their religions began spreading, first, in the cities of the Pacific west, and then across the entire continent. Los Angeles, San Francisco, Victoria, and other big cities on the west coast developed because of trade and the economy it boosted.<sup>37</sup> From the beginning, Chinese, Indian Sikhs, Japanese, and other Asian nationalities constituted a significant portion of their population. In this environment, Asians mixed with

large groups of Italians, Germans, and Irish who were likewise attracted by the Gold Rush or hired as cheap labor. The ubiquitous enthusiasm for getting rich quick and the influx of many foreign cultures created a new attitude toward religion which was strictly utilitarian and materialistic.

The process of missionization which involved Asian religions occurred on several levels. First, due to the unprecedented cultural tolerance, Europeans were learning about Asian religions and had to pay respect to them. For instance, few visitors to San Francisco, especially if they had business partnerships with Chinese interests, failed to notice the omnipresent god Guan Gong. Contracts and deals were secured near his shrines, and official delegations were honored by a special service at his temple.<sup>38</sup> One description of a big funeral in Sacramento presents this event as a religious anomaly that could be found only in the American West at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Christians of various denominations mingled with practitioners of Confucianism and Buddhism, while voices of the choir were overwhelmed by the sounds of gongs and drums, and the feast for the departed spirits was prepared in the middle of prayers to God.<sup>39</sup>

Another way in which missionization occurred was through the Asian settlers who reached back to their own home countries to share their new experiences of religious freedom and to inspire resistance to prohibitive laws and traditions. The American Sikh community serves as a good example of this. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, 85-90% of immigrants from India to Canada and the United States were Sikhs. Sikhs experienced severe oppression in India due to the fact that both Hinduism and Islam opposed their religion. Muslim rulers killed thousands of Sikhs, including their most prominent teachers. In the United States and Canada, Sikhs were able to freely practice their faith and even organize a religious political party, Ghadar. Ghadar promoted freedom for Sikhs, including, if necessary, a Sikh revolution and political separation from India. Their activities gained high profile in India and Britain, and this strengthened Sikhism politically and religiously. It may be argued that, today, Sikhism is strong in the United States due to the efforts of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Sikh teachers.

At the same time, some Asian gurus arrived in the American west with a clear intention to save their white brothers and sisters from the prison of consumerism and spiritual corruption. In this instance, we find a most direct parallel to the goals upheld by European missionaries who traveled to Asia in previous centuries. One of the most commonly known stories about missionaries coming from the East is the Self-Realization Fellowship founded by Paramahansa Yogananda. Here is how he stated the goal of his mission:

The great masters of India who have shown keen interest in the West have well understood modern conditions. They know that, until there is better assimilation in all nations of the dis-

inctive Eastern and Western virtues, world affairs cannot improve. Each hemisphere needs the best offerings of the other. In the course of the world travel I have sadly observed much suffering; in the Orient, suffering chiefly on the material plane; in the Occident, misery chiefly on the mental and spiritual plane.<sup>40</sup>

The Self-Realization Fellowship emerged at the very end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but most of its successes belong to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was in the thirties and forties, that Yogananda's mission added its most politically affluent and economically prosperous members, recruited from among Californian Americans. These new members made significant money and land contributions to the mission, which sponsored construction of several yoga schools and universities in California, most of which still exist and function in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Alongside the Yogananda's movement, Buddhist teachers maintained their conscious, missionary-like approach to American and Western cultures. It is true that the earliest Buddhist temples in the American Pacific regions were built to serve the needs of Chinese and Japanese immigrants, but, very soon, Buddhist clergy realized the needs that the entire American population had. Through their services, they helped practitioners to preserve their spiritual cultural values while opening a dialogue with Christianity. As early as the 1880-1890s, certain Buddhist ideas, and even practices, began to percolate through the American intellectual elite. Specifically, an attitude toward animals began to change, reincarnation became the subject of philosophical debate, and meditation became fashionable, while images of Shangrila and Pure Land attracted spiritual seekers not satisfied with "hell and heaven."<sup>41</sup>

There was yet another face to the missionization during the Asian Migration phase. As Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism were taking root in a society dominated by Christianity, and particularly after these traditions were shown to be a viable alternative to Christianity and as Europeans and Americans also began to follow them, Christians started a campaign against Asian religions. The main force in this campaign were white American Protestants whose tactics of conversion in their own neighborhoods were not at all the same as the tactics they employed overseas in China, Malaysia, or India. At home, they showed less tolerance and much more religious ambition, and as a result, very few Asians converted during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early-20<sup>th</sup> century. Here is how one author summarized the Chinese response to Christian missions acting in San Francisco: "They [Chinese] were not overwhelmed by white American culture not only because they experienced discrimination, but also because they had their own rich and distinctive cultural heritage,"<sup>42</sup> while another author states, "... local missionaries offered them our God, our

heaven, and our religion, but they had scores of their own manufacture better and cheaper."<sup>43</sup>

**Conclusions:** 1. Throughout the period 1500-1900 CE, religious exchanges around the Pacific Ocean occurred in connection with trade. Islam spread in South Asia because Muslims participated in the spice trade. Iberian Catholics arrived in the Malacca straight and the Muslim-Christian wars ensued because European merchants were determined to bypass Arab middlemen and purchase spices directly from the source. Search for spices and other highly valued Asian commodities was the main reason behind the discovery of America. The galleon trade between America and South Asia provided economic support for Catholic missions for more than three hundred years. Even the Papal dispatches and victims of the Inquisition were shipped back and forth on the commercial boats.

Likewise, Dutch and English Protestants appeared in the Pacific in connection with the transoceanic trade, as did Russian Orthodox missionaries who disseminated their religion along the hunting and commercial routes in the north and west Pacific. Finally, when in the last half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Buddhism, Hinduism, Sikhism, and other Asian religions began dominating the Pacific west, it was also as a result of the new phase in the trans-Pacific economy.

2. Religious and economic activities depended on each other, and their close relations appear in many instances. For example, Australian aborigines refused to accept Lutheranism because German agricultural methods destroyed their livelihood. These same Lutherans were very successful among the Papua of New Guinea. Their success was due to their agricultural practices since, in this particular case, they solved the food shortages of the Papuans.

The most impressive case of interdependency between religion and trade is seen in the transformation of south-Asian Islam. Before European merchants came to Asia, local Muslims avoided traveling to Mecca on a regular basis because the journey was extremely dangerous. European commercial ships, which were much safer, enabled Indonesians, Malaysians and Filipinos to build stronger connections with Arab Muslim communities, and, eventually, accept the Wahabi form of Islam. Additionally, it was the antagonism against European commercial domination that transformed Islam in south Asia into an ideological platform for national military resistance.

3. Although trade appears to be a decisive factor in the dissemination of all world religions examined in this study, missionaries had a serious impact on trade and the economy as well, which is evident from the involvement of clergymen in the galleon trade. The financial operations the clerics have undertaken to support themselves turned into a world-wide network of banks and charities — a precursor to modern global money exchange. This would not have happened if

Catholic priests, the better educated people of their time, had not gotten involved. Similarly, in Southeast Asia, America, Australia, and New Zealand, missionaries were in charge of real estate and land development. That brought about the introduction of new agricultural methods to these continents, followed by significant growth of local crop production. At the same time, missionaries all across the Pacific used money donated to the Church to subsidize the manufacturing industry, the proceeds to be used for the benefit of the Catholic Church.

4. Not all important events in the history of the missionization of the Pacific stemmed from trade and economic causes. The nature of the religion that spurred the process of missionization played an equally important role. For example, Catholic friars practiced celibacy, while Russian priests, Protestants, and Mormons were free to marry. Thus, the latter three religions established closer relations with the converted communities than Catholics ever did. The political structure of each religion was also a significant factor. In Islam, the power to decide on religious affairs lies with the community, which is why it blended so well with local governments in South Asia without causing major political problems. On the contrary, Iberian Catholic missions were under a strict centralized control exercised by the distant hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church. As a result, all their attempts to adapt to the local cultures were suppressed. This policy of doctrinal control created frictions between clergy and local populations and contributed to the ultimate failure of Catholicism in Japan and China before the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time, Buddhism has always been known for its religious and cultural tolerance, as well as its ability to exist in a state of continuous dialogue with different ideologies. This trait allowed it to easily blend with Western culture and never cause serious political or social disruption.

5. Certain patterns held persistently throughout the history of global religious exchanges across the Pacific Ocean. Obviously, people had to travel from one destination to another in order to proselytize, and they had to support themselves and their ministries while away from their homes. This is exactly the reason why, everywhere, missionaries and trade went hand in hand. Religious syncretism is another ubiquitous trait that followed the process of missionization and is attested to regardless of, and oftentimes against, the attitudes toward the native religions. Syncretic religious ideas and worship appeared everywhere where missionaries went. However, the actual causes of this were characteristic to each religion that created such an amalgamation. Thus, Russian priests diluted their Orthodoxy because of the intermarriages with the Indian tribes; Muslims in South Asia embraced certain ideological points, rituals, and architectural elements of Hinduism owing to the fact that early Islam itself was mystical in nature and, thus, closer to Hinduism; while Mexicans transformed the image of Jesus'

mother into the Virgin of Guadalupe, their tribal mother and protectress to ensure their ethnic survival. It is possible to argue that all significant changes in patterns of missionization happened as a result of social evolution and the evolution of human consciousness, specifically, in the attitudes toward people of different races and religious practices. As we move from the 1500s into the 1900s, missionaries become more and more understanding of other peoples' cultures and learn to be respectful of the differences that exist between human beings. Simultaneously, the degree of freedom allowed to missionaries increased by the same proportion. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, missionaries were able to hold secular jobs, engage in science education, advocate women's rights, and organize public political campaigns in the countries of their service.

6. Our last conclusion is to define the exchange of religions and missionaries around the Pacific Ocean as a reflection of a much larger process of globalization that began well before the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and expressed itself through transoceanic trade, economy, politics, as well as religious ideology.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> The first draft of this paper was presented at the 16<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Pacific History Association (Noumea, New Caledonia, 1994). I would like to thank those who made useful suggestions to my draft at that meeting.

<sup>2</sup> With this goal in mind, 'Pacific Centuries' conferences were held in Stockton in 1994, in Melbourne in 1996, again in Stockton in 1998, and in Seoul as a part of the 2002 World History Association conference. Three edited volumes of conference papers were subsequently published, which in turn led to a seventeen-volume series entitled *The Pacific World: Lands, Peoples and History of the Pacific 1500-1900* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., U.K.).

<sup>3</sup> Further developed in "In Search of Periodization for Pacific History," *Studies in Pacific History* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), ii-xxii.

<sup>4</sup> Expulsion of the Jesuits from China and Japan was followed by the termination of all economic exchanges between them and the West; other examples of political/religious interference are explored below.

<sup>5</sup> For instance, Russian Orthodox priests were permitted to marry (including native peoples), while Catholic priests were prohibited marriages. Such differences called for dramatically different rules of engagement between religious activists and local people, which in turn resulted in varying patterns of missionization.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Abdulkadir Widjoatmojo, "Islam in the Netherlands East Indies," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. II (1942), 50-63. Also, A. Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, Vol. I (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988); and M.C. Ricklefs, "Six Centuries of Islamization in Java," in Levztion and Nehemia (ed.), *Conversion to Islam* (New York: Holmes and Meier), 100-28.

<sup>7</sup> W.P. Groenveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca Compiled from Chinese Sources* (Batavia, 1877).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. B. E. Colles, "The Traders of the Pearl: The Mercantile and Missionary Activities of Persian and Armenian Christians in South-East Asia, *Abr-Nahrain*, Vol. X (1970-71), pp. 102-121; and "Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands," D. Flynn, *European Entry into the Pacific* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 55-92.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Marjorie Driver, *Cross, Sword and Silver: The Nascent Spanish Colony in the Marianas* (Guam, 1990).

<sup>10</sup> "In a church-order for the municipality of Batavia concerning the conversion of pagans of December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1643, one can read...: "The high officials should see to it, that the Moorish circumcision and schools will be forbidden..." (Widjoatmodjo,

op.cit.), 55-56. On a more tolerant position toward Islam by the Dutch see Justus van der Kroef, "The Role of Islam in Indonesian Nationalism and Politics," *The Western Political Quarterly*, vol. 11, 33-54.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. "...the Islamization of the Indonesian courts appears to have been dictated in many instances by mere political considerations: the emperor of the great Javanese realm of Mataram turned to formal acceptance of Islam in the seventeenth century because of fear of, and resentment over, the encroachment of the Dutch..." (Kroef, op.cit.) G. Means, "The Role of Islam in the Political Development of Malaysia," *Comparative Politics*, v. 1 (1969), 264-84; Mualib Hussin, *Islam in Malaysia: From Revivalism to Islamic State* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1993); N. Hassan, "Faith and Politics: The Rise of the Las Kar Jihad in the Era of Transition in Indonesia," *Indonesia*, vol. 73 (2002), 145-69; and R. Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia* (New Haven, CT: Princeton University Press, 2000) express different opinions about the Islamic influence on national politics of south-east Asia. However, they all agree that the revival and further spread of Islam in Asia were boosted by European invasion and struggle for national independence.

<sup>12</sup> There are varying views on whether the intolerance between Christians and Muslims, or purely economic reasons facilitated the conflict. See W. H. Scott, "Crusade or Commerce? Spanish-Moro Relations in the Sixteenth Century," *European Entry into Pacific*, 109-111.

<sup>13</sup> Delo Angeles, "The Philippine Inquisition," *Philippine Studies*, vol. 28 (1980), 253-83.

<sup>14</sup> N. Cushner, "Merchants and Missionaries: A Theologian's View on Clerical Involvement in the galleon Trade," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 47 (1967), 366-69.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Andrew Ross, *A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542-1742* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1994). More on this subject in J.-P. Wiest, "Bringing Christ to the Nations: Shifting Models of Mission Among Jesuits in China," *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 83 (1997), 654-81; Ch. Boxer, "Jesuits at the Court of Peking," *History Today*, vol. 41 (1991), pp. 41-57; and C. von Collani, "Did Jesus Christ Really Come to China?" *Sino-Western Relations Journal*, vol. 20, 34-48.

<sup>16</sup> S. Maccormack, "The Heart Has its Reasons: Predicaments of Missionary Christianity in Early Colonial Peru," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 65 (1985). More favorable opinions about Catholic missions in South America are expressed in B. Bucher's *Icon and Conquest: A Structural Analysis of de Bry's Great Voyages* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1981) and J. H. Elliot, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970). X. Albo in "Jesuitas y culturas indigenas," *America Indigena*, 26 (1966) argues that Jesuits were very sensitive to the issues of natural cultures.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. G. Zaide, "Filipinos Before the Spanish Conquest Possessed a Well-Ordered and Well-Thought-Out Religion," *Philippine Social Science Review*, vol. IV, 84-90; P. Gowing, *Mosque and Moro: A Study of Muslims in the Philippines* (Manila: Philippine Federation of Christian Churches, 1964); A. McCoy, "Baylan: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, 10 (1982), 141-94; and Fe Susan Go, "Mothers, Maids and the Creatures of the Night: The Persistence of Philippine Folk Religion," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, 7 (1979), 186-203.

<sup>18</sup> V. Angeles, "Philippine Muslim Women," Y. Haddad (ed.), *Islam, Gender and Social Change* (Oxford University Press, 1998), 209-34.

<sup>19</sup> M. Vought, "Shamans and Padres: The Religion of the Southern California Mission Indians," *Pacific Historical Review*, v. 36 (1967), 363-73.

<sup>20</sup> Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquest: Maya and Spaniards in Yucatan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). For more on Catholicism-based syncretism in America see R. Greenleaf, *Zumarraga and the Mexican Inquisition, 1535-1543* (Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1961); L. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahuatl-Christian Moral Dialogue in the Sixteenth Century Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989); and J. Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).

<sup>21</sup> Kong Xianyi, "Delving into Israelite Religion of

Kaifeng," *Sino-Judaica*, v. 1 (1991), 63-77.

<sup>22</sup> "The Narrative of Ahron Levi, alias Antonio de Montezinos," *The American Separdi*, v. 7 (1975), 62-83.

<sup>23</sup> Elisabeth Levi de Montezinos, "Commentary on Montezinos' Narrative," *The American Separdi*, Vol. 8 (1975), 79.

<sup>24</sup> Kong Xianyi, op. cit. Also on Judaism in Asia see A. Neubauer, "The Jews in China," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. 8 (1895), 123-39; D. Brown, "The Chinese Jews: Lost to the World for 1700 Years," *American Hebrew and Jewish Tribune* (January-March 1933); M. Pollak, *Jews and Missionaries: The Jewish Experience in Chinese Empire* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1984); and H. Kublin (ed.), *Studies of the Chinese Jews: Selections from Journals East and West* (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1971).

<sup>25</sup> A. Sokol, "Russian Expansion and Exploration in the Pacific," *American Slavic and East European Review*, Vol. 70 (1980), 127-36; and J. Gibson, "Russian Expansion in Siberia and America," *Geographical Review*, Vol. 70 (1980), 127-36.

<sup>26</sup> Michael Oleksa, "The Orthodox Church and Orthodox Christian Mission From an Alaskan Perspective," *International Review of Mission*, Vol. 90 (2002), 280-88.

<sup>27</sup> Sergei Kan, "Russian Orthodox Brotherhoods among the Tlingit: Missionary Goals and Native Responses," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 32 (1985), 200.

<sup>28</sup> *Doklad komiteta ob ustroistve Russkikh Amerikanskikh kolonii* (Report of the Committee on the Organization of Russia's American Colonies). St. Petersburg, 1863; and J. Dean, "Uses of the Past on the Northwest Coast: The Russian American Company and Tlingit Nobility, 1825-1867," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 42 (1995), 265-75.

<sup>29</sup> Oleksa, op. cit., 283

<sup>30</sup> J. Gibson, "European Dependence upon American Natives: The Case of Russian America," *Ethnohistory*, vol. 25 (1978), 359-85.

<sup>31</sup> S. Kan, op. cit., also see A. Gualtieri, "Indigenization of Christianity and Syncretism among the Indians and Inuit of the Western Arctic," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. 12 (1980), 47-57.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. J. Tampke, "Our Duty to Convert Men-eaters and Cannibals: German Lutheran Missionaries and Their Work in Australia and New Guinea Before 1914," *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, v. 81 (1995), 53-70. Early Anglican missions kept failing in Australia for reasons which were quite similar to this, cf. L. Noel, "The Australian Board of Missions, The Anglican Church and the Aborigines, 1850-1900," *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 17 (1992), 194-209.

<sup>33</sup> N. Tapp, "The Impact of Missionary Christianity Upon Marginalized Ethnic Minorities: The Case of Hmong," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, v. XX (1989), 70-95; also N. Tapp, *Hmong/Miao in Asia* (Seattle, WA: Seattle University Press, 2004).

<sup>34</sup> *Methodist History*, v. 21 (1983), 114..

<sup>35</sup> Xu, Xiaoguang, "A Successful Crusade to China: The Home Board and the China Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1848-1900," *American Asian Review*, vol. 10 (1992), 55.

<sup>36</sup> P. Lineham, "The Mormon Message in the Context of Maori Culture."

<sup>37</sup> "Practically all California gold was exported eastward, while silver flowed westward to the Pacific. [...] After 1870, non-metal exports [...] were dominated by wheat, followed by flour... Exports of wheat to Great Britain surged, while flour was exported mainly to China." D. Flynn, "In Search of Periodization for Pacific History," op.cit., VII-IX.

<sup>38</sup> M. Wells, *Chinese Temples in California* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1962); and Chen Yong, *China in America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

<sup>39</sup> S. Avella, "Phelan's Cemetery: Religion in the Urbanizing West, 1850-1869, in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Sacramento," *California History*, vol. 79, 250.

<sup>40</sup> Yogananda, "Autobiography of a Yogi," 557.

<sup>41</sup> While literature on this subject is abundant, two general studies of Buddhism in America seem most useful: R. Fields, *How the Swans came to the Lake: The American Encounter with Buddhism* (Boston: Shambala Publications, 1992) and Kashima Tetsuden, *Buddhism in America: The Social Organization of an Ethnic Religious Institution* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977).

<sup>42</sup> *China in America*, op. cit., 134.

<sup>43</sup> A. McLeod, (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1947), 98.

## CALL FOR AUTHORS

Nova Science Publishers is publishing a book series titled "First Men, America's Presidents." Several presidents are still to be assigned and Nova Publishers issues a book contract in advance. For a list of presidents to be assigned and the book project guidelines, please e-mail Dr. Barbara Bennett Peterson, Professor of History (retired) California State University San Bernardino, Palm Desert, at [fandbpeterson@aol.com](mailto:fandbpeterson@aol.com) and please include a copy of your academic vitae. Previously published books in this presidential book series can be viewed at [novapublishers.com](http://novapublishers.com).

## STATEMENT OF THE WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION ON THE FRAMEWORK DECISION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION ON THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM AND XENOPHOBIA

1. On behalf of the World History Association, the Executive Council of the World History Association deplores and condemns Holocaust denial, trivialization of genocide, racism, xenophobia, and all forms of hate speech.

2. Nevertheless, the Executive Council expresses deep concern over efforts by any state or government agency to legislate historical truth, to forbid the publication of historical arguments, to criminalize the communication of particular historical views, to define certain historical views as officially acceptable or unacceptable, to bestow official approval or disapproval on specific historical positions, or otherwise to hinder the free discussion of historical issues.

3. The Executive Council endorses the statement of the American Historical Association entitled "AIA Statement on the Framework Decision of the Council of the European Union on the Fight against Racism and Xenophobia."

4. The Executive Council views efforts by state or government agencies to define historical truth both as unwarranted infringements upon freedom of speech and as dangerous exercises that encourage the politicization of history education and historical scholarship.

5. The Executive Council holds that the best way to promote responsible historical scholarship is not to have state and government agencies to monitor and police the expression of historical views but rather to encourage vigorous, free, and unfettered discussion of historical issues.

6. The Executive Council charges the President, Secretary, and Executive Director of the World History Association with responsibility for making this Statement known to any and all appropriate individuals, agencies, and parties.

*Approved unanimously by the Executive Council of the World History Association, 3 January 2008*

## Call for Papers

**The Second Annual Conference of the California World History Association** will take place **November 14-15, 2008**, on the campus of San Francisco State University. The conference themes are **Race, Class and Gender in World History and Teaching across Boundaries**.

**Proposal submission:** As always, the California World History Association welcomes paper submissions from individual members, reflecting their research and teaching irrespective of the conference themes. But we particularly encourage proposals for full panels and/or roundtables to increase the cohesion and quality of the Conference. Especially welcome are panels on K-12 teaching of World History and undergraduate and graduate education. In particular, we are looking for panels that discuss grade-level specific ways of approaching the teaching of world-history (grades 6, 7, 10, and college-level courses).

**Submission deadline** is 23 May 2008. If submitting a proposal for a full panel or roundtable, include a title and a brief (250 word or less) description of the topic as well as a 150-word abstract of each paper and brief CV (no more than 2 pages) for each participant in the session. If submitting an individual paper, please submit a 150-word abstract along with a brief CV. Sessions are 90 minutes long, so presentations should not exceed 20 minutes. Any technological needs (LED projector, overhead, screen, other A/V) should be requested in the proposal's cover sheet. While the committee will do its best to provide projectors and video technology, we cannot guarantee computers, so you should be willing to bring your own computer and necessary cords.

**Send proposals** as an email with the subject line "CWAHA 2008 Proposal" to: Sharlene Sayegh, President, CWAHA [ssayeghc@csulb.edu](mailto:ssayeghc@csulb.edu). Proposals should be included as an attachment, and the titles of the proposals should include the last name of the panel organizer or of the individual presenter (i.e. SayeghProposal.doc). Please send questions to Sharlene Sayegh ([ssayeghc@csulb.edu](mailto:ssayeghc@csulb.edu)). Questions about local arrangements and accommodations should be directed to our local arrangements chair, Avi Black ([ablack@acoe.org](mailto:ablack@acoe.org)).

## Select Bibliography -- "Islam in World/Global History" and "World History of Religions"

Compiled by R. Charles Weller

I am currently preparing a "Select Bibliographic Essay on 'the Kingdom of God', 'Dar al-Islam' and World History" which I was hoping to have included in the Spring 2008 edition of *WHB*. I have essentially completed that essay, but am awaiting important feedback from several scholars, including hopefully one or two Muslim scholars, in order to polish up its quality a bit before releasing it. In the meantime, there seems no need to withhold for another six months the two following sets of select bibliographies from that essay, one on 'Islam in world/global history' and one on 'world history of religions', so I will set them forth here for whatever contribution they may make to the general study of world history, with a view to referencing this piece in my forthcoming essay.

First, as an important addition to the contribution P.L. Sinitiere, "Of Borders and Boundaries: World History, World Christianity, and the Pedagogy of Religion" (in J. Tishken, ed., *WHB*, Spring 2007, Vol XXIII, No 1, pp 7-14), I think he and most others would agree that discussion of 'world/global Christianity' and its proper place within world history should not overshadow the equally important subject of other religious traditions, including in this case 'global Islam' and its equally important place and role therein. Excluding standard 'histories of Islam', I posted a list of primary works on this topic on H-World (26 July 2007). With a few additions here and in no necessary order of precedence, those works include: Ahmed Nazeer, *Islam in Global History: From the Death of the Prophet Muhammed to the First World War* (Los Angeles, CA: American Institute of Islamic History and Culture, 2000); R.M. Eaton, *Islamic History as Global History* (American Historical Association, 1993), which is a small publication also included in M. Adas, ed, *Islamic and European Expansion: The Forging of a Global Order* (Temple University Press, 1993); M.G.S. Hodgson, ed. by E. Burke, III, *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam and World History* (Cambridge University Press, 1993, esp. Part Two, "Islam in a global context"); Shahrough Akhavi, "Islam and the West in World History" (in *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 24, No 3, 2003, pp 545-562; see also *Sage Public Administration Abstracts*, Vol 31, No 1, 2004); J.O. Voll, "Islam as a Special World-System" (in *Journal of World History*, Vol 5, No 2, Fall 1994); T.W. Simons, Jr., *Islam in a Globalizing World* (Stanford University Press, 2003); also forthcoming is A. Black, *The West and Islam: Religion and Political Thought in World History* (Oxford University Press, 2008). Finally here, one additional older work listed on worldcat.org with no authorial attribution is *The Making of World History: Islam* (Basingstoke: MacMillan Educational, 1971).

Both 'world/global Christianity' and 'world/global Islam' would constitute specialized focuses within the broader study of 'the history of religion(s)'. Among some key, select works in this broader field would be a forthcoming one edited by P.B. Clarke, *The World's Religions: Continuities and Transformations* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed, Routledge, 2009), which includes, among others, a chapter by C.T. McIntire on "Historical Study of Religion" engaging a range of world themes. Several rather recent works would be, first, D.S. Noss and B.R. Grangaard, *A History of the World's Religions* (12<sup>th</sup> ed, Prentice Hall, 2007), which supercedes the 11<sup>th</sup> edition (2003) listed by D. Lindenfield in the *WHB* Spring 2007 edition ("The Concept of 'World Religions' as Currently Used in Religious Studies Textbooks," p 6). Also just out is D. Johnson and J. Johnson, *Universal Religions in World History: Buddhism, Christianity and Islam* (McGraw-Hill, 2007). It treats the subject down to 1500 CE. My initial but by no means final impressions of this text are that it seems to be lacking in depth of reference to other established scholarship, but it nonetheless seems a worthwhile read, especially in its "highlight[ing of] the relationship between religious and cultural life and the political and social context in which it is embedded" (publ desc). The same authors teamed up earlier to write *The Human Drama: World History: From the Beginning to 500 C.E.* and its sequel, *...500 to 1450 C.E.* (both from Markus Wiener, 2000 and 2005), so they have clear knowledge and experience from which to draw, though of what precise quality it is I, again, am not yet sure. Finally here, I would note J.C. Super and B.K. Turley, *Religion in World History: The Persistence of Imperial Communion* (Routledge, 2006), which "explore[s] those elements of religion that best connect it with [the] cultural and political dynamics that have influenced history" (publ desc).

### World History Association Teaching Prize

**PURPOSE:** The World History Association is committed to working across all grade levels to maintain the use of current world history research in classroom practice.

**THE SOURCES:** Current historical research most frequently found in books (and the *Journal of World History*) is a significant inspiration for our teaching. The WHA is committed to encouraging teachers at all levels to turn to scholarship for content ideas. We are seeking lessons either inspired by or directly related to World History scholarship published within the last ten years.

**AWARD:** The winning lesson will be published in the Fall *World History Bulletin*. The designer of the winning lesson will receive a \$750.00 cash award sponsored by Pearson-Prentice Hall and recognition at the WHA Annual Meeting in June. Educators may have a letter announcing the award sent to their supervisors and local press.

**DEADLINE:** 1 MAY 2008

#### SUGGESTIONS TO GUIDE YOUR THINKING:

Brief introduction: For whom is the lesson intended? What is the purpose of the lesson? How does it fit into your curriculum, or larger plan? What are the lesson's links to current research?

Procedures for implementation: What preparatory work is assigned? How does the lesson work? (procedure, number of sessions, etc.) How do you know that students have "gotten it?"

Conclusion: Reflections on how it went in your class? (Student work and/or student reflections are encouraged) How might you adapt it to more advanced or lower level students? What other possible conceptual links do you see?

Possible Appendices: Appendix of relevant handouts or supporting materials used; Annotated list of available resources for students and teachers

**VISIT THE WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION WEB SITE FOR MORE INFORMATION, INCLUDING SUBMISSION GUIDELINES**

## Announcement of a New Scholarly Journal: *Global History Review (China)*

The first issue of *Quanqiushi pinglun* [*Global History Review*] was published in June 2007 in Beijing, China. It was edited by the Global History Center at Capital Normal University and published by the well-known Shangwu Yinshuguan [Commercial Press]. It draws on the services of two famous scholars of world history, Qi Shirong (China) and Jerry Bentley (USA), as special academic advisors. Professor Liu Xincheng (Capital Normal University) serves as the editor-in-chief, and he is assisted by five other co-editors and an English proofreader.

This first issue presented thirty-nine articles on the theory, research, and teaching of global history, many of which offer insightful remarks. Among the authors, ten are non-Chinese scholars from the United States, Australia, Italy, Germany, Colombia, and Canada. Articles in this first issue could be classified into three major categories. The first set of articles probes the theory and methodology; the second interprets unique case studies; and the third investigates pedagogy in teaching global history. This new journal shows Chinese scholars' efforts to deepen their opening to international academia. Indeed, this first issue itself was produced as a result of global collaboration and reflects a new trend of Chinese scholastic pursuit for new ideas and new thoughts.

Some articles illustrate how the writing and teaching of world history in China has been heavily influenced by the Soviet paradigm of the past century; the Soviet emphasis on class struggle and revolutionary movements made the previous scholarship rather a one-sided story. Furthermore, Eurocentrism had been predominant even in the Soviet style textbooks neglecting the rich cultural heritage of Africa, Asia, and the Americas. The Chinese understanding of world history, as many articles reveal, has always excluded Chinese civilization, making the writing of world history incomplete. This new journal deals with all of these issues and encourages scholars to be more comprehensive and objective.

The similarities and differences between global history and world history are probed and elaborated. According to some scholars, global history is not simply a sum of national histories; instead, it should be a new approach in exploring the past of the world. Global history broadens the scope of analysis to cover long-term historical evolution and to embrace both vertical and horizontal angles to examine human societies. Global history treats all nations equally from a comparative approach. The vital issues such as population, imperialist expansion, ecological exchanges, technological transfer, environmental changes and disease dissemination all should be parts of global history. This new approach tends to be three dimensional, going beyond the usual limit of the commonly perceived world history: it focuses not only on human civilizations, but also enlarges the vision to embrace human activities and their interaction with the nature. In a particular sense, global history is an expanded and enlarged world history.

The editors of this new journal plan to publish one issue per year, and they welcome submission of scholastic works. It claims to be a new international platform for scholarly discourse on important issues of global history. It welcomes two different types of work: one is of the article format within 10,000 words; the other is of the abstract format not exceeding 1,000 words (the abstract could be a condensed version of an already published article). This abstract will offer authors the opportunity to make their works more widely known. The ISBN number of the journal is: 7-100-05297-1. The contact information is as follows: *Global History Review*; Global History Center; Department of History; Capital Normal University; Beijing 10037; People's Republic of China; or e-mail to: [cnuliang@hotmail.com](mailto:cnuliang@hotmail.com). (Reported by Patrick Fuliang Shan)

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## WHA Names 2008 World Travel Scholar Recipient

WHA members who attended the 2005 conference at Al-Akhawayn University in Ifrane, Morocco probably remember Dr. Driss Maghraoui, who served so ably as the chair of the Local Arrangements Committee. Thanks in large part to Driss' work, conferees had a marvelous time, as well as a stimulating intellectual experience.

Thanks to a generous donation from an anonymous patron, who stipulated that a travel grant be offered to a North African scholar, the WHA has been able to name Driss Maghraoui as the recipient of a travel grant to attend the 2008 WHA conference in London.

Driss Maghraoui received his History Ph.D. in 2000 from the University of California at Santa Cruz, where he presented the dissertation "Moroccan Colonial Troops: History, Memory, and the Culture of French Colonialism." Currently he is an assistant professor at Al-Akhawayn University, where he offers a variety of history courses, including "Contemporary World History," "North African Immigration in Europe," and "The History of the World Economy, 1500-2000." In 2004-2005 he was a visiting assistant professor at Yale University.

Among his many publications are the forthcoming "Secularism in Morocco: A Stagnant Word in Motion" and "Cultural Diversity and the Arab-Islamic Heritage in Morocco."

While at the conference in London, Dr. Maghraoui will present the paper "Tangier in World History" as part of the program devoted to Global Cities. According to Maghraoui, his paper "will attempt to uncover the varied layers of the commercial activities that put the port city [of Tangier] into an international [system of] interconnected trade routes...." Moreover, contrary to the classic thesis presented by the Belgian historian Henri Pirenne which maintained that the early Muslim conquests badly disrupted the existing commercial network in the Mediterranean, thereby ending the unity of the Mediterranean World, his paper will suggest that the Muslim conquest of North Africa and Spain "set in motion the dynamics of an important trade network." Beyond that, his paper will argue against Bernard Lewis's notion that a "medieval iron curtain between Islam and Christendom seems to have kept cultural exchanges at a minimum, and greatly restricted even commercial and diplomatic intercourse." To the contrary, Maghraoui will offer the argument that the Muslim conquerors of the seventh and early eighth centuries helped revitalize the commercial activities of the Mediterranean Basin, and Tangier played an important role in that early medieval revitalization. Finally, because of its strategic location and commercial importance, Tangier later became entangled in a web of European political and dynastic alliances and rivalries.

For anyone interested in the Pirenne Thesis and medieval long-distance trade, the Mediterranean in world history, early modern European international diplomacy, and Muslim-Christian relations through the centuries this paper should be an absolute "must hear."



**Event: Exhibition "Wifredo Lam in North America."** The exhibition Wifredo Lam in North America," curated by Curtis L. Carter, Professor at Marquette University, Milwaukee and founding Director of the Haggerty Museum of Art is at the Miami Art Museum February 8 thru May 18 2008. The exhibition is the first museum retrospective of Lam's paintings in North America. It focuses on Lam's role in bridging the Afro-Cuban cultures of his native Cuba and the modern art movements of Europe, including Surrealism and the School of Paris Artists Picasso and Matisse. In an era of global culture, Lam's role in linking the cultures of Africa, Latin America, and Europe is increasingly important. This exhibition's appearance in Miami where many of the major collectors of Cuban and Latin American art reside, marks a historic occasion for the city. It is the first time that Lam's work has been shown there apart from private-gallery showings. The exhibition first appeared at the Haggerty Museum of Art in Milwaukee October 2007 to January and will travel to the Latin American Museum of Art in Long Beach and the Dali Museum in St Petersburg after the Miami Showing. A scholarly catalogue with essays by Curtis Carter, curator, Lowery Simms, Valerie Fletcher, Dawn Ades, and Edward Lucie-Smith, accompanies the exhibition.

# *The European Discovery of External Cultures and Their Effect on European Expansion*

Brant Weller

Bridgewater College

As the European economy grew and became more reliant on a cash system of wealth, opposing the land-based economy of feudalism, it was the merchant class who began to become prominent. Trade within Europe would continue to facilitate economic growth toward the limits of European internal expansion, and it would be the merchant who would begin to look outward for new markets and new sources of income. As the merchant traveled abroad, he returned with not only new goods but also new ideas.

Like the merchant, the Christian missionary too began to become less productive in lands of Europe. Christianity had expanded to the edges of the region. Thus, for conversions, the missionary also began to look outward, taking his ministry to farther parts of the increasingly-being-discovered world. He too, would return with more than conversions, also infusing new ideas into the traditional feudal culture. Globalization forced Europe to look at herself as just a mere part of a much larger world, and she would begin the struggle to find her identity in this world as she reacted to the influx of many new ideas. Thus European expansion between 1100 and 1500 is a direct result of the globalization efforts of the newly prominent merchant and the Christian missionary.

Fernández-Armesto tells of the world during this period as if it could be seen by a cosmic being looking down on the civilizations:

A cosmic observer, privileged to look down on the world of the fifteenth century from a commanding height, would have noticed a number of cultures and civilisations separated by great distances, poor communications and, in some cases, mutual ignorance or lack of interest. He might, however, have detected -- in places, for the most part, outside Latin Christendom -- some stirrings at the edges: The dilation of political frontiers or the beginnings of movements of expansion, of settlement, trade, conquest and proselytisation, which would make the world of the next few centuries an arena of imperial competition where expanding civilisations collided and where virtually all human communities were joined in conflict, commerce, and contagion.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the "stirrings" of cultures outside the European experience, it was Europe who would open up sea routes to the world, through which the abundance of ideas would dynamically change the European perspective. Why, however, was it Europe that expanded, and not the wealthier and more-equipped civilizations of China,

Islam, or Mesoamerica? The answer is that expansion was a necessity for Europe. Europe had reached its internal expansion limits and needed to look outwards. Thus, "while more prosperous civilisations rested content with the exploitations of their traditional contacts, it was left to the explorers of Latin Christendom to search for new resources, extend their reach and ultimately enmesh most of the world in their routes."<sup>2</sup> Not having the immediate exploitations that the more-prosperous civilizations had, Europe would reach her internal limits and financial crisis would ensue.

It would thus be "the financial crisis of the late fourteenth century" that would drastically increase the "Europeans' need for gold."<sup>3</sup> Prior to the era of European exploration, legends were abundant of extravagant cities of gold in the continent that lay just to the south. In fact, "by the mid fourteenth century, Europeans knew that the source of gold traded in the cities of Maghreb was in the West African part of the Sudan and that it was extracted from rivers by black men, about whom a number of legends had circulated among Muslim traders. Europeans also knew that there were powerful, advanced black kingdoms in West Africa whose strength rested on their rulers' control of the gold trade."<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the Indian Ocean was an economic powerhouse at the time, and Europeans could

access it only via the silk roads and the Gulf of Persia, controlled by Arab nations, or the Red and Mediterranean Seas, controlled by African nations. To circumvent these routes and find a new access to the Indian Ocean would be advantageous to the European economy. With this in mind, as well as the "legends of mysterious lands in Africa,"<sup>5</sup> explorers like Portugal's Prince Henry the Navigator sailed south along Africa, further coming to understand how Europe was but a small part of a much-larger world.

New cultures of strange peoples and myths of far away lands intrigued explorers such as Prince Henry, who were instrumental in the opening of contact between the cultures, but they also intrigued the upper-classes' interest in new and exotic goods. The merchant's importance would, therefore, increase, and the "merchant/foreigner [became] often the mediator between cultures, bringing new material objects and techniques as part of his trade; he also transmitted ideas, cultural, aesthetic, and moral values, and religious beliefs in the course of his contacts with indigenous inhabitants."<sup>6</sup> By way of the merchant, foreign and new ideas would find their way into European culture. It was important for the merchant to understand the cultures in which he was trading "in order to take advantage of demand."<sup>7</sup> Merchants had to become cosmopolitans if they were to be effective in the foreign markets. This cultural understanding among the medieval merchants "was another essential ingredient in the commercial expansion of Europe."<sup>8</sup> In addition to

Africa, the invasion of the Mongols not only allowed Europeans to become acquainted with Tatar ideas, but the vastness of the Mongol Empire allowed Europeans to tap the cultures of the Middle and Far East to a greater degree than ever before. The Mongols "imposed a tough, orderly rule across their lands, established efficient courier services, and permitted free travel and religious proselytizing."<sup>9</sup> Missionaries and merchants were now free to travel eastward thanks to an orderly and tolerant Mongol rule and "so long as Mongol rule remained essentially undisturbed and tolerant, it was possible for western merchants to enter and cross the Mongol khanates to reach China and India."<sup>10</sup> By allowing merchants to trade freely across the expanse of the empire, the "Mongol epoch laid the grounds for the voyages of discovery in the fifteenth" century.<sup>11</sup>

Those voyages and discoveries were made by people such as Maffeo and Niccolò Polo, who traveled to China out of Venice in 1260 and then again in 1269, when they took their nephew, Marco. Marco would go back and spend eighteen years in China returning in 1295. A man named Rustichello from Pisa "wrote up Marco's stories in a book, called *The Divisions of the World*, which became popularly known as *Il Milione*, 'The Million,' because of the fabulous wealth it described."<sup>12</sup>

This would entice many other young explorers, merchants, and missionaries to traverse the Mongol Empire and see what Marco had experienced.

Exploration was possible in the east, according to Peters, because of the "'Mongol Peace' which opened eastern Asia to western Europeans for the first time."<sup>13</sup> It was this "Mongol Peace" which "vastly broadened the West's horizons. For a time Latins were able to travel for thousands of miles further than had previously been possible, and were introduced to a world whose existence they had been hitherto unaware."<sup>14</sup> Those new horizons of the formerly unknown world, acquired thanks to the Mongols, would begin to provide Europe with the new ideas essential to its evolution during this period. Furthermore, Europe, "linked by the Italian merchant mariner states to a vital eastern trade that connected Asia Minor to China on the north and Egypt to India, Malaysia and China by the southern sea route...had finally entered that trading system and, though she was not yet hegemonic, at least she was becoming a more equal partner,"<sup>15</sup> which meant seeing herself as but a part of a global trading network.

The other carriers of the new ideas infusing Europe were the Christian missionaries. After failed crusades and a Islamic powerhouse sitting to the east, "no longer was there a realistic hope of expanding the powers of Christian rulers, but there was the hope in a missionary effort of conversion."<sup>16</sup> Even though Edbury claims that

***By way of the merchant, foreign and new ideas would find their way into European culture.***

“crusading ideology and the belief that Christians shared a common responsibility for the defense of their brethren overseas continued to hold an important place in the fourteenth-century thought world,”<sup>17</sup> Christendom would lose its hold on the Holy Lands, and the crusading ideology would have to become more of a missionary one. Just as the merchants returned home with intriguing stories and new ideas, also “as Christians began to travel over-land to Asia... they did find large numbers of

peoples they had never heard of before,”<sup>18</sup> peoples that would influence the evolution of Medieval Europe from a feudal society.

In the interests of new Christian missions and new economic opportunities, missionaries and merchants brought the world with its ideas into Europe, allowing for Europe to see herself in a global context. It was these “short-range and immediate interests,” according to Peter, that would establish the links to globalize Europe, through people like Prince Henry from Portugal, Christopher Columbus sailing for Spain, and Italian explorers familiar with the tales of Marco Polo:

The short-range and immediate interests of Genoa and the Iberian kingdoms had established not only an Atlantic linkage between southern Europe and the Mediterranean and the northern worlds, but they also had begun to open up the long-closed world of north-western and western Africa and the even larger world beyond the eastern Atlantic islands. The first of these achievements transformed the economic and political history of Europe; the second presented problems on a scale too vast and complex for any satisfactory solution. From the appearance of the Mongols on, Europeans were brought face to face with new kinds of human beings and a world immensely larger—although increasingly accessible—than they had ever imagined.<sup>19</sup>

The transformation of the economic and political structures of Europe was brought about by the new ideas from the new kinds of human beings from this immensely large world. Western scholars became “acquainted with the vastness of the world by the experience of the crusades [which were] reinforced, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, by the reports of merchants and missionaries who traveled the Mongol road as far as China, or sailed, with indigenous shipping, on the Indian Ocean.”<sup>20</sup>

The first ideas to shake European tradition came from the increased contact with the Islamic Empire in Al-Andalus and in the Middle East. A crucial aspect of this exposure to new ideas and new learning “was Europeans’ access to Muslim and Greek scientific thought. With the expansion of Christian power in Iberia, signaled by the capture of Toledo in 1085, clerical scholars in Iberia

and Sicily began the process of translating the works of some of the most important thinkers in both alien cultures, first from Arabic and later directly from Greek.”<sup>21</sup> Having been preserved by the Arabs, the works of philosophers such as Aristotle found their way into the European mainstream, challenging the “Platonic-Augustinian tradition of thought that remained skeptical of the value of knowledge of the world, material reality,

and human efforts to understand them.”<sup>22</sup> Along with Aristotle, logic, politics, and scientific and mathematic works found their way into European culture via the Arab culture.

The most important ideas to the evolution of Europe during this period were the works of Aristotle, linking Europe to the Arab nations from which they acquired the works, and the Ancient Greek culture that produced the thinker, thus setting Europe in a much larger context than itself. The influence Aristotle had on Europe would not be limited to those it converted from Platonism, but also would include the new thoughts and ideas resulting from the reaction against the Greek thinker, as well as the compromises made between the two thought systems.

The most notable reaction against Aristotle came from the Church whose ideas of a supreme God and an absolute good it had threatened. In the thirteenth century, “thinkers outside the theology faculty came under attack from theologians who accused them from sharing not only Aristotle’s beliefs in natural philosophy but also his pagan ideas about the uncreatedness of the world.”<sup>23</sup> Aristotle’s works on natural philosophy in math, logic, and science had become very influential and were giving some justification to his religious philosophies as well. Thus, because of the influence of the theologians such as Roger Bacon, “in 1277, Etienne Tempier, the bishop of Paris issued a condemnation of 219 propositions that he claimed were erroneously being taught at Paris by the arts faculty. The condemnation later played a very important role in redirecting philosophy away from pure Aristotelianism.”<sup>24</sup> Though the reaction to Aristotle was, for the most part, uniform in saying that Aristotle was false in his rejection of other-worldly forms and emphasis on the importance of the present, it did promote the study of Logic, which “challenged traditional ways of understanding scripture.”<sup>25</sup> If Aristotle didn’t have it all wrong and there was a supreme creator of the Earth, compromise of the two philosophies was necessary.

Thomas Aquinas took it upon himself, in his monumental work, *Summa Theologica*, to agree with “Aristotle...in creating a sphere of activity in which reason was supreme and perfectly consistent with faith,”<sup>26</sup> in a higher authority. He “had attempted to reconcile faith and reason, Greco-Arabic knowledge and Christian theology.”<sup>27</sup> The importance of the discovery Aristotle by means of a new interaction with Arabic culture

should not then be limited to the new philosophies that emerged, but must be seen in the greater context of the dialectic that ensued between the traditional philosophies, the new Aristotelian philosophies with their Arabic commentaries, and the synthesis of the two. This dialectic, since it was caused solely by the validation given to the works of another culture, allowed Europeans such as Aquinas to see the importance of other foreign ideas. This would initiate the European globalization of the later centuries.

Because of the Aristotelian emphasis on the present and the importance of human knowledge, Arabic culture had made many advances not only in logic, but also in math and geometry, and politics. The influence of Arabic culture on Europe can be seen, then, by the “increasingly professional use of geometrical principles of design, the development of complex tools such as cranes and hoists, and improved jointing work and stone dressing.”<sup>28</sup>

The new political ideas can also be traced to the discovery and influence of Arabic culture, namely from Aristotle and the emphasis on the individual and his capacity for knowledge. Genet asserts that “political literature and political philosophy can be traced back to the ‘rediscovery’ of Aristotle in the late thirteenth century.”<sup>29</sup> With this new emphasis on self, new political theories gradually began to emerge asserting the importance and liberties of the individual. Emphasis was taken off the sovereign and “political theorists gradually worked out constitutional theories for removing an incompetent ruler or even justifying the assassination of a tyrant.”<sup>30</sup> Just as was the case with religion, a dialectic emerged between the traditionalists and the reformists, of which great thinkers like the poet Dante became a part.

The general synthesis that emerged can be seen in the dialectical dialogue of the era which “borrowed from law, principally Roman law (the key concepts being necessity, consent, and representation), from theology (political society, the *politia*, as a mystical body of which the king was the head), and from classical philosophy (the very concept of the *res publica*, the *bien commun* or commonwealth.)”<sup>31</sup> Thus, the European political identity resulted from three main sources of which only one, the theological, was found in European thought prior to the influx of foreign culture, again proving that the importance of European globalization was not the adoption of other cultures, but the understanding and incorporation of chosen aspects of those cultures. This evolution of thought was only made possible by the immediate interests of European merchants and missionaries, and the new importance of foreign cultures is evidenced by “the Council of Vienne in 1312 [which] decreed that schools of Arabic and other non-Christian languages ought to be established.”<sup>32</sup>

In addition to new intellectual, theological, and political syntheses, the social realm also

became influenced by foreign ideas, a notable one being astrology. Though condemned by the Church, rejecting at least this part of Arabic culture, it “did not prevent astrology from becoming a popular learned pastime. Receiving the imprint of the Muslim thinkers, whose popularity grew as the twelfth century wore on, astrology seemed to account for the different physiological and temperamental characteristics of humans.”<sup>33</sup>

The importance of globalization on the new European identity was not simply the European recognition of other cultures. Had that been the case, there would have been no evolution at all. Neither was globalization important because the influence of foreign culture manipulated Europe into what it was to be in the modern age. Globalization advanced European thought in that it made Europe recognize she was not alone in the world and so she took the influx of new ideas from new cultures and weighed them against her previously-held notions, thus forming her own advanced, synthesized identity.

Though this new identity was advancing, amidst the multiplicity of cultures in the vast, newly discovered world, it would need to be preserved lest it be forgotten. The study and writing of history would therefore become an important part of European culture, resulting from its new globalization. Thus, “several new kinds of history were appearing: national history in France, England, and Iberia, where reigns of sovereigns provided the chronological framework; histories of cities in Germany and the Italian peninsula; biographies, accounts of travels, of wars and of remarkable expeditions.”<sup>34</sup> In addition to histories, in order to save herself from the divisions resulting from internal political, philosophical, and theological debates, as European culture struggled to accommodate the ideas of the foreign cultures, an old concept gained new importance to unify the realm. It was “in some measure, the need to find a response to those divisions which encouraged greater emphasis to be placed upon ‘Europe’ with its timely appeal to society’s sense of a corporate history, in the face of the growing Turkish threat from without and divisions from within. Helped by the humanists, the word ‘Christianity’ would very slowly be replaced by ‘Europe’ which, by the fifteenth century, was coming to be used with increasing frequency and marked emotional content.”<sup>35</sup> Because of globalization, a corporate heritage was needed to unify an evolving Europe at a time when “Christianity” was being challenged by new ideas. A new source of identity was needed to become a part of the global system, yet independent of the other parts.

When Europe had reached its Christian and economic expansion limits, merchants and missionaries needed to look elsewhere if they were to be effective in their occupations. Their need for exploration opened up a vast world full of new ideas that would require Europe to evolve from an internally-oriented philosophy to one of global identity, understanding, incorporating, and synthesizing the wealth of new ideas in order to form

their own. Therefore, it was this globalization effort, initiated by European merchants and missionaries, that caused Europe to evolve to a level from which it could participate in the world context.

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Felipe Fernández-Armesto, “Exploration and Discovery,” *The New Cambridge Medieval History Volume VII c. 1415-c.1500*. Ed. Christopher Allmand. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 175.
- <sup>2</sup> Fernández-Armesto, 180.
- <sup>3</sup> Edward Peters, *Europe and the Middle Ages*, 3rd edition. Upper Saddle River: Pearson Education, 2004, 419.
- <sup>4</sup> Peters, 418.
- <sup>5</sup> Peters, 420.
- <sup>6</sup> Kathryn Reyerson, “Commerce and Communications,” *The New Cambridge Medieval History Volume V c. 1198-1300*. Ed. David Abulafia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 53.
- <sup>7</sup> Reyerson, 65.
- <sup>8</sup> Reyerson, 66.
- <sup>9</sup> Peters, 360.
- <sup>10</sup> Peter Spufford, “Trade in Fourteenth-Century Europe,” *The New Cambridge Medieval History Volume VI c. 1300-c. 1415*. Ed. Michael Jones. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 190.
- <sup>11</sup> Peter Jackson, “The Mongols and Europe,” *The New Cambridge Medieval History Volume V c. 1198-c.1300*. Ed. David Abulafia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 719.
- <sup>12</sup> Peters, 360.
- <sup>13</sup> Peters, 360.
- <sup>14</sup> Jackson, 719.
- <sup>15</sup> Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System, A.D. 1250-1350*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, 124.
- <sup>16</sup> Peters, 374-375.
- <sup>17</sup> Peter Edbury, “Christians and Muslims in the Eastern Mediterranean,” *The New Cambridge Medieval History Volume VI c. 1300-c.1415*. Ed. Michael Jones. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 884.
- <sup>18</sup> Peters, 375.
- <sup>19</sup> Peters, 421.
- <sup>20</sup> Fernández-Armesto, 181.
- <sup>21</sup> Peters, 327.
- <sup>22</sup> Peters, 331.
- <sup>23</sup> Peters, 329.
- <sup>24</sup> Peters, 330.
- <sup>25</sup> Peters, 263.
- <sup>26</sup> Peters, 335.
- <sup>27</sup> Jean-Philippe Genet, “Politics: Theory and Practice,” *The New Cambridge Medieval History Volume VII c. 1415-c.1500*. Ed. Christopher Allmand. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 12.
- <sup>28</sup> Peters, 337.
- <sup>29</sup> Genet, 11.
- <sup>30</sup> Peters, 299.
- <sup>31</sup> Genet, 6-7.
- <sup>32</sup> Peters, 375-376.
- <sup>33</sup> Peters, 284.
- <sup>34</sup> Genet, 26.
- <sup>35</sup> Christopher Allmand, “Conclusion,” *The New Cambridge Medieval History Volume VII c. 1415-c.1500*. Ed. Christopher Allmand. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 839.

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## Global Encounters: Legacies of Exchange and Conflict (1000-1700)

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The new Program in MEMS at UNC, Chapel Hill, will host an interdisciplinary conference on topics of cultural mediation, interchange, and conflict in the premodern world. Areas of geographical concentration will include Europe, the Atlantic world, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. Keynote addresses will be offered by Professor Karen Ordahl Kupperman (Silver Professor of History at New York University), and by Professor Alfred J. Andrea (Professor Emeritus of History, University of Vermont).

For information, please contact the MEMS Organizing Committee, c/o Professor Brett Whalen, chair (bwhalen@email.unc.edu). This Conference is supported by: the College of Arts and Sciences; the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation; MEMS, the Program in Medieval and Early Modern Studies at UNC; Associate Provost for International Affairs, UNC Chapel Hill; The Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Duke University.

# *The Forgotten Empire: Teaching Ancient Persian History in a World History Class*

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With few exceptions, our world history textbooks fail to give an account of the Persian Empire commensurate with its historical significance. As a rule, it is found at the end of the “second chapter,” which appears under different headings but generally deals with the dawn of civilizations in the Ancient Near East. It is normally right after the account of the Assyrian empire that the narrative on the Persian Empire is inserted. This structuring of the chapter tends to present the Persian Empire as essentially a continuator of the Assyrian Empire.<sup>1</sup> And, moreover, since it comes at the end of the chapter, the reader is left with the impression that the Persian Empire marks the end, rather than the beginning, of a new era in world history. Conventionally, too, the next period in Near Eastern history begins with the coming of Alexander of Macedonia, whose conquests are presented as marking the beginning of a new age, the Hellenistic Age. Another convention in our history texts, which I find lopsided if not biased, relates to the relations between the Persians and the Greeks which is presented as one of confrontation and enmity between the Persians and the “Greeks” -- that is to say, “all the Greeks.”

I begin with my first point, the placing of the history of the Persian Empire at the end of a historical period. As I will try to show, not only does this conventional periodization overlook the fact that the establishment of the Persian empire ushers in a new age in world history, but it also exaggerates the cultural impact of Alexander’s conquests, the Hellenization of the East.

To begin with the novelty of the Persian age, the empire that they created was of a vastly greater extent than any previous one. It was the first empire in world history to have expanded over the three known continents.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the former empires, it was not a river valley empire, the geographical center and center of political power was in the uplands, along Zagros. For the first time in world history, as a consequence of the establishment of the Persian empire, all of the major cultural centers in the Ancient world west of China<sup>3</sup> were brought into direct contact. The population of the empire was far more numerous and more heterogeneous.<sup>4</sup> The ruling people, instead of being the largest body in their own territories, were a military minority spread thin over a vast area. With them, and until the rise of Islam over a thousand years later, the great powers in the Near East were the Indo-Europeans, whereas before, by and large, it had been Semites. The development of trade, fostered by the minting of standardized gold and silver coins of universal

circulation, the standardization of weights and measures, the building of overland routes, the charting of new sea-lanes, the digging of the canal connecting the Nile with the Red Sea which provided for an all-waterway lane linking Egypt with the Indus, as well as the transplantation of animals—diminished the relative importance of agricultural interest in the state.

The establishment of the Persian Empire also marked the beginning of a new age in the nature of rulership. Though, in consonance with long-standing Near Eastern norms, Persian kings were kings by divine right, they did not everywhere claim to have derived their authority solely from their own national god as, for example, had previously been the case with the Assyrians. Through their tolerance and acceptance of the religions of their subjects, the Persian kings became the representatives of their gods -- in different countries, they claimed descent from the national god of that country. Such toleration went much further than mere lip-service to foreign gods. The Persian kings were actively involved in the temple worship of alien deities. In Egypt, Darius sacrificed to the local gods, contributed to the building of temples, and conferred privileges on priesthods. The king had regard for both law and custom. Darius I was called “the lawgiver;” he codified laws, published them, and each people lived by its own laws.

Another novelty was the new type of religion which these Iranians brought with them to their new land. It is often overlooked that Zoroaster is the only prophet -- that is a messenger with a divine revelation -- that the Indo-

Europeans ever produced. More importantly, seen from an etiological standpoint, this was a monotheistic religion with a dualistic ethical undertone, which, on both counts, was something new for the people of the ancient world. To say that people knew of monotheism through Judaism is both to exaggerate knowledge of that religion, which was only of local interest until the rise of Christianity and Islam,<sup>5</sup> as well as to read back from a later time to an earlier period a theism -- monotheism -- which was the view of only a minority of Jews that became irrelevant to religious matters in Jerusalem after their exile to Babylon. As late as 458 BCE, or perhaps 398, depending on which Artaxerxes it was who sent Ezra to Palestine to carry out a codification of the Jewish laws (presumably along the same lines as had previously been carried out under Darius I for the laws of Egypt), in the Jerusalem temple, other gods were worshipped alongside Yahweh.<sup>6</sup> Even then, Ezra faced opposition and his mission ended in failure. It was only later, when Nehemiah, the king’s cupbearer, was sent as governor to Jerusalem and succeeded in winning the support of the priests, that the successful enforcement of the Laws of the Pentateuch began.<sup>7</sup> As

for Zoroastrianism, it enjoyed the prestige and stature deriving from its being the imperial religion -- knowledge of it had crossed over into the Greek mainland at the latest by the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The fact that with the passage of time the followers of that religion shrank substantially in size by converting to the new religion of Islam, and that nowadays the adherents of that religion do not add up to even a million people, should not reduce the historical significance of that religion. Our world history texts do identify some of this religion’s original precepts which passed on into Judaism and, through the latter, into Christianity and Islam. But Zoroastrianism’s very probable influence on Greek philosophy, both the Ionian and the Socratic -- in principle, Plato -- is not mentioned in passing even as a moot point.

Another novelty brought about by the Persians was in the sphere of administration. To effectively rule his empire, Darius I introduced a number of administrative measures, two of which were the division of his empire into administrative units, *satrapies*, over which he placed *satraps* entrusted with civil authority alone, reserving military authority for another set of officials as a counterpoise to the power of the *satraps*. Both, his division of the land into smaller administrative units,<sup>8</sup> as well as his separation of civil from military power, were to be models for later rules, such as the Mauryan Chandragupta, and at a much later time, Emperor Diocletian.

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Another novelty of the age was the emergence of a new type of literary genre, historiography, in which the Greeks excelled and set the paradigm for future generations, but which had its beginning in connection with the Persian Empire. Though it is Herodotus -- incidentally, a subject of the Persian empire -- who is generally regarded as the Father of History, it was an Ionian, Hecataeus of Miletus, who initiated the writing of “modern” and “contemporary” history of the Greeks, as distinct from their “ancient” history which continued to be mythography; and the event which stimulated this intellectual movement towards writing “modern” history, was the incorporation of Asiatic Greeks in the Persian empire which resulted in the contact of Ionian thinkers with oriental history, and which facilitated the unhindered travel of these Greeks into the near East. Thus, the widely traveled Hecataeus<sup>9</sup> explored the interior of the Persian empire and Egypt, which had been annexed by Cambyses. Before Hecataeus, what was passed off as history among the Greeks was mere mythography, which was ultimately rooted in Homer and Hesiod; and what made Hecataeus skeptical of such accounts was the acquaintance he made in Egypt with the historical traditions of the Egyptians.<sup>10</sup> In the opening pages of his work, *Map of the World*, Hecataeus wrote “What I write here is the

account which I consider to be true. For the stories of the Greeks are numerous, and in my opinion ridiculous'.<sup>11</sup> In that work, Hecataeus introduced the Greeks to oriental history and sketched, for the first time, the successive monarchies of Assyria, Media, and Persia.<sup>12</sup> Hecataeus, the historian, as distinguished from the mythographer, had two immediate successors, Charon of Lampsacus and Dionysius, both of whom followed the path of their predecessor by writing on oriental history.<sup>13</sup> Though the works of these two authors contained important periods of Greek history, they were properly histories of Persia. In this way, then, it was through the account of the "modern" history of the East that the Greeks went on to study the "modern" history of Hellas.<sup>14</sup> Thus it was with the establishment of the Persian Empire that Greek historiography began. Moreover, these early Ionian historians, faced with the political realities of the Greek-speaking people -- none of whose city-states was central enough in the political life of all Greeks to warrant their respective histories to coalesce around it -- wrote their Greek histories in the context and around the central theme of the history of the Persian Empire.<sup>15</sup> The same technique was also employed by Herodotus, who coined the word "*historiae*," meaning research. He, too, related the history of the Greeks within the main frame of the history of the Persian Empire. Thus, in a technical sense, Greek history begins with the history of the Persian Empire. Here we have another beginning, another "new age," in this instance for a literary genre, Greek historiography, which evolved in the Persian period.

The same event which stimulated the interest of the Ionians in historiography, Persia's incorporation of their lands, can be said, with equal justice, to have turned their interest toward geographical research. The Milesian Anaximander, the "Father of Geography," devoted himself to his studies under the Persians, and the first world map which the people in Peloponnesus had ever seen was the one made by him which was based on earlier Babylonian maps.<sup>16</sup>

I now turn to my second point, the nature of Greco-Persian relations, simply by pointing out some of the known facts, coming in principle out of the pages of Herodotus, and skirting controversial points, to show the lopsidedness of our world history texts.

It is an important fact to note that in their narratives on the relations between the Persians and the Greeks, by the "Greeks" in this relationship our texts are only concerned with the Greeks of the mainland, as if the other half of the Greek world, the eastern half, which had been incorporated into the Persian Empire for half a century before the so-called Greco-Persian confrontation began, did not exist or did not have a relationship of its own with the Persians. Eastern Greeks are merely subsumed and glossed over in our texts.

As for the Greco-Persian confrontation, the

fact is ignored that the campaign leading to the Battle of Marathon, presented as the event marking the beginning of hostilities between the Persians and "the Greeks," was merely a Persian naval exercise in the fashion of a policing action, directed only against Athens and the Eretrians; that Athens herself, over a decade earlier, in 507 BCE, had sent delegates seeking Persia's help against the Spartans, and that on that occasion had given "earth and water," symbolizing submission, to the Persians.<sup>17</sup> This meant that from the Persians perspective their objective in Marathon of restoring Hippias to power was within the bounds of their understanding with Athens -- she had given them earth and water.<sup>18</sup> And Hippias, for his part, had not been totally abandoned by the Athenians; he still had friends and followers in Athens who were awaiting his

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return. Moreover, that in Athens itself, on this occasion as well as later, Persia had its own sympathizers and collaborators, the so-called Medizers -- among them the Alcmeonids family, which occupied many important state functions, and produced two of Athens' most illustrious political figures, Cleisthenes, the architect of the Athenian Democracy (who, incidentally, had given earth and water to the Persians in 507 BCE) and Pericles, whose age is a byword for the Golden Age of Athens. The family's extensive trade relations with Asia Minor were the source of its prosperity, and, consequently, they wanted to maintain amicable relations with Persia. It follows then, that at the approach of the disgruntled fugitive tyrant of Miletus, Aristagoras, who had arrived in Athens to seek assistance in support of the Ionian Revolt, the family strongly cautioned against such assistance as it would cause conflict with Persia.<sup>19</sup> For the time being, however, the opposition party -- the war party -- headed by Miltiades, won the day. But, even then, Athens limited its assistance to twenty vessels. Later on, when the rebels in Ionia began to lose ground, the pro-Persian groups in Athens gained the upper hand, and after the election of 496 BCE, the party of Alcmeonids regained its former power. Immediately thereafter the Athenians recalled their ships.<sup>20</sup> And the political party now in power did everything to avert a war with Persia. Thus, in 493 BCE, the playwright Phrynichus, whose tragedy *The Fall of Miletus* had caused the audience to break into tears of pity for the Ionians killed and the shame of having abandoned them, was fined one thousand drachmas for commemorating Athens' unsuccessful foreign policy. Many leading politicians of Athens, and especially the Alcmeonids and followers of the deposed Pisistratid tyrant, and also the popular masses they led, were against a confrontation with the Persians. Therefore, they agitated against the use

by their opponents of the theater for political propaganda.<sup>21</sup> Finally, the Persian campaign at Marathon was in response to Athens' interference in the internal affairs of Persia. As Herodotus noted (I, 4), the Greek attacked the Persian dominions in Asia before the Persians attacked Greece and he condemned the Ionians for starting the Revolt.

That the ensuing war was not between the 'Greeks and the Persians', but between Persia and the two Greek communities of Athens and the Eretrians in Euboea,<sup>22</sup> can be surmised from the response of the Greeks to Persia's approach against them. In 492 CE, during the preparations for the projected campaign, Persian ambassadors were sent to the Greek territories to demand earth and water. "(T)he majority of the islanders and many mainland cities (including Thebes, Argos and Aegina) reacted positively to the call...; only Sparta and Athens refused."<sup>23</sup> On the eve of Marathon, the Athenians' neighboring district of Boeotia turned against them and openly welcomed the arrival of the Persians.

Even some Athenians were prepared to help the Persians, in particular, the family of Alcmeonids, who had been deprived of their power by their opponent, Miltiades. At this time, they joined forces with Hippias' secret adherents, who were awaiting his return.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, the Alcmeonids and their associates would continue to have special rapport with Persia for a long time to come.<sup>25</sup>

The Alcmeonids aside, the main sanctuary of Apollo which was the temple of Delphi, was also on the side of the Persians and tried to dissuade the Greeks from resisting them.

Turning our attention to the time of Xerxes' campaign and the state of relations between Persia and the Greeks at that time, we find that before Xerxes' decision for a Greek campaign, messengers had come from Thessaly inviting Persians to attack the Greeks, and promising their full support; a similar request was made by exiles from Athens.<sup>26</sup>

On the mainland, many Greek states ignored Sparta's invitation to the congress she had organized for all Greeks to attend in order to unite against Persia.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, many Peloponnesian towns sympathized with the Persians and did not participate in the building of the wall across the Corinthian Isthmus to prevent the Persians from entering the Peloponnesus.<sup>28</sup> Some city-states, despite the promises they had made to Sparta and Athens, sat on the fence, awaiting the result of the war.<sup>29</sup> Helots, and of course other groups of dependents, awaited the advance of the Persians as if they were their liberators.<sup>30</sup> According to Herodotus (VII, 138), the majority of the Greek states did not want war with Persia, while some openly sided with Persia. Moreover, at this time, as earlier at Marathon, the priest of Delphi maintained a pro-Persian orientation and urged the Greeks more towards a capitulation or neutrality than resistance.

Again, during Xerxes' campaign, a list of

city-states on the mainland -- the Thessalians, Archaeans, Thebans, and the inhabitants of other districts and many cities -- sided with Persia. The Thebans' steadfast friendship with Persia must have been evident to all. For the defense of Thermopylae, the Thebans contributed 400 men; however, they were suspected of planning to defect to the Persian side at a critical moment, and as correctly suspected, when the attack on the position of Leonidas started, these Thebans abandoned the Greeks for the Persians.<sup>31</sup>

At Salamis, the Greek hopes that the ships of the Greeks from Asia Minor would change sides, proved illusory. The latter, to the contrary, remained loyal to Xerxes and fought valiantly in the hope of receiving reward from the Persian king.<sup>32</sup> According to Herodotus (VIII, 10) they were even pleased when some Greek soldiers were killed. The Ionians, who were pitted against the Peloponnesians, captured several Greek ships.

Persian defeat at Salamis did not weaken the resolve of their Greek allies. On their second march to Athens, the Persian armies were invited by the Thebans to set up camp in their territory. Argos, the old enemy of Sparta, was in cahoots with Mardonius, informing him of the departure and the size of the Peloponnesian forces which were being sent to Athens. At Plataea, the Greek allies of Persia who were pitted against the Athenians included the Boeotians, Locrians, Thessalians, Phocians, and the Macedonians. The Boeotian cavalry, in particular, fought with distinction at Plataea.<sup>33</sup>

In Macedonia, which at a later time under Philip II and Alexander II, would use Xerxes' campaign as a piece of propaganda to justify its war against Persia, its king, Alexander I, around 512 BCE, had hastened to offer his submission when the Persian army reached the borders of Macedonia,<sup>34</sup> and later, in 480 BCE, accompanied Xerxes on his march to Greece. In the meantime, his sister was wedded to a Persian.<sup>35</sup>

Neither at the beginning nor at the end of Xerxes' campaign did all Greeks view the Persians with the hostility that later writers ascribed to them. To follow Herodotus, at the start of the war "many Greeks were even convinced that Zeus had arrived in person in their country, personified by Xerxes," and "decades after Xerxes' campaign" "the Thracians still regarded the road which was followed by Xerxes...as sacred" (VII, 115).

Our textbooks do tell us about the contentious relations among the Greek city-states, which they identify as the main cause for the collapse of the city-state system and the loss of their independence. And yet, when it comes to their relationship with Persia, they leave the reader with the impression that the Greeks formed a united front against Persia.

One aspect of the relations between the Persians and Greeks which is totally left out of our accounts, and which shows the complexity of Greco-Persian relations, regards those illustrious Greek political figures who, for one reason or

another, joined the service of the Persians. Among Xerxes' retainers was the Spartan king Demaratus who joined Xerxes on his European campaign and advised him on naval strategy on the eve of Salamis. The famous Themistocles, the Athenian *strategos* and victor at Salamis, took refuge with the Persians less than two decades after that event. In order to be granted audience with the Great King Artaxerxes I, he accepted to perform *prokynesis*. He studied Persian for a year to be able to speak with the Persians without the help of an interpreter. He married a Persian woman and lived as a royal retainer with the revenue assigned to him from certain districts in Asia Minor.<sup>36</sup> The renowned Spartan commander of the allied Greek army at Plataea, Pausanias, soon after that event, adopted Persian attire in preference over Spartan attire, and some eight years after Plataea, was walled up at the temple in which he had taken refuge, and starved to death on the revelation that he had defected to the Persian king and intended to turn Greece over to his authority. Early in the next century, around 398 BCE the Athenian admiral Conon<sup>37</sup> joined the Persian navy and was made commander of a Persian fleet by Artaxerxes, and, some two years later, personally went to the king to ask for money for his fleet.<sup>38</sup> And still later, Athens -- the arch-enemy -- gave one of its best generals, Iphicrates, on loan to Persia for the recovery of Egypt.<sup>39</sup> Lastly, when considering Greeks who, at one level or another, worked with Persians, one should obviously include a large number of Greek mercenaries, many of whom were truly loyal to their Persian masters. After Issus, Alexander made carnage of the Greek mercenaries in the service of the Persians, in order to set an example and deter others from serving the Persians. Yet, these Greeks loyally stayed with Darius III until his very last hour.

In short, the Greco-Persian relations were far more complex for the two peoples to be neatly compartmentalized into two mutually sworn hostile camps. The fact is that when dealing with the Greeks, we should be aware that we are not dealing with a modern nation-state, but rather a quarrelsome mixture of independent city-states. We need to reckon with the fact that there were as many alliances between Persians and Greeks, as there were between Greeks and Greeks. These are historical facts which take a big bite out of the conventional lopsided Persia-versus-Greek picture our text books continue to draw.

It is true that for the sake of brevity one needs to make generalizations, but these generalizations should not be so extreme as to distort the picture.

Turning now to the convention that Alexander's conquests mark a "New Age" in the history of the Near East, that of Hellenisticism, we must keep in mind that this view is the corollary of the alleged hostility between all Greeks and Persians, and of the inference that the Persians strove to annihilate the Greeks, and that the Greeks, during the wars with Persia, fought

for the survival of their culture and the protection of their religion. It follows, then, that the destruction of the Persian empire was the prerequisite for the spread of Hellenism in the East.

It is difficult to imagine that half of the Greek world, the intellectually more advanced half in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE, had been incorporated into the Persian Empire by its founder as early as 547 BCE, and yet the Greek influence had to await the coming of Alexander in order to filter through the Persian empire.<sup>40</sup>

Reference was made earlier to the Ionians' contributions which coincided with their incorporation into the Persian Empire. We might also point out that classical scholars such as Anaximander, Hecataeus, and Heraclitus devoted themselves freely to their studies although they were subjects of the Great King. These Ionians' influence traveled to the very heartland of the Persians: some of their master craftsmen chiseled those famous columns, bearing their ethnic name, which were used in the construction of Darius' Royal Palace at Persepolis. Persepolis documents contain data on foreigners employed by the state. Among the peoples frequently mentioned as workmen of the state economy were Cappadocians, Lydians, Carians, Termilai, Thracians, and Ionians.<sup>41</sup> In general, many Greeks, for various reasons, were in Iran during the Achaemenid era. Thus, emigrants from the environs of Miletus were settled in Bactria, and they still observed many of their own customs as late as the 330s BCE. There were also Greeks in the Elamite city of Susa, and close by, were Eretrians from Euboea who had been settled there by Darius. In Elam, there were many Boeotians who had been driven from their homes during the campaign of Xerxes against Greece.<sup>42</sup>

There is indirect evidence, such as Greek shards, impressions of Greek seals, and coins from the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, which suggests the presence of Greeks in Achaemenid Babylonia. We know that Nabuchadnezzar II's army included Greek mercenaries, and we may infer that already in that age there had been Greeks in Babylon.<sup>43</sup> As is well known, large numbers of Greeks, in principle mercenaries, had been in Egypt before the Achaemenids. Under the latter, their numbers increased even more.<sup>44</sup> It is a known fact that Persian kings employed Greek engineers and master craftsmen. It was the Greek engineer Mandrokles who constructed a bridge from boats on the Bosphorus for the passage of Darius' forces into Europe.<sup>45</sup> Persians especially admired Greek artwork.<sup>46</sup> As craftsmen and sculptors, the Greeks were particularly active in Persepolis.<sup>47</sup> There were a considerable number of Greek physicians at the Achaemenid court.<sup>48</sup> Many Greeks also lived at the court of the Persian *satraps*. Undoubtedly, Greek physicians, scholars, and masters of the arts made a definite contribution to the culture of the upper strata of Persian society.

The fact that Hellenism did not have to await the coming of Alexander to penetrate the Persian

Near East is born out by an array of evidence of different types. Seals with Attic motifs from pre-Alexander time have been preserved on papyri from Samaria. As early as the beginning of the fifth century, Phoenician art shows Greek influence.<sup>49</sup> The sarcophagus of a Phoenician governor-king, made in the fifth century in Sidon by a Greek master craftsman, displays a combination of Egyptian and Greek influences.<sup>50</sup>

As must be expected, Greek influence was particularly strong in Asia Minor. Even prior to Achaemenid rule, some regions of Asia Minor had been under strong Greek cultural influence. The Lydians had adopted many elements of Greek culture.<sup>51</sup> In Caria, by the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, many Carians were already bilingual and knew the Greek language. Halicarnassus, the capital of Caria, was a city that was half Ionian and half Carian. The Carian Scylax, who composed the first description of India, published his work in the Greek language.<sup>52</sup> Then, in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, new impetus was given to the spread of Hellenism in Caria by the Persian *satraps* of Caria, the Carian Hekatomnids.<sup>53</sup> Finally, as a measure of Greek influence and how high in the social scale it had traveled, we may take note of some of the Persians who spoke the Greek language. As early as the time of the Greco-Persian wars, there were Persians in the Achaemenid army who spoke Greek.<sup>54</sup> More to the point, Cyrus the Younger, *satrap* in Asia Minor, spoke Greek fluently. He was acquainted with Greek culture and named one of his concubines, a Greek woman from Phocaea, Aspasiya, after the name of Pericles' mistress.<sup>55</sup> Darius III spoke Greek adequately enough to associate with his Greek mercenaries without the assistance of an interpreter.<sup>56</sup> The daughter of the distinguished Persian Artabazos received a Greek education and was married to the Greek military commander Memnon.<sup>57</sup>

Now we turn to take stock of the extent of Hellenization of the Persian East in the aftermath of Alexander's conquest and the establishment of the Successors' states. In the absence of modern media power to broadcast the norms and the views of a given culture, one way for the spread of Hellenism in the East would have been, for instance, its actual patronage, as a part of the government's policy, of language schools for the natives to learn Greek. However, there is no compelling evidence suggesting that the Macedonian sovereigns in the East did in fact take an interest in spreading Greek culture.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, some degree of Hellenization could have resulted from intermingling between the natives and the Greco-Macedonians, with the latter serving as cultural agents. And it is true that inasmuch as the Macedonian rulers did not trust their eastern subjects to arm them as soldiers, recruits had to be brought from mainland Greece and Macedonia, and a large number of these did find their way into the East. And because of the tight competition among the Macedonian rulers in the East for these mercenaries, all manner of incen-

tives had to be offered to them to entice them into service, among which was to provide them with a living environment to which they were accustomed. Hence, the many cities reputedly founded by the Greeks in strategic sites, aimed at providing dwellings to the liking of the Greeks, as well as serving as garrison towns keeping an eye on the activities of natives in the surrounding countryside. From a cultural point of view, the foundation of these cities should have introduced to the East the very hallmark of Greek civilization -- the *polis*. Indeed, in their physical layout these *poleis* resembled their counterparts in Greece: they had their gymnasias, temples, fountains, library, theater, etc. They also had their own assembly of citizens and board of magistrate. However, officials who held the real power were appointees of the rulers, and the cities could not engage in foreign policy. Thus these newly founded *poleis* lacked the very quintessential feature of the *polis* -- independence in running their own affairs. Consequently, from a political point of view, the Greek cities in the East were empty shells of their counterparts in the mainland as they had existed in the classical period. Therefore, to suggest that these cities served as Greek cultural outposts in the East is stretching their significance beyond reason. But, more importantly, in the present context, if the significance of these cities is to be measured by their having served as cultural satellites from where Greek culture would radiate, it would be erroneous to assume they did. These cities were built for the Greeks and were occupied by the Greeks. The locals preferred the open countryside for their dwellings. This separation between the two peoples which was obviously not conducive to cultural fusion, was also true in other spheres in the lives of the two peoples: the two sides continued to celebrate and pay respect to their respective gods; they lived by their respective systems of law; they shared no unified language, thought, or customs. The Greeks remained a minority and an elite class, so that where the two communities lived side by side -- which was in principle limited to administrative centers, such as Babylon -- there were the Greeks and the "others," enjoying different degrees of rights, with the "others" exercising inferior rights. And because the rulers were reluctant to fill posts with natives, the rift between Greeks and local people was not bridged.

This does not mean that there were no interactions resulting in cultural exchanges, but the impetus arose from the native side, first among the aristocracy, who were in constant contact with the conquerors and had the means to gain a Greek education, crucial for advancement since the higher levels of government were conducted in Greek. Some aspects of Greek culture were found to be attractive: some took pleasure in Greek literature and in various forms of Greek entertainment, Greek art being particularly appreciated. Outside of this minority of local nobility, one other group of Greeks and locals were brought together by their profession -- craftsmen, who oftentimes worked together on the same project.

On the whole, Greek culture did not displace the ancient Near Eastern cultures. It became an addition to the diverse mixture, creating a new synthesis, while many elements of Greek culture entered the common heritage and ceased to be recognized as foreign.

As noted at the outset of this essay, aspects of Greek culture had entered the East during the Persian period. However, when Alexander and his armies forced their way into the Persian Empire, they inadvertently provoked a conscious resistance to various aspects of that culture which the natives now saw as symbols of the conquerors, occupiers, and oppressors.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Two exceptions are, R. Bullett et al, *The Earth and its Peoples*; A. Craig, et al., *The Heritage of World Civilizations*.

<sup>2</sup> In the west, at the time of Darius, Persian garrisons were stationed in Macedonia and Thrace.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the civilizations of the Indus Valley, Mesopotamia, the Nile, and the Greek city-states, initially the Ionians.

<sup>4</sup> At the end of the sixth century, the period of the largest expansion of the Achaemenids, the empire included more than eighty peoples (Dandamaev, 152).

<sup>5</sup> The Christian Lactantius was bemused at why the Greek wise men had sought the wisdom of the magi, but not that of the Jews -- because they were not aware of them.

<sup>6</sup> Among the things Ezra brought with him was a codicil, known as the Pentateuch (the Laws of Moses, or the Torah) which was edited during the Babylonian captivity and which would form part of the Old Testament.

<sup>7</sup> M. A. Dandamaev, *A Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*, 245-249.

<sup>8</sup> Frequently coinciding with ethnic borderlines.

<sup>9</sup> Born perhaps in the middle of the sixth century, Hecataeus traveled in Greek lands and on the shores of the Black Sea.

<sup>10</sup> J. B. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians*, 11-14.

<sup>11</sup> Bury, 13.

<sup>12</sup> Bury, 12.

<sup>13</sup> The former wrote a history of Persia up to the eve of Marathon. The other wrote a history of Persia up to the death of Darius, followed by his *The Sequel to the Reign of Darius*.

<sup>14</sup> Bury, 34.

<sup>15</sup> Bury, 23.

<sup>16</sup> Dandamaev, 158.

<sup>17</sup> Herodt. V 73. For this episode, see L. Orlin, "Athens and Persia ca. 507 B.C.: A Neglected Perspective" in L.L. Orlin (ed), *Michigan Oriental Studies in Honor of G.G. Cameron*, 255-266.

<sup>18</sup> Orlin, 264.

<sup>19</sup> Dandamaev, 158.

<sup>20</sup> Dandamaev, 160-161.

<sup>21</sup> Dandamaev, 168.

<sup>22</sup> They had also contributed to the failed Revolt.

<sup>23</sup> Dandamaev, 170.

<sup>24</sup> The Alcmeonids' sympathy for Persia caused their being accused publicly by the Athenians of siding with the enemy and with Hippias. It was alleged that they had arranged for Persia's friends in Athens to signal the Persians with a shield once they had taken control of the city (Dandamaev, 173, 175).

<sup>25</sup> Pericles' father-in-law, Callias, who, in 449 BCE negotiated the peace treaty between Persia and Athens which bears his name, was criticized for having given too many concessions to the Persians, and fined 50 talents, the same amount he was accused of having accepted as bribe from the Persians. At this time there were other friends and associates of Pericles who were officially accused of pro-Persian sympathies (Dandamaev, 254-55). Before the turn of the century, another prominent member of this clan, Alcibiades, having fled Sparta where he had been hatching plots against his own city Athens, entered the service of Tissaphernes, now inciting the Greek cities of Asia Minor to revolt against Athens.

- 26 Dandamaev, 188.  
 27 Dandamaev, 189-190.  
 28 Dandamaev, 208-209.  
 29 Dandamaev, 192.  
 30 Dandamaev, 209.  
 31 Dandamaev, 196, 198, 201. The Thebans' friendship was not lost on the memory of the Persians: nearly a century later, in 386, in the discussions preceding the peace of Antalcidas/King's Peace, Artaxerxes recalled the old friendship of the Thebans to their ambassador.  
 32 Dandamaev, 203.  
 33 Dandamaev, 215-220.  
 34 Dandamaev, 151.  
 35 M. A. Dandamaev and V. G. Lukonin, *The Cultural and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, 296.  
 36 Dandamaev, 235-236.  
 37 Conon had saved some thirty ships after the Athenian disaster at Aegospotami and taken shelter in Cyprus.  
 38 Dandamaev, 287-288.  
 39 Dandamaev, 298.  
 40 During the sixth century, the leading role in cultural and economic development in the Hellenic world was not played by the Greeks from the Balkan Peninsula, but by colonists (especially the Ionians). Just to give the most prominent examples, in Miletus, which was the most important city of Ionia, and where, the Greek alphabet might in fact have developed, there lived the eminent philosopher Anaximander; as did also the geographer and historian Hecataeus. The famous mathematician Pythagoras was born and lived part of his life on the island of Samos, which was also subject to the Persians. The "Father of History," Herodotus, was born at Halicarnassus, and before his emigration to mainland Greece, was subject to the Persian Empire.  
 41 Dandamaev and Lukonin, 293.  
 42 Dandamaev and Lukonin, 298-299.  
 43 Dandamaev and Lukonin, 309-310.  
 44 When Cambyses set out on his campaign against Egypt, many Greeks sided with him; some went as soldiers, others for trade, while still others wished to have a look at the country.  
 45 Significantly, as a result of this bridge, for the first time

Europe and Asia were united.

- 46 Thus, Xerxes brought the sculpture of Harmodius and Aristogeiton from Athens to Susa, and the sculptor Telephanes from the island of Phocaea worked at the court of Darius I and Xerxes. (Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiv, 68)  
 47 Dandamaev and Lukonin, 294-295.  
 48 Democedes of Croton was personal physician to Darius I; Apollonides of Cos was the personal physician of Artaxerxes I; while Ctesias of Cnidos and Polycritus of Mende were the physicians of Artaxerxes II (Dandamaev and Lukonin, 296).  
 49 From the fifth century onwards, the Graecized cult of Adonis began to spread even beyond the borders of Phoenicia.  
 50 Dandamaev and Lukonin, 313.  
 51 Herodotus (I, 94) writes that the morals and manners of the Lydians were identical to those of the Greeks. Many Lydians had a good knowledge of the Greek language.  
 52 Dandamaev and Lukonin, 299.  
 53 They "imported both famous intellectuals and artists, and also unknown craftsmen—lapicides, die-engravers, mason, fortification-experts, and so on" (Hornblower, 333). They employed Greek doctors and medical writers, and extended hospitality to such renowned intellectuals as Eudoxos of Cnidos, the astronomer and mathematician (Hornblower, 336-337). On the coins issued by several *satraps* in Anatolia, the names of the *satraps* are in Greek. Greek influence is presented in some of the major architectural monuments, as well as on military architecture (Hornblower, 340-341). Another aspect of this hellenization process was the adoption of Greek proper names, and this was true not only in Caria but also in the interior later in the century (Hornblower, 346, 348). Other instances of Greek influence are the Carians "organizing themselves in Greek gentilician groupings...and in their political behavior...(:) their use of constitutional forms characteristic of the Greek *polis*, their striking of Greek coins, their adoption of Greek taxation methods" (Hornblower, 333).  
 54 Herod., IX, 16.  
 55 Plut. Pericl. 24.  
 56 Curt. V, 11, 5.  
 57 Plut., Alex. 21.  
 58 I follow Bickerman's assessment of Greek cultural impact on the Persian Near East in the Hellenistic Age.

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# BOOK REVIEWS

*Peter Dykema -- Book Review Coordinator*

**William Gervase Clarence-Smith and Steven Topik, eds. *The Global Coffee Economy in Africa, Asia, and Latin America 1500-1989*. Cambridge University Press, 2006. 462 pp. \$45.00.**

**Alberto E. Nickerson**  
*Michigan State University*

With the publication of this paperback edition, Cambridge University Press has done a great service to scholars and students by making this marvelous collection of essays on the global coffee economy more accessible to a wider public. The cultivation and exportation of commodities – such as coffee – is a useful unifying theme that allows students to see the interconnections that have influenced the course of world history. From its early cultivation in the Middle East to its spread to Latin America, Asia, and Africa, the cup of coffee (or latte) most students sip in the morning is teaming with history. Although the length of this collection may be seen as prohibitive for its adoption in an undergraduate survey course, this work has unique features that professors will find useful such as a collection of maps showing coffee producing regions and an appendix that provides statistics on coffee production and trade from 1700 to 1960. In addition to these pedagogical tools, this collection offers an array of interesting case studies that will allow students and scholars alike to achieve a better understanding of the histori-

cal processes that go into the cup of coffee we drink.

The editors are to be commended for putting together a collection of essays with such wide spatial and temporal scope. Despite the obvious differences in historical experiences, both between and within time periods and regions, each author is sensitive to the new conceptual framework the editors have outlined in their introduction and conclusion. Based on recent research on coffee producing regions, the editors have grouped these essays in order to make ten new propositions on the nature of coffee producing countries. These ten propositions challenge previous scholarship and point the way toward a new research agenda. Although space does not allow for a review of each individual contribution, a few words of advice on how to approach this book and introduce assigned readings may be useful. The introduction and conclusion to this collection of essays serve as an optic with which to read the individual contributions. That is, students and other readers will get more out of this work if they read the introduction and conclusion first. The introduction provides readers with the historiographical setting in which the editors provide readers with the conventional wisdom that formed the basis of previous studies on coffee producing countries. This is essential reading that enables students to conceptualize the ten new propositions the essays highlight. Of course, not all essays touch on all ten propositions but readers may be better able to hone in on the conceptual arguments of each contribution having read the conclusion first.

In addition to bringing this fine scholarship together, professors Topik and Clarence-Smith have done a fine editing job. One of the hallmarks of a good edition collection is when each piece, despite their obvious differences, speaks to each other. For instance, readers are able to compare and contrast a case study from one region to a similar case study from a different region (for example gender roles in Sri Lanka and Nicaragua, chapters seven and nine respectively). This is a rich volume that cannot be ignored by anyone interested in exploring the historical significance of coffee and how this one commodity influenced the lives of people from as far afield as São Paulo or Rwanda.

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**Erik Gilbert and Jonathan Reynolds. *Trading Tastes: Commodity and Cultural Exchange to 1750*. Pearson / Prentice Hall, 2006.**

**Jessica Achberger**  
*University of Texas at Austin*

Erik Gilbert and Jonathan Reynolds' *Trading Tastes: Commodity and Cultural Exchange to 1750* is the latest volume in the series *Connections: Key Themes in World History*. The purpose of this series is to provide students with extremely concise, readable volumes on central themes in world history, and attempt to fill the gap created in the historical literature between general surveys and more densely compacted monographs. Previous titles include *Jihad and Crusade: Islamic and Christian Holy Wars Through the Ages* and *An Imperial World: Empires and Colonies, 1750-1945*. In keeping with the goals of the series, *Trading Tastes* presents a useful and accessible volume devoted to the history of trade and commerce prior to the modern era.

The authors divide the text into four main sections, each devoted to a different commodity and its specific route of transportation. The first chapter focuses on the trade in spices and the routes merchants sailed in the Indian Ocean. Chapter two discusses the salt trade and its numerous routes with special attention on the salt trade across the Sahara. The third and strongest section of the book deals with the sugar trade, rightly highlighting the role of the trade of people in connection with this specific commodity. Finally, the authors examine the fabled Silk Road by way of which silks and other goods were transferred across Eurasia. Throughout each section, the authors examine the different roles undertaken by merchants, although the chapter on sugar focuses more on the movement of slaves in the economic system, rather than the merchants doing the trading.

Each portion of the book begins with a general explanation of the trade and concludes with a series of primary-source documents intended to encourage original analysis and interpretation among students. Gilbert and Reynolds also take the opportunity to introduce the documents and

provide guided questions for readers. The inclusion of these materials, as well as a very useful reading guide section at the end of the volume, make the book a positive addition to a syllabus and provide a valuable starting point for more specific research projects. However, it is important to note that the book is not in-depth enough to serve as a stand-alone text for upper-division work and is best used as a supplement to more general world history texts.

The book's most significant contribution is the emphasis Gilbert and Reynolds place on the importance of cultural exchange in these trading networks. Discussion of globalization has grown in popularity in recent years, but these discussions are often associated with the technological and communication innovations of the past century. What discussants of globalization often fail to recognize are the deep historical roots of cross-cultural exchange. In *Trading Tastes*, Gilbert and Reynolds make this a key point and unifying theme throughout their narrative, emphasizing that while economics were the primary reason for the establishment of these trading networks, their importance was more often in the exchange of ideas and information that took place.

While the book is excellent in its ability to explain how trade and commerce affected cultural exchanges, it is unable to adequately address the future history of trade. The authors attempt to explain how trade changed in modern times, but this is an almost impossible task to accomplish in the space allotted to it. While much of the book's appeal lies in the fact that it is an exceptionally short introduction to a major theme in world history, this overview approach also makes it difficult to thoroughly address some issues—a concern that is highlighted in the conclusion. Yet, despite this, *Trading Tastes* remains a valuable resource for students of world history, both in its approach as well as in its explanation.

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**Bruce E. Johansen and Barry M. Pritzker, eds. *Encyclopedia of American Indian History*. 4 vols. ABC-CLIO, 2008. 1423 pp.**

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Educators and scholars will recognize both Johansen and Pritzker as the editors of and contributors to other encyclopedic works dealing with American Indians. This joint effort is a four volume work that broadly covers the span of Indian existence. The editors seek to enrich the current literature by providing an assortment of essays and entries that uniformly strive to present the Indian point of view. Volume I begins with essays that generally chronicle history from 20,000 BCE to the present. Astonishingly, this range is covered in seventy-five pages, including references and suggestions for additional reading. As you might expect in an encyclopedia, depth is sacrificed to brevity. Even so, the contributing

authors manage to highlight the current trends in scholarship and to provide synopses of the latest literature. The rest of Volume I and Volumes II and III read more like traditional encyclopedias, although subject matter is grouped by large themes and then alphabetized within these segments. The broad themes addressed include: Issues [of contemporary importance] (entries ranging from Alcoholism through Women in Native Woodlands Societies), Culture (Adena Civilization through Worldviews and Values), Governments (Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act through *Worcester v. Georgia*), and People and Groups (Aboriginal Peoples Television Network through Wovoka). Two other thematic segments have entries that are arranged in chronological order: Events in American Indian History and Primary Source Documents. As the authors readily acknowledge, "there is no way to present this material that is perfect for everyone" (xx). Indeed, each reader may have different notions about the appropriate placement of entries. For example, "Women in Native Woodlands Societies" is placed within the category of Issues rather than Culture.

Volume IV, the editors note, "deserves to be highlighted" as "one of the most important sections of the encyclopedia" because it contains "the histories of particular Native nations" and is "absolutely vital to the stories we're seeking to have told" (xx). The material is organized by geographically based "culture areas" and then alphabetically within. So the entry for "Abenaki" is not first; a reader must look under the subtitle "Native Americans of the Northeast Woodlands" to find it. This is not terribly problematic although an uninformed reader might find it a bit cumbersome to locate an entry. It is refreshing to note that throughout Volume IV the authors attempted to apply tribal/group designations that respected each group's preference. For example, readers who search for an entry on "Delaware" are directed to the entry for "Lenape." While the editors' attempt at inclusiveness is admirable, it must be pointed out that groups are excluded. There are also groups/tribes noted but their histories are subsumed within other entries. The Coughatta listing, for example, says "See Alabama" (1220). While these groups have been linked historically and through intermarriage, they have discrete histories, occupy different reservations in different states, and certainly view themselves as separate peoples.

This set will be most useful for readers looking for general reference information. It would certainly be useful in high school and lower-level undergraduate settings as a starting point for basic research projects. Most entries include suggestions for further reading which will lead readers to more in-depth information. Also of great potential instructional value is the section of Primary Source Documents. This segment contains a rich variety of documents, including excerpts of laws, treaties, speeches, reports, and court decisions that can serve as points of discussion, as writing prompts, or to enrich research.

**Kevin Delgado. *Morocco*. Thomson - Gale, 2006. 112 pp. \$28.70.**

**Raphael Chijioke Njoku**  
*University of Louisville*

Kevin Delgado's *Morocco* is a short but lucid account of this North African Islamic state. The author admirably highlights the dynamic cultural marks that make Morocco special among other Islamic states. In a contemporary world of religious radicalism and terrorism, it is particularly noteworthy that El Maghreb al Aqsa (as Moroccans also call their country) has not, yet, fallen into the hands of fundamentalists as in neighboring Algeria. Although run by an Arab elite, Morocco is home to an indigenous Berber majority as well as a substantial but decreasing Jewish population whose presence in Morocco predates the arrival of the Arabs (7). Thus, Delgado argues with passion that this multicultural heritage as well as the reverence held by the people for its constitutional monarchy explains the resilience of Morocco in the face of all challenges.

The book is organized in six chapters. The first chapter "A Gateway Between Worlds: The Land," is a fascinating account of Morocco's complex geography in relation to human activities. Given its location on the northwestern corner of the continent, Morocco has been an important African gateway to the outside world. It is within "shouting distance" of Spain (in Europe) – a country with which it shares long historical and cultural ties. With the benefit of a coastline that stretches for about 1835 kilometers, the Atlantic Ocean serves as the livewire of Morocco's economy. Among other things, it provides opportunity for fishing which accounts for about 45 percent of Morocco's economic earnings. The water system also provides the crucial impetus for commerce and farming in a country substantially marked by coarse desert soil and rugged mountainous landscape. The huge difference made by the presence of these coastal waters explains why Morocco's major cities are located close to the sea, including the historical city of Tangiers – a well-placed "crossroads for traders and would be conquerors" (10).

Chapter two, "A Land of Changing Faces: Early History," is an account of the historical trajectories of Morocco. The narrative begins in about 2000 BCE when that region of Africa was more or less a desolate land occupied by the Berbers. From about 1200 BCE, when the Phoenicians established Tingis (or modern Tangiers) as a trading outpost, Delgado follows a neat chronological account of the arrival and departure of various outside invaders, including the Romans, the Vandals, the Arabs, and finally the formal establishment of European colonialism in 1912. This chapter deserves some praise for its painstaking account of the Arab conquest of Morocco and the tortuous phases of political development as power passed from one dynasty to another. This period of Morocco's history

ended in 1666 CE, when the Alaouites (who claim to be direct descendants of Prophet Mohammed) were eventually "invited by the people of Fez to come to the capital and take over the throne of Morocco" (37).

In chapter three, "A Nation Apart: Modern Morocco," Delgado provides the reader with a concise story of colonialism and the various dimensions of conflicts and changes it brought on the country. While the author acknowledges the introduction of mechanized roads, western education, radio, telegraph, newspaper press, and so on under the French colonial rule, he concludes that "fortunately for Morocco, it was eventually able to emerge from the colonial era with its cultural identity intact" (39). This conclusion cannot be right since no society remains the same after colonial rule. Just to cite but one example, the stalemate over the Western Sahara conflict which began in 1974, when King Hassan laid claim over the former Spanish colonial territory, was a direct result of European colonial activities in the region. The lingering conflict has remained a big threat to the peace of the entire region.

Chapters four and five focus on the various strands of ethnic groups that make up the modern state of Morocco, their cultural traditions, indigenous crafts, such as pottery, changing lifestyles, marriage, family, dressing, diet, international relations, fundamentalism, immigration, and sports. Chapter five captures Morocco's struggles to adapt in the face of modernity. Among other things, there is an attempt to improve the conditions of women in the country, which also suggests the need for political reforms along democratic lines. The quest for democracy in Morocco, however, threatens the position of the monarchy, the very institution that has kept the country together. Some of the information in these two chapters could have been better organized. Notes on Berber, Arab, and Jewish populations, for instance, could have been moved to the introductory pages.

For its precision and brevity, I will recommend this book for high school students and general readers. Of particular relevance for world history courses is the presentation of Morocco as a melting pot of civilizations. Also very useful are the insets, pictures, maps, and appendices including facts about Morocco, historical chronology, and notes for further readings.

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**Debra A. Miller. *Libya. Modern Nations of the World*. Lucent Books, 2005. 112 pp. \$28.70.**

**Robert J. Fryman**  
*Mill Creek High School*  
*Hoschton, Georgia*

Students and teachers seeking a concise overview of Libyan history and culture will find it in Debra A. Miller's volume entitled *Libya*, part of the Modern Nations of the World series by Lucent Books. Divided into six chapters, the book

explores the complex and interrelated roles that geography, cultural history from the Late Paleolithic to Qaddafi's 1969 revolution, adherence to traditional tribal values, and the evolution of the global economy have played in shaping contemporary Libyan culture. The book provides a solid overview of the history and culture of Libya, infused with sufficient detailed information to avoid being another superficial survey text. Illustrated with black and white photographs, maps, and timelines, *Libya* provides the reader with a selection of useful source documents. Interspersed throughout the text are numerous sidebars providing more detailed treatment of specialized topics ranging from important archaeological sites and Libyan poetry to Bedouin customs and human rights issues.

One of the book's strengths lies in the attention given to Libya's involvement since the 1969 revolution in regional and international affairs, particularly as related to its involvement with state-sponsored terrorism. In the introduction, Miller poses the question of contemporary Libya as representing "a reformed terrorist state" which now seeks cooperation rather than confrontation in international political and economic relationships. Discussion of Libya's support of terrorist organizations is linked to the abuses of nineteenth and 20<sup>th</sup>-century colonialism by the Ottoman Empire and Italy and the desire to promote greater Arab unity to resist Western imperialism. The effects of the U.N. economic sanctions and the Reagan ban on importing Libyan oil to the United States are described as being instrumental in Libya's 2003 declaration renouncing terrorism and abandoning development of its weapons of mass destruction program. However, the suggestion that the Libyan government may have been involved in the failed 2003 attempt to assassinate the ruler of Saudi Arabia questions the sincerity of Libya's attempts to reform its image.

In examining developments in Libya's socioeconomic institutions between 1969 and 2005, Miller presents the reader with an objective and balanced view of both the benefits and drawbacks these changes have brought. Her discussion of the economic reforms instituted by Qaddafi is particularly illustrative of the book's balanced perspective in that while the redistribution of Libya's oil revenues helped to largely eliminate poverty, it negatively impacted the development of private enterprise, a factor which continues to hinder Libya's economic growth.

Miller's description of the impact of Qaddafi's social programs and Western culture on Libyan society provides the reader with an opportunity to examine the processes of change and continuity in women's roles and status. In contrast to the gender roles found in other Muslim nations, Libya has actively encouraged equal educational and work-related opportunities for women since 1969. Changes in marriage and divorce laws coupled with workplace benefits, such as maternity leave, have been instrumental in also encouraging Libyan women to become

active participants in the political process, while still abiding by traditional Islamic values. Miller uses Aisha Qaddafi as an example of the expanded role of women in contemporary Libya. The daughter of Muammar Qaddafi, Aisha received an education as a lawyer and has actively worked to develop Libya's tourism industry and attract foreign investment to the country. At various times, Aisha has served to represent Libya abroad, leading to the speculation that she may be chosen as her father's successor, becoming the first female leader of an Arab country.

While the expanded, and more liberal, role of women is more visible in the urban centers, Miller points out that traditional female roles and statuses are more commonly found in the rural areas. Arranged marriages, non-Western clothing styles, and household practices characteristic of pre-1969 Libya are far more common demonstrating the co-existence of traditional ways, or cultural continuities, with newer patterns of social behavior.

Even though *Libya* is oriented towards a juvenile audience, the level of factual information it contains makes it a useful source of basic information for students at both the high school and undergraduate level. The variety of photographic, primary and secondary sources contained in the book makes it a useful case study for teaching the processes of analyzing cultural change and continuity in Advanced Placement World History classes. Miller's excellent blending of Libyan culture, history, and geography provides a starting point for students to develop an understanding of not only the evolution of modern Libya but also of the variable rates at which different component parts of a culture change relative to each other.

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**Jeremy Bernstein. *Nuclear Weapons: What You Need to Know*. Cambridge University Press, 2008. xi + 299 pp. \$ 27.00.**

**Edward H. Jeter**  
*Sam Houston State University*

Noting that the news media manifests an "appalling lack of understanding" about nuclear devices, Jeremy Bernstein presents *Nuclear Weapons* as a "primer" to "explain the basics and prepare people both to understand the news and to read the more complete accounts." As a history text, *Nuclear Weapons* is suitable for undergraduates and more advanced students interested in the histories of science or of the twentieth century.

In Bernstein's reckoning, what one needs to know about nuclear weapons includes an overview of nuclear physics, a narrative of its discovery and application to explosives, and a summary of how the capacity to produce bombs spread around the globe. The cast and script of the early narrative are familiar to high school physics students: the increasing sophistication of laboratory technology revealed nuclear interac-

tions to workers such as Thomson, Rutherford, Bohr, Fermi, Meitner, and others, who, bit by non-linear bit, pieced together an understanding of the atom and its ways. They identified and measured subatomic particles and radiation, rejected "plum pudding" atoms, imagined "liquid-drop" nuclei, quantified isotopes and allotropes, and finally, in the late 1930s, came to understand that splitting atoms to release enormous energy was not only theoretically possible, but technically feasible.

To the scientists immersed in atomic physics, chain-reaction fission almost immediately suggested military applications. Since World War II was already underway, fission's destructive potential prompted fear and haste among scientists on both sides – but not among bureaucrats at first. Bernstein traces the occasionally convoluted paths of nuclear weapons programs in Germany and Italy, the United States and Britain, and the Soviet Union. He lays out the chemical, metallurgical, logistical, and mechanical challenges that scientists had to overcome to create working bombs, taking special pains to define and differentiate words like "fissile," "fissionable," "critical," "supercritical," and "enriched." Of necessity, Bernstein's discussion of these matters turns somewhat technical, but remains accessible to the lay reader.

Bernstein's concluding four chapters deal with the state of nuclear affairs after World War II. As he did for fission-based armaments, he outlines the mechanisms undergirding fusion or hydrogen bombs and, shifting focus, describes his personal reaction to the two nuclear explosions he witnessed in the 1950s. He describes the 1940s espionage that greatly aided the Soviet Union's bomb program and charts how nuclear devices and capabilities have proliferated ever since. Most disturbing, however, is his concluding discussion of how the materiel, infrastructure, and technical competence necessary to create and deploy nuclear weapons remain in the grasp of state-sponsored terrorists.

*Nuclear Weapons* skillfully interweaves technical, historical, and biographical strands, which save the text from being just another physics lecture or history recitation. More importantly, Bernstein's treatment contextualizes human discoveries in terms of human personalities and choices, providing a sense both of the fitful processes of science and of how scientists came to contribute to projects they later found horrifying (or not). He indicates briefly how politics and economics affected the course of research, most tellingly how World War I and then the rise of fascism impacted scientists such as Lise Meitner. Though his biographical comments are brief, his footnotes point to fuller treatments. Some of his quips are merely humorous, for example: "That someone would take a picture of [Rutherford]...under a sign that reads 'Talk Softly Please' is not an accident." Of course, the photograph is included – along with thirty-five other illustrations that clarify the engineering and personalize the players. Bernstein's personal

anecdotes reduce the emotional distance between the scientists and the reader; he relates, in first person, how Fermi overwhelmed him with seemingly inexhaustible knowledge, how Teller preferred talking physics over politics, how the husband and wife Peierls influenced his social life, and so on.

*Nuclear Weapons* succeeds stylistically despite the difficulties in presenting technical material to a lay-audience. Curiously, Bernstein cites Wikipedia as a source for key information more than once. Perhaps his point is that the information in question is easily available; at any rate, it jarred my academic sensibilities to see such a website referenced in a tome from Cambridge. Other than a few minor typographical errata common to first editions, my only other complaint is that twenty-seven dollars is a touch pricey for a primer.

Jeremy Bernstein's *Nuclear Weapons: What You Need to Know* delivers as advertized, arming the reader with sufficient historical and technical background to engage contemporary journalism on nuclear weapons or to begin more in-depth study of the histories of science, the Cold War, and related topics.

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**Susan Wise Bauer. *The History of the Ancient World: From the Earliest Accounts to the Fall of Rome*. W. W. Norton, 2007. 868 + xxvii pp. \$29.95.**

**Laura Wangerin**  
*The Latin School of Chicago*

Susan Wise Bauer has, with *The History of the Ancient World: From the Earliest Accounts to the Fall of Rome* as the first book in a planned four-volume world history, set a new standard for accessible history surveys. Within this somewhat hefty book the reader will find an eminently approachable overview of the ancient world from the antediluvian Sumerian kings to Constantine, written in a conversational tone and sprinkled with engaging anecdotes and wry observations. While this is primarily a cultural and political history of the ancient world, it teems with fascinating details about marriages, difficult sons and daughters, and other such aspects of daily life.

The eighty-five short chapters divide the ancient past into five broad categories: Edge of History, Firsts, Struggle, Empires, and Identity. Mapping the course of human history across Eurasia and North Africa within these categories, Bauer seeks a context for meaning in the human experience, and communicates it all in a way that allows the reader to feel a connection with the trials and errors of those peoples and personalities who first experimented with the concepts of civilizations, cultures, and empires.

Bauer liberally quotes from the wide variety of sources which provide us with information about the past and, as importantly for students of history, makes clear *how* we know what we know: how literature can give us clues to the past,

which sources are authoritative, which are unreliable, and when and why spurious or unreliable texts are used by historians. Timelines that give side-by-side chronological comparisons appear at the end of each chapter, providing a visual link to help tie together different cultures. Maps are plentiful, elegantly rendered, and well placed throughout. In addition, the helpful footnotes are as informative and entertaining as the text itself, often including additional book recommendations for the general reader.

This volume is not a global ancient history, and Bauer is quite specific about why she has chosen not to make it one. She argues that as our present conception of historical time is “a very western creation,” the aboriginal peoples of the Americas, Australia, or sub-Saharan Africa will be treated in subsequent volumes, when the Westerners arrive. This is a less than ideal approach, which Bauer readily acknowledges, but she also suggests that as many of these peoples had no concept of history until that point in time, this “at least avoids doing violence to their own sense of time.” Within this book’s chronological scope, it is not an inappropriate exclusion even for those indigenous peoples that did develop complex societies. These appeared far later than Constantine’s conversion, which is the ending point here.

That said, these observations do not detract from *The History of the Ancient World*’s value as a foundational introduction to ancient history. This would be a very useful auxiliary text for high school or undergraduate use. It provides an ideal structural framework for understanding pieces of the past as part of a broad pageant of history rather than as isolated episodes. Individual chapters could serve as helpful introductions (and useful “hooks” to engage students’ interest) for units in ancient history classes, units that could then build on these brief episodes with a more in-depth investigation of the specific cultures and the sources historians use to understand them. It would also be a useful book to have students browse to find areas of interest for potential research topics on the ancient world. Highly recommended for high school, undergraduate, and general readers.

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***Ibn-Fadlan’s Journey to Russia*, transl. and ed. R. N. Frye. Marcus Wiener Publishers, 2005. 160pp.**

**Michael C. Weber**  
*Gettysburg College*

Twenty years ago an anthropologist colleague stood in my office door and said, “Here is something a world historian like you ought to find interesting.” She handed me a blue spirit-master mimeographed essay of an excerpt from Careleton Coons’ 1948 anthropology reader in which a 10<sup>th</sup>-century Muslim from Baghdad dis-

covers the Vikings. I immediately added it to my fount of teaching materials: it was way too entertaining and interesting a source to overlook. It seemed to be a valuable example of how a “civilized” person saw the northern barbarians. What I did not know then was that this was Richard Frye’s earliest published effort to bring Ibn-Fadlan’s journey to the north to a wider public. With this little book from Marcus Weiner, he has largely completed that task. While I am grateful for the appearance of an accessible translation like this, one might have wished for a more complete discussion of its difficulties, of its place within its genre, and of its value as an historical source.

The story told in Ibn-Fadlan’s *Risala (Letter)* is of an embassy from the Abbasid Caliph al Muqtadir (r. 908-932 CE) to the King of the Volga Bulgars. Their mission was to bring military and religious advisors (and some money and pharmaceuticals) to help stabilize the northern Kingdom. Ibn-Fadlan was chosen as, at the least, the religious representative of the Caliph and it was his job to “read the message of the Caliph to him, to hand over what he had sent him as gifts, and to have oversight over those learned in the law and the teachers”(25). Presumably, there would also have been someone charged with arranging the military aspects of the mission, for the Bulgar king had asked for both and Ibn-Fadlan tells us, “Everything that was asked for was granted him”(25). We do know, though, that the man Ibn-Fadlan identifies as his patron was the chief of the military of the caliphate. There are hints in the text of some of the intrigue which attended the mission and some insight into the diplomatic maneuvering that occurred in this very delicate time in the history of the caliphate. Unfortunately, Frye has not chosen to comment upon the historical circumstances and the political history behind this mission, choosing instead to focus upon matters of ethnography and trade. This is probably of more interest to those historians who are not Islamists, but it does shortchange the context of the narrative.

The story then proceeds to tell about how the ambassadors journeyed across Iran, through the ancient Kingdom of Khwarizm, traversed the various Turkic tribal lands until they arrived at the Kingdom at the Bulgars on the Volga River, arriving 11 months after leaving Baghdad. After the completion of their mission, they must have returned (or else we wouldn’t have the text), though the *Letter*, as we have it, never takes the intrepid travelers beyond the Volga. The interest of scholars and teachers of world history in Ibn-Fadlan comes from the numerous descriptions of the peoples he encountered along his way—most especially the account of the Vikings and the ship burial he records. Readers are impressed by his reportage, for it seems very modern, almost the work of an unbiased observer. Frye notes that he writes “what he saw, heard, or experienced, plus remarks about his experience. His style is straightforward . . .” (13) Most scholars of Turks, Khazars, Bulgars, and Viking Rus readily have

seen this text as an ethnographic original and Frye treats it that way. Students love hearing his descriptions of the morning washing rite of the Rus and the account of the Viking funeral (64 and 67f respectively). Other acknowledgments—like the extreme change in the length of the day from summer to winter in the northern latitudes -- reveal him to be a diligent observer. All these make the book a valuable resource which can be profitably used in a world history survey or an Islamic history survey class. Some use it in Russian history and, at least since 1948, it has been used in anthropology courses. This new edition should continue to be used that way. For world historians focusing upon “encounters” it is an extremely valuable addition to our repertoire.

There are, however, problems with Ibn-Fadlan that most authors, Frye included, tend to gloss over. The most important question is: Is the *Letter* what it appears to be? The problem can be briefly stated this way: the *Letter* exists in only one manuscript, which is clearly an epitome made around a century after the events it recalls and that it reveals an interest primarily in things Turkic (81). Frye fairly discloses this information but draws no conclusion from it. Second, the text is clearly unfinished. Other than having the preserved text of the *Letter* we have no assurance the embassy returned to Baghdad. We don’t know the outcome of the mission. Third, while there must be a true, historical kernel of information that goes back to Ibn-Fadlan, this text is not beyond wandering off into fantastic storytelling at several passages, relating tales of the Giant (58-59), the battle of the Clouds/Jinn warriors (50), the enormous snake (53), and the malicious unicorn (which Frye unbelievably suggests might refer to an elk! [102]). While these are clustered in one section of the *Letter*, they indicate to us that the text we have did not function purely as an ambassador’s rescript nor ethnographic description. As there is an abundance of Islamic geography and travel writing, much of it written as much for entertainment as description proper, readers ought to be provided with a judicious historiographic assessment of the whole text we have before us. Unfortunately, that is not available here or anywhere else!

The translation itself is clear and is executed without the burden of parenthetical insertions and excessive footnotes (though, as Frye notes, some of it goes back to the work done by James McKeithan in a doctoral dissertation). The commentary has some insights that clarify the account and some unexpected excursions (like that on the particulars of coinage). The first appendix is also useful, containing other accounts of the Rus by other writers from the Islamic world. The final three appendices, which Frye says he wanted to be part of the publication, seem to be too broadly cast (in terms of both chronology and geography) to really add to an understanding of Ibn-Fadlan’s text. The bibliography is sparse – but that is not Frye’s fault: rather it is in part the result of the hitherto relative inaccessibility of Ibn-Fadlan’s text, resulting in very little scholarship being

devoted to it. Finally, the real value of this edition lies in getting the text of the *Letter* before the public in a reasonably priced edition. Marcus Weiner and Richard Frye are to be thanked for getting this *Letter* into our hands.

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**James A. Corrick.** *Life Among the Inca. The Way People Live.* Lucent Books, 2004. 112 pp.

**Kay Kimball**

*University of Maine at Machias*

Part of the well-regarded series *The Way People Live*, *Life Among the Inca* is in keeping with the publisher's mission of providing short, targeted examinations of cultures, societies, and historical events. This title successfully addresses common questions about Inca daily life across the social spectrum, and would be most suitable as a supplementary text or reference for secondary classroom use, or perhaps as a source for background material for an assigned book review essay. Although eminently accessible to the general reader, it may be a bit beyond the reach of middle school students, and not sophisticated enough for most college use; it would, however, make a well-considered addition to high school libraries and related social studies resource centers.

*Life Among the Inca* is organized around the logical themes of landscape and location, governance and religion, private and working life, and monumental building activities and imperial ambition. Well placed primary-source excerpts, maps, and illustrations serve to support the text and add visual interest. A brief introduction provides an overview and context for the work, while a forward serves to introduce the series. With less than 100 pages of text, the book makes an easy reference for those seeking an overview of Inca society and practices.

Relying almost exclusively on credible, but not necessarily scholarly sources, and supplemented by well-known Spanish accounts, the book cannot be, and is not intended to be, more than a brief introductory survey of a fascinating and elusive culture. Repetitious in places, and short enough to accommodate additional information, however, the book would nonetheless benefit from a few changes. Greater use of cultural images and other sources original to the Inca, as well as more comparative analysis would enhance the book's effectiveness. For example, an excerpt of imperial laws included in a chapter addressing governance provides an opportunity to compare Inca law with other legal codes, which could serve as a springboard for classroom discussion. Images of tools and silverwork would visually supplement a seventeenth-century description of silver making in the chapter on work. Given their known importance, a map of Inca roads, punctuated with cities, settlements, and communication centers, would help explain the significance of Inca achievements in road building and imperial management.

While generally useful and relevant, a few of the images include confusing and unwarranted speculations while others lack necessary timeframes. The subsection on human sacrifice, for example, is accompanied by an undated Spanish illustration the author himself characterizes as "inaccurate." While possibly providing a "teachable moment" in cultural bias or on the need for historically accurate evidence, this anachronism is hardly desirable in a text of this sort. While few, these defects compromise an otherwise clear and adept presentation. Finally, and more structurally, a glossary and pronunciation guide would complement the existing bibliographic materials and further enhance the book's usefulness, while supporting the series' intentions.

The book's contributions – alone, and in conjunction with the many other titles in the series – clearly outweigh its deficits. One of its main strengths is the way it makes the case for the full integration of Inca society, culture, governance, and economy in nearly every chapter, where Inca urban structure and architecture reflect the empire's social order and worldview, and its roads and agriculture give evidence of the infusion of imperial authority into the land itself. The author recognizes and highlights the stunning achievements of the Inca Empire, without skirting the society's tragic missteps. Although flawed, *Life Among the Inca* assuredly deserves a place on library shelves in high school and teacher resource centers along with related supplemental texts and readers.

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**Robert Strayer.** *The Communist Experiment: Revolution, Socialism, and Global Conflict in the Twentieth Century. Explorations in World History Series.* McGraw-Hill, 2007. iii + 206pp.

**Dorothea A. L. Martin**

*Appalachian State University*

This short volume in the thematic series that includes such topics as human evolution, oceans in world history, United States history in global context, connections across Eurasia, world religions, etc. gives a precise and concise rendering of the experiences of key areas of the world in the 20<sup>th</sup> century under the influence of the political and economic ideas of communism. In six chapters and a short epilogue, Strayer sets up the global context of communism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, how it took root in the aftermath of revolutions that collapsed both Russian and Chinese dynasties and developed as state ideologies first in the Soviet Union then in China and their respective satellites. He explores the interaction of Communist Parties and their leaders with internal conflicts and challenges as well as external contentions between communist-led countries and those outside the socialist camp and among various Communist Parties as they dealt with issues

of control and leadership of the socialist movement on the global stage. He closes with the demise of the Soviet Union and the economic turn away from Maoist economic policy and a look at the legacy of the Cold War and communism's impact on the Third World.

This book, written by one of the series editors (the other being Kevin Reilly), clearly achieves its goal of deliberately intersecting scholarship with teaching. While there are small points that could be nitpicked, given the scope there is very little that an instructor will find missing from the coverage. The sections dealing with national contexts of the large communist states, the Peoples Republic of China and the Soviet Union, are more cohesive than the sections on the Cold War era and the events within the wider realm of communist countries in the 1970s & 80s. But just when you think of some connection that Strayer seems to have missed, you turn the page to find it deftly addressed.

The editors' note, pointedly states that World History has "come of age." Along with that maturity, thematic works such as this are much needed to provide teachers basic narratives on global topics that can serve as centerpieces for entire courses. It is also the kind of book that I would have graduate students read in order to see how topical world history can be truly global. The current moves within the academy toward more topically focused cross-disciplinary general education course moves away from the "big book" approaches to teaching world history. This book, supplemented with primary sources and interactive media could easily anchor a global history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century focused around revolution, conflict and rapid modernization. The "Getting Started" boxes that head up each chapter provide a series of key questions to keep in mind as the chapter is read and stretches the reader to think beyond the box for other examples of the points made in the chapter. The shortcoming of this approach is obviously what's omitted. In this case, there is little attention paid to the cultural and artistic aspects of the states involved. But this could be remedied through other short readings and images. In short, this brief volume may be part of a leading edge in the future of both scholarship and teaching in the field.

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**Geraint Jenkins.** *A Concise History of Wales.* Cambridge University Press, 2007. 345 pp. \$75.00 hardback, \$24.99 paper.

**Kathy Callahan**

*University of Wisconsin - Stout*

Historians have come to expect solid historical narratives when reading one of the *Concise* histories from Cambridge University Press. *A Concise History of Wales* is no exception to that expectation. Geraint Jenkins has assembled a solid historical examination of the lost nation in British Isles history. Wales (or Cymru to purists) was the

first to fall solidly into the hands of the English Crown, and its history is generally less well known, especially when compared to that of Ireland or Scotland.

Jenkins packs several thousand years between the book's covers, but that does not diminish its ability to provide readers with a real understanding of historical trends over a long period of time. The author employs the use of time periods familiar to European historians to guide his analysis, most of which correlate with major events in Welsh history that, for good or bad, are directly related to connections made with other societies including the Vikings, the Anglo-Saxons, the Normans, and the English.

Each chapter consistently explores three themes: political development; cultural development with detailed attention paid to language, literature, and religion; and social and economic changes. As mentioned above, the chapters, in general, revolve around pivotal events, including: the Statute of Wales, the Owain Glyndwr Rebellion, the Act of Union, the Reformation, the development of industrialism, the World Wars, and, importantly, devolution. His treatment of these events is solidly Welsh and often, when appropriate, offers some comparison to the same events in Ireland and Scotland. His Welsh nationalist orientation is never more apparent than when he compares Thomas Cromwell's sacking of the monasteries with the activities of the Taliban (153) or when he comments "as a rule the English do not easily acquire languages other than their own"(266). The examination of Wales' cultural history is perhaps the book's greatest strength. Jenkins persuasively demonstrates that Welsh culture changed with the times but it continued to be an important factor in distinguishing the Welsh from the English and in developing a separate identity.

In the realm of social and economic changes, Jenkins is particularly strong in the modern era. The examination of urbanization and industrialization (particularly the importance of mining and steel production) gives readers ample opportunity to understand the struggles that went with change as well as the global impact of Welsh industrialism. The discussion of women in the book is reasonable given the task at hand, but in the first chapters the treatment of women reads as though Jenkins' editor said, "You forgot to mention women; add something." One only has to look at the book's index to appreciate this (345). In chapter 4 the lives of women receive treatment in but one paragraph where he says their lives were extremely challenging, but "a mounting body of knowledge of evidence suggests that their lot was improving"(100-01). These brief analyses change in later chapters when women are better integrated into the narrative. In chapter 7, for example, women are shown as historical agents in a number of 20<sup>th</sup> century events, demonstrating their importance in shaping Wales' political, social, and cultural fabric. One particular comment made in chapter 3 does deserve

some attention. Regarding twelfth-century Princess Gwenllïan, Jenkins writes, "Gwenllïan, a beautiful princess so terrifyingly androgynous she was likened by Gerald of Wales to the Queen of the Amazons." (78) These editorial comments require some explanation—by whose standards was she beautiful or androgynous? Does she receive the latter comment solely because she picked up a sword to defend her people?

From the perspective of teaching world history, this monograph has a variety of applications; what follows is certainly not an exhaustive list. First, *The Concise History of Wales* provides an important view of England/Great Britain's imperial development. While most teaching efforts are generally focused on the empire building of the Romans, Chinese, Spanish, and Ottomans, the British do distinguish themselves in terms of longevity of development, beginning in the Anglo-Saxon period; perhaps they are only challenged by the Chinese in this regard. Second, Jenkins' exploration of cultural unifiers in Wales would be a welcome addition in any discussion of the importance of language, literature, and religion in the development of nationalism and the construction of states. Third, teachers might also find a place for a discussion of Offa's Dyke when teaching about defensive wall building (37). Although much less well known, the building of Offa's Dyke parallels other construction efforts meant to keep people in their place, such as China's Great Wall, the Berlin Wall, Hadrian's Wall, and the under-construction American Wall on the Mexican-American border. Finally, teachers will find the discussion of devolution and the creation of the Welsh National Assembly to be helpful in explaining the building of national identities. Home rule took a long time to reach this part of the empire.

Jenkins' book is a solid historical examination of Wales from the prehistoric to the present. Advanced high school students, undergraduates and teachers will find Jenkins's book to be informative as they seek to explore the little known gem that is Wales.

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**David Kirby. *A Concise History of Finland*. Cambridge University Press, 2006. 343 pp. \$24.99 paperback.**

**Kenneth Shonk, Jr.**  
*Marquette University*

For much of its history, Finland has been at the center of geopolitical struggles between Sweden and Russia, at various times providing both with essential natural resources and military support. Even after attaining independence in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Finland's history is that of a people struggling to forge a unique identity despite a population that included a large number of Swedes, not to mention the ever-present threat of Russian political intervention and conquest. In his impressive work *A Concise History of Finland*,

University College of London Professor David Kirby exemplifies both the importance of Finland to the expansion of the Swedish and Russian empires and the struggle to attain an independent Finnish identity amidst unwavering interference by its neighbors to the east and west. Although meant to be solely a history of Finland, it is quickly apparent that it is nearly impossible to accomplish such a feat without including its neighbors, resulting in a work with a scope wider than its title would suggest.

From the outset, it is clear that Kirby's forte lay within the fields of modern diplomatic and economic history. Following two relatively short chapters on medieval and early modern periods, Kirby delves into the dense and often contentious modern period. Finnish national identity was a complex matter and Kirby asserts that a major roadblock to independence in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early-20<sup>th</sup> centuries was a dualistic identity, as the economic elites of the region favored Swedish language and identity while socialists and laborers embraced their Finnish heritage. Complicating matters further was the fact that Finland remained under Russian control. What resulted was a situation in which nationalistic movements – both cultural and political – were divided by language and class. Such was the major roadblock to Finnish independence. Kirby further argues that an independent Finland maintained a bifurcated framework into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, evident by Finland's involvement with the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany during the Second World War. The book concludes with chapters covering the post-war period, and Kirby does well to emphasize the significance of the presidency of Urho Kaleva Kekkonen, who led the Finnish Republic from 1956 to 1981. Continuing the theme of Finland's importance in the larger framework of geopolitics, Kirby reminds the reader of Kekkonen's significant role as liaison between the United States and the Soviet Union during the height of the Cold War.

Kirby proves skillful at demonstrating the connection between environment and economy as he aptly weaves the importance of Finland's natural resources as the fundamental cause of involvement by the myriad foreign nations, not to mention their place in securing a successful independent Finnish state. Some readers might be dismayed at the lack of social and cultural history contained within *A Concise History of Finland*. Indeed, Kirby succeeds at clarifying the complexities of Finland's political history, yet any substantive discussions of Finnish society, art, or literature are relegated to the myriad plates contained throughout the book. Although they are accompanied by brief explanations, the significance of such plates is rarely incorporated into the overall narrative. Those seeking a cultural history will find guidance in the recommended readings located in the book's index of supplemental information which includes an informative timeline and a variety of economic data.

From the density of diplomatic material, to a

general unfamiliarity with Finnish history, it is difficult to imagine Kirby's work being used by students that are not at least advanced undergraduates. However, for students of East European or Scandinavian history, this work would certainly be a valuable means of introduction to the region's history. Beyond its application as an introduction to the narrative of Finnish history, *A Concise History of Finland* offers professors of European history an opportunity to demonstrate the complex, yet vital socioeconomic and political interaction between neighboring states. In other words, it is demonstrative of the fact that governments and economic systems do not operate in isolation, and that diplomatic maneuvering is a liquid and contentious issue. This is readily apparent in Kirby's discussions on Finland's role as an intermediary in such seminal events as the build-up to Germany's invasion of both Poland and the USSR and the Cold War. As such, Kirby's work is vital to those seeking a greater understanding of the diplomatic maneuverings of Sweden, Nazi Germany, and the Soviet Union.

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**James Ciment, ed. and Thaddeus Russell, contr. ed. *The Home Front Encyclopedia: United States, Britain, and Canada in World Wars I and II*. 3 vols. ABC-CLIO, 2007. xix + 1478 pp. \$285.00.**

**Ellen J. Jenkins**  
Arkansas Tech University

The wars of the twentieth century were gargantuan global conflicts that, unlike previous wars, eclipsed normal life and absorbed the consciousness of entire populations, as well as their labor and their day-to-day lives. Because of the enormous scope of such changes, it may be understandable that several decades passed after the cease-fires of 1918 and 1945, before historians began to incorporate into their research the contributions made on the Home Front.

For many years, histories of World War I and World War II focused almost exclusively upon the political, diplomatic, or military perspectives of these conflicts. Politicians and generals appeared, quite reasonably, to be the engineers and the protagonists of warfare. It was not until the advent of social history as a popular discipline, beginning in the late 1960s, that historians began to redress the imbalance, recognizing that the all-encompassing nature of these conflicts made the Home Front in both wars as crucial to the outcomes as governments and armies. A number of excellent social histories of WWI and WWII have appeared during the past few decades, including Stanley Weintraub's *A Stillness Heard Round the World* (1985), Samuel Hynes' *A War Imagined* (1990), and Paul Fussell's books, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1975) and *Wartime* (1990). Still, the myriad aspects of the Home Front were not regular features of reference works.

The three volumes of *The Home Front Encyclopedia: United States, Britain, and Canada in World Wars I and II*, edited by James Ciment and contributing editor Thaddeus Russell, address this gap, focusing upon the domestic side of these conflicts as well as contemporary popular culture, providing collections of short entries on people, culture, politics, and war efforts, along with documents from both wars. Ciment, an independent scholar, has also edited several other encyclopedia sets, including *Colonial America* (2005), *Postwar America* (2007), and *Palestine/Israel: The Long Conflict* (1997). Thaddeus Russell, currently a visiting professor of history and political science at the New School for Social Research, has published *Out of the Jungle: Jimmy Hoffa and the Remaking of the American Working Class* (2001).

Volumes I and II of *The Home Front Encyclopedia* are divided into biographies and topics. The first volume, on WWI, includes biographies of baseball player "Shoeless Joe" Jackson, jazz musician "Jelly Roll" Morton, movie stars Mary Pickford and Charlie Chaplin, and banker J. P. Morgan, among others, and topics include the Boston Police Strike of 1919, the Campaign for Social Purity for American Troops, and the Espionage Act of 1917. Volume II includes biographical entries on composer Irving Berlin, photographer Margaret Bourke-White, Boston Red Sox player Ted Williams, President Harry Truman, and singer/actor Frank Sinatra. Topics in the second volume include the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), the Manhattan Project, and the GI Bill of Rights. A complete Table of Contents is included in each volume, and every entry is cross-referenced and followed by references.

Volume III of the set comprises documents from both the WWI and WWII eras, as well as chronologies and extensive bibliographies. The WWI-era documents in Volume III include Henry Cabot Lodge's "Speech against the League of Nations" from August 1919, and Woodrow Wilson's rejoinder from the following month, as well as Eugene V. Debs' "Anti-War Speech" of June 1918. WWII documents include the Democratic and Republican Party platforms for the 1940 election; Winston Churchill's "Blood, Toil, Tears and Sweat" speech of the same year; the 1943 "Official Military Memoranda Concerning Zoot Suit Riots;" and Harry Truman's August 1945 announcement to the American public, "On Dropping the Atomic Bomb on Hiroshima."

Altogether, *The Home Front Encyclopedia* is an excellent and entertaining resource for information, source materials, and general perusal. The set is suitable for high school and undergraduate collections, as well as public libraries.

**Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam. *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400-1800*. Cambridge University Press, 2007. 399 pp.**

**James S. Kinsey**  
Crystal Springs (MS) High School

Through a wide assortment of travel narratives, the reader of *Indo-Persian Travels* is afforded a rare opportunity to explore the intellectual, moral, economic, and religious world of Southwest and Central Asia from 1400 to 1800. While the vast majority of high school and college textbooks traditionally focus on developments in Europe – the Renaissance, Protestant Reformation, Scientific Revolution, the Enlightenment, and the discovery of the Americas – Alam and Subrahmanyam offer a colorful and exotic look at the other side of the world through the eyes of those who lived, traded, and traveled the routes across the old "gunpowder empires" of the Mughals, Ottomans, and Safavids.

The book is essentially a collection of travel narratives, a valuable, but oft-neglected cache of primary sources, penned by a variety of sojourners who offer their perspectives "of India as seen by visitors from Central Asia, the Ottoman domains and Iran" (xiii). While the authors consistently inject relevant and useful commentaries and interpretations regarding these travels, they do, for the most part, allow those who originally penned these travel narratives to speak for themselves. The narratives, historical context and commentary taken together combine to provide detailed insights into not only the arduous nature of travel during this period, but also the cultural and moral mindset of the Indo-Persian traveler himself.

The Introduction surveys a broad array of travel literature as a primary-source medium, both Occidental and Oriental, in order to prepare the reader for a more complex examination of Indo-Persian culture and historical development as witnessed from a variety of perspectives. Chapter one examines the experiences "of a female pilgrim to the hajj" (xiii). Chapter two offers a comparative look at the 15<sup>th</sup>-century travel experiences of several figures, all somewhat connected to the history of Tamerlane. The first narrative follows Muslim Sufi saint Sayyid Muhammad al-Husaini as he seeks to escape the onslaught of Tamerlane's invasion of Hindustan in 1398. A second narrative follows the travels of Timurid ambassador Abdur Razzaq from Herat to the Indian port of Calicut from 1442 to 1445. A third narrative concludes the chapter and is that of the Russian merchant Afanasii Nikitin, who traverses Iran en route to the Deccan domain of the Bahmani Sultanate and then makes the return voyage to Russia. His travels roughly span the time period from 1466 through 1472 and coincide with the southern expansion of Russia into the Indo-Persian region as trade networks are forming following the collapse of Mongol rule in Russia.

Chapter three introduces a pair of travel accounts within the Mughal empire during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The first account is from the Ottoman admiral Seydi 'Ali Re'is at a time when Ottoman and Portuguese fleets were vying for control of the Arabian Sea and its lucrative maritime trade routes to Mughal India. Through a series of naval defeats by the Portuguese, Seydi 'Ali becomes an "admiral without a fleet." Seydi 'Ali's account reveals the ever-present hostility between the Sunni and Shi'ite sects of Islam which often characterized interactions between the Safavid and Ottoman empires. The second account revolves around "the visit by the savant Mutribi Samarqandi to the court of Mughal emperor Jahangir in the 1620s" (94).

Chapter four relays the adventures of Mahmud Wali Balkhi, whom the authors characterize as a "Central Asian Jack Kerouac" (133). Chapters five and six offer opposing perspectives on travel as "a series of disgruntled travelers" (Ch. 5) from Safavid Iran traveling east are contrasted with Mughal Indians (Ch. 6) traveling west. Chapter seven takes a similar tact as it examines "travellers from India to the Ottoman empire, and comparing their vision" with those who traveled the same route coming from the opposite direction (xiii). The final chapter compares the more commonly known and read European travel narratives with the Oriental travel accounts surveyed in the book.

The primary value of this work for educators is that it can be utilized to greatly expand the knowledge and understanding of Indo-Persian culture, and to a lesser extent that of the eastern Mediterranean. The multicultural nature of the travel accounts lends the work to comparative studies in political, religious, and economic systems. Overall, the comparative organization of the travel narratives makes this work a valuable tool in reconstructing the encounters between not only East and West, but also the regional empires of India, Persia, and the Ottoman Turks of Anatolia.

The major weakness of the book, inasmuch as educators should be concerned, is the intentional lack of effort made by the authors to classify, categorize, or organize these accounts thematically or by particular civilizations. This makes utilizing the work somewhat more difficult as a classroom resource. The detailed and complicated commentaries and historical context surrounding the travel narratives themselves can often blind the reader with more information than can possibly be useful in a high school classroom. However, the work is an appropriate text for both foundational and upper-level college courses in World Civilizations and Asian Studies.

The book may serve as a useful primary and secondary source for college-level research in the transitional period in the Indian Ocean/South Asia region. Although the book offers an extensive bibliography of Islamic and Indo-Persian works, these works are for the most part inaccessible because the majority of the sources cited

and utilized in the book are not available to most universities and high schools. Furthermore, most of these works have yet to be translated into English and would require the interested researcher to be versatile in a number of Oriental languages in order to benefit from their reading. High school educators teaching Advanced Placement courses in World History may find this work suitable for opening discussions on point of view, and comparing and contrasting the diverse cultural expressions within the South and Southwestern Asian societies.

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**Stephen H. Norwood and Eunice G. Pollack, eds. *Encyclopedia of American Jewish History*. 2 vols. ABC-CLIO, 2008. xix + 775 pp. \$195.**

**James Moses**  
*Arkansas Tech University*

An entry in ABC-CLIO's American Ethnic Experience series, the two volume *Encyclopedia of American Jewish History*, under the editorship of Stephen Norwood and Eunice Pollack of the University of Oklahoma and the University of North Texas, respectively, is a well-edited and fairly comprehensive collection of essays relating to the American Jewish experience from 1654, the date of arrival for the first Jewish settlers, to the present time. For the college and secondary school history teacher, there is much to appreciate here. The breadth of choices in these two volumes will serve students well, and the sizeable and very useful bibliographies at the end of each entry (some with over two dozen titles) will send readers into the stacks well-armed with the best scholarship in Jewish American studies. I recommend this title.

The encyclopedia is liberally illustrated with photographs and is presented in two attractive and relatively equal volumes with fourteen and twelve categories, respectively, per volume; however, the entries under each category are dramatically unequal, ranging in number from one (American Jews and the Law, American Jews and Crime) to twenty-four (American Jewish Novelists, Essayists, Poets, and Playwrights). Several category titles are needlessly cumbersome: why not simply "Writers"? (A minor quibble: as this obviously is an encyclopedia of American Jewish history, why redundantly put some variation of "American Jewish" in the title of each category?) Some categories, such as American Jews and Labor, contain multiple separate entries, with each major figure (David Dubinsky, Samuel Gompers, Sidney Hillman, etc.) receiving from two to four full pages each, while other categories, such as American Jews and the Law, have but one entry, with multiple historic figures discussed within the single article ("The Jewish Justices of the Supreme Court"). Greater consistency here would have improved the usability of the volumes. For example, in the Table of Contents, one sees stand-alone entries for more obscure figures such as labor leaders

Rose Pesotta and Toni Sender, but no entry for giants such as Felix Frankfurter and Louis Brandeis (to be fair, the Justices do get their own subheadings within the entry "Jewish Justices of the Supreme Court," but one will not find their names in the Table of Contents, a perhaps minor fact which, nonetheless, would complicate searches).

Though it is a worthy addition to any academic, public, and secondary school library, the encyclopedia is unremarkable in its choice of entries and themes. Some are questionable ("Jews in the Diamond Business" seems unworthy as a stand-alone entry, while "Jews and Hollywood" begs to be divided into its component parts); others seem to lack comprehensiveness or skew in a single direction: "Contemporary Jewish Music in America," over three pages in length, gives us lots of Orthodox and klezmer, but little of the burgeoning field of contemporary Reform Jewish pop/rock (Debbie Friedman, arguably the biggest name in the field, gets but three sentences; popular artists such as Dan Nichols and Rick Recht, none at all). Overall, the entries are well-written and (for the most part) concise. One will find categories on political and social movements, war and the military, and (too brief) entries on specific periods of history ("American Jews in the Colonial Period," for example).

The volumes' real strengths, however, lie in their discussions of Jewish cultural and artistic contributions to American history. Most of Volume Two is concerned with social and cultural issues such as Jewish philanthropy, educational and scientific contributions, and the formative and critical Jewish role in the history of American film, television, literature of all types (from the comic book superheroes of Joe Shuster and Jerry Siegel [Superman] and Joe Simon and Jack Kirby [Captain America] to the prize-winning novels of Phillip Roth and Saul Bellow), music of all genres (from the symphonies of Ernest Bloch and George Gershwin to the popular music of such diverse Jewish artists as Benny Goodman and KISS), and all aspects of American mass and popular culture. For whatever reason, there seems to be greater coverage and depth to these entries as opposed to the broader religious, political, and economic entries presented in Volume One. All in all, this encyclopedia should be a welcome addition to reference libraries everywhere.

#### DIGITAL PHOTOS: CHINA & PERU

*For copies of over 1000 photographs from China and Peru, send \$5 to Micheal Tarver, P.O. Box 6656, Russellville, AR 72801. There is no charge for the photos; the \$5 is to cover the cost of a blank dvd and shipping/handling. All photos are at least 300 dpi, have been taken by Micheal Tarver, and can be used freely in your classes. Among the sites included are Xian, Dunhuang, the Qin Tomb, Yi He Yuan, Bingling Si, Jaiyuguan Pass, Tiantan, Cusco, Machu Picchu, Lima, Sacsayhuaman, Q'enko, Ollantaytambo, and Koricancha.*

## Some Results from the 2007 Conference Questionnaire: An Evaluation of the Conference Program

*Al Andrea, Conferences Committee Chair*

In a break with tradition, the Conferences Committee included a questionnaire in the conferees' tote bags at the 2007 conference in Milwaukee. Over 300 were handed out, but only 46 were completed and handed in. Regardless of this roughly 15% return ratio, due to the generally insightful and articulate answers provided, the returned questionnaires will help the WHA and its Program and Conferences Committees in planning future conferences. We deeply appreciate the efforts of people who took the time to respond to these questions.

A simple description of the many points raised would consume every available page in the *Bulletin*, so this report must content itself with focusing on responses to only one of the many questions asked: an evaluation of the 2007 conference program.

Let us begin by noting two points. First, the Program Committee and the program it sets out are, in the final analysis, equally captive to the proposals submitted for consideration. In other words, the Committee cannot create panels, sessions, and papers out of proverbial thin air. If something is not conceived, crafted, and submitted for consideration, it cannot be offered, no matter how desirable someone might think it to be. Second, regardless of this limitation, the overall consensus of those responding was that the Milwaukee program was very good. Respondents were asked to rate the quality of the program on a scale of 0-10. Perhaps they are largely easy graders, but the average grade given was 8.13.

These two facts noted, there were a number of bouquets and brickbats, as well as suggestions for improvement, that deserve mention.

First, a significant number bewailed the fact that there were too many no-show presenters. As noted in the last issue of the *Bulletin*, many would-be attendees failed to arrive on time or at all due to summer storms and fouled-up airline flights. This was unavoidable. But it also underscores the fact that persons who are included in the program must make every reasonable effort to attend. If unable to attend, they should inform the session chair or the WHA Secretariat as soon as possible.

A number of respondents also felt that too many of the panels and papers, including some of those that promised to address pedagogical issues, were not mindful of the teachers in attendance. That is, there were too few panels and papers aimed at the classroom teacher, especially the high school teacher. As noted above, the program is essentially the creature of those who submit proposals. So, if we want more sessions aimed specifically at teachers, we must encourage more teachers and professors to propose panels, roundtables, and individual papers that focus on pedagogy. Beyond that, however, we might well take to heart the proposal of Marc Gilbert, who, at the WHA Business Meeting, suggested that presenters seriously consider bringing with them relevant handouts for the teachers (and others) in attendance. This should not be a mandate, and not every paper lends itself to handouts, but it certainly is something that presenters should be mindful of in the future, assuming that their topics and photocopying budgets allow it.

Another interesting suggestion was that panels that are largely focused on recent research and scholarship (putatively, therefore, aimed largely at the professors) include a teacher who can offer comments on how this material might be incorporated into the classroom. Now, this would entail a fair amount of planning and delivery of papers at an early date to that teacher-commentator, but it is an idea of great merit. Perhaps proposals for the 2009 conference in Salem, Massachusetts can include some panels that adopt this approach. (See the announcement elsewhere in this issue on the 2009 conference.)

In like manner, several people suggested that we need panels and other types of sessions aimed at the special teaching needs of instructors at two-year colleges. We agree. Perhaps 2009 will see a turning point in this regard when, for the first time, a community college will take an active role in co-hosting a WHA conference.

There was also an expressed feeling among some that certain areas of the globe and some ethnic groups were largely overlooked. We can only hope that in the future there is more global diversity in the panels, roundtables, workshops, and papers offered for consideration to the Program

Committee.

Several attendees, as we might expect, expressed frustration at being unable to attend two or more interesting sessions that were scheduled at the same time. This is a perennial issue that will forever vex us, and there seems to be no solution to it. Looked at from another perspective, however, it is a testimony to the richness of the program.

Of course, we do have plenary sessions—our keynote addresses—and quite a few were effusive in their praise for Marnie Hughes-Warrington's outstanding address "Scales of World Histories." We promise that our keynoters for 2008 will be equally stimulating.

Several people requested that the WHA consider publishing some of the better papers. Actually the only conference to produce a book of "Proceedings" (*Colonialism: Its Impact and Legacies*) was the 1999 conference hosted by the University of Victoria. Although we have discussed trying to produce another volume of top-flight conference papers, two factors have prevented our doing so: lack of any volunteer or volunteers to undertake the difficult and often frustrating job of putting such a collection together and general disinterest on the part of publishers in producing such books.

A few participants also noted their appreciation that finally the WHA seems to be giving due recognition to religion as a major factor in world history, but there was an almost equal number that asked for more papers on the Arts. Are art historians and musicologists listening?

Speaking of listening, more than a few conferees complained of presenters who read papers rather than presented their insights in an engaging manner. This is a difficult issue to address. The twenty-minute time limit alone tends to force many to read their papers in an effort to not exceed their allotted time. That noted, perhaps presenters can be mindful that effective communication is an art that needs constant practice and refinement. Quite possibly a presentation centered around handouts (see above) that are commented on and discussed in some detail by the presenter might be one way of avoiding this problem. However, presentation is such a personal thing and dependent on so many factors, that there never has been nor ever will be one infallible form of presentation that works for all topics and all persons.

Finally, one person asked for printed abstracts so that informed conferees could rationally choose which sessions they would attend. This is a nice idea, but the price of such an undertaking (and the strain on WHA Headquarters) is almost too much to contemplate. Can anyone not just suggest but actually find for the WHA a patron to subvent a conference program that includes abstracts?

As noted above, this article deals with only one of many questions asked. Please be assured that the questionnaires have been read and digested in their totality, and the many useful suggestions have been taken to heart. Again, a sincere "thank you" to all who responded.

### CALL FOR PAPERS

The **Southeast World History Association (SEWHA)** invites submissions for its **20<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference** at the Old State House Museum in Little Rock, Arkansas. The conference will officially begin at 9:00 a.m. on **October 17, 2008** and end at 2:00 p.m. on **October 18, 2008**. The conference will follow the traditional SEWHA pattern of Friday and Saturday panels; however, the Little Rock meeting will also include a Thursday evening Welcome Reception. Conference sessions will be held in the 1836 House Chamber and the Saturday Luncheon will be held in the Riverfront Room, overlooking the Arkansas River. The Luncheon will include the Business Meeting and a Keynote Speaker.

**SEWHA invites proposals** that deal with the broadest possible range of topics in world history, especially papers related to our dual themes: ***The Local in World History*** and ***The Art of Teaching World History***. Please send a one-page abstract to Micheal Tarver, Program Chair, Arkansas Tech University Social Sciences Department, Russellville, AR 72801. Submissions can also be made via e-mail, to [mtarver@atu.edu](mailto:mtarver@atu.edu). As always, we welcome submissions from students and secondary-school educators. **Deadline for proposals is 15 April 2008.**

The 2008 Annual Meeting is being co-sponsored by Arkansas Tech University, the Old State House Museum, the University of Central Arkansas, and the University of Arkansas at Little Rock.

For more information, contact Micheal Tarver at [mtarver@atu.edu](mailto:mtarver@atu.edu) or (479) 968.0265.

## Make Your Plans: WHA 2009 in Salem, Massachusetts

Salem State College has invited the WHA to Salem, Massachusetts for its Eighteenth Annual Conference, 25-28 June 2009, and the Executive Council has accepted. In honor of Salem's rich history of involvement in overseas ventures, the conference's theme will be "Merchants and Missionaries: Trade and Religion in World History." The alliteration is a literary conceit and should not be taken as limiting in any way panel and paper proposals. The Program Committee will invite proposals on all aspects of trade and religion in world history.

*"Divitis Indiae usque ad ultimum sinum"* (All the way to the farthest bay of the rich Indies), the motto of Salem, sums up its important place in global maritime history. By 1790, it was the sixth largest city in the United States, and its merchants were major players in commerce around the world, but especially in the China trade. Up until the outbreak of war in 1812, it was the center of overseas commerce in the United States. Today, the Salem Maritime National Historic Site—essentially the entire port area of the city—commemorates that history, and there visitors can board the *Friendship*, a full-size replica of a 1797 East Indiaman launched at Salem and that sailed to India, China, Java, and Sumatra.

If that is not enough for persons who want to imagine life "before the mast," just 15 miles away, the city of Boston will host a meeting of Tall Ships in the summer of 2009.

Salem's Peabody Essex Museum, founded in 1799 as the East India Marine Society, began its collection of curiosities from around the world in 1803, thereby establishing a rightful claim to being North America's first world history museum. Today it is the largest museum in the world dedicated to maritime commercial history. Beyond that, visitors can enter and explore the museum's Yin Yu Tang, a 200-year-old merchant's house from southeastern China.

Salem was also the city that ordained the USA's first Protestant missionaries to Asia in 1812, and in 1692, of course, there were the infamous witch trials, thereby forever tying Salem to an age-old, global phenomenon: the persecution of marginalized individuals. The city's Witch Trials Memorial, which honors the memory of the 14 women and 6 men who were killed during this witch hunt, lies only a few meters away from the Peabody Essex Museum, in the historic heart of the city.

Not to be overlooked is the city's eighteenth-century architecture that fills its tree-lined streets, and two of Salem's most iconic structures, the House of the Seven Gables (1668), made famous by Nathaniel Hawthorne's novel of the same name, and the federal-style Custom House (1818), where Hawthorne worked as Customs Surveyor. Readers of *The Scarlet Letter* will remember his lengthy description of the building. In the early years of the nineteenth century, roughly ten percent of the nation's revenue was collected annually at the Salem Custom House.

These are but a few of the many historic sites and sights awaiting visitors to Massachusetts's North Shore and Greater Boston. Future essays in the *Bulletin* and postings on the WHA website and on H-World (but only after the London conference is over) will provide further details of the conference and its many attractions. It suffices for now to note the following: 1) The Local Arrangements Committee is contacting a wide variety of organizations and learned associations to involve them in this conference, thereby making it a North Shore-wide event. 2) Boston and the North Shore are marvelous and widely popular vacation destinations, and for that reason are normally quite expensive for families. The Conferences Committee pledges to make this affordable for families, as well as individual conferees. This will be a delightful opportunity to visit the area, enjoy its many cultural and tourist attractions, and to do so without bankruptcy. 3) As always, the conference will offer the best of current world history scholarship and pedagogy, but it will also be fun. The Local Arrangements Committee is identifying exciting reception venues, as well as apt sites for panels and keynote addresses.

Begin looking for more about this conference in late summer. Until then, begin whetting your appetite by looking at the many websites for Salem and the surrounding area. (*Al Andrea, Conferences Committee Chair*)

## World History Association Business Meeting Minutes January 4, 2008, Washington, D.C.

### I. Introductions and Thank You's:

President Anand Yang thanked outgoing President Michele Forman for her outstanding service. (Michele later passed the ceremonial plastic light saber to Anand at the post-meeting reception at the Lebanese Taverna.)

Kieko Matteson, Executive Director, thanked the outgoing officers and members of the Executive council, and welcomed the newly-elected officers. Outgoing officers: Michele Forman, President; Jacky Swansinger, Treasurer; Avi Black, Council member; John Voll, Council member; Bin Wong, Council member. Incoming officers: Anand Yang, President; Al Andrea, Vice President; Ane Lintvedt, Secretary (reelected); Carolyn Neel, Treasurer.

### II. Motions

1. Passed unanimously by the Executive Council: *"That the Executive Council of the WHA formally supports the creation of an International Network of World History, in the expectation that the organization (INWHA) will apply for membership in CISH (Comité International des Sciences Historiques/International Committee of Historical Sciences)."*

2. Passed unanimously by the Executive Council: *"The WHA nominates David Christian and Pat Manning (and any other members of the Executive Council who wish to join them) as delegates to the July 2008 ENI-UGH [European Network in Universal and Global History] conference in Dresden."*

3. Passed unanimously by the Executive Council: *"Well before the CFP for the 2009 annual conference goes out, the WHA will establish the following procedure for identifying and judging potential recipients of the World Scholar Travel grants. First, when published, the CF will mention that travel awards for full or partial relief of travel costs and conference fees are available to persons who are presenting at the WHA conference and who are not citizen of or residents in the US, Canada, Western Europe, or Australia-New Zealand. Second, an application for will be made available at [www.thewha.org](http://www.thewha.org) for persons who wish to apply. Third, that application form will be designed by the Secretariat in consultation with the Fund Raising and conferences committees. Fourth, a three-person panel composed of the WHA Executive Direction and one person each from the Fund Raising and conferences committees and named by the President will constitute the sole body that awards such grants. Each committee representative will serve for no more than three years."*

### III. Committee Reports

1. Conferences and Program: The upcoming conference will be held at Queen Mary College, University of London, June 26-29, 2008. Members are urged to reach out to European historians to submit papers and panels and attend the conference. The Call for Papers will be extended until Feb. 1.

a. The June 2009 conference will be held in Salem, Massachusetts, with the theme "Merchants and Missionaries: Trade and Religion in World History."

b. The 2011 conference will be held in Beijing, China.

2. The Teaching Committee welcomes three new members: Avi Black, Bill Ziegler, and Jen Laden.

3. Fundraising Committee: See Motion 3 above regarding the selection of the recipient(s) of the World Scholar Travel grants. Regarding general fundraising, the 2008 membership renewal letter includes a note urging members to contribute to the endowment, which is now nearing the point of earning enough interest to support new/current initiatives.

4. Membership Committee: WHA membership stands at 1, 253 as of November 2007. We have very few members among the community colleges, and we need to find ways to reach out to our colleagues in this area. Al Andrea, Conferences Chair, noted that the 2009 Salem conference will be co-hosted by North Shore Community College in Massachusetts.

5. Nominating Committee: Ralph Croizier is stepping down as chair.

President Anand Yang thanked him for his service and noted that he (Anand) will be appointing a new chair.

a. Kieko Matteson noted that 321 people voted in the last WHA election. This was a considerable increase over previous elections (past elections have been decided by as few as 250 votes), but still a minority of the electorate. We need to find a way to increase voting participation. Members present at the Business Meeting voted overwhelmingly to support a shift to electronic voting.

6. The Research Committee, led by Pat Manning, is considering planning a research conference in coordination with the WHA's June 2009 annual conference at Salem State College.

7. The Student Paper Prize Committee announced two winners (\$400 each) and two honorable mentions. The Committee has decided to shift its deadline for the Student Paper Prize to late June in the hopes of generating more submissions. The prizes are co-sponsored by Phi Alpha Theta and underwritten by a generous subvention from Pearson-Prentice Hall. WHA members are asked to publicize the Student Paper Prize widely. Information and a downloadable, printable poster concerning the contest are available at <http://thewha.org>

8. The Teaching Prize Committee awarded one \$750 prize (see announcement in the EC minutes). Like the Student Paper Prize, the Teaching Prize is supported by the financial contributions of Pearson-Prentice Hall. Note that the deadline for the Teaching Prize will shift to May 15.

9. *World History Connected* report: Readership for the online, electronic journal is very strong. Heather Streets will finish her term as editor with offices at Washington State University and pass the post to Aims McGuinness at University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

10. H-World report: The WHA is very grateful for the hard work of the H-World editors, David Kalivas and Eric Martin. At present, however, the WHA does not have the funds to honor the editors' request for travel funding or a course buy-out.

11. *Journal of World History* report: Upcoming issues promise a full line up of great articles and reviews. The WHA website has a link with titles for the forthcoming volume.

12. *World History Bulletin*: The editor of the *Bulletin*, Micheal Tarver, is currently representing the WHA at the Phi Alpha Theta biennial conference in New Mexico. The Fall 2007 *Bulletin*, a rich and thoughtful 25th anniversary retrospective, is in the mail. Members should have it waiting for them when they get home from the AHA meeting.

13. The Endowment is currently \$44,781. We are closing in on our goal of \$50,000. Exec. Director Kieko Matteson urged members to contribute to push it over the top – any amount, small or large, will make a difference.

14. Finances Report. Jacqueline Swansinger, outgoing Treasurer, noted that the turnover of four Executive Directors since January 2005 has led to disruptions in record-keeping and membership renewal reminders and has had an impact on the WHA's revenues, despite strong returns on the 2006 and 2007 conferences. Returning ED Kieko Matteson noted that efforts are underway to address these problems.

15. Executive Director's Report. Kieko Matteson is pleased to return to the job, noting that there is a great deal of work to be done. Leslie Miller, the executive assistant, has left to work in Portland. Kieko thanked her for her service. She has rehired Kristy Ringor to take Leslie's place.

#### **IV. New Business and discussion from the floor.**

a. WHA Executive Council adopted a motion to voice its concern over the European Union's proposal to outlaw the denial of the Armenian genocide, over concerns of legislating historical truth.

b. The allocation of non-designated funds from the Amazon.com link on the WHA website will go to the Endowment Fund. WHA members and non-members alike are urged to go through the Amazon link on the WHA homepage when making purchases online. The WHA receives 4-7% of the price of items purchased, making it an very easy way to raise funds for the Association.

c. Craig Lockard mentioned that Marcus Weiner has contacts with a European publisher who may be interested in attending the London conference.

d. AP World History will have over 100,000 students taking the exam this year, and over 700 K-16 teachers will score the exam. Please consider applying to be a reader! Several members present attested to the good times and professional connections they have made during the readings.

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## ***World History Association Executive Council Minutes January 3, 2008, Washington, D.C.***

### **I. Meeting called to order at 4:15 pm.**

#### **Executive Council members present:**

Anand Yang, incoming President  
Al Andrea, incoming Vice President  
Carolyn Neel, incoming Treasurer  
Ane Lintvedt, Secretary  
Jacky Swansinger, outgoing Treasurer\*  
Kieko Matteson, Executive Director  
Craig Lockard  
Adam McKeown  
Avi Black\*  
Heather Streets  
Jennifer Laden  
John Voll\*  
Kerry Ward  
Laura Mitchell  
Laura Wangerin  
William Zeigler  
Jerry Bentley, Editor, *JWH*  
David Northrup, past president

#### **Executive Council members absent:**

Michele Forman, outgoing president\*  
Jonathan Reynolds  
R. Bin Wong\*  
Micheal Tarver, Editor, *World History Bulletin*

(\* outgoing officer/council member)

### **II. Announcements**

Members were reminded of jointly-sponsored WHA-AHA panels at the ongoing AHA conference, as well as the College Board and WHA-sponsored AP luncheon. The deadline for panel submissions eligible for WHA sponsorship at the 2009 AHA conference in New York is Feb. 15, 2008. Al Andrea noted that the themes for the WHA Annual meeting in June 2008 in London are *Global Cities* and *The Sea: Highway of Change*. The Call for Papers deadline has been extended until February 1, 2008 to give late-filers time to get their proposals in.

Kieko Matteson noted that Executive Council member Jonathan Reynolds and *Bulletin* editor Micheal Tarver were absent because they were currently representing the WHA at the Phi Alpha Theta biennial convention in New Mexico. Michele Forman's teaching duties, likewise, kept her from arriving in D.C. until after the meeting.

### **III. Committee Reports (copies of the reports are available from the WHA Secretariat.)**

#### **Affiliates Report**

Motion 1 was passed unanimously. "That the Executive Council of the WHA formally supports the creation of an International Network of World History, in the expectation that the organization (INWHA) will apply for membership in CISH (Comité International des Sciences

*Historiques/International Committee of Historical Sciences).*”

Motion 2, “that the WHA post information about the forthcoming ENIUGH [European Network in Universal and Global History] conference on its website, and consider other ways of publicizing the conference; and that it encourage WHA members to consider attending [the meeting in Dresden 3-5 July 2008]” was withdrawn because it was deemed not necessary, in that a request had already been related to the WHA webmaster to post the information on the website.

Motion 3 was passed unanimously: “The WHA nominates David Christian and Pat Manning (and any other members of the Executive Council who wish to join them) as delegates to the July 2008 ENIUGH conference in Dresden.”

Avi Black noted that it would be a good idea if the SEWHA affiliate would send its student paper prize submissions to the chair of the WHA Student Paper Prize.

### **Conference Committee Report**

Al Andrea went over the confirmed sites for the future WHA meetings (London 2008, Salem MA 2009, Beijing 2011) and noted that the 2007 meeting in Milwaukee had been well attended (303) and was a scholarly and financial success.

### **Conference Program Committee Report**

Carolyn Neel, chair, noted that we need more panel submissions for 2008 and encouraged members to contact European historians, as well as those who attended the Morocco meeting in 2005, who might be interested in attending.

Avi Black encouraged people to contact teachers in the UK who might be interested in proposing panels or joining roundtable discussions.

Bill Zeigler said he would contact the European council of Independent Schools, and Ane Lintvedt will contact College Board.

### **Education Task Force/Teaching Committee Report**

Bill Zeigler, Avi Black, and Jen Laden volunteered to join the committee.

A discussion of the role that the Teaching Committee could take included several suggestions, including a role as an advocate or provider of course models to advise state and local education polities; to begin to compile the lessons learned from the struggles over National History Standards; to facilitate discussions or conversations with institutions working on curriculum and standards; to continue to institutionalize contacts with College Board, ETS and with *World History Connected* and *WH Bulletin*; to be the contacts with SHE, NCSS and other national teaching organizations; to look at working with local Councils on World Affairs.

David Northrup offered thanks of Heidi Roupp and Ane Lintvedt for their work on this committee over the past years.

### **Fundraising Report**

The general theme was that of very modest successes in fundraising over the last year.

Several people pointed out the need to have an audit of WHA finances, not the least of which is that our application to the ACLS requires one, and that any foundation would request one with an application for funds.

There was a long conversation about possibilities for future fundraising, including the point that agencies tend to fund *projects* rather than providing infrastructure grants. Suggestions that were batted around included looking into Soka Gakkai International, piloting professional development for secondary teachers, seeking support to expand world history research and pedagogy internationally, taking world history inner city schools, and building up *World History Connected*. Other foundations mentioned including Rockefeller and Luce for travel funds for our members to attend conferences.

Motion 1: “Whenever an annual conference makes a profit and whenever, in the judgment of the Finance Committee, the fiscal health of the WHA allows it, up to ten (10) percent of that profit, or margin, will be apportioned to the World Scholar Travel Fund to help meet its needs in the following

year. Upon application of the Fundraising Committee for such a transfer, the Finance Committee will have sole authority to decide whether or not to authorize this transfer of funds and what the percentage will be.” After sustained discussion, the motion failed. Anand Yang suggested that we could consider such action on an *ad hoc* basis, and others present agreed.

Motion 2: “Well before the Call for Papers (CFP) for the 2009 annual conference goes out, the WHA will establish the following procedure for identifying and judging potential recipients of the World Scholar Travel grants. First, when published, the CFP will mention that travel awards for full or partial relief of travel costs and conference fees are available to persons who are presenting at the WHA conference and who are not citizen of or residents in the US, Canada, Western Europe, or Australia-New Zealand. Second, an application for the grant will be made available at [www.the-wha.org](http://www.the-wha.org) for persons who wish to apply. Third, that application form will be designed by the Secretariat (WHA Headquarters in Hawai`i) in consultation with the Fundraising and Conferences Committees. Fourth, a three-person panel composed of the WHA Executive Director and one person each from the Fundraising and Conferences Committees and named by the President will constitute the sole body that awards such grants. Each committee representative will serve for no more than three years.” Passed unanimously.

A supplemental motion about facilitating donations to the WHA will be considered electronically by the Executive Council.

A discussion ensued about the many goals of the WHA, and the need to prioritize the goals, perhaps with a revised Mission Statement or a new strategic plan, and the need to have an audit conducted to clarify our financial position.

### **Membership Committee Report**

As of November 2007, our membership stands at 1,253.

A discussion ensued about how to increase our membership to 1500 in a reasonable amount of time. Suggestions included ad-swaps with journals, adding a “how did you hear about us?” section on the membership form, and a follow-up letter to first-year subscribers about their satisfaction with their membership.

A further discussion ensued about the untapped audiences for WHA, including graduate students, students in pre-service programs, graduate students, and community college teachers.

The point was raised that perhaps we need to evaluate the question of membership from the perspective of asking/answering, “What do people *get* from their WHA membership?”

### **Nominating Committee Report**

Ralph Croizier noted that this committee needs a new chairperson.

### **Research and Graduate Studies Committee Report**

The principal activity has been to develop a proposal for affiliation with the ACLS. The proposal is being held up by the lack of a current audit of the WHA finances.

Pat Manning announced a volume of the papers presented at the Research Agenda conference in Nov. 2006 will be published by Marcus Weiner. He also said there is a discussion about another conference in 2009, perhaps coordinating with the WHA conference in Salem, MA.

### **Student Paper Prize Committee Report**

The deadline for submission will be shifted to June 30 in the hopes of generating more submissions. Affiliates will be asked to submit papers if they sponsor a student paper prize, and *World History Connected* will be asked to publicize it.

A letter of thanks should be sent to Charles Cavaliere for Pearson-Prentice Hall’s continuing support of this prize as well as the Teaching Prize. Al Andrea noted that he would be stepping down as Chair of the Student Paper Prize Committee, having served in that capacity since the inception of the prize, and nominated Joel Tishken to take his place.

### **Teaching Prize Committee Report**

The deadline has been moved to May 15.

The winner was Cedric Beidatsch, the University of Western Australia, for "Gateway to the Seventeenth Century: Dutch Shipwrecks on the West Australian Coast."

### **World History Connected Report**

WHC continued to have significant readership of the online journal as calculated by University of Illinois Press, the host institution/server.

Jerry Bentley raised the point that in the agreement of affiliation with the WHA, the Executive Director and Board of *WHC* agreed to consult with the WHA about new editors, and they did not do so. Instead, the WHA Executive Council only learned via *WHC*'s semi-annual report that *WHC* had chosen a new editor (Aims McGuinness of UW-Milwaukee) to replace Heather Streets without the consultation of the WHA.

David Northrup pointed out that there was no guarantee that WHA funding of *WHC* would continue at current levels, and that *WHC* would need to apply for grant renewal and to respond to these concerns about communication between *WHC* and the WHA.

Kieko Matteson noted that, as urged by outgoing President Michele Forman, she would be requesting further documentation from *WHC* demonstrating how the WHA's grant support had been paid out to Washington State University and History Cooperative over the past three years. This documentation will be needed in connection with the WHA's effort to secure an outside audit, as discussed above. Ane Lintvedt will contact Heidi Roupp, the executive director of *WHC*, about these issues.

### **H-World Report**

A discussion took place about the H-World editors' request for an occasional course buy-out for the editors and for small sums to supplement travel to conferences. Al Andrea noted that the editors had included the clause "when funding allows." He also expressed concern that approval of the request would set a precedent, adding that he would have argued against funding for *WHC* had he been a voting member of the Executive Council at the time. Jerry Bentley suggested that we should be looking for funding from institutions that recognize worthy projects. Anand Yang suggested that we send the editors a very gracious letter underscoring how much we appreciate their work and noting that such financial subventions are not possible at this time. He also noted that seeking outside funding for these publications may fall under the rubric of projects and suggests we look into it. Pat Manning noted that we need to come up with imaginative arrangements to support the *Bulletin*, H-World, and *WHC* if not through direct financial support.

### **Journal of World History Report**

The *Journal* is doing well, and has articles and issues lined up for the next year or more.

### **Endowment Committee Report**

The Endowment stands at approximately \$45,000. Kieko Matteson is currently working with Carter Findley, the Chair of the Endowment Fund, to revise the Corporate Resolution such that she and Anand Yang will also be on file to receive account statements and make transactions as necessary.

### **Finance Committee Report**

We have changed banks to the Bank of Hawaii, which offers online banking services. This has already proven to be a great help in tracking finances.

Four executive directors in 2 years has been problematic for record-keeping, has delayed timely membership renewal notices, and impeded prompt payment of outstanding bills. Therefore, this year's budget will include payments that should have been made for 2006 and 2007.

David Northrup expressed his appreciation of Jacky Swansinger's work in preparing a report for a January 4 meeting that includes Dec. 31 figures. He pointed out, however, that the format of the report does not allow the Exec. Council to compare across multiple years, and therefore the

Executive Council cannot fully do its job of keeping track of finances.

Kieko Matteson said that she has a meeting with a bookkeeper who deals with non-profits when she returns to Hawaii.

David Northrup commented that the Finance Report should be the first report of the Executive Council meeting.

### **Executive Director's Report**

Kieko Matteson noted that she will seek to make more regular reports to the Executive Council in the coming year.

t headquarters, the primary business has been to wrap up from the June 2007 conference, prepare for the June 2008 conference, get the old database back up and running, switching banks, rectify accounting, streamline office operations, hire a new administrative assistant to replace Leslie Miller, who left in November, and catch up on renewal notices.

Kieko noted that only one-quarter of the membership voted in the last election – and even so, this was a considerable increase from past years ballot returns. She asked whether the WHA should switch to electronic voting like the AHA? We might ask on the renewal notice if people would prefer paper or electronic balloting. In the ensuing discussion, one person noted that 94% of the AHA members who voted, voted online.

Kieko expressed her warm thanks to Leslie Miller for her work as administrative assistant. Leslie has taken a job in Portland, Oregon, where she is from. Kieko is pleased to welcome back Kristy Ringor, who held the position previously. Kristy's knowledge of WHA operations has made for a smooth transition.

### **New Business**

We will consider ways to solicit donations on the WHA webpage electronically.

Al Andrea reported that the Conference Group for the Study of Religion in World History had contacted him about recognition as an affiliate of the WHA. He responded to its coordinator, David Lindenfeld, that the WHA Constitution allows for thematic affiliates, but first the Conference Group must draft a constitution before it applies for formal recognition. David Christian, chair of the Affiliates Committee, has been in correspondence with Lindenfeld.

The Executive Council unanimously approved the motion concerning the EU statement on xenophobia. The statement, as follows, will be placed on the WHA website, *WHC*, H-Net World, and the *Bulletin*.

### **STATEMENT OF THE WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION ON THE FRAMEWORK DECISION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION ON THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM AND XENOPHOBIA**

*On behalf of the World History Association, the Executive Council of the World History Association deplores and condemns Holocaust denial, trivialization of genocide, racism, xenophobia, and all forms of hate speech. Nevertheless, the Executive Council expresses deep concern over efforts by any state or government agency to legislate historical truth, to forbid the publication of historical arguments, to criminalize the communication of particular historical views, to define certain historical views as officially acceptable or unacceptable, to bestow official approval or disapproval on specific historical positions, or otherwise to hinder the free discussion of historical issues.*

*The Executive Council endorses the statement of the American Historical Association entitled "AHA Statement on the Framework Decision of the Council of the European Union on the Fight against Racism and Xenophobia."*

*The Executive Council views efforts by state or government agencies to define historical truth both as unwarranted infringements upon freedom of speech and as dangerous exercises that encourage the politicization of history education and historical scholarship.*

*The Executive Council holds that the best way to promote responsible historical scholarship is not to have state and government agencies to monitor and police the expression of historical views but rather to encourage vigorous, free, and unfettered discussion of historical issues.*

*The Executive Council charges the President, Secretary, and Executive Director of the World History Association with responsibility for making this Statement known to any and all appropriate individuals, agencies, and parties.*

Approved unanimously by the Executive Council of the World History Association, 3 January 2008

The Executive Council discussed whether to earmark the funds generated from the Amazon.com link to anything specific. This will be discussed further by the Finances Committee.

Regarding procedures for granting seed monies to WHA affiliates, there is already a precedent for a one-time grant for start-up affiliates, as a one-time only grant.

#### **IV. Meeting adjourned at 8:15 p.m.**

Respectfully submitted,  
Ane Lintvedt, Secretary

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## ***World History Association Executive Council Minutes June 28, 2007, Milwaukee, Wisconsin***

(Voted on & approved by the Executive Council, January 3, 2008)

*Note:* Four Executive Council members have sent advance notification of their absence:

Ane Lintvedt, Secretary

Jen Laden

John Voll

Adam McKeown

Also absent: R. Bin Wong, Bill Zeigler

Arrived at 6:45 p.m.: Heather Streets, *World History Connected*

In attendance: Michele Foreman, Anand Yang, Jon Reynolds, Avi Black, Jacky Swansinger, Jerry Bentley, Kerry Ward, Micheal Tarver, Laura Mitchell, Kieko Matteson. Also in attendance: Nancy Jorczak, David Christian, John Mears, Kevin Reilly, Al Andrea

#### **I. Approval of Executive Council and Business meeting minutes from January 2007**

Approved unanimously with change: 91 AP members, not 200 – item 6, p. 2

#### **II. Conferences Committee Report, Al Andrea**

Latest news: Announced conference themes: “The Sea: Highway of Change” and “Global Cities.” Felipe Arnesto Fernandez and Leonard Blussé have accepted as keynoters for London 2008. Prof. Andrea expects the profit margin from the meeting will be considerably down in comparison with meetings held in the U.S. because the overseas location prevents us from having as many exhibitors or registrants as usual.

Six motions: Avi Black suggests certificates as well as letter of thanks be sent.

Motion 1: thanks to the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Marquette University for hosting the 2007 conference. Unanimous vote approval.

Motion 2: thanks to Merry Wiesner-Hanks and Philip Naylor and their many helpers. Unanimous approval.

Motion 3: thanks to Winston Welch, the interim WHA Executive Director. Unanimous approval.

Motion 4: thanks to patrons and sponsors of the 2007 conference. Unanimous approval.

Motion 5: thanks to Program Committee, especially Carolyn Neel. Unanimous approval.

Motion 6 regarding the allocation of a percentage of conference profits to the Endowment: discussion of this to be referred to the Finances Committee. Amendment to the motion: Nancy Jorczak proposes that we table the motion until the January 2008 meeting. Unanimous approval.

Jonathan Reynolds leads a round of applause in appreciation of Al Andrea’s hard work on the 2007 conference

#### **III. Program Committee Report, Carolyn Neel (in absentia)**

Kieko inquired re: WHA co-sponsored panels at the AHA?

Program Committee has historically been responsible for only the summer conference. (Al noted this was also true for the Conferences Committee)

Kerry Ward suggests research committee (Pat Manning)

NCSS in Dec. 2007 – WHA cosponsored nine panels thanks to Ane Lintvedt. Ane already does it de-facto, should we make it official? Avi Black also worked quite a bit on soliciting those proposals. What became evident for NCSS was that the people ready to put in proposals were people who already had established relationships with university faculty.

Need to encourage through our website and H-World. This will increase number of people who are committed to WHA and who will come to conference.

Jerry Bentley suggests that we ask the Program Committee take this on because then the WHA be the fallback as the sole sponsor at the AHA. Kerry Ward says that she will talk to Carolyn Neel the idea of expanding Program Committee’s work to specialize in recruiting WHA-endorsed panels on the AHA program.

Per Avi’s suggestion, expand NCSS panels by encouraging collaboration between university faculty and teachers.

#### **IV. Special Guest, Jack Tunstall of University of South Florida, Executive Director of Phi Alpha Theta**

Jack Tunstall was joined by Gordon Morris Bakken, past president of Phi Alpha Theta and faculty member at Cal State Fullerton.

Discussion of how we can help each other. Wants to encourage the circulation of the *Historian* among teachers. Second largest circulation of history publications: 13,000.

Suggestions included: free advertising in the *Historian*; having a WHA presence at Phi Alpha Theta’s biannual conference; can WHA remind students to get on the annual program? Phi Alpha Theta has Proctor Prize in World History that the WHA can announce.

Phi Alpha Theta has 35 regional meetings if high school teachers are interested.

John Reynolds says he can help because Northern Kentucky University is a strong Phi Alpha Theta chapter. Jack Tunstall invites Reynolds to come to biannual meeting – offered a free table to advertise the WHA there and encourage membership.

#### **IV. Fundraising Committee Report, Al Andrea**

Freeman Foundation does not fund people to go conferences. But it has WHA on its radar and likes projects that give bang for the buck.

Discussion of need for place on website for Endowment and Annual Fund. Kieko says it’s there now, but text is still needed. Will add text for Student Assistance Fund (this was set up with help with Berkshire Publishing).

Kieko suggests having a check off box on conference registration form to give \$5 toward foreign scholar or student travel funds; Anand says we need to add line for this on membership renewal form.

Jerry Bentley says we’re getting too many funds – why not have them be the same and have a committee be set up to allocate the monies?

David Christian suggests: why not have an annual campaign for one of these funds. We can do this on the website – change the focus every year.

Jacky Swansinger points out that all we need is to crank Endowment Fund up to \$50,000 then we can take 4% a year for World Scholar Fund or whatever. So we should get our Endowment Fund up.

Avi Black says he’s seen organizations that say if you donate, your

money will go to these four things, but if you want to specify, you can.

John Mears has parenthetical remark re: procedures manual is needed because we've spent so much time in this meeting discussing procedures. Al Andrea and Michele Forman both note re: procedures manual exists, but it needs updating. Jonathan/AviBlack say a manual is needed to orient new Council members.

Michele Forman asks the Fundraising Committee to come up with action plan and make sure it is reviewed by the member of the committee who is a development officer. Al says yes, but he'll need a copy of minutes.

David Christian suggests making a motion that our current fundraising priority is to reach \$50,000 in the Endowment Fund. Nancy Jorczak seconded.

Jonathan suggests calling it "\$50K by the AHA". Al asks who will spearhead this. Jacky said she is willing to do it.

Jon Reynolds asks about how to emphasize the <Amazon.com> link, which is also a source of fundraising. Kerry Ward asks that we put instructions on our website to tell people how to bookmark the link.

#### **V. Student Paper Prize Committee Report, Al Andrea**

There have been no papers submitted so far. Please encourage your students to submit their papers for the prize.

#### **VI. Teaching Prize Committee Report, Jen Laden**

The winner of the 2006-2007 Teaching Prize was Cedric Beidatsch of the University of West Australia, Perth, Australia, for his lesson plan, "Gateway to the Seventeenth Century: Dutch Shipwrecks on the West Australian Coast."

Micheal Tarver asks how to encourage teachers to submit – this year was all college teachers. Jon Reynolds is on the committee, he says he'll work on it.

Jen Laden also needs to encourage all of her committee members to recruit among high school teachers.

#### **VII. Book Prize Report, Anand Yang**

There were thirty entries this year, largely because Anand went around and solicited at the exhibitors booths at the AHA. All the major presses submitted although not many university presses. The winner is Felipe Fernandez-Armesto's work, *Pathfinders: A Global History of Exploration*, published by Oxford Press, 2006.

#### **VIII. Affiliates Committee Report, David Christian**

All the conferences coming up are signs of really flourishing activities. California, European affiliate, MAWHA, etc. all having meetings.

Possible need for formal approval: WHA-Hawai'i affiliate. David has received the constitution. He didn't receive it in time for the January meeting at the AHA. Wonders if we should move to accept the Hawaii affiliate now.

Laura Mitchell moves to approve the Hawaii affiliates move to affiliate. Anand Yang seconds the motion. Unanimous approval. Hawaii is now approved.

David also discusses proposal mechanism for joining the International Congress for Historical Sciences (CIHS). Precondition is that WHA is part of an international network. We can join with the European affiliate (Matthias Middell, ENIUGH) and call it the International Network of World History Associations. Two at minimum would do it. Better if China joins too.

Kerry Ward: asks that we add the Australasian affiliate within the contacts that we're making. David says it is defunct at the moment. Marnie Hughes-Warrington is the only person in contact right now.

Kerry says how about we target Cedric Beidatsch, the new Teaching Prize winner, to join in on reviving the Australasian affiliate. Micheal Tarver is leery of setting up a whole new organization – what is tax impact, paperwork, etc? Discussion of levels of affiliates and our relationships ensues. Michele Forman reminds everyone that we had a long discussion about the affiliation "with" rather than "of" China affiliate this at last meeting re: Beijing affiliate.

#### **IX. Endowment Report, Carter Findley**

Discussion: How to raise awareness of and increase contributions? Corporate resolution needs updating. Three officers need to be on it.

#### **X. Research Committee Report, Pat Manning**

Discussion of application for membership to ACLS (documents pre-circulated) Financial implications: fee based on number of individual members. For the WHA, our dues would be under \$500. Anand wants us to be aware of it.

John Reynolds moves to apply; Nancy and Jacky second it. Unanimously approved.

#### **XI. Membership Committee Report, Laura Mitchell and Nancy Jorczak**

Report from Executive Director on 2007 renewals, related issues

Laura Mitchell asks whether we should have different levels of membership for teachers who would just get the *Bulletin*?

Current membership figures: 1159, with renewals still coming in for 2007

Discussion of this follows:

Jerry: says this discussion has come up periodically. Jon Reynolds asks if it is worth it? Jerry: Journal costs \$12 per member per year, so difference is negligible. Anand: let's keep it as is.

Kieko: Could we do a tie in between *Journal* and *Bulletin* to link them more closely? Micheal Tarver says yes. This was the idea of the Teaching Prize: you're supposed to use articles from the *Journal* in your lesson plan.

Nancy Jorczak says she pushed the new and renewing members hard at the AP reading and institutes but says it wasn't that successful this year. Nancy said a lot of folks said that their institution is not going to renew their subscription.

Nancy asks for ideas how to reach new members.

Avi Black: says they've done some research on this in his area. Is it possible to give a discounted rate to teachers — \$50 is a real threshold that people won't cross.

Jon Reynolds: how about expanding this type of offer: at the AP reading special introductory rate for new members. Jerry points out that this was already discussed and approved at the January meeting – special rates can be offered at any time down to \$40.

Nancy says people were renewing at special rate because it was a bargain. Al and Kieko do a doubletake – wait, you're not allowed to renew at special introductory rate – it's a first time deal only.

Avi Black: bottom line is what do we get for it? Kevin Reilly says AHA has noticed a correlation in decline in membership and the online posting of its text.

Laura Mitchell urges people to keep discussion going and invites people to email her and Nancy.

#### **XII. World History Bulletin Report, Micheal Tarver**

Motion: request for authorization for funds for full color cover for 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary *Bulletin*, Fall 2007 issue. Estimated additional cost: \$600

Laura makes motion, Avi seconded. Anand notes "up to" \$600. All approved.

#### **XIII. Journal of World History Report, Jerry Bentley**

Jerry talks about forthcoming issue. Good stuff. Kieko explains the problem with there having been an open source link (i.e. free access) through the History Cooperative, making all *JWH* issues available. History Cooperative is in the process of putting a gateway in place that will require WHA membership identification to access the *JWH*. Kieko thinks that this is vital; otherwise, if *JWH* is available open source, it could lead to attrition in our membership numbers.

#### XIV. World History Connected Report, Tom Laichas and Heather Streets

University of Illinois Press, which hosts *WHC*, reports that 175,000 people used the site last year. ("Use" is defined by looking at 8 or more articles.)

The board of *WHC* is looking for a replacement for Heather Streets, whose 5-year term expires at the end of 2007.

Kieko Matteson brought up the issue that the WHA logo and link have remained on an insignificant place on the *WHC* home page. Also, there is no mention of the *WHC* being a publication of the WHA, despite the WHA underwriting Heather Streets's course release time (\$19,500 over three years). Heather Streets said she would bring it up with Heidi Roupp, the editor, but that the Executive Council of the WHA should be the ones to address that issue.

#### XV. Finances Report, Jacky Swansinger

Discussion of difficulties with Hawai'i banking and either the lack of or irregular record-keeping during messy transitions of the four Executive Directors over the past year (Rob White, Richard Harris, Winston Welch, Kieko Matteson).

If projections hold true, we will end the year of 2007 with a deficit. Our income has steadily increased over the last three years, primarily from conference revenues, but our expenses are outstripping them.

We need a process to approve and document expenses, which is not in place at the moment. We need an accountant to go over the existing records of expenses and reconcile them with the checking account book.

Jacky emphasizes need to make money this second half of the year, and to make a large profit on the 2007 conference.

Micheal Tarver commented that he felt the *Bulletin* expenses were unfairly singled-out. Does UH Press pay for distribution of the *Journal*? Jerry: yes, UH pays for all distribution. Micheal asks that we separate out postage for *Bulletin*. He also asks that we put *World History Connected* under publications, not under affiliates. Jacky agrees: costs need to be broken down.

Michele: any questions? Anand says it's not a pretty picture. Jacky says we need to streamline processes. Michele says we need to institutionalize conferences. She noted that we founded the Executive Office at UH to centralize all the record-keeping, but we have completely overloaded the part-time Executive Directors.

#### XVI. Executive Director Remarks, Kieko Matteson

Formal thanks to Winston Welch, the immediate past interim Executive Director, who managed ably from January to early June 2007.

Strategic Planning: the Strategic Plan that was written has expired. Does the Executive Committee wish to undertake another one? Questions were raised about what, if anything, was accomplished from the mandates of the Strategic Plan? Answers include the establishment of a website, creating publicly-known goals, and, somewhat ironically, better financial records. Michele Forman commented that it can serve as a model for a future strategic plan. No motion was made to begin work on one.

Kieko Matteson comments that the University of Miami Ohio website that has been used for years by the Executive council is so overloaded with spam that it is being blocked by many of members' servers. She will look into finding another host for our listserv.

# World History

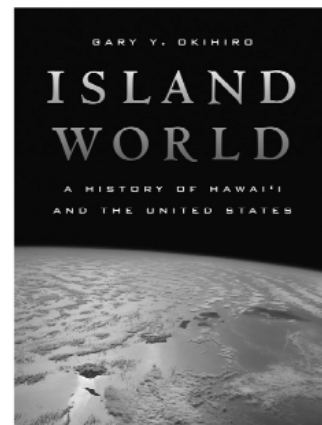
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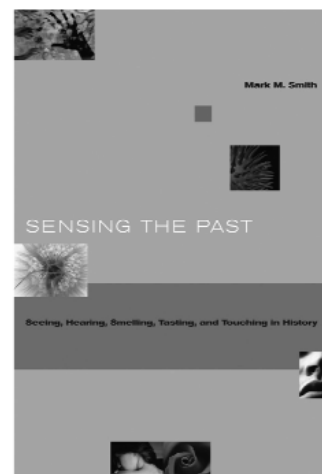
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# Advanced Placement Program® (AP®) AP World History Workshop

**2008 World History Association Conference  
London, England**

June 26, 2008

## Workshop Session

AP® World History

## AP Workshop Schedule

Thursday, June 26, 2008, 8:30 a.m.–4:30 p.m. (please arrive by 8 a.m. to check in for the workshop)

## Workshop Location

Queen Mary College  
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Photo location courtesy of Cranford High School, Cranford, New Jersey.

## Registration Fee for AP Workshop

\$75 fee includes tuition, materials, and coffee breaks. Participants must register separately to attend the main World History Association Conference ([www.thewha.org](http://www.thewha.org)).

## Registration Deadline for the AP Workshop

May 15, 2008

## Hotel Accommodations for the AP Workshop and the WHA Conference

Please visit the World History Association Conference Web site ([www.thewha.org](http://www.thewha.org)) for more information about hotel accommodations.

## Important

- **All sessions must have a minimum of five participants.** There is a possibility that some sessions may be canceled due to lack of registrants. Please take this into account when making travel arrangements.
- **Registrations are processed on a first-come, first-served basis.**

## Contact

For **AP workshop registration information**, please contact:

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A world history paper is one that examines any historical issue with global implications. Such studies can include, but are not limited to, the exchange and interchange of cultures, the comparison of two or more civilizations or cultures, or the study in a macro-historical manner of a phenomenon that had a global impact. For example, world history topics would include: a study of the trans-cultural impact of Eurasia's Silk Road; a comparative study of the Ottoman and British empires; or the worldwide impact of the Influenza Pandemic of 1919.

To qualify for this competition, students must be members of either The World History Association or Phi Alpha Theta and must have composed the paper while enrolled at an accredited college or university during 2007-2008.

- All submitted papers must be no longer than 30 typewritten (double-spaced) pages of text, exclusive of the title page, endnotes, and bibliography.
- All pages, except for the title page, must be numbered, and all endnotes must conform to standard historical formats.
- Parenthetical notes are not to be used.
- The author's identity is to appear nowhere on the paper.
- A separate, unattached page should accompany the paper, identifying the author (along with the title of the paper) and providing that person's home address, telephone number, e-mail address (if available), college affiliation, graduating year and status (undergraduate or graduate student), and the association (WHA or PAT) to which the person belongs. Phi Alpha Theta members must indicate the institution at which they were inducted and the year.
- A one-page (250-word) abstract must accompany each submission. Abstracts of winning papers will be published in all announcements of competition results.
- Additionally, a letter or e-mail from a relevant history faculty member (the supervising professor, the Chair of the department, or the Phi Alpha Theta chapter advisor) must attest to the fact that the paper was composed during the academic year of 2007-2008.
- Papers submitted that do not adhere to these guidelines will be disqualified.

The Committee will judge papers according to the following criteria: world historical scope; originality of research; depth of analysis; and prose style.

Submit either:

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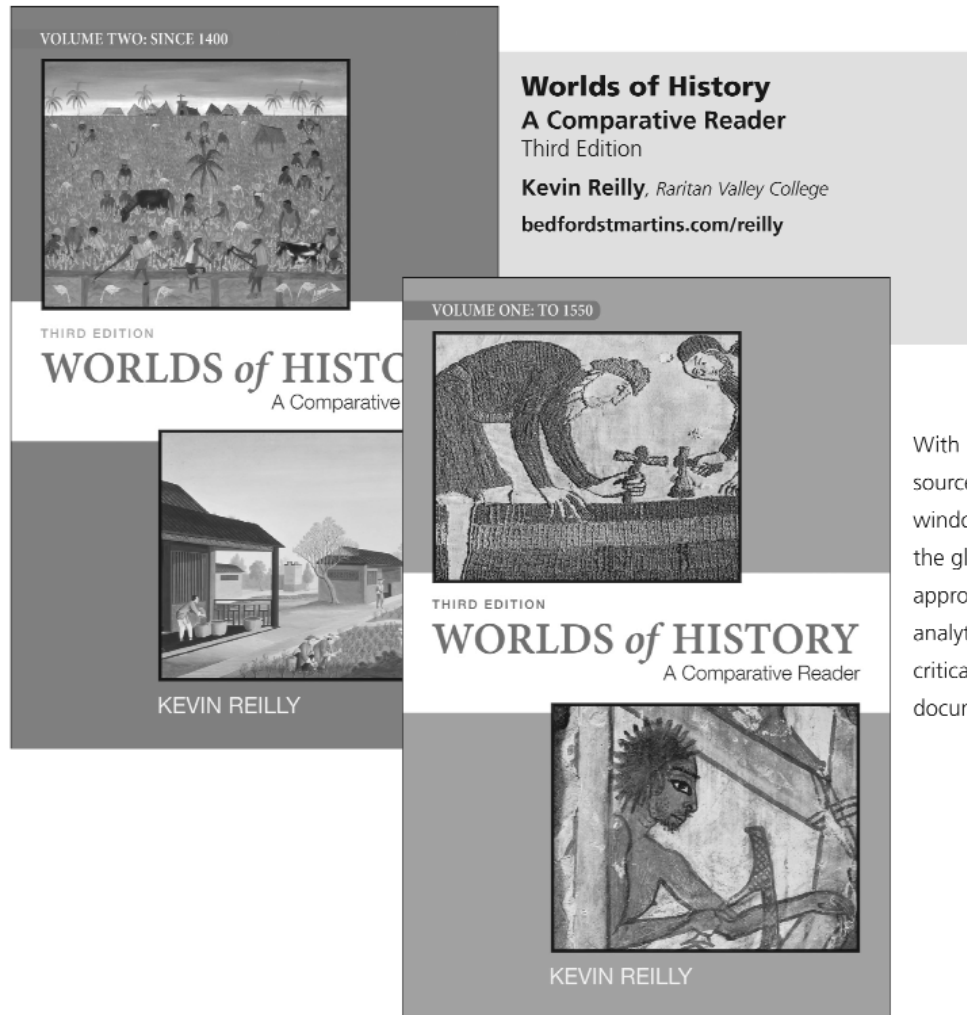
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