

# World History Bulletin

Fall 2008



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# Editor's Note

ARKANSAS TECH  
A CENTURY FORWARD



November 2008

Dear WHA Members:

In lieu of my normal Editor's Note, I would like to pass on the following report from the WHA International Headquarters concerning the 2008 London Conference:

## *A Meeting of Cities and the Sea at this Past Summer's WHA's Conference in London*

*This past June, the World History Association held its seventeenth annual conference at the Mile End campus of Queen Mary, University of London. More than 300 people attended, including participants from Australia, China, Japan, Finland, Sweden, Germany, France, Italy, Morocco, South Africa, the U.S., and the U.K. Despite the pull of London's storied attractions, conference-goers first and foremost came for the pleasure of professional interaction and shared scholarship, and the program more than fulfilled these expectations. Over the course of three and a half days, participants were treated to a choice of nearly 70 panels, plus an afternoon Advanced Placement World History Workshop. Topics ranged from pedagogical concerns, like the use of digital and audio technologies in the classroom, to resourceful and provocative explorations of urban crossroads, maritime networks, global families, local medicine, commodities, criminality, and much more. Conference highlights included keynote speeches by Prof. Leonard Blussé of Leiden University, who spoke engagingly of global cities, and Prof. Felipe Fernández-Armesto of Queen Mary and Tufts, who charmed listeners with a discussion of the role of the sea in world history. In addition to the panels and talks, conferees enjoyed an ample book exhibit featuring 22 publishers from the U.S. and the U.K. and convivial daytime tea and biscuit breaks hosted by Bedford St. Martin's and Houghton Mifflin. Particularly popular were the evening wine receptions in the stately and gorgeous Octagon building, made possible by the generosity of ABC-Clio, Pearson, and the College Board. A local WHA member, Dr. John W. Marriott, also gave a historical walking tour of the East End, which was enthusiastically received by his large crowd of followers. Despite the high price of a London holiday, conference costs were kept within reach thanks to the option of QMUL's on-campus accommodations, located along the serene banks of the Regents Canal. A majority of participants took advantage of the on-campus housing this year, making for a particularly festive and fertile opportunity for social and scholarly exchange.*

*The WHA wishes to extend its warm thanks to the many people who made the conference a success: the unflaggingly attentive staff in the QMUL Conferences office, particularly Sue Mussett and Katy Baron; the sponsors and publishers who underwrote the generous breaks, receptions, and—in the case of Cengage, the conference bags; the WHA Program Committee, chaired by Carolyn Neel, which brilliantly assembled the many panels and papers; and the WHA Conferences Committee, particularly Chair Alfred Andrea, who worked for years to bring the WHA to London and should be well pleased with the result. Most of all, thanks to all of you who traveled near and far to participate. We hope very much to see you at next year's conference at Salem State College in historic Salem, Massachusetts. Information about the 2009 conference and the call for papers, currently the WHA website, is available elsewhere in this issue of the Bulletin.*

I hope that you all enjoy this issue of the *Bulletin*, and I thank Paul Buckingham for serving as guest editor of the science and technology section. The Spring 2009 issue will focus on Asia in World History, under the guest editorship of Dorothea Martin.

-- Micheal

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*Eleanor Congdon (Youngstown State University) with Felipe Fernández-Armesto (Queen Mary and Tufts). Photo courtesy of Eleanor Congdon.*

# ***LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT***

18 November 2008

*Dear Friends,*

*From convening in London to address “Global Cities” and “The Sea: Highway of Change,” we are off to the great port city of Salem, Massachusetts, for our next gathering and our next theme: “Merchants and Missionaries: Trade and Religion in World History.” I hope all of us will find our way to this “farthest port of the rich East,” June 25-28, 2009, for the 18th World History Association Conference.*

*For those of you who did not make it to merry old England this past June, you missed out on a remarkable meeting. Thanks to our gracious host, Queen Mary College, University of London, the local and international participants, the book exhibits and exhibitors, we had one of the best WHA meetings I have ever attended. An added bonus was the number of colleagues I met from London and elsewhere in Europe that I had not encountered before. Our international meetings also have a way of attracting first-timers from North America, which is always good to see as well.*

*There were many highlights at our London gathering, including excellent keynote addresses by Leonard Blussé of Leiden University and Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, of Queen Mary and Tufts University, and excellent panels at every time slot every day. My favorite panels—that is, the ones I attended—ranged from many fine sessions that were variations on the theme of seas and global cities to panels on such aspects of world history as the teaching of world history in China, medical history, and marginal groups of one sort or another. As always, our deliberations showcased faculty from a diversity of institutions, not only geographically but also educationally, from K-12 schools to PhD producing universities. Without this rich mix of historians and scholars from other disciplines, our meetings would not be so stimulating and worthwhile.*

*Thanks to all of you who helped to make our 17th Annual World History Association Conference in London a huge success, especially Al Andrea, who chaired the WHA Conferences Committee; Carolyn Neel, who chaired the WHA Program Committee; and Sue Mussett and her super staff from Queen Mary that made sure we were treated like royalty.*

*Finally, some good and bad news: Congratulations to Kieko Matteson for completing her History PhD and securing a job—a tenure stream position at the University of Hawaii. Unfortunately, for us, this means that she is moving on, after having served us with great aplomb and effectiveness. Fortunately, she will remain part of the WHA in her new capacity. We hope to complete the search for a new ED soon. I am looking forward to celebrating the New Year with all of you at the AHA meeting in New York City beginning January 2, 2009.*

*Anand*

**MARK YOUR CALENDARS**  
**18TH ANNUAL WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE**  
**SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS**  
**JUNE 25-28, 2009**

Salem State College will host the eighteenth annual World History Association conference in Salem, Massachusetts, June 25-28, 2009. In honor of Salem's rich history of overseas involvement, the conference's theme will be "Merchants and Missionaries: Trade and Religion in World History." Proposals on all aspects of trade, religion, and related issues in world history are invited.



As always, the conference will offer the best of current world history scholarship and pedagogy as well as ample opportunity for informal and enjoyable collegial interaction. We hope you will also take advantage of this chance to bring your family and visit Salem and the greater Boston area's many historic and cultural attractions.

Further information concerning the 2009 conference, including proposal submission forms, accommodations and registration can be found on the WHA website, [www.thewha.org](http://www.thewha.org).

**Salem, Massachusetts: A Historic City of Global Proportions**

The city of Salem's motto, *Divitis Indiae usque ad ultimum sinum*—"All the way to the farthest port of the rich East"—sums up its important place in global maritime history. Located on Massachusetts' North Shore, Salem was by 1790 the sixth largest city in the United States, and its merchants were major players in world commerce, especially in China. Today the Salem Maritime National Historic Site—essentially the entire port area of the city—commemorates that history. Visitors can board the National Park Service's *Friendship of Salem*, a full-size replica of a 1797 East Indiaman launched at Salem, which sailed to India, China, Java, and Sumatra.



*Wharves at the Salem Maritime  
National Historic Site*

Salem's leading role in maritime commerce went hand in hand with its missionary influence. It was the city that ordained the United States' first Protestant missionaries to Asia in 1812. Prior to that, of course, Salem gained notoriety for spiritual excess in its infamous witch trials in 1692, which were part of a larger, age-old, global phenomenon: the persecution of marginalized individuals.



*Library of the Peabody-Essex Museum*

We hope you will join us for the 2009 conference and take advantage of this exceptional opportunity for intellectual engagement and rewarding recreation in a widely popular summer destination, Salem and the greater North Shore and Boston area.

Go to [www.salem.org](http://www.salem.org) or [www.essexheritage.org](http://www.essexheritage.org) for more information.

# Affairs of the Organization

## Minutes of the World History Association Business Meeting

*Mile End Campus, Queen Mary College,  
University of London*

**Saturday, June 28, 2008**

### I. Introductions and Summary of Business.

The Business Meeting began at 1:30 p.m., with approximately 50 people in attendance. More people trickled in over the course of the meeting. The Meeting was presided over by Anand Yang, President, and Kieko Matteson, Executive Director. They presented a summary of the Executive Council's meetings and reports, and then asked for other business from the floor.

### II. Other Business.

1. Linda Black presented the WHA Teaching Prize to Sharlene Sayegh from the University of California, Long Beach for her lesson entitled "The Logical Fallacies of Nationalism: Critical Thinking in the World History Classroom."
2. Anand Yang announced that this year's WHA Book Prize had been awarded to Stuart Banner, for his *Possessing the Pacific: Land, Settlers, and Indigenous People from Australia to Alaska*, published by Harvard University press.
3. Kieko Matteson noted that the Phi Alpha Theta-WHA Student Paper Prizes deadline was coming up in the next couple of days, on June 30. Laura Wangerin, a member of the Student Paper Prize Committee, spoke briefly about the prize and current number of submissions. She encouraged people to publicize the award, which has both undergraduate and graduate categories, as widely as possible.
4. David Christian summarized his Affiliates Report, and called upon people in attendance to announce their regional conferences. The WHA of Texas (WHAT) will meet at St. Edward's University at Austin in February 2009; the Northwest WHA will meet in Vancouver Canada; the California WHA will meet in November at San Francisco State University; the Mid-Atlantic WHA (MAWHA) will meet at Harford County Community college (Maryland) in mid-October; the Northeast Regional WHA (NERWHA) announced that it has been revitalized and will meet in conjunction with the New England Historical Association's Fall Conference at Endicott College, Endicott, MA, 25 October; and the Southeast WHA (SEWHA) will meet in Roanoke, VA in 2009 and Kennesaw State University (Georgia) in 2010.
5. Kieko commented on the current status of nominations for the WHA Executive Council,

and noted that people could suggest potential candidates for the three Executive Council positions to the members of the Nominating Committee present: Kerry Ward and Adam McKeown, or herself. The Chair of the Nominating Committee is Pamela McVay.

6. The WHA is solo-sponsoring three world history related panels and co-sponsoring three others at the upcoming meeting of the American Historical Association in New York City, January 2-5, 2009. The theme of the AHA's Annual meeting is "Globalizing Historiography."
7. Kieko announced that she would be stepping down from the Executive Directorship as of January 2009, in order to accept a tenure-track position in the University of Hawai'i History Department. The search for a new Executive Director will begin in the fall, chaired by Anand Yang. She thanked the WHA for the opportunity to serve as Executive Director not once, but twice.
8. Kieko read the motions passed at the Executive Council's meeting:
  - (i) Be it moved that the WHA express its deep gratitude to Sue Mussett and the rest of the staff and faculty of the Mile End Campus of Queen Mary, University of London, for their assistance in so many ways in making the 2008 conference a successful and enjoyable endeavor.
  - (ii) Be it moved that the WHA express its appreciation for the inspiration and support provided by Professor Felipe Fernández-Armesto in bringing the WHA to Queen Mary, University of London.
  - (iii) Be it moved that the WHA express its appreciation to all the exhibitors and patrons of its seventeenth annual conference. Their continuing support of the WHA is a significant service to the profession and teaching of world history.
  - (iv) Be it moved that the WHA express its appreciation to the Program Committee, and especially Carolyn Neel, its chair, for a job well done under especially difficult circumstances.

The meeting was adjourned at 2:30 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Ane Lintvedt, Secretary



## Minutes of the World History Association Executive Council Meeting

*Mile End Campus, Queen Mary College,  
University of London*

**Thursday, June 26, 2008**

### I. Meeting was convened at 3:00 pm.

**Executive Council Members Present:** Anand Yang, President; Alfred Andrea, Vice President; Carolyn Neel, Treasurer; Ane Lintvedt, Secretary; Executive Director Kieko Matteson; Members Adam McKeown, Laura Mitchell, Jonathan Reynolds, Heather Streets, Laura Wangerin, Kerry Ward; Jerry Bentley, Editor of JWH (ex-officio). Others in attendance: David Christian, Chair of the Affiliates Committee. Executive Council members absent: Craig Lockard, Jen Laden, Bill Zeigler.

**II. Discussions of Reports**, which were circulated in advance of the meeting to the members of the Executive Council.

**1. Affiliates Committee. David Christian, Chair**, will attend a meeting in Dresden after the WHA meeting in order to set up an international network of organizations of World Historians. There are at least three organizations interested in doing this, with the hopes that the WHA can then apply for membership to the International Congress of Historical Sciences, even though it is probably too late to have a formal place in the 2010 conference in Amsterdam.

**2. Conferences. Al Andrea, Chair.** Any comments or questions about the London conference should be sent to Al Andrea. The 2009 conference will be in Salem, Massachusetts, 25-28 June, with the dual theme, "Merchants and Missionaries: Trade and Religion in World History," in honor of Salem's special place in world history. A number of cultural, historical, and civic organizations have joined forces with the local arrangements committee to make this an event that highlights the special cultural, historical, and tourist qualities of Salem, Essex County, and the North Shore of Massachusetts. Favorable accommodation rates have been secured at two area hotels, and Al is hoping to arrange a private tour of the *USS Constitution*. Al Andrea proposed a motion to hold the 2010 conference in San Diego CA, June 24-27. The local arrangement committee would be Ross Dunn and Ed Beasley from CSUSD and Laura Ryan from Southwest College. The venue will be the Handlery Hotel and Resort in Mission Valley. Jonathan Reynolds seconded the motion, and it was passed unanimously.

The 20<sup>th</sup> Annual WHA conference will be held in Beijing China in 2011. Al Andrea offered thanks to Jerry Bentley for the invitation from the Global History Center at Beijing University. Arrangements are being made to have pre- and post-conference tours, and a post-Executive Council banquet.

Discussions are underway for 2012 and 2013 venues, but nothing is certain at this date. Al Andrea proposed the following motions, all of which were passed unanimously:

(i) Be it moved that the WHA expressed its deep gratitude to Sue Mussett and the rest of the staff and faculty of Queen Mary, Mile End Campus, for their assistance in so many ways in helping to make this 2008 conference a successful and enjoyable endeavor.

(ii) Be it moved that the WHA expresses its appreciation for the inspiration and support provided by Professor Felipe Fernández-Armesto in bringing the WHA to Queen Mary.

(iii) Be it moved that the WHA expresses its appreciation to all the exhibitors and patrons of its Seventeenth Annual conference. Their continuing support of the WHA is a significant service to the profession and teaching of world history.

(iv) Be it moved that the WHA expresses its appreciation to the Program Committee, and especially Carolyn Neel, its chair, for a job well done under especially difficult circumstances.

#### **3. Program Committee, Carolyn Neel, Chair.**

Carolyn complimented Kieko for adding a line to the paper and panel submission form asking whether the applicant would be willing to chair a panel. It made Carolyn's job much easier. She also thanked the members of her committee (Rob Willingham, Maryanne Rhett, and William Zeigler). About two-thirds of proposals came in as individual papers. Al Andrea praised the Program Committee for the work they did piecing together disparate papers into coherent panels. Jerry Bentley wondered if the WHA could do what the AHA does, and only accept full-panel submissions, but Carolyn said she didn't think the WHA was in a position to do that yet, and she prefers to give opportunities to the isolated scholar. Kieko Matteson and Kerry Ward commented that they thought accepting single papers increased the spectrum of participants in the conference, and that this was one of the inherent strengths of our organization. Laura Mitchell suggested that there also be a note or a policy that preference for acceptance to the program would be given to full panels first, and then to single papers or partial panels. Jonathan Reynolds complimented the themes of the conference ["Global Cities" and "The Sea: Highway for Change"] as particularly conducive to an interesting array of papers and panels.

#### **4. Endowment Committee, Carter Findley, Chair, in absentia.**

Presented by Kieko Matteson. Due to Carter's wise fund selections,

the Endowment has not suffered the same extremes of market volatility seen in many other investment arenas this year. The results of the fund-raising initiative will be tallied in August. The bright spot in fund-raising has been the monies generated by the Amazon.com link on the WHA website. Please encourage people to shop through the WHA Amazon.com link, which is directly accessible through the WHA homepage!

#### **5. Fund Raising Report, Al Andrea, Chair.**

The same anonymous donor as last year contributed \$2000 to provide a single World Scholar Travel Grant. Kieko Matteson noted there were many requests by scholars to be funded, and she would like to have a process in place for choosing recipients. Al noted that a process was voted on and accepted by the Executive Council at its January meeting and will be followed for all future conferences. Other than this, there have been no successes in fundraising to report. Al contacted the George Lucas Foundation, and was told they support projects related to media, which Al commented might be a fruitful place for the Research Committee and the Teaching Committee to begin.

#### **6. H-World Report, David Kalivas and Eric Martin, Chairs (in absentia).**

Following up on the Executive Council's discussion in January of a request for financial support, Al Andrea noted that he had explained to David Kalivas and Eric Martin that, although the WHA had entertained requests to help fund the editors' travel to WHA meetings, our taut finances do not allow us to fund such requests at this time. Al Andrea put forward a motion to designate H-World as "an official WHA electronic forum". Carolyn Neel seconded. After considerable discussion, the motion was tabled. Council members all recognized and saluted the role of H-World and the work of its editors, but worried that there would be conflict between H-Net's constitution and the WHA's interests in being able, for example, to have a small banner at the bottom of H-World messages proclaiming the affiliation. Other members wondered if "affiliation" entailed any legal or financial obligations or liabilities. Anand Yang commented that we are all supportive of the work being done by Kalivas and Martin, but as the Executive Council, we need to understand the ramifications. Jerry Bentley, Jonathan Reynolds, Kieko Matteson, and Laura Mitchell volunteered to look into these matters with the chairs/editors.

#### **7. Journal of World History, Jerry Bentley, Editor.**

Jerry Bentley reports that the arrangement with History Cooperative has not worked out as well as had been hoped, in that the History Cooperative had not ever followed through with its promises to institute password-protected access to the JWH. For this and related interface / formatting reasons, JWH will drop its membership in History Cooperative as of January 2009. It will be picked up by JSTOR sometime soon, with min-

imum lag time in publication of back issues.

#### **8. Membership, Laura Mitchell and Nancy Jorczak (in absentia), Co-Chairs.**

Presented by Laura Mitchell. Kieko reported that current membership is around 1155, not including several dozen new and renewing members that Kristy will input in the lull following the conference. Laura Mitchell reported that the AP reading represented the single biggest recruiting venue for the WHA in the past year, but in lesser numbers than the previous years. She speculated that perhaps because the AP reading is getting so big (700+), WHA members weren't able to recruit in person as much as they used to. Kerry Ward suggested that there be a membership-based raffle: for every 100 new members signed up at the AP reading, one of those names would be drawn for a free membership and/or a certificate from a publisher.

Ane Lintvedt noted that lots of Texas WHA teacher members would be at the NCSS annual meeting in Houston in November 2008, and we could get them to recruit or hand out membership information at their panels and meetings. Laura also asked how to get in contact with community college faculty. A number of suggestions were proposed, including contacting Laura Ryan at Southwest College and Kevin Reilly for names and associations, and trying to work through the Community College Humanities Association, and Jerry Bentley recommended David Berry as a contact for a joint venture, perhaps reciprocating table space at each other's conferences, or invite or co-sponsor panels at each other's conferences. Kieko and Laura noted that the WHA had already been in touch with David Berry of the CCHA and had sent materials for their most recent conference in San Antonio.

Jonathan Reynolds and Micheal Tarver also recruited for WHA at the Phi Alpha Theta Biennial National Convention in Albuquerque in January.

David Christian suggested working through the regional WHA conferences, which bring in lots of community college faculty. He also suggested that the regional conferences be more prominently advertised on the WHA website under condition that there be a little recruiting allowed at the conference. Carolyn Neel and Kieko said they would work on an advertising flier and membership handouts.

Al Andrea proposed that the term "independent scholar" be dropped as a category from membership and dues, and that the WHA have four levels of membership: Regular membership, Student membership, New Professional membership, and Unemployed membership. In the new wording on the membership form, "independent scholar" will be included as part of the regular membership category. The Council agreed to this as an administrative initiative.

#### **9. Research Committee, Pat Manning, Chair (in absentia).**

Report presented by Adam

McKeown. The committee has been fairly inactive this year. Al Andrea suggested that the next research symposium be in conjunction with the WHA conference at Salem, or with another WHA meeting. Anand noted that Pat's home institution, the University of Pittsburgh, might have requirements that such a symposium be held there.

**10. Phi Alpha Theta-WHA Student Paper Prizes, Joel Tishken, Chair** (*in absentia*)

Speaking on behalf of the Student Paper Prize Committee, Laura Wangerin noted that with a change in the due date to the end of June, papers are trickling in now. Kieko appealed for professors to talk up the prize, since even the head of Phi Alpha Theta at Univ. of Hawaii hadn't even known the prize existed before she forwarded him the information! Al Andrea suggested contacting Jack Tunstall, the head of Phi Alpha Theta, to ask him to promote the prize more prominently. Kieko suggested advertising on the H-World and AP listservs as well. Al noted that periodic announcements of the competition had been sent to H-World each and every year, but more does need to be done to advertise the paper prize. [Postscript: 21 papers were received this year.]

**11. Teaching Prize Committee, Jen Laden, Chair** (*in absentia*).

Speaking on behalf of the Teaching Prize Committee, Jonathan Reynolds noted that there had been strong submissions this year. The winner was Sharlene Sayegh from the University of California, Long Beach for her lesson entitled "The Logical Fallacies of Nationalism: Critical Thinking in the World History Classroom."

**12. The Very Good Looking Website Committee Report, Jonathan Reynolds, Chair.**

The website committee has been relatively quiet this year since its improvements to the website over the last couple of years have been great.

Kieko noted that there had been considerable difficulties with online conference registration this spring due to restrictions imposed by our online payment retailer, 2checkout.com. Access to online payment was cut off at the very moment when conference registrations were at their peak, based on the clause that we were not allowed to sell overnight accommodations – a clause unknown to Kieko, since she hadn't been involved in the original arrangements with this company. Kieko and the WHA's webmaster, Christian Wagenbreth, will look for another online payment processor after the conference. The Executive Council passed a unanimous motion of thanks to Christian for his outstanding service and diligence.

Al Andrea asked to have the WHA email addresses for Executive Council members reinstated. Jonathan said he would arrange that.

**13. World History Connected Report, Ane Lintvedt presented.**

There was a wide-ranging discussion about the role that the WHA

Executive Council should play in the appointment of the editor of WHC, and more broadly, what it means to have an "official" designation, be it an electronic journal like WHC, a printed journal like the *JWH* or the *Bulletin*, or the H-World electronic discussion group. For *World History Connected*, the issues that need resolution include: clarification of what it means to be "official"; looking at a process of discussion and consultation (or recruitment and/or search) about appointing editors and where institutional support comes from; issues of academic oversight and legal connections; the professional structure, including the role of editors and the board of trustees or directors; advertising responsibilities on the part of the publication; financial responsibilities on the part of the WHA. Adam McKeown noted that perhaps it would be reasonable to view both H-World and WHC as independent operators with whom we had a side deal or individual arrangement.

Jerry Bentley, Kieko Matteson, Anand Yang, and Carolyn Neel agreed to look into these issues as they relate to WHC. Ane Lintvedt will send them copies of the original agreement arranged by the WHA and the editors of WHC.

**14. WHA Book Prize Report, Anand Yang, Chair.**

The committee received 23 submissions for this year's Book Prize. Anand noted that the commercial presses were more responsive than the academic presses. The University of California Press, for example, has an extensive world history list but failed to submit any titles for the Committee's consideration this year. This is something the committee will attempt to remedy. This year's winner is Stuart Banner, for his *Possessing the Pacific: Land, Settlers, and Indigenous People from Australia to Alaska*, published by Harvard University Press.

**15. Treasurer's Report, Carolyn Neel, Treasurer.**

The bottom line from the 2007 fiscal year is that the WHA ran a deficit of \$3000, which would have been much bigger but for the generosity of our 2007 conference host, the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, particularly Merry Wiesner-Hanks, who underwrote and waived many on-site expenses. Carolyn stressed four points: (1) there should be no additional expenditures until we are in the black; (2) the Treasurer and Executive Director need to start issuing Quarterly Reports, which will be easier to do with the services of our excellent new bookkeeper, Jaydene Viernes, who started in the spring; (3) the WHA needs to do an audit for many reasons, but Carolyn recommends not doing an audit until after 2008, when firm figures for a full year will be available (the accounting for 2006 and 2007, while fully legitimate, reflects the vagaries of three consecutive Executive Directorships in two year's time, and is therefore not as detailed as the current accounting arrangement permits); (4) the Executive Council and the Executive Director should begin to offer meticulous reports on spending proposals – for example, how much it would cost to do x, y, or

z ; benefits, etc., of funding the WHC or H-World.

There will be a formal report of the half-year finances in a couple of months. At the present (June 25), we are running a deficit again. Carolyn sees a disturbing trend of "depending on the kindness of strangers," i.e., a lucky or unforeseen gift, grant, or one-time benefit to keep our books within bounds of even modest deficits.

**16. Nominating Committee, Pamela McVay, Chair,** (*in absentia*).

Adam McKeown and Kerry Ward, speaking on behalf of the Nominating Committee, noted that the Committee needs to select six candidates to stand for this year's election for the Executive Council. Several current Council members observed that potential nominees must be advised during the initial discussion of their nomination that Executive Council meeting attendance is absolutely vital during the three years that they are on the council, i.e., at the January meeting of the AHA and our annual meeting in June.

Jonathan Reynolds commented that he thought we needed to produce a Welcome Package for new Executive Council members. He volunteered to begin that process, noting that it could be put on a secure (password protected) place on the WHA website. Ane Lintvedt also volunteered to help.

Kieko noted that the nominations process is running a bit behind this year, due to a late start in facilitating the transfer of chairmanship from the able hands of former Nominations Committee chair, Ralph Croizier, to the new Chair, Pamela McVay. The election period will have to be compressed, particularly in order to notify winners in time to make flight and hotel reservations for the January 2009 Executive Council meeting at the AHA in New York. However, online voting will hopefully facilitate a faster turnaround time this year.

**17. The Bulletin, Micheal Tarver, Editor.**

No report was received at the meeting, however, Kieko spoke briefly regarding *Bulletin* related costs. Kieko noted that mailing expenses are going up, and with it the costs to the WHA. One Council member suggested that we put a check-box on the membership/subscription notices which asked people to indicate if they would receive their *Bulletin* via email, thus saving paper and mailing expenses. Kieko noted that back issues of the *Bulletin* are already available (most of them, anyway) as pdfs on the WHA website.

**18. Executive Director's Report, Kieko Matteson, Executive Director.**

Kieko reminded Executive Council members that the January 2009 meeting of the American Historical Association will meet this year from Friday January 2 through Monday January 5, instead of the usual Wednesday through Sunday format. The meeting will be in New York, meaning that hotel reservations will also



be limited and sell out quickly. Kieko has asked the AHA to schedule our usual WHA Executive Council meeting for Friday January 2<sup>nd</sup> and the Business Meeting and Reception for Saturday January 3. She will let us know as soon as she hears from the AHA about the scheduling.

In terms of the current London conference, Kieko noted that the lack of a Local Arrangements Committee had meant that she and her assistant, Kristy Ringor, spent nearly 100 percent of their time since January preparing for the meeting, with a resulting lack of time for nearly any other WHA-related affairs.

She apologized for this, and noted that this should be a caution for subsequent international meetings.

Kieko announced that she has accepted a tenure-track position in the History Department of the University of Hawai'i, and will be leaving the position of Executive Director of the WHA effective in January 2009. This will necessitate the advertisement and search for a new Executive Director. Anand Yang said he would head up that search, and would assemble a search committee whose members would have to be able to travel to Hawaii at their own expense.

Jonathan Reynolds asked about putting the WHA minutes and committee reports into a searchable database and making them accessible on the WHA website. Al Andrea would like to see these documents put into a professional archive, but doesn't know where that might be. Kieko noted that the WHA archive, such as it is, is currently housed in the WHA office in Hawai'i.

The meeting was adjourned at 5:45 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Ane Lintvedt, Secretary

#### 2008 World History Association Teaching Prize

The WHA is pleased to announce the winner of the 2008 WHA Teaching Prize, Sharlene Sayegh from the Department of History, California State University, Long Beach. Sayegh's lesson is entitled "The Logical Fallacies of Nationalism: Critical Thinking in the World-History Classroom" and is designed to foster critical-thinking skills in reading primary-source documents. While a good portion of the material is political history, this framework is designed to get students to think about the ways in which they hold mythic ideas of the nation and how often those myths are rooted in ideological fancy. Sayegh's fields of interest include early modern and modern Britain and European history, world history and theory, methods and critical thinking. She has taught a gamut of courses, including "Foucault and His Critics," "Commonwealth Migration to Britain," and "Women and Revolution in the Modern World." She earned her BA and MA at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas and her PhD from the University of California, Irvine.

#### 2008 World History Association Book Prize

The World History Association is pleased to announce that Stuart Banner's book, *Possessing the Pacific: Land, Settlers, and Indigenous People from Australia to Alaska* has been awarded the WHA's 2008 Book Prize for the best book in world history published in 2007. Stuart Banner is a Professor of Law at the University of California, Los Angeles Law School. He teaches Property, American Legal History and a host of other courses. Summary of *Possessing the Pacific* from Harvard University Press: "During the nineteenth century, British and American settlers acquired a vast amount of land from indigenous people throughout the Pacific, but in no two places did they acquire it the same way. Stuart Banner tells the story of colonial settlement in Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Tonga, Hawaii, California, Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, and Alaska. Today, indigenous people own much more land in some of these places than in others. And certain indigenous peoples benefit from treaty rights, while others do not. These variations are traceable to choices made more than a century ago—choices about whether indigenous people were the owners of their land and how that land was to be transferred to whites." *Possessing the Pacific* is an original and broadly conceived study of how colonial struggles over land still shape the relations between whites and indigenous people throughout much of the world.

#### 2008 World History Association/Phi Alpha Theta Student Paper Prize

The World History Association is pleased to announce the winners of the 2008 World History Association/Phi Alpha Theta Student Paper Prize, Gail Marlow Taylor of California State University, Fullerton; and Timothy Davies from the University of Warwick. Taylor is the winner in the graduate category for her paper, "The Book of Secrets: Alchemy and the Laboratory Manual from Al-Razi to Libavius, 920-1597." Davies, the undergraduate winner, is being recognized for his paper, "What did Indian Merchants Do? Gujarat and the Trade to East Africa in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries."



**Above and Right:** John Marriott leading a tour of London's East End. *Photos Courtesy of Laura Mitchell.*



Marc Gilbert at Captain Cook's home. *Photo Courtesy of Laura Mitchell.*



**WHA Conferences, 2009-2011**  
**Mark Your Calendars**  
**A.J. Andrea, Conferences Committee Chair**

The success of the 17<sup>th</sup> Annual WHA Conference, held this past June at Queen Mary, University of London, owes much to the over 300 registered conferees who attended. The WHA is now focusing on the next three years and has been enthusiastically planning our future conferences.

**2009 Salem**

The 18<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference will be held in Salem, Massachusetts, June 25-28, 2009. Planning for the conference has been underway for some time, and it promises to be an extraordinary event. Salem State College has agreed to serve as primary host for the conference; additionally a wide variety of other academic, historical, cultural, and community organizations have pledged their support to give conferees a full Essex County/North Shore experience.

To honor Salem's role in the global affairs of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the conference theme is "Merchants and Missionaries: Trade and Religion in World History." Today a small city noted for its New England charm and coastal beauty, Salem was truly a global city between 1787 and 1812. Located on Massachusetts' North Shore, Salem was by 1790 the sixth-largest city in the United States, and its merchants were major players in world commerce. Salem's leading role in maritime commerce went hand in hand with its missionary influence. It was the city that ordained the United States' first Protestant missionaries to Asia in 1812. Prior to that, Salem gained notoriety for spiritual excess in its infamous witch trials in 1692.

Among plans for the 2009 conference are several receptions at local venues of historical significance (Possible sites include The House of the Seven Gables; *The Friendship of Salem*, a full-sized replica of a 1797 Salem East Indies merchant ship; the Custom House; and the Athenaeum.) and a private tour of the *USS Constitution* ("Old Ironsides") at the Charlestown Navy Yard on Thursday, June 25<sup>th</sup>, which will be led by the *USS Constitution*'s historian and visit areas normally closed to visitors. Several sessions may also be held at the Peabody Essex Museum. Founded in 1799, it is the oldest and largest museum in the U.S. dedicated to global maritime history. One of its chief attractions is the Yin Yu Tang House, an 18<sup>th</sup>-century merchant home from southeastern China.

There will be several accommodations options for conference attendees in Salem, including special room rates at the Hawthorne Hotel, the Peabody Marriott, and dormitory housing in the new student suites on the Salem State campus. Salem State will provide bus service between campus and downtown for those who choose to stay in a hotel rather than on campus. The Hawthorne, a historic, romantic hotel, is located on Salem's Common in the heart of the city and is only a short walk away from all of its historical and cultural attractions. The Peabody Marriott, located less than three miles from Salem, is an ideal location for conferees who are bringing their families.

Salem State College was founded in 1854 as Salem Normal School. It was later renamed Salem Teachers College in 1932 and finally became Salem State College in 1959. Comprised of five campuses on over 108 acres, the campus overlooks Salem Harbor and is home to over 10,000 students. Dane Morrison, the Local Arrangements Committee chair and Chris Mauriello, chair of Salem State College's History Department, have been most enthusiastic in their support. It is because of their efforts that many local cultural, historical, and civic organizations have agreed to play a role in the conference.

With reasonable rates and attractive accommodations, the proximity of many historical, cultural, and scenic sites, and fast and convenient access to nearby Boston via ferry, train, and auto, the WHA Conference is shaping up to be both a stimulating academic experience and a wonderful holiday opportunity for conferees far and wide.

**San Diego, 2010**

Through the efforts of Laura Ryan, Ross Dunn, and Ed Beasley, Southwestern College and San Diego State University have joined to invite the WHA to San Diego for its 19<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference, which will be held at the Handlery Hotel in Mission Valley, California, June 24-27, 2010. The hotel will provide discounted room rates and meeting space. Accommodations will also be available on the San Diego State campus. The conference's themes are still under consideration.

Details regarding the 2010 conference will be posted on the WHA website during the Summer of 2009.

**Beijing, 2011**

Capital Normal University's Global History Center will host the 20<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference on its Beijing campus, July 7-11, 2011. The conference will be held in the state-of-the-art International Cultural Plaza. The main theme will be "China in World History," and a second theme is currently under discussion. The conference's accommodations and sessions will also take place in the Plaza or the adjoining conference building.

Details regarding the 2011 conference will be posted on the WHA website during the Summer of 2010.

**Beyond 2011**

The WHA Conferences Committee is already discussing potential sites for meetings beyond 2011 and will announce them as plans become clearer.



*Scene from Capital Normal University.*

# ***FOCUS ISSUE and TEACHING FORUM***

## ***Science and Technology in the Context of World History***

**Paul Buckingham**

*Morrisville State College*

**Guest Editor**

The introduction of a global perspective has been a boon to the study of the history of science and technology. Likewise, the perspectives of the discipline of the history of science and technology have great potential to further the aim of the study of world history. This issue of the World History Bulletin is designed to give some examples of how the history of science and technology can help us better understand the human experience from a global point of view. This introduction will put the study of the field in the context of world history and suggest some of the ways studies of science and technology can be useful in a comparative field like world history. In order to do this, it is first important to differentiate between the study of the history of science and a study of the history of technology. Each field presents different challenges for those seeking to incorporate them into the wider study of world history or into the teaching of world history.

Of the two halves of the field, the history of technology is the most accessible. As with science, a global view of the history of technology has, and indeed should, challenge traditional narratives in history. The traditional view is one of technology becoming more and more complex and more pervasive in human society. This traditional story traces technology back to the industrial era in Western Europe and explains all the great inventions that have shaped the lives of those in Western society and in the last few decades, the rest of the world. Occasionally, something like gunpowder or stirrups or earlier inventions are mentioned to show technology from outside of Europe, but ultimately even these are noted within the context of how Europeans mastered these inventions. This limited perspective, while common from the point of view of studies in Western civilization, is of limited use for world history. Indeed, from a world history perspective, such a story would be difficult to sustain. The past decades of research in the field of the history of technology has indeed challenged these old assertions. If we think of the history of technology as a history of people solving prob-

lems in their environment, then all cultures not only develop and use technology, but, chances are, if we are discussing them at all, were successful users of technology to solve the problems presented by their environment. From this perspective, the history of technology is a useful point of view in world history. It offers a chance to discuss broad questions about how various cultures address challenges in their environment through technology. It also allows us to challenge our assumptions of what "advanced" technology and relative levels of technology among cultures might really mean.

The story of the defeat of the Aztecs Empire by the Spanish under Cortes is an example of how I use the perspective of the history of technology in my world history courses. The Spanish had superior technology in the form of guns and steel. Yet, in this story or in discussing European conflicts with any Native Americans, it is clear that superior technology was not so superior. Guns gave an advantage in some cases, but the often slow firing, inaccurate guns were not necessary superior to more rapid firing and more accurate bows. There is an assumption that more advanced technology means a superior, stronger, more advanced society. In the case of the Aztecs, they were defeated by their own religious beliefs and the fact that their local enemies joined with the six hundred or so Spaniards to conquer them. Without the aforementioned advantages, the little group of Spaniards would have been, and nearly were, overwhelmed by the Aztecs. I also point out how the Aztecs lacked pack animals, the wheel, etc. The assumption would be that they could not possibly build any thing with such primitive technology. Yet, the Spaniards were astounded by the engineering wonder that was Tenochtitlan, the city built on a lake. I note for my students, however, that the Aztecs did lack the technology to be successful if they were in Europe where a state needed gunpowder, steel, etc to survive. The Aztecs were marvelously successful as an empire in the Americas where their organization and technology was sufficient for them to be success-

ful. A global perspective in the history of technology allows for a reflection on the meaning of technology and indeed allows for more reflection on the relative levels of technology found in any given society at any given time.

The history of technology is useful in helping us think about why there are differences between human societies and to see similarities in how humans tackle problems through technology. It is a very accessible set of examples that provide the comparative perspective sought in world history. The history of science can on the other hand present problems, especially for non-specialists and students. A brief review of two standard approaches to the history of science might help see how this part of the field can be used in the context of world history.

There are two basic approaches to the history of science. The first is to study science as a development of ideas that lead to our modern understanding of the world. So, the history of chemistry would tell us about the development of this scientific discipline over time. There are two difficulties with this approach for world history. First, this approach tends to be a bit inaccessible to the non-specialist and may require a bit of training in the appropriate scientific field. It also tends to be a history focusing mostly on Western European development of a particular scientific field tracing it back a few centuries to where the scientific method was first applied and the modern thought in the given field began. Occasionally, it might touch upon earlier times to show how wrong others were about the nature of the world, but this is not of much help in world history. So, a history of chemistry goes back to the founding ideas developed in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century Western Europe. A study of Medieval alchemy or the five elements theory of ancient China would be seen as being of little use. Science in this approach reflects the progressive development of the current thought in the field. This is an essential goal in the history of science, but in terms of creating viable comparisons with other cultures, as is the goal of world history, it is not

so useful.

It is the second major approach in the history of science that is more useful for the study of world history and which is more accessible to non-specialists and useful in a world history course. This second approach is the study of science in the context of the surrounding society. The development of this externalist approach has gone hand in hand with changes in the field of history itself. Scholarship in the field of history itself has now more fully explored the history of non-western societies and recognizes the importance of looking at the world through the point of view of other societies. The scholarship in the history of science has in the last few decades been coming to grips with science as a human enterprise and the fact that science in some ways existed separate from the western scientific method. It is not something limited to modern western culture or to a specific set of Greek and Modern Europeans, but part of the human experience of examining and understanding the environment. This is the view of the history of science most useful for world history, examining how each culture understood the world around it. There are some caveats to this as much of the world view of ancient human cultures is tied up in supernatural and religious explanations for why things happen. This is not science, but natural explanations for phenomenon, even explanations rejected by modern science and disproven by the scientific method, are still a form of science and viewed this way, it is quite possible and enlightening to explore comparative science as one would comparative religions. This approach would ask what were the natural explanations developed by various cultures to explain the world without reference to the supernatural.

The examples in the history of science in the above approach show a natural human curiosity about the world and a common attempt in many cultures to explain the world with natural explanations. A key example is found in the history of medicine. A trend in Greek medicine to explain disease, not as a curse by the gods (though this is also prevalent in Greek culture), but as a natural result of an imbalance of fluids in the body is comparable to the view of disease as an imbalance in the three elements in Ayurvedic medicine in India or in the five elements in Chinese medicine. All are natural explanations about disease that different cultures developed and although rejected by modern medicine, these explanations are a kind of science. From this perspective, history of science becomes not the history of how modern science developed, but a study of how human beings in various cultures developed natural explanations about the cosmos. It then becomes not a history of Western concepts of science, but a comparative history of human thought about the natural world. This then is the aspect of the history of science useful in the context of world history.

Many of these ideas and thoughts are echoed in more detail in the articles that follow. In Elizabeth Green Musselman's "Teaching Science

and Technology in World History: Notes from the Field," we see a discussion of the challenge of teaching global science and technology to science and non-science students. "Silk Production as Women's Work in the World History Classroom: Pearl S. Buck's *The Living Reed*" by Robert Shaffer gives us a discussion of the silk industry in China and how it forms the backdrop for discussions in the classroom about the broad themes that are the hallmark of world history. David P. Billington, Jr. also addresses issues of teaching technology in the classroom. In these case, he explores questions of how to make the history of engineering accessible in the world history classroom.

John Mears' "Nature, Biology, Culture, and the Origins of Technology in the Plio-Pleistocene" presents a discussion of technology as a common human enterprise and searches for its origins in long ago pre-history. Alberto Grandi's "From Global to Local: Technological Development and Evolution of the Ice Market" is a reminder of how the history of technology can be used to tell the story of the effects of global changes. Finally, Thomas Anderson's "Spreading the Scientific Word: Missionaries as Global Naturalists on 19<sup>th</sup> Century Madagascar" tells the story of the globalization of modern science and how increasingly in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century modern science, though a Western phenomenon, was investigating and cataloguing nature on a global scale.

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## Silk Production as Women's Work in the World History Classroom: Pearl S. Buck's *The Living Reed*

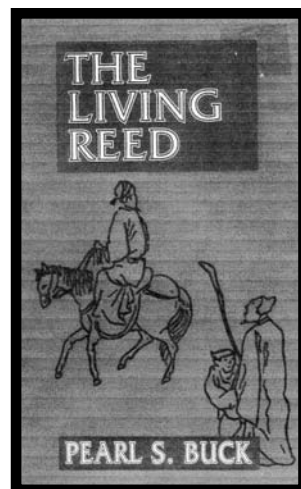
Robert Shaffer  
Shippensburg University

Pearl S. Buck, the first American woman to receive the Nobel Prize for literature, is best remembered for *The Good Earth* (1931), a novel which immortalized the gritty struggles for survival of a rural Chinese family. But Buck's fiction and essays spanned many topics and continued for another four decades, and some of her other works may be even more important in illuminating Asian cultures and in trying to shape a more positive American view toward Asian peoples. I have used in my World History I classes for the past ten years a brief excerpt on the production of silk from *The Living Reed*, Buck's well-regarded 1963 epic novel about Korean history from the mid-1800s to the mid-1900s.<sup>1</sup> This excerpt not only describes in meticulous detail the process of silk production, from caring for the silkworm eggs to feeding the silkworms to teasing out the threads of silk from the cocoons, but also the particular role of women in household production. Consideration of this excerpt in class

allows students to appreciate the technological genius behind silk production, and to highlight the role of women in the production of a commodity that has been so important in world history. Both aspects contribute to more general themes that I believe are central to the world history classroom: the development of technology, and women's role in societies. While Buck's discussions of both production and women's roles are undeniably idealized, they do accord nicely, for the most part, with recent scholarship of these issues. Moreover, even where *The Living Reed* is overly simplistic, it can become the subject of critical class discussion.

Silk and the silk trade play an outsized role in the world history curriculum, which correctly highlights the spread of commodities from one region to another, and which locates the origin of many luxury goods in Asia and other non-"Western" areas. The Silk Road (or, "silk roads," in most recent textbooks) as an analytical construct demonstrates for many of our students the existence of Eurasia as a region, rather than as two artificially divided continents, and it incorporates into world history not only the well-known "civilizations" of China, ancient Rome, and the Byzantine Empire, but also the intermediaries in central and western Asia which facilitated – and profited from – the transfer of silk and other commodities along these extended and shifting routes. In short, a world history class that spans the last two millennia without a consideration of the production and exchange of silk would be virtually inconceivable.<sup>2</sup>

But too few textbooks explain in any detail the mechanics of silk production. As a result, students need help to appreciate just how ingenious this invention really is, and how it demonstrates the capacity for mastery over the natural world by human beings thousands of years ago. While the origins of the manipulation of wool from a sheep or cotton from a plant into thread, yarn, cloth, and clothing can be intuitively grasped by most students, it is far more difficult to comprehend how people first learned to use the secretions of a worm as the basis for thread and cloth. As Francis Bacon, the English scientist – or "natural philosopher," in the parlance of the day – wrote in 1620: ...if before the discovery of silk, any one had said that there was a kind of thread discovered for the purposes of dress and furniture, which far surpassed the thread of linen



or of wool in fineness and at the same time in strength, and also in beauty and softness; men would have begun immediately to think of some silky kind of vegetable, or of the finer hair of some animal, or of the feathers and down of birds; but of a web woven by a tiny worm..., they would assuredly never have thought. Nay, if any one had said anything about a worm, he would no doubt have been laughed at as dreaming of a new kind of cobwebs.<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, characters in Pearl Buck's fictional treatment of silk production regard the silkworms as "creatures of magic," even as they carefully observe and nurture these creatures, and harvest their creation. The very difficulty of breaking down the various steps involved in the production of silk from the secretions of the silkworm helped maintain for many centuries the Chinese monopoly over this commodity, which itself insured the continuing importance of the long-distance silk trade.

Moreover, in my experience teaching at both the high school and college levels, I have found that students are predisposed to believe that women's work before the modern period, regardless of region or civilization, consisted of an undifferentiated notion of "housework," which in students' minds generally means cooking, cleaning, and childcare. For too many students, it has only been in some "modern" societies that women have begun to be able to make important contributions in the economic arena or other "public" realms of society. Thus, broadening students' understanding of women's work to include participation in what we would call "production" is very useful in breaking down stereotypes about both women's role in world history and about the trajectory of history itself. The fact that women have historically played a major role in the production of silk, a commodity which has been such a distinctive feature of east Asian economic life, and which contributed for centuries to China's economic importance in Eurasia, becomes, therefore, an opportunity to demonstrate to students women's broader role in production and in economic life long before "Rosie the Riveter." An emphasis on women's role in silk production also helps bridge the gap that still too often exists, as Merry Weisner-Hanks has recently reminded us, between world history and women's history.<sup>4</sup>

Surprisingly, only a few world history survey textbooks or primary source readers point out the gendered component of silk production, even as most assign major importance to silk and the silk trade. Jerry Bentley and Herb Ziegler, in the first volume of *Traditions and Encounters*, include a concise but clear description of early Chinese sericulture, and an explanation of why Chinese silk was superior to that produced by wild silkworms elsewhere. Bentley and Ziegler's textbook has an entire chapter on "Cross-Cultural Exchanges on the Silk Roads," and they introduce their chapter on the Byzantine Empire with a detailed account of how it acquired the knowl-

edge of and materials for sericulture, thus breaking the Chinese monopoly and changing the dynamics of both local production and long-distance trade. Bentley and Ziegler explain how important silk production became to the Byzantine economy, and they reprint a graphic of Byzantine women weaving cloth, with a caption on the prominence of women as textile workers there. But the cloth is not identified as silk, and there is no mention in this volume of the textbook, covering the pre-modern era, of women's role in the production of silk thread itself. Bentley and Ziegler do note, however, the gendered implications of silk consumption, as they report on Roman fears that the "revealing silk garments" which wealthy women wore led to both moral decay and an unfavorable balance of trade.<sup>5</sup>

To their credit, however, Bentley and Ziegler include two paintings in the second volume of *Traditions and Encounters* which illustrate the importance of women in silk production. The first is a seventeenth century portrait of "women unwinding filaments from silk cocoons," which can serve as a visual aid accompanying Pearl Buck's description in *The Living Reed*. The only problem here from my point of view in teaching about silk production is that I teach this issue in World History I, but this textbook corresponds to World History II. The second painting shows a late-nineteenth century Japanese silk factory, with male managers and female operatives, with a caption emphasizing this gendered division of labor in early industrialization of textile production around the world.<sup>6</sup>

*Traditions and Encounters* typifies the importance that textbooks place on silk production and the silk roads, and is actually better than most in its attention to women's role in production. *The Earth and Its Peoples*, by Richard Bulliet et al, has brief – and not really adequate – descriptions of silk production, but sustained coverage of the importance of silk roads in creating long-distance networks of exchange of both goods and ideas. But there is no discussion of who actually produced the silk threads or cloth, and the only mention of gender concerns coerced male labor in road-building during the Han Dynasty, which appears below a map of the early Silk Road.<sup>7</sup> An older textbook by William Duiker and Jackson Spielvogel, *World History*, includes brief descriptions of breeding silkworms and silk production, and devotes a lot of space to the significance of the silk trade in global economic development. But it does not mention women's role in silk production, although it emphasizes, as did Bentley and Ziegler, the complaints of Roman men that the consumption of silk and other "baubles" by Roman women were leading to a trade deficit with Asia.<sup>8</sup> Robert Strayer, in the new, brief textbook, *Ways of the World*, devotes eight pages to the silk road trade, emphasizing the consumption of silk and the spread, in general terms, of silk-making technology. While including "silk-handling machinery" in a long list of

technological innovations which China contributed to the world, Strayer does not explain how silk is made, and he certainly does not make any connection between silk-making and women's labor.<sup>9</sup>

Craig Lockard's newer *Societies, Networks, and Transitions* devotes enormous attention to silk production and the silk trade – he even calls the Silk Roads an early example of "globalization" – but fails to explicitly point out women's role in silk production. Indeed, one early description of the care and feeding of trays of hundreds of thousands of silkworms in China appears in a paragraph about male labor during the Han Dynasty. Lockard explains how Song Dynasty engineers mechanized the process of spinning and reeling silk, using what he calls the first industrial machinery; although he does not identify these engineers as male, most readers will assume that they were men. In a paragraph on "social life and gender relations" under the Song, the author notes the decline in women's status, with the spread of footbinding and the system of concubinage, but he notes also women's employment in commerce, as household servants, and in field labor. However, Lockard offers readers nothing on silkworm breeding or silk spinning and weaving. Similarly, when noting later that Japan became the largest producer of silk by 1900, Lockard does not see fit to mention women's role as factory labor.<sup>10</sup> Lockard has two less-than-satisfactory references to women's role in textile production in China, both separate from any discussion of silk. In the course of a discussion of women's labor during the Han Dynasty, the author notes their work in the fields and marketplaces, and adds that "they also formed groups to spin or weave together" – but with no connection to his previous comments on the importance of silk production and trade to Han social and economic life. Puzzlingly, Lockard's most explicit comment about women's textile labor in China – though still not mentioning silk – is in a passage lamenting its passing. Explaining China's economic decline by 1900, he states that "imported British textiles frequently displaced Chinese women from textile production, which peasant women had done for centuries to supplement family incomes," with spinning eliminated and weaving earning lower income.<sup>11</sup> Only the most careful textbook reader would make the connection between women and silk production from these passages.

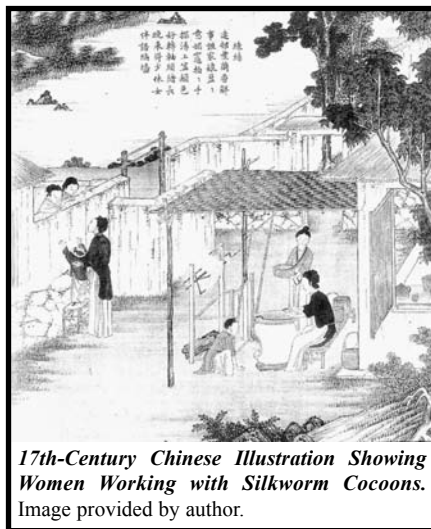
Peter Stearns and his co-authors, in *World Civilizations*, say less about silk production and the silk trade than do most authors. The only explicit connection between women and silk comes in a reference to footbinding, in which the authors explain that silk cloth was often used in the bindings. Thus, many students might infer that silk contributed only to the oppression of women. When noting the rise in silk production in Japan in the early 1900s, Stearns et al make no reference to female labor in these factories, but do note the low wages earned. Nevertheless, *World*

*Civilizations* does include a very nice graphic of Chinese women and girls working on embroidered cloth in the pre-modern era, with a caption that reads: “Textile weaving, sewing, and finishing was often done in the household in family workshops. In this way, women and young girls were income-earning members of the family.” Professors might point out to students that the graphic (identified only at the back of the textbook) dates from twelfth-century China, and was called “Court Ladies Preparing Newly Woven Silk.” Just a bit more work by these authors or their publisher could have highlighted the connection between women and silk production.<sup>12</sup> Kevin Reilly’s *Worlds of History*, a compilation of primary and secondary sources, in its coverage of women in classical civilizations, devotes more attention to ideology than to production and labor, and does not mention silk at all. But in a selection on patriarchy in prehistory which Reilly includes, author Natalie Angier notes the importance of women as weavers of cloth derived from plant materials.<sup>13</sup>

The relatively brief, thematically-oriented *Experiencing World History*, which emphasizes social history, has only a handful of references to either silk production or the silk trade, but does note the importance of women as spinners and weavers in Han China, and suggests “that weaving brought in almost as much income as farming.” Commenting on the spread of silk production in Chinese peasant communities in the post-Han era, the authors note the growing proliferation of mulberry trees, whose leaves fed the silkworms, but inadvertently belittle the skill, hard work, and long hours involved in silk production when they write: “Silk thread and cloth were produced by peasants in their idle hours, by women, or, especially, by old or young or disabled persons. In short, their production fit into agricultural space and into work routines conveniently.”<sup>14</sup>

In their ambitious recent entry into the world history textbook field, Robert Tignor and his colleagues, in *Worlds Together, Worlds Apart*, do more than most in tying silk production explicitly to women’s labor, even as they emphasize consistently the considerable importance of silk production and trade in Chinese and global society. In the one-volume edition, published in 2002 and covering world history from 1300 to the present, Tignor et al explain early on, in their survey of Chinese society circa 1300, that “[p]easant women contributed not only to labor in the field, but they also engaged in commerce through the silk industry. The growth of trade and the urban demand for silk cloth enabled many women to

raise silkworms and to spin silk yarn.” They also note later that people could pay taxes in silk in the Ming dynasty, and that wealthy women tended to wear silk while their less fortunate counterparts wore hemp clothing, thus further cementing the connection between women, economic life, and social status in China.<sup>15</sup> The second edition of *Worlds Together, Worlds Apart*, published in 2008, includes a volume on earlier world history, but this volume does not discuss women’s role in silk production. It does include, however, a reasonable description of the process of breeding silkworms, and mentions that silk had uses beyond clothing: for fishing line and as a substitute for paper, for example. While noting that in Han China silk was worn by men and women of all classes (a detail worth noting compared to what the authors had said in 2002 regarding Ming China), Tignor et al also cite, along the lines of some other textbooks, the complaint of Pliny the Elder about the demand for this complicated and expensive import from China “so that Roman women can appear in public in transparent clothing.”<sup>16</sup>



17th-Century Chinese Illustration Showing Women Working with Silkworm Cocoons. Image provided by author.

in Korean affairs; the tension in the novel is the Korean struggle to maintain its independence in the age of colonialism and then in the period of the two world wars. Sunia, while educated like her husband, devotes her attention to running the extensive household, overseeing children, servants, and many types of production on an estate that was moderately self-sufficient. In the section that I assign to my students, Sunia has just had a baby, but nevertheless oversees the silk-making process and the work of her female servants. Buck didactically, but to my mind divertingly, has her explain for the reader the steps involved, in the guise of explaining the process to her older child, who is perhaps six or seven years old.

Sunia, “ever since she was a child and in the care of her old nurse, ... had loved the art of making silk, from the moment when the web of tiny eggs, no bigger than the dots of a pointed brush on a paper card, were hatched in the warm silk-

worm house to the last moment when the silk lay in rich folds over her arms.”<sup>17</sup> Buck notes that the actual weaving “was done in the country,” but Sunia keeps a loom in her home for ceremonial purposes, just as the Queen herself “at this season must cultivate silkworms and do her share of spinning, while the King must till a rice paddy.” Sunia’s first task, which is the first indication of the skilled labor involved, is to taste the mulberry leaves, to determine whether they are at the precise “ripeness” for the silkworms to eat. Deciding that they are, she has her female servants take out the silkworm eggs from where they had been cooling all winter, and prepare them to be warmed up so they will hatch and eat. Feeding the silkworms was labor-intensive, and not a process that could just be squeezed in to one’s spare time: “For three days and three nights the women fed the small creatures every three hours, and in the night again and again Sunia arose from her wide bed...to see how her silkworms did.” The silkworms then shed their skins, which have become too small from all this eating, and the process is repeated four times. As if to emphasize the knowledge that has been developed about how to care for the growing silkworms, Buck as narrator adds: “Meanwhile, no man or woman was allowed to smoke a pipe of tobacco near the silkworm house, for such smoke kills the worms.” When the silkworms changed color to “a silvery white,” the women provided “twirls of straw rice,” so that the worms could spin their cocoons.

Just before the chrysalids turned into moths, most of the cocoons would be dropped into boiling water, “so that the gum which held the filaments together could be melted and the filaments reeled off and spun into thread.” Sunia, as the skilled overseer, had to determine the best moment to do this: too soon, and the optimal amount of silk would not be gathered; too late, and the moth would break the cocoon and hence the threads. But the skilled labor did not stop there. Sunia also had to choose “the best and biggest of cocoons to make next year’s seed,” and these were allowed to become moths, break their cocoons, and lay their eggs on paper cards before dying. While the filaments from these broken cocoons could not be reeled into thread, they could be salvaged by boiling and then drying for use as matted linings of “winter garments.” It was Sunia’s son who comes to see the silkworms as “creatures of magic,” while her husband, though he knew that “silkworms are women’s business and...pretended no interest in them,” clearly admired both his wife’s skill in overseeing the process and the symbolic equation of silkworms and silk-making with “the life process.” Buck concludes that “[i]n such ways Sunia tended her household and faithfully she kept the old customs,” while the author adds that these old ways, which she has portrayed in quite idyllic terms, were even then under attack by outside events.

On the sheet that I distribute to my students along with the excerpt from Buck’s novel, I pose

three questions, which become the basis for class discussion:

*What parts of the process of making silk should be considered “skilled labor”?*

*What implications does this selection about women’s responsibility for the silk-making process have on our view of women’s role in history?*

*What feelings about “traditional” Korean, or East Asian, technology does the author hope to impress upon the reader?*

Obviously, from my summary of the excerpt above, it is clear that I perceive several aspects of the silk-making process to be skilled labor, and my students can usually readily identify these. The second question often leads to a discussion of other examples of household production in pre-industrial societies, which I usually reiterate later in the semester to counter notions that pre-modern women engaged “only” in cooking, cleaning, and childcare. While my goal in presenting this excerpt is certainly not to minimize the oppression that women have suffered historically or today, I do try to have students see that they have been active historical subjects, not merely objects manipulated by men. The third question generally elicits comments about the favorable depiction of Korean society that Buck conveys, and leads to a discussion of why she would do that for an American audience in the 1960s, and whether it is too rosy a picture. I try to get students to see both the positive aspects of labor, as Buck does here, but also the drudgery and exploitation that can be involved, by highlighting the round-the-clock nature of this work and the importance of silk to East Asian governments as an export item and as a means by which to pay taxes. I encourage students to think about the ways in which governments would be served by idealized stories of all women – from the queen to the poorest rural wife – working, seemingly in concert, on silk production.

Women’s history has maintained a delicate balance between portraying women as victims, on the one hand, or as victors and agents, on the other, between emphasizing the lack of power that women have, and the ways in which, despite obstacles, they exercise power in the family and society. Women’s historians also go back and forth between emphasizing the common factors which unite women’s experiences across societies and emphasizing differences among women based on race, class, political status, culture, and time period.<sup>18</sup> Buck in this excerpt obviously emphasizes the contributions that women make to East Asian economic and family life, as well as the commonalities among women, as they operate in a gendered division of labor that nevertheless does not signify only oppression. Most students recognize that this idealized view of women cheerfully engaging in silk production may not be true to life with regard to how many women experienced such labor. But they also comment that it showed them that women in pre-industrial Asian societies did more than just serve their hus-

bands, fathers, or mothers-in-law, and they note that women had to know a lot more about the natural world to accomplish their tasks than they had previously thought – exactly Buck’s purposes in writing in this fashion.<sup>19</sup>

I note to students that it is somewhat anachronistic to present a fictional portrait of nineteenth-century Korea, written by a twentieth-century American woman, as a stand-in for silk-making in Han China, which is the point in the curriculum at which I discuss this material. Regardless of the reference to tobacco smoke, for example, this is a calculated risk I am willing to take. Indeed, the specialized literature on silk-making and women’s role in China tends to buttress Pearl Buck’s portrait, although with some added dimensions that I will use to make my own presentation of the issues more complex in the future.

Joseph Needham’s multi-volume *Science and Civilization of China* includes one 500-page book devoted solely to technologies of spinning and reeling thread in China, with about half of that devoted to silk production. (The weaving of silk and other types of cloth is only covered tangentially in this volume.) In its detailed focus on spindle-wheels, silk-reeling frames, and the like, this volume, written by Dieter Kuhn, and based on exhaustive translations from Chinese written sources throughout the ages, did not set out to focus on the gendered nature of such labor or technology. Nevertheless, the association of women with silk production and reeling is present throughout, and very much corroborates Buck’s portrayal. Kuhn’s fifteen-page description of the care and feeding of silkworms follows the stages that Buck’s excerpt laid out, especially regarding the importance of keeping the silkworm eggs at the right temperatures, feeding the mulberry leaves to the worms at just the right times, and the intensive, round-the-clock care that the silkworms need during the crucial weeks.<sup>20</sup> Kuhn adds, citing romantic poems of the Zhou era, that picking mulberry leaves was often the “job of girls”; one reads in part: “the girls take their beautiful baskets, they go along those small paths; they seek the soft mulberry leaves...she gave me a time (to meet her) in the mulberry grounds.” He includes a painting, from 1313 C.E., of women steaming silkworm cocoons, and another from 1710 C.E. of women “at work in a silkworm breeding room.” (Both of these would be appropriate for classroom use to illustrate Buck’s account of silk production.) But other paintings and photographs show men as well as women working with silkworms and cocoons, which shows that, especially in more recent times, silkwork was not always exclusively in women’s sphere. Nevertheless, as Kuhn elaborates the development of the Chinese legends of the “silkworm goddess” and the “first sericulturist,” he concludes: “In the Northern Chou [Zhou] dynasty [557 C.E. to 581 C.E.] the final rationalization of the legend appears, crediting a woman with having been the First Sericulturist, probably because

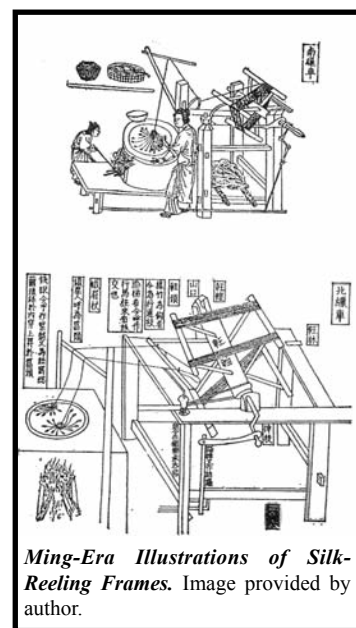
of the fact that sericultural work in China and elsewhere was always performed by women.”<sup>21</sup>

Kuhn goes beyond Buck in his discussion of women’s role in silk reeling and spinning. Noting that spinning of silk filaments had to be done right after the harvesting of the cocoons, Kuhn states at the very outset of his book: “Throughout Chinese history, spinning bast fibres and reeling silk were considered to be household tasks for women, and so were mostly executed by the female members of the peasant class.” Moreover, he says that while the production of yarn was “a sideline in the family budget,” it was so important that “the socio-economic history of the yarn producing peasant households is the history of the peasants of pre-modern China,” thus reinforcing the economic significance of women’s labor in Chinese history.<sup>22</sup> Kuhn also concludes, based on his study of “Han and pre-Han sources,” that women were instrumental in improving the spindle wheel, the treadle-operated loom, and the silk-reeling frame, “for they alone would have had both the working experience and technical skill required to see which alterations were necessary and practicable.”<sup>23</sup> Kuhn’s contribution to Needham’s compendium of work on Chinese science and technology both underscores the essential accuracy of Buck’s account of women and silk production, and provides professors with additional background knowledge and some visual and written materials that can be used to supplement

*The Living Reed.*

Two histories of women and gender in China, both published in the 1990s, also emphasize the interconnections between women and silk production, and spinning

and weaving more generally, but both approach the subject with more critical perspectives. Patricia Buckley Ebrey devotes an entire chapter of her book to “Women’s Work Making Cloth,” and delineates for modern readers unfamiliar with such production the various steps involved: growing or producing the fibers, spinning the thread, and weaving and dyeing the cloth. I appreciate these clear explanations and distinctions, as I have long tried to make clear to my students that





making clothing generally involves a range of discrete steps, especially spinning, weaving, and sewing. (Making clothing from furs has different steps, of course.) In her four-page description of sericulture, Ebrey seems to echo Pearl Buck's account, from the "science" of getting the mulberry leaves just right to the care of silkworm eggs, from the seemingly continual feeding of silkworms to the reeling of silk thread from the cocoons placed in steaming water. In contrast to mundane work with hemp or cotton thread, says Ebrey, "[m]uch more romantic and miraculous was work with silkworms," which, "if treated just right, would spin extremely fine but strong fibers hundreds of meters long."<sup>24</sup>

While Ebrey agrees that in theory there was a strong division of labor in China between male work in grain production and female work in making cloth – both of which were important for the state, as both were required to be paid as tax goods – she argues that the spheres blurred as commercialization extended in the Sung dynasty. Specialized weaving tasks were most likely to be taken over by men after this point, according to Ebrey, although some women learned and performed these skilled jobs. While "women seem to have special charge of the silkworms," men were likely to care for the mulberry trees, and as some households began to specialize in silk production "both men and women undoubtedly shared in the tasks." Ebrey discusses a twelfth-century painting which illustrates the numerous steps involved in silk-making, and which features forty-two women, twenty-four men, and several children: thus, women predominate in this depiction but do not monopolize the production process.<sup>25</sup>

Ebrey's critical perspective emerges most clearly as the author concludes that, despite women's critical contributions to the making of cloth, there is no evidence that it raised women's status or autonomy within the family or society. In an analysis based largely on the commentary of Chinese intellectuals of the Sung period, Ebrey observes, "If the women who sold their textiles gained a greater sense of self-worth in the process, no literatus seems to have noticed." Moreover, Ebrey notes that women often performed "the most tedious tasks" involved in making cloth, especially splicing fibers and spinning thread. Indeed, she reprints a number of poignant poems, written by men, which depict women cloth-producers, in general, and in some cases silk-workers in particular, as oppressed by their hard labor and especially by the system of taxation which requires the delivery of cloth to the state.<sup>26</sup>

While I have only recently encountered Ebrey's work, I plan to use the following thirteenth-century Chinese poem she includes as a counter-balance to the rosy account in *The Living Reed*, in order to encourage my students to think about the exploitative as well as liberatory aspects of labor, and the subordinate role that women could occupy in a system of household

production.<sup>27</sup>

*Wu people are pressed for time in the third month of spring.*

*The silkworms have finished their third sleep and are famished.*

*The family is poor, without cash to buy mulberry leaves to feed to them.*

*What can they do? Hungry silkworms do not produce silk.*

*The daughter-in-law and the daughter talk to each other as they carry the baskets.*

*Who knows the pain they feel in their hearts?*

*The daughter is twenty but does not have wedding clothes.*

*Those the government sends to collect taxes roar like tigers.*

*If they have no clothes to dress their daughter, they can still put the [wedding] off.*

*If they have no silk to turn over to the government, they will go bankrupt.*

*The family next door went bankrupt and is already scattered.*

*A broken-down wall, an abandoned well – the sadness of out-migration.*

The poem, by Wen-hsiang, also illustrates the long tradition of protest against state policies, and on behalf of the common people, by some Chinese intellectuals, which is itself a valuable perspective for students. While the poem focuses on a poor family, rather than the elite family of *The Living Reed*, Wen-hsiang makes visible, if one is willing to extrapolate just a bit, the faceless servant women who labored under Sunia's direction in Buck's account. Moreover, students might recognize in this ironic account of a silk-worker who lacks wedding clothes similarities with popular and literary accounts in other cultures of shoemakers, for example, whose children are without shoes, or textile workers dressed in rags.

Francesca Bray, meanwhile, devotes three chapters to women's textile work in her book, *Technology and Gender: Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China*. Bray follows Kuhn and Ebrey in emphasizing women's contribution to the Chinese imperial state up to the Sung Dynasty through their production of cloth that was subject to taxation. She expands on Kuhn's discussion of the skill required by these female spinners and weavers, observing, for example, that "technical knowledge as well as the responsibility for production were controlled and managed by women." Bray cites an eleventh-century male writer, who, in describing innovations in silk production, credited his wife, who had learned silk-making as a girl, for this new knowledge. Bray also explains at length, building on Ebrey's analysis, the gradual erosion of the clear division of labor between men and women in cloth production, beginning in the late Sung era and accelerating during the Ming Dynasty, as – to give just two of the many factors that Bray explores – new fashions demanded more elaborate production

methods that could not be accomplished within rural households, and the spread of cotton cultivation led to a regional division of labor. Bray also corroborates, in a sense, Buck's decision to focus on silk production rather than weaving silk cloth, as the former notes that the two processes increasingly became separate, although Buck states that weaving was done "in the country" in Korea while Bray points to larger urban workshops as the production sites. Indeed, Bray concludes, "The main rural contribution, still predominantly female, to fancy silks between the Song and the late Ming was the breeding of silkworms and reeling of raw silk" – exactly the processes that Buck described in *The Living Reed*. Bray also points to a 1956 Chinese short story which described women's involvement in the care for silkworms in very maternal terms, not unlike those that Buck employs in her novel.<sup>28</sup>

Aside from the wealth of detail, Bray adds two main conceptual strands to the discussion, one of which challenges Buck's analysis and one of which supports it. Bray observes that Qing empresses resurrected the sericultural rituals at a time when "the popular industry they were intended to promote had changed almost beyond recognition." The invocation of the "old customs," as Buck had phrased it, was therefore not so much about actual silk production, but about reinscribing gender norms as a means of solidifying imperial power, despite the erosion in fact of both traditional gender roles and relations between emperor and subject. On the other hand, Bray argues forcefully, as Buck does implicitly, that the women's sphere of textile production in the "inner quarters" of the household in China, because of its importance to family income and imperial taxation, and because of its connection to young women's dowries, does not correspond to the "domestic sphere" of Western households of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as it was not strictly isolated from the public realm. Thus, Bray offers an alternative to Ebrey's view of the meaning of cloth production, in that the former maintains that women did gain status in the family from their labor and from their direct contribution to tax payments. Women's participation in textile production in China could, therefore, press against the boundaries of Confucian ideology and strengthen women's identification with each other; it also shows that the household could be a site of production rather than (as in Western "separate spheres") simply reproduction. Bray concludes that modern feminist conceptualizations of Chinese women as simply oppressed – by their bound feet, seclusion in the home, and subjection to fathers and husbands – represent "our own historical experience of industrialization," which relegated women's roles primarily to reproduction and domesticity, rather than a true engagement with Chinese women's experiences. Nevertheless, Bray ends by emphasizing the loss of Chinese women's status with the relative decline of their special role in cloth production by the Qing dynasty.<sup>29</sup>

Bray's work is too complex and detailed to assign to a first-year world history class, and even Ebrey's chapter is most useful as background information for a teacher and for the primary sources that it includes. But a very readable distillation of the two perspectives, along with some of their main pieces of evidence, now appears in a three-page section on "Textile Production" in Tang and Sung China in *Envisioning Women in World History*, volume I, by Catherine Clay, Chandrika Paul, and Christine Senecal, a book which should be easily accessible for teachers and professors, and which may profitably be assigned to students.<sup>30</sup> I will continue to assign the excerpt from *The Living Reed*, nevertheless, because its fictional narrative, didactic though it might be, has shown that it attracts student interest. And while I have not assigned other sections of this novel to my classes, I do usually try to mention to my students a few of the other respectful ethnographic characterizations that Buck includes in this epic. She describes, for example, the workings of the ondul floor, a heated flooring system invented during Korea's Yi Dynasty, and the recipes for kimchee, the national dish based on cabbage and spices, and the Korean creation myth which bears some relationship to Christianity, as the son of god is born on earth.<sup>31</sup> A more ambitious use of the novel in World History II could involve discussions of Russian and Japanese imperialism in Korea, the connections between Korean and Chinese revolutionary movements from the 1910s to the 1940s, and the disenchantment that many Koreans felt over the American failure to work for their independence in 1910, 1919, and at other points.

When, in 1998, I first started using the excerpt from *The Living Reed* on silk production as a site of women's labor and technological sophistication, I was familiar in only the most general terms with the scholarly literature on the subject. My review of works by Kuhn, Ebrey, and Bray has confirmed my judgment that, despite its elision of the issue of change over time, and its transposition from the more familiar China to Korea, Pearl Buck's historical novel is a credible source for students on this issue. My investigation over the past ten years of what survey textbooks in world history say (and do not say) about women's labor in China and east Asia has also reinforced my decision to use this supplementary resource. Explaining clearly the process of silk production is of great importance for three reasons, in the end: it is such an important commodity in world history as well as east Asian regional history; it demonstrates the extraordinary knowledge of the natural world that a non-Western, pre-industrial society developed so long ago, which is a good definition of technology in the broadest sense;<sup>32</sup> and it demonstrates the integral connections between women, labor, and economic achievement.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Pearl S. Buck, *The Living Reed* (New York: John Day Co.,

1963), 55-58; a reprint edition was issued in 1990 by Moyer Bell Ltd. of Mount Kisco, N.Y. For a contemporary favorable review of this novel in the leading scholarly journal on Asia, see Kyung Cho Chung, review, *Journal of Asian Studies* 23 (May 1964): 481-482.

<sup>2</sup> For a suggestive essay on the significance of the transmission of clothing styles across regions, which mentions but does not emphasize silk clothing, see Kenneth Pomeranz, "Social History and World History: From Daily Life to Patterns of Change," *Journal of World History* 18 (March 2007): 69-98, esp. 76-78.

<sup>3</sup> Francis Bacon, "New Organon," excerpted in Alfred Andrea and James Overfield, eds., *The Human Record: Sources of Global History*, vol. II, 3rd Edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 152-53. Unfortunately, the editors have chosen not to include this selection, which was very useful in teaching not only about silk but about magnetism, gunpowder and other technological developments, in more recent editions of this primary sourcebook; see the 5th Edition, 2005.

<sup>4</sup> Merry Wiesner-Hanks, "World History and the History of Women, Gender, and Sexuality," *Journal of World History* 18 (March 2007): 53-67.

<sup>5</sup> Jerry Bentley and Herb Ziegler, *Traditions and Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past*, vol. I, 3rd Edition (New York: McGraw Hill, 2006), 198, 287-312 (esp. 294-295), 317, 326-327.

<sup>6</sup> Jerry Bentley and Herb Ziegler, *Traditions and Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past*, vol. II, 2nd Edition (New York: McGraw Hill, 2003), 735, 866.

<sup>7</sup> Richard Bulliet et al., *The Earth and Its Peoples: A Global History*, vol. I, 2nd edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001), 58, 167, 164, 190-192, 201-207, 220, 280-281, 331, and esp. 161.

<sup>8</sup> William Duiker and Jackson Spielvogel, *World History* (Minneapolis: West Publishing, 1994), esp. 85, 338.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Strayer, *Ways of the World: A Brief Global History*, vol. I (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2009), 91, 213, 219-226.

<sup>10</sup> Craig Lockard, *Societies, Networks, and Transitions: A Global History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2008), 84, 121, 129, 132, 308, 693, 1001, and passim. Lockard's index includes references to twenty different pages on the Silk Roads, and the term appears in two subheadings, in chapters 5 and 7.

<sup>11</sup> Lockard, *Societies, Networks, and Transitions*, 131, 693.

<sup>12</sup> Peter Stearns, Michael Adas, Stuart Schwartz, and Marc Gilbert, *World Civilizations: The Global Experience*, 3rd Edition (New York: Longman, 2001), 96, 441, 914, and esp. 422 and C-3.

<sup>13</sup> Kevin Reilly, ed., *Worlds of History: A Comparative Reader*, vol. I, 3rd Edition (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2007), esp. Natalie Angier, "Furs for Evening, but Cloth was the Stone Age Standby," at 2-9. A similar analysis, from E.J.W. Barber's *Prehistoric Textiles* (1991), appears in one of the earliest efforts to survey women's history within a world history framework, in Sarah Shaver Hughes and Brady Hughes, *Women in World History*, vol. I (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), 20-22, which also has no substantive discussion of silk. Volume II of *Women in World History* (1997), at 60-62, has a section on "Family Production of Cotton Cloth" in the chapter on women in the Mughal Empire, with two excerpts from secondary sources, and, at 79, there is a brief description of women's tasks in growing fibers, spinning thread, and weaving cloth in sixteenth-century Europe.

<sup>14</sup> Paul Adams, Erick Langer, Lily Hwa, Peter Stearns, and Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *Experiencing World History* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 158, 198.

<sup>15</sup> Robert Tignor, Jeremy Adelman, Stephen Aron et al., *Worlds Together, Worlds Apart: A History of the Modern World from the Mongol Empire to the Present* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002), 27, 30, 31, 82, 240, and passim. Tignor et al reprint, at 298, the same graphic of the late nineteenth-century Japanese silk factory that appears in *Traditions and Encounters*, but do not note in their caption the gendered division of labor. Tignor and most of his co-authors are associated with Princeton University.

<sup>16</sup> Robert Tignor, Jeremy Adelman, Peter Brown et al, *Worlds Together, Worlds Apart: A*

*History of the World*, vol. I, 2nd Edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 2008), 266-267, 290.

<sup>17</sup> Buck, *The Living Reed*, 55. All quotations in this paragraph and the next are from *The Living Reed*, 55-58.

<sup>18</sup> See, for just one example, the introductory sections entitled "Searching for Victors as Well as Victims," and "Differences Among Women," in Hughes and Hughes, *Women in World History*, vol. I, 5-6.

<sup>19</sup> Robert Shaffer, "Pearl S. Buck and the American Internationalist Tradition," Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 2003, esp. chap. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Dieter Kuhn, *Textile Technology: Spinning and Reeling*, vol. 5, part IX, in *Science and Civilization in China*, Joseph Needham, ed. (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 301-314. Surprisingly, Robert Temple, *The Genius of China: 3000 Years of Science, Discovery, and Invention* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986), the "popular" condensation of Needham's extensive work, has no mention of silk production, perhaps because it was published before Kuhn's volume.

<sup>21</sup> Kuhn, *Textile Technology*, 291-292, 339, 315, 341, 344, 248-259, quotations at 291 and 254.

<sup>22</sup> Kuhn, *Textile Technology*, 2. "Bast fibres" are fibers derived from the stems of plants, such as hemp and ramie.

<sup>23</sup> Kuhn, *Textile Technology*, 204, and 211-213 for graphics of women operating spindle-wheels. These improvements were for both cotton and silk production.

<sup>24</sup> Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters: Marriage and the Lives of Chinese Women in the Sung Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 131-151, esp. 138-142. For an account of silk production in twentieth-century village Japan, that should be available in most school and university libraries, see Monica Sone, *Nisei Daughter* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979 [Boston: Little, Brown, 1953]), 99. Sone, a Japanese American visiting her father's ancestral home in the 1930s, describes the entire family's participation in the process, but emphasizes the reeling of the threads from the cocoons, which required long hours and patience, as women's work. Weaving, Sone writes, was done by "local weavers," whose gender she did not specify.

<sup>25</sup> Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters*, esp. 132-134, 137, 145, 147.

<sup>26</sup> Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters*, 134, 149-150.

<sup>27</sup> Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters*, 150.

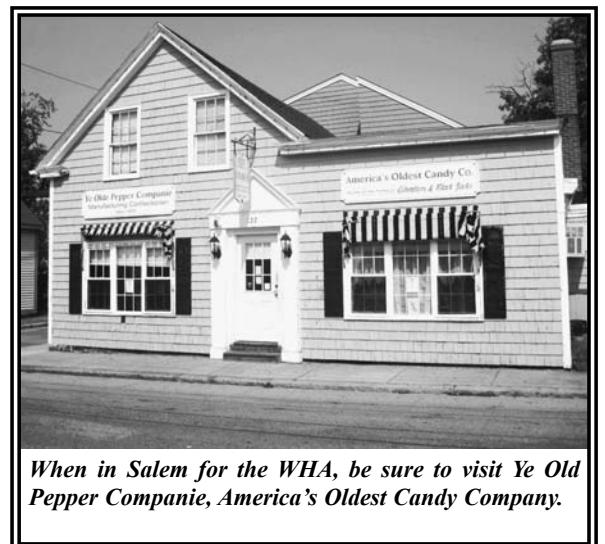
<sup>28</sup> Francesca Bray, *Technology and Gender: Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 183-272, esp. 186, 205, 208, 211, 214, 232-233, 235., 248.

<sup>29</sup> Bray, *Technology and Gender*, 251-252, 263, 265, 270-271.

<sup>30</sup> Catherine Clay, Chandrika Paul, and Christine Senecal, *Envisioning Women in World History*, vol. I (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2009), 110-112.

<sup>31</sup> Buck, *The Living Reed*, 52, 61, 427.

<sup>32</sup> For a similar definition, see Bulliet et al., *The Earth and Its Peoples*, xiii.



*When in Salem for the WHA, be sure to visit Ye Old Pepper Companie, America's Oldest Candy Company.*

# Nature, Biology, Culture and the Origins of Technology in the Plio-Pleistocene

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Our search for the origins of technology—by which I simply mean any device or technique which extends human capacities—invariably takes us far back into prehistory, back to a time more than two million years ago when the earliest forms of the genus *Homo*, collectively known as *Homo habilis* or “handy man,” were indisputably present in East Africa. As historians, we find ourselves immediately frustrated by the difficulties paleoanthropologists have experienced in their efforts to describe the splitting of the genus *Homo* from the australopithecine branch of hominid evolution. The period from 3 to 2.5 million years ago constitutes a virtual blank in the fossil record. Furthermore, what we may be inclined to lump together as habilines may actually have been several closely related species.

At a minimum, some experts insist on differentiating *Homo rudolfensis* from *Homo habilis*, a distinction consistent with the impression that species diversity characterized hominid evolution throughout its history. Others explain substantial variations in terms of pronounced sexual dimorphism. Although the branching off of habilines must have involved mutations in the genetic structure of existing australopithecines, we cannot yet determine whether morphological alterations occurred in small increments or in dramatic spurts of 100,000 years or less. An abrupt species transition apparently did take place about 2.6 million years ago, and the brain size of habilines jumped appreciably around 600,000 years later. But beyond enlarged cranial capacity, which became roughly half that of modern humans by 1.8 million years ago, *Homo habilis* remained remarkably ape-like. Habilines were small, lightly built creatures, three or four feet in height, and sixty or seventy pounds in weight. Especially with their long arms, they resembled australopithecines from the neck down. When considered in strictly biological terms, they did not represent a momentous evolutionary advance.

As with their physical features, so with their behavioral attributes, habilines continued many earlier hominid patterns. Unprepared to handle cold weather, they may have reached the coastline of the Middle East in isolated bands, but most of the time they must have remained south of the Sahara, confining themselves to small, incessantly moving groups. They never established real home bases, but probably relied on safe cache sites to which they returned time and again. Plant

foods constituted the bulk of their diet, although they seemed to have consumed meat on a regular basis. Less adept at climbing than australopithecines, they nonetheless scrambled into the treetops to pick fruit, to sleep, or to elude predators. They had an upright posture that seemed to indicate a virtual mastery of bipedalism. Given such continuities, what distinctive traits can we identify that would place habilines on a unique adaptive pathway? What characteristics now considered typical of our lineage indisputably set them apart from australopithecines?

Archeologists have found an answer in the earliest evidence for systematic tool manufacturing—a momentous accomplishment that gave birth to the development of culture as a primary adaptive mechanism for humankind. No later than 2.4 million years ago, East African hominids, who may have been the immediate precursors of *Homo habilis*, rather suddenly started to modify water-smoothed pebbles and rocks gathered in river beds, fashioning them into rudimentary stone artifacts suitably shaped to fit immediate needs. Soon after 1.9 million years ago, habilines had at their disposal an array of simple but clearly recognizable choppers, scrapers, burins, and hammerstones, all made in set patterns created by striking a core with a smaller stone to chip off a few sharp-edged flakes.

Known as the Oldowan industry, this basic technique for producing crude but advantageous devices eventually spread throughout much of Africa and Eurasia, continuing to be practiced in isolated areas as recently as 200,000 years ago. In

*As habilines moved into a gathering and hunting context, the social organization of their small bands underwent commensurate alterations.*

the short run, however, the Oldowan tool kit certainly enhanced the habilines' chances of survival by allowing them to exploit savanna environments more efficiently. With the climates of East and South Africa becoming increasingly arid, they may have taken advantage of their stone tools to forage and hunt on a more regular basis in the expanding open woodlands and savannas, especially in places where greater meat consumption meant the difference between life and death.

Habilines could not have been the first creatures to rely on tools. To a limited extent, australopithecines surely used pieces of wood, bone splinters, and unmodified stones as spears, digging sticks, clubs, and pounding devices; and their recourse to tools must have involved activities a bit more varied and central to their lives than anything primatologists have found in the behavior of chimpanzees, the most sophisticated tool users among the other primates. Besides pushing twigs into termite nests to extract the edible insects, chimpanzees sometimes brandish clubs and throw objects to protect themselves. Such accomplishments, requiring only a modicum of foresight and problem-solving ability, bring immediate rewards and involve minimal modification of objects whose natural shapes suggest their possible functions.

As reasonably adept toolmakers, however, habilines must have been self-consciously aware of their actions. They had to possess an enlarged capacity to recall past experiences and anticipate future possibilities. With mental images of the desired objects already in mind, they needed to be able to collect stones of appropriate kinds and sizes, imagine how those stones would fracture when struck in particular ways, repeatedly produce devices with similar forms, and then purposely retain them for use at other times and places. In the development of the Oldowan tool industry, *Homo habilis* revealed a degree of creativity that no australopithecine or other primate could possibly have replicated.

The invention of stone tools nonetheless resulted in surprisingly few immediate behavioral changes. Around 2 million years ago, habilines occasionally made bone artifacts and were starting to refine their woodworking skills. Several hundred thousand years later, they may have built the oldest windbreaks and crudely enclosed shelters. From scattered archeological evidence, we can reasonably suppose that soon thereafter they traded for artifacts manufactured as much as ten miles from their cache sites. Reasonably sharp, intentionally designed Oldowan tools helped them accomplish with greater efficiency such already familiar tasks as cutting, chopping, scraping, and digging, bringing about advantages which allowed them to broaden their subsistence strategies through increased dependence on meat. While the bulk of their diet still consisted of vegetable foods, habilines probably turned with growing frequency to opportunistic scavenging of predator kills and expert tracking of small game animals. Although their hunting activities remained limited and they may never have been able to prey upon large mammals, they were obviously defining the basic contours of the gathering and hunting adaptation in which our direct ancestors spent most of their history.

As habilines moved into a gathering and hunting context, the social organization of their small bands underwent commensurate alterations. Hunting even on a modest scale surely encouraged cooperation and food-sharing between individuals well beyond what we find among chimpanzees. Assuming that males always did much of the hunting, habilines probably established a clearer division of labor between the sexes, although males must have continued to help females in their vital food-gathering chores, especially when hunting prospects seemed unpromising, while the females participated in the butchering and transporting of scavenged meat. The evolutionary enlargement of the brain that coincided with the extension of hunting activities may have retarded the physical maturation of newborn habilines, further intensifying group interaction by prolonging the parental care invested in youngsters.

The demands placed on individuals by complicated social relationships may also have contributed to the development of the brain, which accelerated with *Homo habilis* after several mil-

lion years of only modest change. Manual dexterity, bipedalism, and tool use simultaneously showed signs of improvement, all evolving together with enhanced mental capacity. By the time they were crafting Oldowan tools, habilines had brains roughly half the size of those possessed by modern humans. But size alone did not open up the cognitive gulf between habilines and other primates. What made the human brain truly distinctive was its division into two asymmetrically structured hemispheres, each containing identifiable areas designed to control particular mental and behavioral functions. Among other consequences now vital to our existence, this lopsided arrangement ultimately made about eighty percent of us right-handed, a tendency that became evident for the first time in the tool making abilities of *Homo habilis*. Stone artifacts associated with the Oldowan industry seem to have been produced by right-handed creatures, a likely symptom of significant modifications in the architecture of the cerebral cortex. Deliberately shaped stone tools were themselves indicative of unprecedented conceptual ability, for even the most primitive craftsman had to envisage the desired object lying within an unchipped pebble and devise manufacturing techniques appropriate for its production.

Like tool-making, articulate speech, often regarded as humankind's supreme innovation, was both an outgrowth of and stimulus for brain development. While paleoanthropologists have not been able to establish when our distant ancestors began to speak, we can safely assume that the evolution of a full capacity for language was a slow process. Virtually every animal can communicate in some fashion, but vocal signals, facial gestures, and body postures do not necessarily constitute a true language, which involves an understanding of signs as a system of symbols imparting to particular things and events a host of meanings far beyond what can be acquired through sensory awareness. Only human beings have a capacity for symbolic communication that truly carries them into the realm of abstract ideas and universal concepts. Habilines surely did not acquire a spoken language like those we know today. Yet they may have possessed a feature of the cerebral cortex known as Broca's area, a region connected with speech in modern humans. Despite their immature larynx, which would have limited the range of sounds they uttered, habilines may have articulated a combination of vowels and consonants adequate for the exchange of some genuinely complicated ideas.

Once habilines, showing signs of heightened self-awareness, possessed the crude beginnings of language and a few fabricated material objects in the form of Oldowan tools, they must have been better prepared for survival through adaptations to the environment based on cultural as well as biological factors. They presumably had sufficient mental capacity to support a modest but expanding constellation of shared ideas, values, beliefs, and behavioral norms that imparted greater predictability to group interactions, and

that could be learned readily by succeeding generations. Compared to australopithecines, they were thus more dependent on information stored in the cells of their brains rather than the molecules of their genes. Without intending to do so, they had moved further away from purely instinctual behavior and introduced the possibility of cultural evolution into their lives.

When superimposed on an evolutionary timescale, the development of early hominids into habilines assumes the appearance of a breathtaking punctuation. In just 2 million years or so, our kind had become proficient bipeds, accomplished toolmakers, and adept socializers. They must have been emotionally responsive, and already displayed an amazing propensity for symbolism. In retrospect, we know that irregular and unpredictable pathways lay between habilines and anatomically modern humans. But given how we view ourselves, we are understandably tempted to view the origins of the genus *Homo*, bringing with it the earliest manifestations of technology among other things, as a critical milestone in the formation of intelligent life on planet Earth. And for world historians, the accomplishments of *Homo habilis* dramatize the relevance of what we once called prehistory for an understanding not only of particular problems such as the beginnings of technological innovation, but also of the long and complicated processes by which our kind became fully human.

#### FURTHER READINGS:

- Ciochon, Russell L. and John G. Fleagle (eds.). *The Human Evolution Source Book*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1993.
- Gibson, Kathleen R. and Tim Ingold (eds.). *Tools, Language and Cognition in Human Evolution*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Klein, Richard G. *The Human Career: Human Biological and Cultural Origins*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Lewin, Roger, *Human Evolution*. Fourth Edition; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Science, Inc., 1999.
- Renfrew, Colin. *The Explanation of Culture Change: Models in Prehistory*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973.



### ***Teaching Science and Technology in World History: Notes from the Field***

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Nearly a decade ago, my department started offering thematically focused world history courses in place of most of our sections of the

standard World Civilizations survey. Since my primary field is the history of science, I decided to call my course Science and Technology in World History. In this article, I will share with you what I have learned in my four years of teaching this course. I hope that doing so will not only encourage my fellow historians of science and technology to undertake a similar course, but also provide other historians with some tools to incorporate more science and technology into their world history classes.

Viewing science and technology through a world-historical frame is no simple task, especially when done at the introductory, undergraduate level. For one thing, historians of science and technology have come quite late to the world-historical perspective, and there are still precious few texts available that are accessible to lower-level undergraduates. In fact, thinking about science and technology in world-historical terms is so new that there is no standard metanarrative for the world history of science and technology as there is for other areas of history. Another challenge for this type of course is that the students who most tend to gravitate to classes in the history of science and technology – namely, science and engineering students – can be disproportionately resistant to contemporary world historiography. That is, the still pervasive belief that the story of science and technology is a Whiggish tale of progressive accomplishment, largely achieved in the West. This narrow view does not sit well with the broader world-historical view that the world's cultures deserve equal attention and should not be evaluated according to Eurocentric standards. However, I see this Whiggishness as part of the fun and challenge of teaching Science and Technology in World History. In fact, at the end of my course, many of my students report being astonished that they had once held onto this last, stubborn shard of ethnocentrism.

The guiding assumption of my course is that there are many ways of structuring our knowledge of nature, just as there are many ways to design tools to manipulate our environment. What we now call science and technology does not exhaust the possibilities for understanding and manipulating the natural world, but they have been particularly successful strategies for doing so. My course seeks to explain how the set of practices that we call science and technology developed, why that set of practices has come to be privileged over others, and how the broader story of world history can help us to answer those questions. We constantly ask how the natural and social environment of a particular culture shaped the way that its people understood and manipulated nature. What needs and desires did these people have, and how did they answer those needs and desires through the study of the natural world and the construction of technologies? In short, I envision the course not only as an introduction to the history of science and technology, but also as a topic-specific lens into the broader scheme of world history.

We begin with prehistory, and discuss what archeologists have revealed about the natural knowledge and technologies of humans before the advent of writing. The work of archaeoastronomers like Anthony Aveni is especially useful in this part of the course, for in that case, there are quite tangible, relatively clear signs that prehistoric cultures had a sophisticated, intensive interest in celestial patterns.<sup>1</sup>

We move on fairly quickly to the first settled societies, where we focus on a comparison between

classical Greece and Han China, supported by G. E. R. Lloyd's difficult but fascinating book, *The Ambitions of Curiosity: Understanding the World in Ancient Greece and China*.<sup>2</sup> Lloyd explains how the very different political and social contexts in these two cultures led to equally divergent metaphysical commitments and institutional frameworks for scholars. In my lectures, I also make sure to continue to inject information about contemporaneous cultures that were not settled or literate, so that we can continue to interrogate whether a society must have a settled, agricultural lifestyle and written language in order to form a complex natural knowledge system.

In the following unit on postclassical societies, we continue to explore the standard world history themes by asking what effect the introduction of world religions and more intensive global trade had on natural knowledge and technology. Here again, there is much more ample material for literate cultures, particularly those of China, the Islamic world, and Europe. In fact, the 300-pound gorilla in the room during this period in the history of science is why Europe started out the postclassical period as a scholarly and technological backwater, but finished the period with the Scientific Revolution, typically seen as one of the cornerstones of European dominance in world history. My course examines this question carefully. We learn, for one thing, that the question contains some faulty assumptions, such as the notion that every culture *should* have had the Scientific Revolution, and, therefore, any culture that *did not* must be examined for defects.<sup>3</sup> Throwing off this assumption allows us to see in a whole new light the effect of Christianity, Islam, Confucianism, and Taoism on the sciences. Instead of being barriers to modern science, these metaphysical frames are *constitutive* of natural knowledge in its various iterations. In addition, we begin to see how “modern science and technology” find their roots not only in European culture, but in Islamic, Chinese, Indian, and many other sources.

The final two units of the course consider the early modern and modern periods, and focus particularly on Europe and the United States' relationship with the rest of world. There is some danger in this strategy of descending into an outdated “West and the Rest” mentality. However, in the case of science and technology, which are so

strongly associated with modern Western culture, I do think it is still useful to keep a tight focus on Europe and the U.S. Done properly, this focus does not have to mean ethnocentrism. In my course, we consider, for example, how the further expansion of world trade and exploration helped to cross-pollinate natural knowledge and technological traditions globally. We examine how Europeans began to use scientific and technolog-

... we begin to see how “modern science and technology” find their roots not only in European culture, but in Islamic, Chinese, Indian, and many other sources.

ical sophistication as prime markers of savagery and civilization.<sup>4</sup>

We explore in particular depth how empire shaped the world history of science and technology: to what extent European science and technology was introduced elsewhere, how much it changed in particular colonial environments, what modern science absorbed from nonwestern natural knowledge traditions (and thus to what extent modern science is really western), and how non-scientific traditions have been preserved in the colonial and postcolonial world. One of the more interesting discussions we have in this class is about the following, sticky dilemma faced by many postcolonial societies: should those societies cultivate modern science and technology as much as possible at the risk of perpetuating western cultural imperialism, or should they cultivate “traditional” forms of natural knowledge and technology at the risk of falling behind economically? This was a debate that famously divided Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, but there are many other examples. The discussion of empire and science also highlights how much colonial attitudes continue to shape our understanding of the world history of science and technology. Students find it painful but also provocative to consider how much their own initial assumptions about the western and progressive nature of science drew from deep, ethnocentric roots.

That said, I do not mean for the class to be yet another fruitless exercise in liberal guilt. Rather, I encourage students in the future to examine non-scientific natural knowledge traditions in order to find novel ideas that could be explored for scientific benefits. I also show them repeatedly that the sciences and technology can be used as both tools of liberation and oppression, sometimes even simultaneously. For example, we discuss Richard Grove's fascinating thesis that the roots of modern environmentalism lie in the scientific work done on island colonies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>5</sup> We also look at the modern field of ethnoscience as both an attempt to revive prematurely dismissed, non-western natural knowledge traditions, as well as a pretext for bioprospecting, which has sometimes been quite exploitative.

Finally, we end the course by reading David Edgerton's provocative book, *The Shock of the Old: Technology and Global History since 1900*.<sup>6</sup> Edgerton argues that the history of technology should center more on *use* than on *invention*. If

we train our historical gaze on which technologies get used rather than on the moment of their invention, two important things happen. First, we realize that the technologies that seem very important in the moment of their invention (because they are large, expensive, different) do not always matter as much as old technologies (precisely because they are not large and expensive). Second, we realize that a focus on use leads us to a more truly global history of technology. Almost to a person, my students loved reading and discussing this book.

The assignments for the course are in many respects typical of an undergraduate world history course. Students must complete a take-home midterm and final exam. They also write short, periodic papers in which they respond to a specific question that I have posed for them to think about as they read that day's assignment. My class is relatively small (no more than 25 students), so I also consider class participation an important component of the learning process and their final grade. I have found that, given the complexity of some of the readings and the large scale of the course's chronology, I have to lecture for at least 20 minutes of each 75-minute class meeting. However, I also select readings that provoke discussion, and, in multiple ways, I encourage students to see history as a constructive process they can contribute to, rather than a passive body of information that they need to memorize.

As noted earlier, choosing readings for the course has proved a difficult challenge. In addition to the fact that the world-historical perspective has only recently made much headway into the history-of-science, it is also the case that much history of science scholarship is written for scholars rather than a wider audience.<sup>7</sup> This results in fairly slim pickings for the instructor of a course in science and technology in world history, but I was still able to compile a viable reading list, and the choices increase each year. Generally, I opt for texts that are more difficult to read but that provide richer opportunities for discussion and are more up-to-date historiographically speaking. For that reason, I have found that two of the more obvious options for this course are actually not optimal; I am speaking of James McClellan and Harold Dorn's *Science and Technology in World History* and Toby Huff's *Rise of Early Modern Science: Islam, China, and the West*.<sup>8</sup> To their credit, McClellan and Dorn do offer an accessible and wide-ranging overview of the world history of science and technology – the first of its kind – and for this alone the authors deserve appreciation. However, I have several problems with this book. First, the material is divided by areas of the world – e.g., a chapter on China, then one on the Middle East, and so on. This area-studies approach does not achieve the kind of integrative, world-historical approach that concords with current historiography. Second, once the book reaches the early-modern period, it focuses almost entirely on Europe and the United

States. Finally, the text itself has an arid, textbook quality that provides little opportunity for in-class discussion. I prefer texts that introduce students to how we historians interpret and debate about history.

Huff's book examines the question of why Europe had the enviable Scientific Revolution, when in previous centuries it would seem that China and the Islamic world were more scientifically and technologically sophisticated. Huff does a fine job of introducing the uninitiated to the worlds of postclassical Europe, China, Arabia, and Persia. He also has a well-argued and novel thesis about the legal underpinnings of the European Scientific Revolution. However, the book is seriously marred by its assumption that scientific revolution is a series of events that every world culture could and should have undertaken at some point in its history. Huff views as defects any cultural particularities in China and the Islamic world that might have "hindered" modern science. He construes the sciences' universality as inherent rather than historically constructed. That said, I still use selected chapters from Huff in my class as a foil for the more fully researched and tightly argued points made by historians like Nathan Sivin and George Saliba.<sup>9</sup>

I have found a number of online resources that provide valuable source materials for this course. They include:

- \* Science in Islam online exhibit ([www.mhs.ox.ac.uk/scienceislam/](http://www.mhs.ox.ac.uk/scienceislam/)) at the Museum of the History of Science, Oxford University. Also see their two online exhibits about astrolabes in Africa [www.mhs.ox.ac.uk/africa/](http://www.mhs.ox.ac.uk/africa/), India, the Middle East, and Europe ([www.mhs.ox.ac.uk/astrolabe/](http://www.mhs.ox.ac.uk/astrolabe/)).

- \* Library of Congress online exhibits on exploring the Americas ([myloc.gov/exhibitions/earlyamericas/Pages/default.aspx](http://myloc.gov/exhibitions/earlyamericas/Pages/default.aspx)) and world treasures ([www.loc.gov/exhibits/world/](http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/world/)) [the latter including dozens of images and captions explaining how world cultures have ordered and explained their universe].

- \* Starry Messenger online exhibit ([www.hps.cam.ac.uk/starry/](http://www.hps.cam.ac.uk/starry/)) on early world history of astronomy and astrology at the Whipple Museum of the History of Science, Cambridge University.

- \* Center for History and New Media (George Mason University): wonderful, online guides to analyzing primary sources, including a comparison of a Spanish map to an Aztec paintin ([chnm.gmu.edu/worldhistorysources/analyzing/mcimages/analyzingimgintro.html](http://chnm.gmu.edu/worldhistorysources/analyzing/mcimages/analyzingimgintro.html)) and John Ledyard's account of "natives" on the North American coast during Cook's third voyage ([chnm.gmu.edu/worldhistorysources/analyzing/narratives/analyzingnarrativesintro.html](http://chnm.gmu.edu/worldhistorysources/analyzing/narratives/analyzingnarrativesintro.html)).

- \* Victoria and Albert Museum collections online ([www.vam.ac.uk/collections/index.html](http://www.vam.ac.uk/collections/index.html)), which include hundreds of images of the world's technologies.

- \* Sujit Sivasundaram's bibliography of works on science and empire ([www.hps.cam.ac.uk/](http://www.hps.cam.ac.uk/)

[research/explore.html](http://research/explore.html)).

- \* Andrew Fraknoi's bibliography of works and web sites on the world history of astronomy ([www.astrosociety.org/education/resources/multiprint.html](http://www.astrosociety.org/education/resources/multiprint.html)).

For writing lectures, I have also found indispensable Helaine Selin's multiple encyclopedias on science in world history. They are costly, but definitely belong in the library of any institution that offers this course.<sup>10</sup>

Readers can view a complete syllabus for my course at the following web site: <https://segue.southwestern.edu/sites/greenmuc>. (Click on the "Science and Technology in World History syllabus" link on the left sidebar.) I also host a monthly podcast on the world history of science, technology, and medicine, called The Missing Link, which can be found at <http://missinglinkpodcast.com>. The podcast is aimed at a broad audience, and could be used in an undergraduate classroom.

#### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> For example, see Anthony Aveni, *Stairways to the Stars: Skywatching in Three Great Ancient Cultures* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1999).

<sup>2</sup> G. E. R. Lloyd, *The Ambitions of Curiosity: Understanding the World in Ancient Greece and China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

<sup>3</sup> The classic demolition of this defective model appears in Nathan Sivin, "Why the Scientific Revolution Did Not Take Place in China – Or Didn't It?" in *Science in Ancient China* (Aldershot, Hants: Variorum, 1995).

<sup>4</sup> The classic statement of the argument appears in Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990).

<sup>5</sup> A compact statement of this argument appears in Richard H. Grove, "The Origins of Western Environmentalism," *Scientific American* 267 (1992), 42-48. Also see his *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

<sup>6</sup> David Edgerton, *The Shock of the Old: Technology and Global History since 1900* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> A rousing call for more accessible work in the history of science appears in Steven Shapin, "Hyperprofessionalism and the Crisis of Readership in the History of Science," *Isis* 96 (2005), 238-243.

<sup>8</sup> James E. McClellan and Harold Dorn, *Science and Technology in World History: An Introduction*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); Toby E. Huff, *The Rise of Early Modern Science: Islam, China, and the West*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

<sup>9</sup> Sivin, "Why the Scientific Revolution Did Not Take Place in China"; George Saliba, *Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007).

<sup>10</sup> Helaine Selin, ed., *Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine in Non-Western Cultures*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Springer, 2008); idem., *Nature Across Cultures: Views of Nature and the Environment in Non-Western Cultures* (New York: Springer, 2003); idem., *Medicine Across Cultures: History and Practice of Medicine in Non-Western Cultures*; idem., *Astronomy Across Cultures: The History of Non-Western Astronomy* (New York: Springer, 2001); idem., *Mathematics Across Cultures: The History of Non-Western Mathematics* (New York: Springer, 2000).



WHA Reception in the Octagon during the WHA London Conference. Photo Courtesy of Christine Holloway.



John Van Sant and Emperor Trajan, during a visit to the Roman London Wall while attending the WHA London Conference. Photo Courtesy of John Van Sant.



WHA Panel Session at the 2008 London Conference. Photo Courtesy of Linda Miller.

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## ***From Global to Local: Technological Development and Evolution of the Ice Market***

**Alberto Grandi**

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*This paper describes changes in the market for refrigeration products following the invention and spread of methods of artificial ice production. The ice market was already global by the mid-19th Century, a long time before technology for artificial production was widely used.*

Demand for ice rose constantly from the beginning of the nineteenth Century, and particularly sharply at mid-century. In Western Europe, particularly England and France, local production soon failed to keep pace with demand, and American and Scandinavian producers filled the gap with regular commercial voyages. Ice was harvested in winter in New England or Norway and there were almost daily deliveries to the main ports in England and France.

The consolidation of trans-Atlantic trade did not however close traditional local and regional channels. In the second half of the nineteenth Century, the European "cold market" was structured in three concentric circles. There was an inner circle, a close-range market for snow and a second circle consisting of a regional or national market. The outer circle was the world market dominated by the U.S. and Norway. Of course, the three circles tended to overlap so that prices fell into line, although snow became more accessible and cheaper than ice.

The market structure changed in the last decade of the nineteenth Century, when artificial-ice production also started in Europe. But the "war" between natural and artificial ice was lengthy, and, in some cases, persisted even after the First World War. The end result was a new re-localisation of markets.

Ice factories could not rely on storage or long-distance freight of their product. They mainly sold ice door-to-door and their range of operations was very close to home. Intermediate natural-ice producers operating on a regional level were the first to feel the effects of competition from factories. Next were big international merchants and, lastly, the small local sellers of ice and snow went to the wall. They resisted the new competition for a long time because of low running costs in less industrialized areas. Technological development thus transformed the sector from one of closely integrated markets covering the world into one of numerous small non-integrated local markets.

This paper analyzes the transformation chronologically and quantitatively, and also qual-

itatively and technologically. First it looks at the growth in demand in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. It then focuses on the gradual spread of artificial-ice production and its effects on the whole industry.

***The Nineteenth Century Ice-Consumption Boom and Birth of the World Market*** - Ice and snow were two complementary products, but the constantly growing upward trend in demand made an increase in supply necessary as far back as the first half of the nineteenth century. Areas that were already specializing intensified their production, and improvements in transport gave rise to further and sometimes surprising growth. Ice from the Lessini Hills, in the province of Verona, travelled as far as the coasts of Dalmatia, travelling by river and lake across to Venice. It also travelled to Milan, on a three-day, or more precisely, a three-night journey.<sup>1</sup> Ice from the Upper Reno Valley covered a vast area which was practically the whole of Central Italy from Rome to Bologna.<sup>2</sup> Ice from Asiago in Veneto went to the port of Trieste where it was shipped as far away as Alexandria in Egypt.<sup>3</sup> There was a similar picture in France, where ice from the Alps went to Paris,<sup>4</sup> and in Spain, where ice from Murcia was almost wholly sent to Madrid.<sup>5</sup>

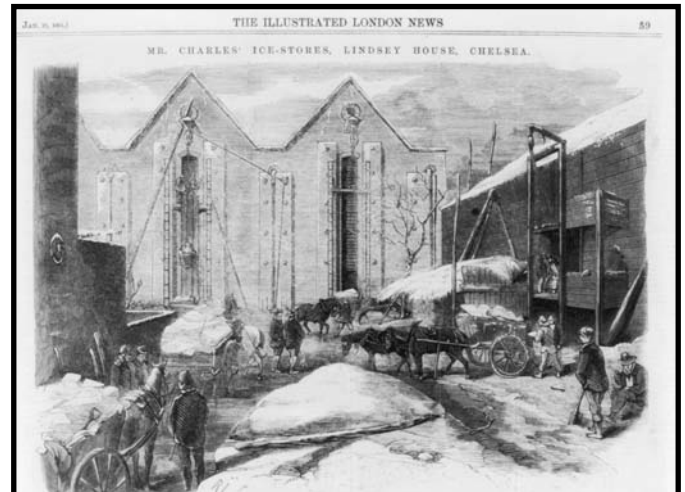
As far back as the early nineteenth century, in countries like France and England, local production no longer sufficed and ice was sent from Scandinavia on special ships using the most up-to-date insulation systems available.<sup>6</sup> But it was the U.S. which became the world's ice-trade leader. Ice from the Massachusetts lakes was reaching Martinique by 1806. In 1820, Havana was already a distribution centre for ice from North America, which was stored in extremely innovative ice storehouses and sold all over Central and Latin America.<sup>7</sup>

Between the 1830s and 1840s, a true craze for ice took hold in Europe, especially England and France. What had happened in the two previous decades in the U.S. now happened on the other side of the Atlantic. At the same time American producers were able to exploit the technological progress they had made in ice-cutting and storage. They invaded the thirsty European market with their product which was one third cheaper than ice from Scandinavia even allowing for transport costs.<sup>8</sup>

There was another factor in the growth of domestic demand for ice. Until the end of the eighteenth century, brick icehouses were the preserve of the few; only large residences both in the town and in the country had enough space and

only the wealthy could afford them. But soon after 1850, small wooden ice boxes started to become popular, first in England and then in the rest of Europe. They fast became an essential element in middle-class kitchens all over the Continent.<sup>9</sup> This innovation too came from the U.S., where ice boxes had started to spread before 1850.<sup>10</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century, in the U.S. and just before World War One in the U.K., domestic household demand accounted for about half the ice market.<sup>11</sup>

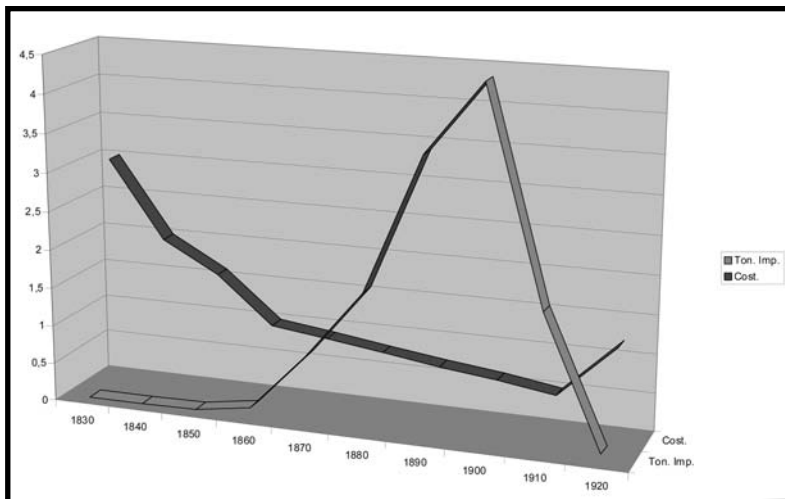
The overall fall in the prices of ice and snow completed the cycle of the spread of home ice



***Mr. Charles' Ice-Stores, Lindsey House, Chelsea: Carting the Ice.*** Illus. in *The Illustrated London News*, 19 January 1861. Source: U.S. Library of Congress Reproduction Number LC-USZ62-44061

boxes. Until the turn of the century, constant growth in demand was amply satisfied by the increase and rationalisation of supply, as well as by improved insulation techniques and transport. Thus, although cold storage was one of the costliest ways of preserving food at the turn of the century, in 1900, a tonne (metric ton) of ice from Norway cost only about ten shillings (half a Pound Sterling) in the Port of London.<sup>12</sup> On top of this, ice was the only truly domestic way of preserving food in that it was very versatile and could be used from day to day. The cold allowed the storage of different foods and drinks even for a few days. Other techniques such as smoking, drying, or using brine and oil were suitable for only one product at a time and for medium or long-term preservation.

As a result during the course of the nineteenth century, ice lost its status as a luxury product and became available to wide sectors of society. This was true of England and, to a slightly lesser extent, of France. In countries like Italy and Spain, where income growth and technological development was not as high as in England or even France, ice consumption rose and prices fell less markedly. Some of the same tendencies were however seen; the ice market was, as we saw, closely integrated in the last half of the nineteenth century.



**Figure 1. Quantity of Ice imported into England from Norway and Wholesale Prices, 1830-1920.** Source: R. David, "The Demise of the Anglo-Norwegian Ice Trade."

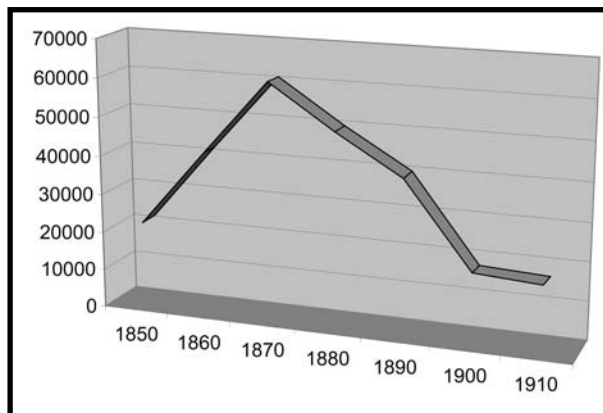
Figure 1 shows that there was a collapse in ice imports from Norway at the turn of the century at the same time as ice factories started to spread. Figure 2 shows the export trend of natural ice from the U.S. In America volume started to fall somewhat earlier, towards the end of the 1870s.

The boom in consumption of U.S. ice in England and Europe occurred just after the mid-nineteenth century. This was precisely the time when fierce competition started among American producers, based primarily on the quality and especially the transparency of the ice. After the first voyages by Frederic Tudor, who became known as the "Ice King"<sup>13</sup> in the U.S., other companies from the Boston area attempted to access the rich English market. In the 1840s, Gage, Hittinger & C. started regular commercial sailings between New England and London, but the most highly prized ice among the London élite quickly became that of the Wenham Lake Ice Company, from Beverly in Massachusetts, which was particularly transparent.<sup>14</sup> Although there is no systematic data to confirm this, it is likely that there were different qualities of ice for different purposes, sold at widely varying prices.<sup>15</sup>

The fashion and demand for ice of course spread to the colonies of the vast British Empire, and incredibly enough this too was met by American producers. In 1833, Frederic Tudor's ship, the *Tuscany*, left the port of Charlestown (Massachusetts) for Calcutta with 200 tonnes of ice on board. The voyage, almost entirely in tropical waters, took 180 days, and, by the time it reached Calcutta, there were still 100 tonnes of ice left to sell.<sup>16</sup> This voyage made a loss, but, from that time on, there were regular commercial sailings between the U.S. and India, and American ice travelled as far as Madras, Bombay, and Hong Kong. In the 1850s, American leadership in the international

ice market was undisputed, Tudor's company alone sold 146,000 tonnes of ice per year in Europe, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the British colonies in Asia. A similar quantity was used in local consumption, for beer brewing, fish processing, and industrial slaughterhouses in nearby Boston.<sup>17</sup>

So a wider circuit came into being around the two existing ones in the market. The local snow and ice market was now inside the wider regional or national circles and the new outer circuit covered the world and was dominated by the Americans. The constantly rising demand and the widening supply meant that the constrictions and limits of the ice trade were slowly removed. In Italy and France, the various licences and duties had already mostly disappeared by the mid nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup> This liberalization, along with amazing technological progress taking place in America and Scandinavia, rapidly brought down prices. In



**Figure 2. Export of Natural Ice from the United States, 1850-1910 (in tonnes).** Source: J. Utterback, *Mastering the Dynamics of Innovation*, p. 187.

1817, a tonne cost \$166 on the London market, and by 1834 it cost only \$25.<sup>19</sup> The fall in prices naturally led to a big rise in consumption.

These trends lasted until the early 1890s, when the natural-ice trade reached its maximum levels. In the meantime, the first artificial-ice factories, which were to turn the sector upside down almost immediately, were opening in the U.S. Traditional activities, however, took longer to disappear.

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**The Spread of Artificial Methods** - At first, ice factories did not spread rapidly, and they only really took off in the U.S. after 1890, and ten years later in Europe, particularly Britain. The first artificial ice factory in the U.S. was opened in California at the beginning of the 1860s.<sup>20</sup> French, German, English, and American inventors all claim to have invented the machinery, but in reality there were several models working in similar ways, rather than exactly the same way, patented in different countries almost at the same time. This is yet another indication of how important ice was, and the effort that was made to increase and stabilize output. One of the main problems was in fact the fluctuation in output, caused by the climate, which affected the price. American producers developed a system of increasing the amount of ice produced naturally, but supply was still insufficient when the climate was too warm or when demand was particularly high. In 1851, for example, there was an epidemic of Yellow Fever in the United States and the price of a tonne of ice rose from the usual \$20 - \$30 to \$75.<sup>21</sup>

At first, the number of factories rose slowly on both sides of the Atlantic. Nearly twenty years after the first factory, there were only 35 in the whole U.S. in 1879.<sup>22</sup> No figures are available for Europe, which may mean they were nonexistent, but the long "war" between natural and artificial ice had already started in both Europe and America.

The two methods of production coexisted for a long time. Natural-ice producers introduced an incredible series of small innovations to bring down production costs, and successfully met the challenge of the new industry for some time. Circular steam-powered saws were used for cutting ice blocks, and there was a system of "sawdust cutting" which prevented blocks from sticking together and thus reduced losses. In America, conveyors were installed to carry blocks from where they were extracted, to warehouses and railway wagons.<sup>23</sup> These were just some of the innovations, but it was the increasing upward trend in demand, especially in the U.S., which for many years disguised the obsolescence of natural-ice production. Its fate however was sealed.

In 1872, David Boyle patented the ammonia compressor, which was extremely efficient in thermodynamics and could also be used in very small inexpensive compressors. It upset, once and for all, the equilibrium between the two methods. In the 1880s and 1890s, ice factories multiplied first in America and, shortly afterwards, in Europe. In 1889, there were 222 ice factories in the U.S. and, in 1899, there were 1000. On the eve of the First World War, they numbered more than 3000.<sup>24</sup>

This trend took place at least ten years later in Europe.<sup>25</sup> Countries like France and Italy saw

a boom between 1905 and 1920 which peaked during the War when food preservation became a pressing need.<sup>26</sup> In 1920, there were 1100 ice factories in Italy, which is a high number, especially compared to the five thousand or so operating in the U.S. the same year. Italian factories, of course, tended to be significantly smaller than their American counterparts.

In the meantime, the fall in prices as well as further innovations led to a big change in the structure of demand, as households accounted for an increasingly important share. As we have seen, growth in household demand and the spread of ice boxes were decisive factors.

#### ***The Gradual Re-Localization of the Ice Trade***

When artificial ice came onto the market, the price of ice had already been falling steeply and it continued to fall for fifteen or twenty years. From this point of view, artificial-ice simply confirmed an existing trend, but in time its main consequence was to exclude natural-ice producers from the market. It is clear that natural ice, as a mature product with costs that could be lowered only very slightly, if at all, would not have made for a more “democratic” product.

However, the spread of the artificial product also had some negative effects. Figure 1 shows that after the initial downward phase, the price started to rise again in about 1910, and thus before the Great War. This happened because the spread of ice factories actually “de-globalized” the market. The factories were not equipped for the long-distance freight of ice and tended to form local cartels. Thus, by their very nature, each factory had an extremely localized client base.<sup>27</sup>

In fact, once domestic ice boxes became common in Europe and household demand was very high and not compressible manufacturers almost everywhere were quick to make agreements to keep competition under control and prices as high as possible. This was possible, of course, because the trade was very localized; it would have been practically impossible for American and Scandinavian producers, together with the myriad national and local producers, to form cartels on the world market. Now, on the other hand, the small number of manufacturers in the same towns or provinces found it easy to do so.

This tendency led to a rather paradoxical situation at the end of World War I in less industrialized areas like the south of Italy, Spain, and parts of the South of France. In areas where there were no ice factories and snow and natural ice were used, prices were much lower than elsewhere.<sup>28</sup> However, this method of production was no longer intensive and existed only in certain areas, and the product was thus consumed only locally.

Only domestic refrigerators would be able to destroy the local cartels. Further development of technology after World War II was able to wipe out a strong industry with a fundamental socioe-

conomic role almost everywhere in the developed world. The few surviving producers of natural ice were plunged into crisis too. In brief, ice stopped being a commercial product after about one hundred and fifty years of great importance in the world economy, particularly in countries like the U.S. and Norway.

**Conclusions** - The history of ice reflects a very specific relationship between technology and market integration, which could be described as “from local to global and back again.” It was progress in transportation, insulation and the spread of ice boxes that made the ice market global. This happened, of course, as incomes in countries like the U.S., England, and France were rising and empowering demand. Technological progress in the first half of the nineteenth century gave rise to the world ice market and also established the international hierarchy within it.

But the radical innovation of ice-making machinery not only turned the world market upside down; the market was completely wiped out, or rather converted back into an exclusively local one, where there was no need for world-level companies. This re-localization caused in the short term an increase in ice prices, which interrupted a more than a century-long trend of price falls. As we saw, this price increase was not directly linked to technological factors; progress in artificial-ice production had in fact made running costs practically negligible. The price trend was linked rather to low levels of competition and the increasing and inevitable tendency towards local monopolies.

The latter development, the invention of electrical refrigeration, meant that households could supply themselves with cold storage independently, thus making ice factories obsolete. From the 1950s onwards, the presence of ice factories in a region or country could be considered a fairly accurate indicator of its economic development and income levels.

The history of the ice market shows, I believe, that there are no automatic or one-directional links between technological development and market integration. Big innovations can have far-reaching effects on a market sector, and not necessarily favourable to consumers. Paradoxically, though only to a certain extent, regions that are less technologically developed and less integrated internationally may prove to be less affected by these changes.

1 Bruno Avesani and Fernando Zanini, *Quando il freddo era una risorsa* (Cerro Veronese, Amministrazione Comunale, 1990), 22-24.

2 Nicoletta Cinotti (ed.), *L'acqua, il freddo, il tempo. La produzione del ghiaccio naturale nei sec. XVIII-XX nell'Alta Valle del Reno* (Firenze, Alinea 1987), 32-37.

3 Ibid.

4 Ada Acovitsioti-Hameau, *L'artisanat de la glace en Méditerranée Occidentale* (Mazaugues, Ivar, 2001), 54-55.

5 Hugo Capel Saez, “El comercio de la nieve y los pozos de la Sierra Espuña,” *Estudios geográficos*, 110, (1968): 170-174.

6 Enrico Migliorini, “Il commercio di neve e ghiaccio,” *La*

*geografia nelle scuole*, IV (1959): 92-95.

7 Joseph C. Jones, *America's Ice Men: An Illustrative History of the United States Natural Ice Industry, 1665-1925* (Humble, Jobeco, 1984), 20-21.

8 James M. Utterback, *Mastering the Dynamics of Innovation* (Harvard, Harvard Business Press, 1996), 178-179.

9 Robert David, “The Demise of the Anglo-Norwegian Ice Trade,” *Business History*, v. 37, n.3 (1995), 53.

10 Henry Hall, *The Ice Industry in the United States* (Northampton, Mass. Early American Industries Association, 1974), 3.

11 Utterback, *Mastering the Dynamics of Innovation*, 181-182.

12 Ibid.

13 Gavin Weightman, *The Frozen Water Trade* (London, Harper 2002), 149-168.

14 John C. Phillips (ed.), *Wenham Great Pound* (Salem, Peabody Museum 1938), 36

15 Utterback, *Mastering the Dynamics of Innovation*, 180.

16 Ibid., 176.

17 Hall, *The Ice Industry in the United States*, 3.

18 In fact the privative system lasted in Southern and Central Italy until the end of the century and ended only when the first ice factories appeared. See Cinotti (ed.), *L'acqua, il freddo, il tempo*, 26-28.

19 Utterback, *Mastering the Dynamics of Innovation*, 180.

20 Oscar E. Anderson, *Refrigeration in America: A History of a New Technology and Its Impact* (Princeton, University Press, 1953), 43.

21 Ibid., 45.

22 Ibid., 86-87.

23 Utterback, *Mastering the Dynamics of Innovation*, 185-186.

24 Richard O. Cummings, *The American Ice Harvests: A Historical Study in Technology, 1800-1918* (Berkeley, University of California Press 1949).

25 This time lapse gave natural ice producers in America ten more years of life thanks to exports, as the national market was dominated by artificial ice. See Utterback, *Mastering the Dynamics of Innovation*, p. 187.

26 Ministero dell'interno, *Notizie statistiche sulle fabbriche di ghiaccio, sui frigoriferi per la conservazione di derrate alimentari e sui frigoriferi annessi ad industrie alimentari varie esistenti in Italia al 31 marzo 1920* (Roma, Ministero dell'Interno, 1921), 4.

27 David, “The Demise of the Anglo-Norwegian Ice Trade,” 53.

28 Hall, *The Ice Industry in the United States*, Washington, D.C., 1888, 3.

29 Utterback, *Mastering the Dynamics of Innovation*, 181-182.

30 Ministero dell'interno, *Notizie statistiche sulle fabbriche di ghiaccio* 11-12.

31 Ibid., 54.

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# Engineering in the Modern World

David P. Billington, Jr.

*Technology is a key driver of the modern world. It is also one of the least understood aspects of this world. My father and a colleague, Michael Littman, teach a one-semester course at the engineering school at Princeton University, "Engineering in the Modern World," in which I and others have worked as preceptors, researchers, or teaching assistants.<sup>1</sup> The course enrolls about 200 liberal arts and engineering students each fall and provides an overview of technical breakthroughs from the eighteenth century to the present. The ideas and content of the course provide engineering literacy in an accessible form that secondary students as well as undergraduates could find useful and engaging. Some of this material could be included in a world history survey.*

**Modern Engineering** -- To give students a framework for understanding modern technology, "Engineering in the Modern World" distinguishes between (1) science and engineering, (2) normal and radical innovation, (3) structure, machine, network, and process as the major kinds of engineering works, and (4) physical principles, social context, and individual vision as perspectives on innovation.

The core of modern technology is engineering. There is no general theory, method, or approach that is true of all engineering, but there is a basic difference between engineering and natural science that is a starting point for understanding each. Science is the *discovery* of things that occur in nature. Engineering is the *design* of things that do not exist in nature by themselves.<sup>2</sup> An engineer cannot design without knowing the laws of nature and the natural properties of things, but science does not tell us how to design a railroad, a car, an airplane, or a computer.

A second distinction within engineering is between two kinds of innovation, normal and radical. *Normal* innovation occurs in technologies that have been established for some time. Its aim is to make incremental improvements to existing things, or to make new things that use an already established idea. A more powerful auto engine and a faster microprocessor are incremental innovations. The first MP3 players were a new use of an existing innovation, the microchip. Normal innovation is rapid, ongoing, and often confused with all of innovation.

A very different activity is *radical* innovation. Occurring rarely, it usually begins with the reflection and insight of one or two individuals. It often deeply challenges conventional expert peer-group thinking, and the innovations that result bring into existence, or make practical, fundamentally new technologies and new industries that transform civilization. Our course focuses on a small number of radical innovations and on the

original thinking that went into conceiving them.

We consider radical the innovations of malleable iron, steel, metal arch and suspension cable bridges, the steam engine, the steamboat, the railroad, and the telegraph and telephone. We add to these electric power, the refining of gasoline, the automobile, and the airplane. Finally, we include nuclear energy, the jet engine, the U.S. space program, modern highways and skyscrapers, and the principal innovations in electronics: the vacuum tube (for radio and television), the transistor, the microchip, the computer, and the Internet. We do not cover agriculture and public health but a handful of breakthroughs in each field were also transformative.<sup>3</sup>

The distinction between normal and radical innovation is not absolute. Both demand original thinking. Radical prototypes also need improvement by normal engineering before they are ready for large-scale use, and the cumulative impact of normal improvements can be as dramatic as the original breakthroughs. But transformations begin with radical insights that need to be recognized as such.

"Engineering in the Modern World" groups innovation under four types: structure, machine, network, and process. A *structure* is an object that works by standing still, while a *machine* is an object that works by moving or having parts that move. A *network* transmits something from one point to another with a minimum of loss. A *process* transmutes something at its beginning into something else at its end. Arch and cable bridges are structures, while cars and planes are machines. The telephone and the electric power grid are networks, and steel and oil-refining are processes.

We limit our scope to large-scale structures, machines that are prime movers, networks that cross long distances, and processes that are large in scale. A few innovations, such as the transistor and the microchip, are very small in actual size, but we include them because their impact was comparable to that of much larger things. The four types of engineering works correspond to the four original branches of modern engineering: civil, mechanical, electrical, and chemical. Engineering today consists of many more specialties than these, but engineering works still consist primarily of one of these four types, or of some combination of them.

Finally, we examine each radical innovation from three perspectives. In order to explain how each works, we give a simple equation and/or diagram to represent the physical relationships involved. On a single-arch bridge, for example, the weight or load carried by the arch is resisted by a horizontal force at each of the two side supports. An equation for this force relates the load, the length of the roadway deck over the arch, and the vertical rise of the arch.<sup>4</sup>

The design of a bridge also depends, however, on how much society wants to balance safety against cost. A stronger arch may carry a given

load more safely but will cost more. This balance is a social determination. By seeing how engineering problems embed social questions as well as physical ones, students learn that engineering is not just a matter of conforming to physical necessity, but also of making choices.

Lastly, engineering works can have larger consequences besides safety and economy, such as aesthetic impact, how they change the way people live, and their effect on the natural environment. The third

perspective examines these larger consequences. Judgments with regard to them reflect the individual vision of the designer as well as the needs and wants of society. Radical innovations can also have effects that are not foreseen at the time and these also need to be examined.

The above framework gives students a vocabulary and an approach for understanding the modern technical world. The ideas are derived from actual engineering and permit an accessible and coherent description of technical events. The equations we use are at the level of first-year algebra, but historians could use our framework without the equations and formulas.

**Engineering and Modern History** -- Students at both the secondary and tertiary levels learn the history of modern technology in terms of certain events and consequences. In most surveys, the industrial revolution that began in Britain and Europe in the eighteenth century was an economic and social transformation in which a key development was a textile factory system based on a handful of devices made mostly out of wood. The steam engine, iron and coal, crop rotation, and canal-building also occurred, along with a new spirit of mechanical thinking and improvement. A few decades later, the railroad and the telegraph appeared and connected societies and the world together.

A second industrial revolution came in the late-nineteenth century, with what is sometimes called "science-based" industry. The paradigm of this change was the chemical industry, and electric power distribution, electrical products, steel and oil, automobiles, and airplanes are thought to have resulted from a greater reliance on science. The new technologies organized human activity on a much larger scale and moved increasing numbers of people into cities. Further into the twentieth century, government became a source of technical change, through nuclear energy and space travel, and finally the world changed again with the information revolution.

Historical content goes into more depth in describing these events, but the ones above tend to be the main points. Much of the picture they convey is true, but much of it also contains misconceptions that reflect a lack of engineering knowledge. Historians may not be able to teach all of the needed engineering, but before proposing work-arounds at the secondary and tertiary levels, teachers of history need to see under the two sub-headings below (and in the related end

notes) the engineering that is missing and why it matters.

The Industrial Revolution. Textiles and their manufacturing were important in the early-industrial era, as were improvements in agriculture. But four breakthroughs in structure, machine, network, and process were more relevant to modern industrial development and should receive more emphasis.

The first breakthrough was a new process, the smelting of inexpensive malleable iron. The principle of iron-smelting is best explained by a simplified chemical reaction that shows the change of iron ore into pure iron and waste gas by adding carbon and air.<sup>5</sup> The Bessemer and open-hearth processes for steel-making in the 1850s added a stage to metallurgy that can be described briefly without equations. Students should know that the Bessemer process produced rails mainly to complete and make more durable the nineteenth-century railway network. The open-hearth process provided the better steel needed for the bridges and buildings of the twentieth century.

The new iron enabled Thomas Telford to pioneer modern structural engineering in his 1814 arch bridge at Craigellachie in Scotland, and in his 1826 suspension bridge across the Menai Straits in Wales. Both bridges can be described by the horizontal force mentioned above.<sup>6</sup> The Severn Iron Bridge of 1779, often used to illustrate the use of iron, was not a modern design, since the shape imitated a Roman stone bridge. Telford's more graceful arch and cable bridges in Scotland and Wales took advantage of what iron could do and are better examples of iron as a modern structural material. The principles exemplified by his bridges are still basic to bridge design today.

The 1765 steam engine of James Watt, although an improvement of an earlier engine, was in fact a radically new kind of machine. The Soho Foundry, where Watt and his partner Matthew Boulton made engines, should be part of any discussion of the factory system. But the steam engine's meaning is missed without the simple formula for horsepower that Watt devised to measure its efficiency.<sup>7</sup> The same formula also measured the efficiency of steamboat and railway engines in the nineteenth century, and continues to be the standard for measuring internal combustion engines in automobiles today. A single idea thus explains the key machines of the last three centuries.

After taking steam power as far as the steamboat and the railroad, the early-industrial revolution can be completed with the electric telegraph and the network to which it gave rise. The telegraph requires understanding the relation of electricity and magnetism and how Ohm's Law relates voltage, current, and resistance.<sup>8</sup> Students should then learn briefly how the telegraph originated and how it connected the world by land and sea. The telegraph was the first practical use of an electric circuit. The later innovations of the tele-

phone, electric power, and electronics were more complex technologies, but the idea basic to all of them was some form of an electric circuit.

Technology since the 1870s. The breakthroughs that have shaped modern life since the late-nineteenth century have also belonged to the four categories of structure, machine, network, and process: reinforced concrete and skyscraper towers; automobiles, airplanes, jet engines, and space travel; electric power, telephony, electronics for broadcasting (the vacuum tube) and electronics for computing (the transistor and the microchip); and refined gasoline and nuclear power. In addition to the four equations introduced with the industrial revolution, students could learn two new equations from this later phase, one for electric power and one consisting of a chemical reaction that can occur in gasoline-refining.<sup>9</sup>

The main reason for students to learn these innovations is historical literacy. Just as students should understand key political, economic, social, and religious ideas, and the key principles of modern science, so too should they learn the key principles of modern engineering. What students have not had are explanations regarding the key engineering ideas that are technically meaningful, brief, and accessible. Our course and supporting scholarship address this need.

A second reason for learning these ideas is to understand how technical change has occurred in the modern world. Historians have tried to explain this change by attributing it to two very broad notions. One is a society that believes rational order and progressive change are possible in the world. The other is a society in which such things as the rule of law, market freedom, and resource endowments are available. Beliefs and conditions such as these were necessary in most cases, but they were not sufficient.

What prompted most radical innovations were engineering barriers that directly stimulated new ways of thinking about what was possible. James Watt saw that existing stationary steam engines could not be improved without a basic departure, the separate condenser. Although Watt's formula for horsepower endured, railway innovators had to abandon Watt's engine to create mobile engines using high-pressure steam.

Alexander Graham Bell invented his 1876 telephone out of an effort to improve telegraphy, which in the early 1870s faced a crisis as the number of messages began to overwhelm the capacity of new lines to carry them. Thomas Edison's innovation of an electric power network in 1878-82 overturned the view of many experts that basic scientific laws made such a thing impossible. The Wright brothers recognized in 1899 that the key to heavier-than-air flight was not to design an aircraft for passive equilibrium against variable winds, a complex problem that misled other researchers at the time, but to design an airplane to maneuver in response to such winds. A fuel supply crisis would have throttled

the growth of automobiles using internal combustion engines if William Burton had not found in 1912 a radical way to increase the gasoline yield from crude oil that conserved the supply of petroleum.<sup>10</sup>

The modern computer is also a result of overcoming a barrier. The core of the computer today is the integrated circuit or microchip, co-invented by Jack Kilby and Robert Noyce in 1958-59. The device was a response to an approaching limit in the density of electronic circuits. Instead of making circuit elements and connecting wires smaller, Kilby and Noyce did away with discrete parts and connections by printing circuits on a single material, the silicon chip. Normal engineering then gradually reduced these circuits to microscopic sizes.<sup>11</sup> These will face a limit someday too.

Although students do not need to know in detail how science and engineering relate to each other, teachers should be careful not to perpetuate the misconception that modern technology owes its creativity to modern science. Advances in technology have often required a closer study of the natural phenomena involved and the chemical industry has owed much to scientific research. The work of research in other industries was to improve technologies that engineers had already brought into existence. In its discovery of radio waves and nuclear fission, basic science stimulated radical innovation. But basic science played no such role in the inception of modern iron and steel, the steam engine, the railway, the automobile, or the airplane. Scientists discovered electromagnetism but outsiders invented the telegraph and the telephone; and in electric power distribution, scientific arguments against it had to be set aside. Modern gasoline-refining was a black-box problem solved by chemical engineering. Refined silicon made possible the microchip but the integrated circuit was an engineering insight.

Radical innovators often had training in science and made use of scientific discoveries. But these innovators did not simply apply what scientists believed to be possible. The innovators thought independently and often had to prove their ideas against accepted engineering wisdom too. (The history of science is a similar story of people with new ideas having to win acceptance from peer groups.) Science played a very important role in the normal engineering that followed radical breakthroughs, and the line between what scientists and engineers do today has become less sharply drawn as members of one group now often find themselves employed in activities characteristic of the other. But the activity of one group is not derivative of the other.<sup>12</sup>

How Much Engineering Can Historians Teach? The physical principles and mathematics that we use to describe radical innovations are at the level of what students in the United States learn in grades eight, nine, and ten. However, history teachers at both the secondary and tertiary levels could have difficulty presenting these

ideas, especially those that involve equations. There are four ways to work around this difficulty.

First, at the secondary level, world history teachers could focus what they teach about the industrial revolution more on iron-making, bridge structures, the steam engine, the railway, and the telegraph. Teachers could present them without equations or detailed physical description. However, students should learn that each of these innovations was a work of modern engineering and was either a structure, machine, network, or process. Students should be able to describe the behavior that identifies each innovation as one of these four types. Teachers may cover later breakthroughs more selectively, but they should identify later innovations with the four types so that students see the continuity as well as the change that each breakthrough embodied.

Second, science teachers at the secondary level could describe in more technical depth the thinking behind such innovations and how they worked. The author plans to address science teachers to explain how they might do this. The major innovations and their equations exemplify ideas of force, motion, circuit, and chemical reaction that in most countries can be found in mandated science and mathematics standards. Science teachers could reinforce these ideas by teaching how historic engineering innovations embodied them and how their innovators came to the insights that led to these breakthroughs.

Joint teaching in history and science may also be possible in a limited way. Teachers could give joint assignments on one or more innovations after classes in history and science have covered the necessary material. The history teacher could grade for the larger context while the science teacher could grade for technical content. Some students could also do longer papers and projects that integrate history, math, and science through engineering examples. Integrating these disciplines can give students the chance to make connections between subjects that are normally taught in isolation. Students may also see more clearly the relevance of learning material that may be difficult for them.

Many engineering breakthroughs were American, and, in the United States, the history side of this teaching might be shared with teachers of American history. Student papers and projects could focus on significant works in the students' own countries if the original innovations occurred somewhere else.

Third, at the university and college level, it may be better if historians not try to teach the material collaboratively with scientists or engineers. However, the undergraduate world history survey should describe the key technical events of the modern world in terms of structure, machine, network, and process, and it should add the distinction between normal and radical innovations. Students should learn why and how innovators shifted from normal engineering to radical rethinking and insight.

Finally, in order to explore the technical

material more deeply, undergraduate institutions could offer a separate dedicated course on major innovations, similar to ours, as a way for students to fulfill a science and technology requirement in the core curriculum. In most institutions, the core represents only the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences. Our material integrates aspects of all three and could represent engineering in the core curriculum in an accessible way.<sup>13</sup> In the summers of 2004 and 2005, engineering and science faculty from twenty institutions attended short workshops at Princeton to learn how to teach our course.<sup>14</sup> We hope to continue this outreach and show interested engineering and science faculty how a course on historic engineering examples can fulfill a core requirement. The author would like to help history teachers at both the secondary and tertiary levels who would like to include some of our material in their teaching.

The world history survey has traditionally covered modern technology as a series of inventions significant mainly for their consequences. However, technology is a body of foundational ideas in engineering that are as important to know as the foundational ideas of modern science. With them, students can see the continuity as well as the changes that major innovations represent, and at the tertiary level students can learn the circumstances that gave rise to these breakthroughs. This knowledge can also help educators and policymakers better understand the sources of innovation and the qualities of mind needed to encourage and sustain innovative capacities.

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## NOTES

1. A number of faculty and staff have served as preceptors (section teachers), and graduate civil engineering students have contributed research and served as teaching assistants. For published texts, see David P. Billington, *The Innovators: The Engineering Pioneers Who Made America Modern* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1996); and David P. Billington and David P. Billington, Jr., *Power Speed and Form: Engineers and the Making of the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006). Errata sheets for each book are not included; please write the junior author. A third volume carrying the story from 1939 to the present is being researched and written.

2. Modern engineering as a profession includes engineers whose work involves management, operations, and inspection and maintenance. But the principal function of engineering schools is to educate students in engineering design, as design is the core skill of engineers.

3. Our choices subsume those in George Constable and Bob Somerville, *A Century of Innovation: Twenty Engineering Achievements That Transformed Our Lives* (Washington DC: National Academies Press, 2003). For the distinction between normal and radical design, we are indebted to Walter G. Vincenti, *What Engineers Know and How They Know It: Analytical Studies from Aeronautical History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), pp. 3-15.

4. See David P. Billington, *The Innovators*, pp. 6-12. The equation for horizontal force,  $H = qL^2/8d$ , in an arch bridge states that the weight ( $q$ ) per foot of roadway deck length over the arch, multiplied by this length ( $L$ ) in feet squared, divided by eight times the vertical rise of the arch ( $d$ ) in feet, gives the

horizontal force ( $H$ ) in pounds at each side support. A vertical force ( $V$ ) in pounds also operates at each support and is described by the equation  $V = qL/2$ . For a cable suspension bridge, the same formulas for  $H$  and  $V$  apply but represent the forces at each tower top. On a cable bridge, the variable  $d$  is the cable sag or vertical distance from the midpoint of the cable to the elevation of the tower tops.

5. For iron-smelting in a blast furnace, see David P. Billington, *The Innovators*, pp. 17-19. The chemical equation is  $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3 + 3\text{CO} \rightarrow 2\text{Fe} + 3\text{CO}_2$ , which states that one molecule of iron ore ( $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3$ ) and three molecules of carbon monoxide ( $\text{CO}$ ), the latter produced by blasting hot air onto coke (prebaked coal), react to produce two molecules of iron ( $\text{Fe}$ ) and three molecules of carbon dioxide ( $\text{CO}_2$ ). Limestone is also used in the process but can be neglected here.

6. See again note 4 above. For Telford, see *ibid.*, pp. 29-39.

7. For Watt and his horsepower formula,  $\text{Hp} = \text{PLAN}/33,000$ , see *ibid.*, pp. 23-29. In a cylinder in which pressure pushes a piston, the letters *PLAN* represent the pressure ( $P$ ) in pounds per square inch, stroke length ( $L$ ) in feet, piston head area ( $A$ ) in square inches, and number of power strokes per minute ( $N$ ). Watt estimated that a horse could lift 330 pounds of water 100 feet high in one minute, and the product of 100 feet and 330 pounds gives the denominator of his formula. For modern automobiles, the formula measures what is called the *indicated horsepower* of the engine. The formula can be used for multiple-cylinder engines with adjustments to  $N$ .

8. For the telegraph, see *ibid.*, pp. 120-133. Ohm's Law,  $V=IR$ , holds that voltage ( $V$ ) equals current ( $I$ ) times resistance ( $R$ ). The telegraph overcame resistance in the lines and apparatus by having sufficient voltage to carry the current where needed. The opening and closing of the circuit magnetically activated a sounder.

9. The two equations are Joule's Law for electric power and a chemical reaction that illustrates gasoline-refining. Joule's Law,  $P = VI$ , states that power ( $P$ ) equals voltage ( $V$ ) times current ( $I$ ). Rewritten (from Ohm's Law) as  $P = I^2R$ , the law makes clear that raising  $R$  reduces  $I$  and helps explain Edison's search for a high-resistance light bulb. The chemical reaction,  $2\text{C}_{14}\text{H}_{30} \rightarrow \text{C}_8\text{H}_{18} + \text{C}_{20}\text{H}_{42}$ , states that two molecules of a kerosene ( $\text{C}_{14}\text{H}_{30}$ ) crack into one molecule of a gasoline ( $\text{C}_8\text{H}_{18}$ ) and one molecule of a fuel oil ( $\text{C}_{20}\text{H}_{42}$ ). The reaction illustrates how the 1912 breakthrough in oil-refining, the Burton process, turned some of the denser fractions of crude oil into gasoline, saving oil. Joule's Law applies to electricity as direct current. For technologies since the 1870s, see Billington and Billington, *Power Speed and Form*. Those since 1939 will be included in the third volume of our trilogy, which is forthcoming.

10. For the barriers after 1870, see Billington and Billington, *Power Speed and Form*, pp. 17-25, 40-45, 65-72, 108-110, 128. For the scientific argument that Edison's system was impossible, and why this argument was wrong, see pp. 220-223. Edison himself failed to perceive the advantage of using alternating current for long-distance transmission in place of his system which used direct current. As a result, George Westinghouse had the opportunity to build an alternating current system that is now the dominant form of electricity used today.

11. For Kilby and Noyce, see T. R. Reid, *The Chip: How Two Americans Invented the Microchip and Launched a Revolution* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984).

12. The Society for the History of Technology originally formed in part to address and correct mistaken notions of how science related to engineering. See the symposium papers in *Technology and Culture*, 17:4 (October 1976).

13. "Engineering in the Modern World" gives technical background for about thirty innovations but students only need to learn about eighteen formulas. The number of innovations and formulas can vary slightly each year. Students take a midterm and a final exam, each consisting of short identifications, calculation problems, and historical-essay questions. About half of the students take the course for laboratory-science credit, perform supervised model experiments, and solve problems with the models on which they write reports. The other half take the course for history credit and write term papers on a structure, machine, network, or process of their choice, examining it as a physical idea (with numbers) and as a historical event. The course can satisfy a science/technology requirement without the models lab.

14. See *The 2004 Symposium and Workshop at Princeton University, August 8-13, 2004* (Princeton, 2004); and *Second Annual Summer Symposium and Workshop, August 7-10, 2005* (Princeton, 2005). Copies available from author upon request.



# ***Spreading the Scientific Word: Missionaries as Global Naturalists on 19<sup>th</sup> Century Madagascar***

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By the nineteenth century, the development of science was a global affair. It not only drew upon evidence from across the world, but also relied upon a global dialogue to craft and test theories. Scientific theories, however, had to apply to unusual places if they were to act as a valid explanation of the world. Yet the diversity and remoteness of these locales meant that there were often few naturalists to record information and few ways to verify their data. What was required was a way to establish the authenticity of the information gathered. Addressing this issue were global naturalists, who were defined by a commitment to explaining how their local findings fit into a global context. By drawing upon a social network of knowledge and experience that spanned the world, as well as analyzing how the local was part of the global instead of distinct from it, global naturalists established their scientific authority.

In Madagascar, an island with a high number of endemic species yet still barely explored by the nineteenth century, missionaries satisfied these needs and established themselves as the scientific authorities of the island. Missionaries were firmly committed to both their evangelical cause and furthering the development of science. Indeed, just as they attempted to convert the local peoples to Christianity, so too did missionaries use science to transform Madagascar into a known land. They created a scientific magazine on the island that analyzed and explained the natural history of Madagascar using personal experience, the latest scientific theories, as well as information from contacts with other naturalists and missionaries from across the world. In this way, missionaries envisioned themselves as part of a global endeavor, an approach that framed their questions and comprehension of Madagascar. By blending their local knowledge with a global experience, missionaries deliberately operated as global naturalists.

**I. Missionaries as Naturalists** - British missionaries from the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) first arrived in Madagascar in 1818 and made contact with the Merina Kingdom led by Radama I. In exchange for technology and education, missionaries were allowed to preach and proselytize to the indigenous people, the Malagasy. Over the course of the century, the L.M.S. sent nearly a hundred missionaries to Madagascar, with many arriving in the 1870s and 1880s.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the L.M.S., Anglicans, Norwegian Lutherans, and French Jesuits also arrived on the island.<sup>2</sup> Missionaries opened up

schools to teach the Malagasy to read, and later set up medical schools to train doctors, nurses, and midwives.<sup>3</sup> Scripture, however, formed only part of the curriculum; the majority was devoted to mathematics, grammar, as well as various sciences such as geography and chemistry.<sup>4</sup>

Education, politics, and proselytizing were typical missionary activities. While missionaries attempted to convert souls to Christianity, the Malagasy were as interested in technological education and access to European goods as they were any theological issue,

as they used missionaries for their own purposes.<sup>5</sup> The scholarly focus on evangelical and political pursuits, however, has tended to obscure other roles of missionaries in Madagascar. While scholars have recently recognized that missionaries embraced science across the globe, this has not been investigated in Madagascar. For many Protestant missionaries, nature revealed the glory of God and helped them spread their message of faith and civilization. Science played a central role in their mission. From providing medicine to explaining the workings of the natural world, science offered missionaries a rational tool born of European civilization to convince peoples across the world of the superiority of the European way of life.<sup>6</sup>

But in Madagascar, missionaries played a pivotal role in the development of science; it was not simply used as a tool to win converts. Missionaries often envisioned their role as explorers and naturalists as much as men of faith, and they collected natural history specimens, took meteorological readings and measurements, provided medical aid, and wrote works on the fauna and flora of Madagascar. Their knowledge of the language and customs, political support, and extensive religious contacts, meant that missionaries had greater access to the Malagasy and penetrated deeper into the countryside than other Western travelers to the island. Their experience provided missionaries with a more nuanced and informed perspective on the natural history of Madagascar.

Many missionaries in Madagascar forged an identity as naturalists. The journal *Nature* praised their efforts and dedication, noting that, even during French and Merina hostilities in 1884, "the scientific activity of the missionaries of the London Missionary Society has not abated."<sup>7</sup> Indeed, missionaries carefully cultivated and promoted their image as naturalists and the importance of their scientific work on the island. In a lecture delivered at the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew, missionary Richard Baron explained that missionaries were civilizing Madagascar, an endeavor that involved not only Christianizing Malagasy society, but also developing a scientific comprehension of the island. In this pursuit, missionaries had "done a very great deal in

explaining its [Madagascar's] natural history," and of the tens of thousands of plants missionaries had collected "not less than 1,000 were entirely new."<sup>8</sup>

Baron was not overstating his case. He had made a name for himself as an established naturalist and had become one of the foremost experts on the geology and botany of the island, giving lectures when he was in London and producing articles for prestigious scientific journals such as *Nature*, the *Journal of the Linnean Society*, and the *Quarterly*

*Geological Society*.<sup>9</sup> Born in Kendal, England, in 1847, Baron was an ordained minister and traveled to Madagascar in 1872, which would become his home until his death in 1907. Baron provided some of the first detailed analyses of Madagascar's geological features, discovered over 1000 new flora species, and was made a Fellow of the Linnean Society in 1882. Recognized by several scientific societies, Baron's prominence even led to his inclusion in various prestigious French scientific organizations after France claimed Madagascar as a colony in 1895.<sup>10</sup>

Madagascar's high number of endemic species had piqued the curiosity of the scientific world, and there was a growing demand for information during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Many missionaries were known to be a source of information, having both the access and the expertise. Beyond their familiarity with the fauna and flora of the island, missionaries had the advantage of using their relationship with the Malagasy to find and collect fauna and flora. Many of the missionaries who enjoyed natural history also spoke Malagasy, allowing them to ask detailed questions about the local environment and request help in finding particular species. Indeed, the Malagasy not only helped collect specimens, but they also identified them. One missionary reported that after finding a "very peculiar" bird, he showed it to his "chief native collector," who said he could not recall "having seen any thing like it."<sup>11</sup> In addition, missionaries were often brought samples, either as they traveled or at their residence, once the Malagasy understood their interest in natural history.<sup>12</sup> As Richard Baron reported, missionaries could make enquiries that "a stranger could not," aiding in the discovery of new flora and fauna.<sup>13</sup>

Requests for samples and specimens, as well as opinions on fauna and flora, came from across the globe as the world wrestled with natural history on a global scale. Centers such as the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew relied heavily upon missionaries to obtain specimens from Madagascar.<sup>14</sup> In order to obtain a specimen of a lemur to carry out a detailed examination of its anatomy, William Turner wrote to Dr Andrew Davidson, a L.M.S. physician in Madagascar,

[Missionaries] created a scientific magazine on the island that analyzed and explained the natural history of Madagascar using personal experience, the latest scientific theories, as well as information from contacts with other naturalists and missionaries from across the world.

who shipped back six preserved lemurs.<sup>15</sup> Missionaries even had to turn down requests for specimens. In a reply to the naturalist and director of the British Singapore Botanical Gardens, Henry Ridley, Baron wrote that he could not fulfill Ridley's request to furnish him with tropical plants and seeds because he simply lacked the time. Although Baron explained that he would like to be able to assist Ridley, he could not afford the money or time to travel to the coast to collect the specimens, located as he was in Antananarivo, on the temperate central plateau region.<sup>16</sup> Baron even turned down a request for specimens from Kew Gardens, explaining that the plants they wanted lived in the "most out of the way places imaginable."<sup>17</sup>

Missionaries had to carefully balance their job of spreading Christianity with their natural history pursuits. Collecting specimens required time and money, both of which were at a premium for missionaries, who had enormous congregations to preach to and even larger areas to proselytize.

Sometimes selling specimens to

museums and collectors offered missionaries a way to supplement their income. Such income was used to help fund mission schools, which was an appropriate use since the schoolchildren often collected specimens.<sup>18</sup> But the funds were also used to garnish a missionary's salary, or assist in his natural history pursuits, such as the purchase of a new microscope.<sup>19</sup> However, money was not a motivating factor, merely a reward, and some missionaries were compensated by being informed of the scientific identification of a species, being provided with scientific literature, or even having a new species named after them, such as the *Chameleon Willsii* or *Cheirogaleus sibreei*-Sibree's Dwarf Lemur.<sup>20</sup>

Given the unusual flora and fauna of Madagascar, collecting new species was relatively common and missionaries sent back enormous quantities of specimens. Two missionary women collected plants and flowers in the capital, Antananarivo, and shipped to Kew over 200 species, 25 percent of which proved to be "novelties" to science.<sup>21</sup> Missionary James Sibree explained that botany in Madagascar was completely different from that in Great Britain, warning of the difficulties in weather, the need to protect samples, and the Malagasy themselves, who often collected the materials although they were often "baffled" by the attempts to collect plants that were inedible. Never-the-less, Sibree echoed a familiar theme of why missionaries collected-their love of nature and thrill of discovery: "all the difficulties and discomforts are far more than outweighed by the pleasure you gain in the exercise, a pleasure which is enhanced by the consciousness that you are probably the first that has ever plucked the flowers from Nature's bosom in that particular locality, and that a large number of the specimens will probably prove to be new to science."<sup>22</sup> Indeed, from 1875 to 1885, Baron

sent 29 genera and 1163 new species of plants from Madagascar.<sup>23</sup> The sheer numbers of novel species testified to the remarkable features of Madagascar, while the source of so many specimens underscores the importance of missionaries to the pursuit of natural history.

As part of their jobs, missionaries traveled frequently and entered areas where few if any Westerners had yet explored. As they did so, many collected fauna. One of the most diligent and enthusiastic naturalists was William Deans Cowan, who scoured Madagascar for new species.<sup>24</sup> Deans Cowan's range was extensive. He collected mammals, reptiles, fish, and insects, of which he informed the British Museum he would send them 13,000-14,000 specimens as well as drawings.<sup>25</sup> But instead of passively collecting everything, Deans Cowan understood what species were known and which were new to science. He expressed wonder at a new fish species, "I have never seen this one before," identifying its novelty and displaying his scientific knowledge by commenting on how the dorsal fins were different on the specimen he had just

obtained.<sup>26</sup>

Deans Cowan's reputation as a naturalist was so dominating that at times it obscured his status as a missionary.<sup>27</sup> A fellow missionary, Charles Price, extolled Deans Cowan's commitment to and drive for natural history, seeing in it an enthusiasm, dedication, and professionalism that few could match. Price wrote to his wife that "Naturalists are born not made... But Cowan was both born and made one. He has always had an instinctive love of hunting out birds' nests, watching the habits of animals, seeking their lairs, and making himself one with them, so that he would think nothing of carrying a few snakes in his pocket, a dozen beetles or so in his hat, and a frog or lizard carefully tied up in his best handkerchief."<sup>28</sup>

As Price made clear, Deans Cowan's commitment to natural history was not a liability, or a burden to his missionary activities. Rather, it was an asset. In a place where so much awaited discovery, where the sheer novelty of the fauna and flora was apparent to even new travelers, missionaries were actively carving out a niche where they were essential to the production of knowledge about the natural history of Madagascar.

Missionaries took great pride in being naturalists. Beyond keeping up to date with the latest scientific theories by reading materials, ordering textbooks, and studying while away from the island, missionaries maintained high standards in their own fieldwork.<sup>29</sup> They ordered scientific instruments, from thermometers to microscopes, to better conduct scientific enquiries.<sup>30</sup> One missionary conducted a study on wasp hives, complete with precise drawings of a wasps, where he dissected one to reveal its contents, which he weighed.<sup>31</sup> With these instruments, missionaries diligently recorded measurements of fauna, flora, and the weather.

Missionaries took great care and precision in recording their scientific readings as evident in their recordings of meteorology, which they attempted to make in accordance to the specifications of the Royal Meteorological Society of London.<sup>32</sup> They set up stations in Antananarivo and the port towns of Tamatave and, later, Majunga in order to record the weather using rain gauges, barometers, thermometers, and other instruments.<sup>33</sup> By establishing monthly reports on rainfall and temperature, beginning in Antananarivo, missionaries soon amassed enough regular charts that covered an entire year to compile five-year averages and establish a concept of climatic zones on the island.<sup>34</sup> They quickly established that Madagascar fell just outside the Indian Ocean cyclone route and that, while the coasts were inundated with rain and scorched by tropical temperatures, the inland plateau had a much more arid and moderate climate. Such records led to debates when rainfall moved beyond a normal range.<sup>35</sup>

In geology, too, missionaries attempted to provide a thorough and precise scientific understanding of the island. Geology had been a "*terra incognita*" until missionaries helped begin a study of the island, revealing its ancient past with its red clay and geological formations, as well as providing clues to its connection with Africa and Asia.<sup>36</sup> Beyond extensive reports on the geological makeup of different areas of the island, missionaries remarked on geological features, including extinct volcanoes, evidence of past earthquakes, and the existence of hot springs.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, missionaries began an investigation into the hot springs, taking readings not only of the temperature of the water but also of its mineral and chemical composition.<sup>38</sup> Further missionaries dated geological ages and confirmed the ancient quality of Madagascar, arguing that the island had been isolated for millions of years, thus explaining its natural history.

Because missionaries were not isolated, but rather operated in a community that encouraged scientific enquiry, they maintained scientific standards by reviewing and critiquing each other's work. Scientific authority remained a challenge during the nineteenth century, and while instruments and experimentation were used to maintain scientific integrity, often the difference between scientist and traveler remained his status and the way he reported his findings.<sup>39</sup> In this sense, missionaries consciously attempted to operate as scientific observers. Missionaries' attempt to procure and use scientific instruments reflected their commitment to an increasing scientific ideal of precision and accuracy. Although specimens would usually end up back in Europe for analyses, a great deal of information was produced solely on the island. Missionaries fixed the locations of where they found a species and recorded observations of fauna and flora specimens that they were not able to capture. Still, one's scientific authority depended on reputation and on whether new information fit with one's own

knowledge of Madagascar. In this sense, trust was essential.<sup>40</sup> In Madagascar, where strange and unique species were common, missionaries believed they had to be extremely careful in separating fact from fiction.

Oftentimes, this took place as a debate within the pages of the *Antananarivo Annual*, a magazine created by missionary James Sibree dedicated to natural history. Upon coming across large anthills, a traveler reported on a Malagasy belief that ants trapped snakes within the mounds and kept them alive, feeding them until they were "fat enough" to devour.<sup>41</sup> Such a story led to a call in the following edition of the *Annual* for "A missionary to...test the reality of this reputed fact."<sup>42</sup> This led to the dissection of anthills by several missionaries who marveled at the frenetic, yet ordered, life inside the nest, but were unable to confirm or deny the rumors.<sup>43</sup> In this way, the *Annual* served as a scientific forum that maintained the scientific credentials of naturalists in Madagascar- it established trust.

The *Annual* accomplished this by maintaining standards of scientific integrity. It began out of an enthusiasm for the scientific potential of Madagascar and was designed to not only record, but also explain the wonders and mysteries of Madagascar's natural history.<sup>44</sup> The *Annual* ran from 1875-1900, with a brief two-year hiatus from 1879 to 1880 when Sibree was in India. Indeed, the information became popular enough that earlier editions were reprinted.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, the *Annual* represented a great source of firsthand data and observation of Madagascar's unusual environment.

Typically, the *Annual* consisted of around 12-15 major articles a year. Natural history articles represented the largest percentage of submissions to the *Annual*, with the most frequent topics over twenty five years including descriptions and analyses of fauna, flora, and geology. By providing a mixture of firsthand observations alongside local examination and laboratory analyses, these articles went beyond mere description as they attempted to explain the scientific significance of placing Madagascar's unusual qualities in a global framework.<sup>46</sup>

In addition to its major articles, the *Annual* published, at the end of each edition a series of natural history notes. Here, brief descriptions, observations, discoveries, analyses, and other noteworthy findings were announced, providing a rich sampling of life on the island. This section was significant. Over the years, it amounted to hundreds of individuals reports on the fauna and flora of the island that provided an overview of its biodiversity and an important outlet for scientific dissemination. By publishing these findings, naturalists had a written record to consult. The notes often served as a forum for responses and updates on previous articles or discoveries, fostering further scientific debate.

While the majority of authors were Protestant missionaries from the L.M.S., the *Annual* also included authors from other mission-

ary societies as well as military officers, visiting naturalists, and pertinent selections from prominent scientists. The requirements for publication were not ecclesiastical, encompassing anyone who had something new and interesting to say about Madagascar, from its people to its natural history. The intention of the *Annual* was to offer a comprehensive description and analyses of Madagascar, covering all aspects of natural history as well as Malagasy culture and history, though it actually contained few articles directly relating to missionary life or Christianity. The *Annual* operated not as a missionary mouthpiece, but rather as a forum that disseminated new information and findings about Madagascar.

The *Antananarivo Annual* was well respected by the scientific community. For the English speaking world, it was the authority of the island and one of the best ways to learn about the latest discoveries. A review in the London Times commented on missionaries and "the scientific exploration of their island... For several years they have issued the *Antananarivo Annual*, a storehouse of fresh information on all aspects of the island and its life."<sup>47</sup> By referring to Madagascar as the missionaries' island, the Times bestowed a legitimacy upon not only Christian missions, but also upon missionaries' scientific knowledge of the island and its manifestation in the *Annual*. The *Annual* was "one of the most original and important of the extra-professional undertakings" of the L.M.S., creating a highly valuable resource.<sup>48</sup>

Sibree and Baron succeeded in making the *Annual* a magazine of some prominence. For those who did not receive a copy of the *Annual*, its articles were widely reviewed and reprinted in other scientific journals and magazines. For a journal with only a modest budget and published away from the metropole, such a reputation was essential to disseminating its information. Its new editions would be summarized in the prestigious journal *Nature*, where it was characterized as a respectable scientific publication with a great deal of interesting information about Madagascar.<sup>49</sup> Beyond *Nature*, the *Annual* and its articles received praise and republication in major journals of the day, such as *Science*, *Zoological Proceedings*, *Folk-*

*lore*, the *Anthropological Institute*, and the Royal Geographic Society's publication, *Proceedings*,

which annually announced the publication of the *Annual* and often provided a summary of its contents.<sup>50</sup> The Royal Geographic Society's *Proceedings* wrote of the *Annual*, "for those interested in Madagascar, its geography, natural history, and people, it is of great value."<sup>51</sup> After one review in *Nature*, attention came from Vienna and led to the reprinting of an article in Symons's Monthly Meteorological magazine in 1885.<sup>52</sup> Interest in Madagascar, in its unusual environment and natural history, made the *Annual* a pop-

ular place to find information.

The *Antananarivo Annual* made an important contribution to the scientific discovery of Madagascar. It operated as a forum for the most important debates concerning Madagascar, including the origins of the Malagasy and Madagascar's unusual fauna and flora. It offered a voice to naturalists and those interested in Madagascar and underscored the importance of science to understanding the island. The *Annual* also provided a way for those in Europe to learn about discoveries in Madagascar. At the heart of this, was the unusual quality to Madagascar and its environment. "Remarkable," "peculiar," and "unique" were adjectives frequently applied to the environment. Many of the articles, from travel descriptions to ones describing individual species, captured a sense of wonder and fascination surrounding Madagascar stemming from the fact that it was unlike any other place on Earth. And because these articles were reviewed and reprinted, this same sense of wonderment at the strangeness of Madagascar was disseminated to a wider audience. The *Annual* then not only stimulated interest in Madagascar, but it did so in a way that piqued scientific curiosity as a result of the island's unique qualities.

**II. The Global Outlook of Missionaries** - While the complicated relationship between missionaries and science has begun to be analyzed, it has often been immersed in a view that frames missionaries as imperial agents, working to promote national interests.<sup>53</sup> Missionary involvement with science has often been cast as a propaganda tool instead of as a pursuit in its own right. However, framing missionaries as tools of empire has obscured the fact that missionaries often operated away from empire and according to personal and individual responses that were shaped by a global framework. Many missionaries even actively opposed national interests.<sup>54</sup> The itinerant nature of missionaries often combined with their close contacts with other missionaries and literature from across the world to create a global outlook. While some would spend decades, even lifetimes, in one area, many would stay only a few years

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*Missionary involvement with science has often been cast as a propaganda tool instead of as a pursuit in its own right. However, framing missionaries as tools of empire has obscured the fact that missionaries often operated away from empire and according to personal and individual responses that were shaped by a global framework.*

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before moving on to another assignment. As they traveled, they brought with

them the experience, knowledge, and viewpoints of a different locale. Interconnected by their agencies in the metropole, who assigned them to stations across the world, missionaries stayed up to date not only on news and events in Europe but also with missions across the world.

In Madagascar, a global experience led to a comparison with other environments such as Polynesia, South Africa, and India. Scientific discoveries were not only analyzed within the context of universal theories, but were also evaluated

by how that local knowledge could be translated into global science. This placed missionaries in a role where they could both compare Madagascar to other places and evaluate the island through intimate knowledge. Indeed, a review of the *Antananarivo Annual* led missionaries in the Indian Evangelical Review to conclude that a great similarity existed between the two missions, and that the distance between missionaries in India and Madagascar was a “distance rather of thought than of reality.”<sup>55</sup>

Missionary William Ellis traveled to Antananarivo in the 1850s and blended missionary, political, and scientific roles. Although his trip helped to reestablish political and missionary relations with the Merina Kingdom, Ellis operated as a global naturalist. A well-respected missionary, his earlier work on Polynesia had established his reputation as a scientific observer and he immediately compared Madagascar with Polynesia. He made connections between the Malagasy and Polynesia languages which helped begin an enquiry that would establish a Malayo-Polynesian ancestry to the Malagasy. He collected botanical samples for the Royal Botanical Gardens. After his visits, he produced two large works in Madagascar that blended missionary progress with an in-depth look at the Malagasy people, their language, and the unusual fauna and flora of the island. Due in part to his work on Madagascar, Ellis was made a fellow of the Royal Geographic Society.<sup>56</sup> Ellis promoted Madagascar as an unusual land, rich in undiscovered and unique fauna and flora that were a distinct blend of Africa and Asia. With contacts and knowledge from Southern Africa and Polynesia, Ellis had produced an insight into Madagascar, made possible only because of his varied global experiences. Ellis, however, had only begun to conceptualize Madagascar as a place of vast scientific potential, a task that missionaries during the next several decades would develop.

Missionaries crafted and publicized their findings for a global audience of fellow missionaries and Westerners who could be interested in Madagascar’s unusual fauna and flora. They wanted to popularize the science of Madagascar and stress its connections to the most current scientific theories, especially biogeography. Missionary tracts that explored the spiritual and religious condition of the Malagasy and the progress of Christianity on the island, were distinct from those that promoted the island’s scientific potential. In these works, natural history played a central role. Missionaries often covered scientific themes, from botany and zoology to linguistics and meteorology. With their contacts back at scientific centers such as Kew Gardens and the British Museum, as well as experience and an audience that spanned the globe, missionaries crafted their works to explain the unusual quality of Madagascar with science and the environment as their centerpiece.

Missionaries in Madagascar endorsed natural theology, but their writings reflect only a lim-

ited role. In religious tracts designed to promote public support for the mission, missionaries believed that nature revealed the workings and glory of God just as they did in other missions.<sup>57</sup> Sibree wrote “We [college instructors] have always tried to show our men how God has a revelation to us not only in His Word, but also in His wonderful works; and so some scientific subject is taught every term using the text-books we have on astronomy, botany, zoology, chemistry, geology, and physical geography, etc, as the basis of our teaching.”<sup>58</sup> Such sentiments have led Laurence Dorr to conclude that “one of the strong arguments for teaching natural history at the L.M.S. College was the idea that plants and animals were examples of God’s creation.”<sup>59</sup>

Still, the focus on natural theology as the driving force behind missionaries’ scientific endeavors minimizes their commitment and enthusiasm for science. Indeed, missionaries often embraced the latest scientific theories to better understand their own pursuits. From this vantage point, missionaries in Madagascar had a different focus than simply impressing upon the Malagasy that the surrounding environment revealed the glory of God and, hence, the harmony of Christianity. Missionaries’ love of nature may have stemmed from their belief that it reflected God’s greatness, but they were wary of Malagasy beliefs that deeply entwined the fauna and flora with traditional customs and “superstitions.” When it came to explaining fauna and flora, missionaries separated science and rationality from religious tenets.

Instead, their audience for natural history remained other Westerners, particularly naturalists, among whom they wanted to promote the scientific value of Madagascar. Many of the missionaries in Madagascar viewed themselves as naturalists who were part of a global profession promoting the spread of scientific knowledge, and thus did not resist themselves simply to a religious role. Deans Cowan believed his explorations were a success not only for spreading the Gospel, but also because “the land has been spied out; mountains are placed where they ought to be; rivers and villages are named with their proper names. The whole country is now mapped out, and all the guess geography of its past cleared up.”<sup>60</sup> Missionaries wanted to establish themselves within the scientific community. Their writings reflected a belief not only in science, but also in the transformation science would have over Madagascar.

The missionary George Shaw spent fourteen years in Madagascar and was keenly interested in its natural history. In his book, Shaw explores the island’s natural history, including discussions about the origins of the Malagasy and the merits of biogeography and the lost Continent of Lemuria as adequate theories to explain the origins of Madagascar’s natural history, as well as recording the variety of life found in Madagascar. Shaw emphasized that “no part of the world has proved so interesting to the zoologist or such a

paradise to the botanist as the island of Madagascar.”<sup>61</sup> Indeed, Shaw’s stay in the country and his scientific interests led him to provide a firsthand insight into lemurs and their behavior. From his observations, he argued for the great diversity of lemurs, explaining that some were nocturnal, others diurnal, some fed on berries and fruit, others on insects, spiders, and beetles. While many lived in trees, others had “pre-eminently adapted” to walking on their hands on rocky slopes.<sup>62</sup> Such findings often countered existing ideas of lemurs, such as their strict arboreal habits or diet.<sup>63</sup> Deans Cowan, Sibree, and other missionaries shared in the belief in the adaptation of lemurs to their environment and used lemurs as a prime example of the potential of Madagascar to unlock scientific mysteries, such as that of biogeography and the development of species.<sup>64</sup>

By the time Joseph Mullens visited Madagascar as part of a review of the L.M.S. and their efforts in 1875, science had become a centerpiece of missionary explorations. As foreign secretary of the L.M.S., Mullens had traveled to mission stations in China and India. In addition, he had spent over ten years as a missionary in India. With this experience, Mullens traveled to Madagascar with scientific equipment. In order to map and record the island. After returning to London, Mullens composed a book that extolled the natural qualities of the land and called for more scientific study of the island. While Mullens covered the Malagasy, their language, and origins, he devoted much of his work to geographical science, praising the beauty of the land as well as recording topographic details, particularly mountains, lakes, and volcanic deposits. From his journey, Mullens produced one of the first accurate maps of the interior of Madagascar. His preparations and reports reveal the priority placed on creating a scientific record of Madagascar.<sup>65</sup>

The efforts of Mullens and other missionaries were praised by the scientific community. Many of their works received favorable reviews from journals such as *Nature*.<sup>66</sup> Many presented material evidence of their explorations at the Royal Geographic Society, where they were commended. A president of the society declared that their actions explained how “geographical exploration led by a natural and simple process to the introduction of Christianity and civilization.”<sup>67</sup> This comment underscores not only the wide support for missionary activity, but also the belief that science was essential to this civilizing process.<sup>68</sup> Indeed, science was often used in much the same way as missionaries approached potential converts- it offered a rational and universal way to understand the world, transforming the unfamiliar and unknown into a recognizable norm. And it was only after a successful conversion, that a people or a land was saved from chaos and darkness. The blending of missionaries as bona-fide naturalists as well as Christian evangelicals, while involving a similar process of transformation, remained distinct, if complementary,

tasks.

The works of James Sibree illustrated this duality. In addition to his contributions to the *Annual* and various European publications, James Sibree published over half a dozen books in Madagascar with natural history as a major element in all of them. His works demonstrate the complexity of missionaries' relationship to science and religion as well as their global perspective. In his books targeted for a missionary audience, Sibree invoked the glory of God and believed that nature revealed God's presence. In his children's book, *Things Seen in Madagascar*, Sibree wanted the reader to "feel that the works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein."<sup>69</sup>

At the same time, Sibree blended an intimate and in depth look at the natural world of Madagascar, commenting on the marvels of how animals had adapted to their environment, and the uniqueness of Madagascar's species. Sibree depicts nature as something wonderful and safe. While Madagascar is never familiar, always a bit curious, his work carries with it a belief in the transforming power of science. By embracing the latest scientific theories, Sibree situated Madagascar in a global framework that prized the potential of science.<sup>70</sup>

Missionaries such as Sibree championed Madagascar as a site for great scientific discoveries, but they carefully connected the island to the world, arguing that the island should not be relegated to a primitive version of Africa, but rather should be used as a place to learn about species development and the connections between Africa and Asia. Madagascar's unusual fauna and flora were cast less as unique and more as instructive—their very peculiarity was a source of possibility rather than limitation. These works formed part of the scientific debate about Madagascar. Furthermore, missionaries were acutely aware that they were one of the few voices that could speak about Madagascar and its unusual natural environment and they embraced the task. Their works provided intimate knowledge of the island and, through details and insight, bestowed authenticity and authority upon their scientific reputation.

**Conclusion** - Science was essential to the Protestant missionary movement in Madagascar during the nineteenth century. Just as they believed that they were civilizing the Malagasy people through their preachings, so too did missionaries hold to the idea that their scientific exploration of the island was converting Madagascar into a known and productive land. Bringing civilization to a new land required not only teaching the local people the merits of Christianity, but also understanding the new environment through Western science. The universalizing approach of nineteenth century science often erased local complexities and involved an evangelizing approach that elevated Western values while obscuring local contributions and

dynamics.

In order to be accepted, missionaries in Madagascar created a scientific network that validated their claims as authorities of natural history. Their careful identification and collection of species alongside the use of instruments to precisely observe and record data enhanced their reputation and established them as scientific observers, not merely curious travelers. In their publications, particularly the *Antananarivo Annual*, missionaries developed a scientific forum that not only disseminated findings and theories, but also established their credibility and authenticity. By forming a scientific community, missionaries created trust and authority as they successfully cast themselves as agents of science and participated in a dialogue about Madagascar's natural history and how it fit into global theories.

As global naturalists, missionaries possessed an integrity that allowed their findings to be incorporated by an increasingly professional scientific society often bound to the metropole. Missionary efforts and their acceptance reveal that to be scientific and secular had more to do with objectivity and rationality than with being irreligious. Still, the approach of missionaries and naturalists alike reveals that Western science operated in a global setting and was often conceived as part of a civilizing process made universal by the scientific principles of reason and observation.

## NOTES

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<sup>11</sup> James Wills, 26 February 1896, NHM TM/1/24/14

<sup>12</sup> William Deans Cowan, 1878, NHM, DF200/17/113; James Wills to Charles Wills, 19 March 1895, NHM TM/1/17/11; for an analyses of how local people understood and influenced the collection and analyses of specimens see Fa-

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<sup>15</sup> William Turner, "On the Placentation of Lemurs" *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* 166 (1876) 569-587

<sup>16</sup> Richard Baron to Henry Ridley, 20 January 1890, Kew Gardens, MR

<sup>17</sup> Baron to Dyer, 28 July 1894, Kew Gardens, DC 188

<sup>18</sup> William Deans Cowan 1878 NHM DF200/17/113

<sup>19</sup> James Wills, 19 March 1895, NHM TM/1/17/11 and Richard Baron to Dr Gunther 29 September 1891 NHM DF200/40/14

<sup>20</sup> Richard Baron 1887 NHM DF235/1/3, James Wills to Gunther, 10 December 1889, NHM DF200/36/489. James Wills, James Sibree, Richard Baron, and William Ellis were among several missionaries who had species of fauna and flora named after them. See Steven Goodman and Jonathan Benstead, eds., *The Natural History of Madagascar*, ed. Steven Goodman and Jonathan Benstead (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

<sup>21</sup> J.G. Baker, "Contributions to the Flora of Central Madagascar" *Journal of the Linnean Society* (1882): 1-36.

<sup>22</sup> James Sibree, *A Naturalist in Madagascar* (London: Seeley, Service & co., limited, 1915), 129.

<sup>23</sup> J.G. Baker, "Further Contributions to the Flora of Madagascar" *Journal of the Linnean Society* 18 (Nov 1886): 441-536. and Baker, "Further Contributions to the Flora of Madagascar" *Journal of the Linnean Society*, (Nov 1888): 294-350.

<sup>24</sup> William Deans Cowan, "Geographical Excursions in South Central Madagascar," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 4 (September 1882): 521-537.

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<sup>27</sup> For instance, the American military officer and explorer Mason Shufeldt encountered Deans Cowan on his journey and praised his work as a naturalist, Mason Shufeldt, "To, About, and Across Madagascar," *The United Service* XII (1885): 1-8

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<sup>29</sup> William Deans Cowan 22 December 1887, NHM DF200/32/84-89.

<sup>30</sup> Baron to Hooker, 30 November 1881, Kew Gardens, DC 188.

<sup>31</sup> C.P., Cory, "Notes on the Habits of some of the Solitary Wasps of Madagascar" *Antananarivo Annual* no. 14 1890.

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Ralph Crozier taking a rest during John Marriott's tour of London's East End. Photo Courtesy of Laura Mitchell.

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## **The Logical Fallacies of Nationalism: Critical Thinking in the World History Classroom**

**Sharlene Sayegh**

*California State University, Long Beach*

**Introduction:** We often think uncritically about the nation, despite the fact that national identity is built into our popular culture. The Olympics, held every four years, attempt to foster a community of athletes (the “Olympic Village”) while promoting “healthy competition” between nations by scrolling a rolling count on our television screens of which country has accumulated the most medals. The athletes wear national colors or some other symbol of their national identity, and we are meant to cheer “our” athletes as they represent “our” nation. Our automobile manufacturers change names of vehicles to “Liberty” or “Freestar” to appeal to a patriotic spirit. Both of these examples are visible symbols of the myths of self-identity, and yet the ways in which they promote a glorification of national differences are all but ignored. One of the main goals I have for students in introductory world history courses is to demonstrate knowledge of the ways in which nationalism on a global scale is both a product of the modern world and a problem inherent to it. Part of this goal requires them to think critically about their own nationalist sentiments—sentiments that are sometimes developed unquestionably from family tradition or popular media.

I divide my modern world history course (1500 – present) into three components: the first is a foundational component, exploring the socioeconomic changes throughout the world up to the beginning of the nineteenth century; the second component is a structural component beginning with a theoretical discussion of nationhood and how ideas of the nation changed during this period up to the end of the World Wars; the third component is largely cultural and explores the problems of connecting ideas of the nation to science, modernity, geography, and ideology. By the end of the term, students are in a position to examine critically the rhetoric of nationalism in a global context and explain similarities and differences among those who claim to speak for the nation. To get to this point, students will have gained a “reservoir of knowledge” about the basic economic, political, and social chronology of the modern world.

In particular, I am interested in the ways in which “self” (whether a religious, economic, or national identity) *vis-à-vis* an “other” is articulated in such a way both to construct and propel a mythic national identity. This teaching unit is designed as a lower-division college exercise, but the lessons and the class exercises can easily be modified for upper-division as well as high-school world-history instruction. Assessment 3 is specifically designed with upper-division students in mind; however, it will also be useful in critical-thinking classes and can be modified to work well both for advanced students in high school and for lower-division college students. At least three class periods should be devoted to the exercises, though if time is an issue, Assessments 2 (reading primary sources) and 4 (testing knowledge) can be used as the sole exercises. In a semester that includes 30 class sessions, I usually spend approximately 7 class periods to complete “preparatory” work. This includes my lectures on nationalism beginning with “The Nation-State: A Theoretical Discussion.”

### **Students are evaluated in the following areas:**

1. *Content Knowledge* – Students will articulate a basic understanding of the timeline of the modern nation-state, accounting for changes in practice or ideology. Through examinations and essays, students will be able to articulate the chronology of various components of nationhood from 1789 to the present (Assessment 4)
2. *Critical Thinking* – specifically, students will use skills learned regarding logical fallacies to apply them to readings of primary sources. In successfully accomplishing this skill set, students will also demonstrate knowledge of the ways in which world historians link various historical experiences. Students will also demonstrate the ability to read primary sources for bias, argument, and context (Assessments 1-4)
3. *Oral Presentation Skills* – in groups of 2-4 (depending on class size) students will present their findings to the class, specifically articulating the types of rhetorical ploys nationalists use and why such elements of rhetoric fit into a “nationalist identity.” Students also have the option of presenting a speech of their own, convincing their “nation” (i.e.; their classmates) that adopting a particular skill, attitude, or identity, is crucial in maintaining their “world history identity.” (Assessments 2 and 3)

This critical evaluation of the idea of the nation-state is relevant to world-history scholarship. In the last five years alone, there has been considerable discussion in *The Journal of World History (JWH)* about global history and how studies of national identity might seem to circumvent the larger goal of global history. Most recently, the debate between Jerry Bentley and Arif Dirlik (Volume 16), and the continuation of that debate by Dominic Sachsenmaier and Heather Sutherland in the Forum “Debating the World-History Project” (Volume 18) suggest that the study of nationalism remains at the forefront of discussion of modern identity-formation. In particular, Bentley’s discussion of “Myths, Wagers, and Some Moral Implications of World History” asks the question: “how might it be possible to move beyond historical scholarship that takes glorification of the national community or some other exclusive constituency as its political purpose?” I believe that in the world history classroom, we can begin to move beyond that “glorification” by teaching students the ways in which logic is often misappropriated in the quest for defining “self” versus “other.”

## Preparation:

1. Students will view a power point presentation and participate in discussions about the histories and theories of modern nationalism;
2. Students will participate in instructor-led lectures and discussions of case studies of national identity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Case studies might include discussions of the following nations (neither a rubric nor all-inclusive): Russia, Zimbabwe, Great Britain, Yugoslavia, Iran, Algeria, Japan, Vietnam, Indonesia, Kenya, or any other countries of the instructor's choosing;
3. Students will watch the video *The Road to Nowhere* and explore Michael Ignatieff's argument about the inconsistencies inherent in nationalist rhetoric. They will then respond to various questions, such as (but not limited to):
  - What started the Yugoslavian civil war?
  - How do Serbs and Croats differentiate each other?
  - Do Serbs and Croats hate each other? If so, why? Are there examples in the film that suggest the hate is more rhetorical than "real"?
  - How likely is it that these two groups will achieve exactly what they demand?

### ***Assessment One: Group Exercise on Thinking Critically with Primary Sources, I***

Students will be assigned groups randomly to read specific passages by nineteenth-century authors and juxtapose the arguments made by each. In this exercise, students will demonstrate an understanding of how nationalists defined the "nation" and how these concepts were manifested in different historical and geographic contexts. Further, they will be able to display their knowledge of the network of ideas prevalent globally in the nineteenth century, in such areas as science, economics, and politics. Students most likely will read extended excerpts from D.F. Sarmiento, Liang Qichao, Yukichi Fukuzawa, Joseph Chamberlain, or Jules Verne.

### ***Assessment Two: Group Exercise on Thinking Critically with Primary Sources, II***

Students will be assigned groups randomly to read a specific speech by national leaders and explore the logical fallacies in the document (see Appendix B for complete information on the assignment and Assessment 3 for examples of logical fallacies and rhetorical ploys). Speech excerpts may include (but are not limited to):

Josef Stalin, "Industrialization of the Country"  
John F. Kennedy, "The Lesson of Cuba"  
Fidel Castro, "On the Export of Revolutions"  
Golda Meir, "Attainment of Peace"  
Indira Gandhi, "Democracy in India"  
Ruhollah Khomeini, "Uprising of Khurdad 15, 1979"  
Ronald Reagan, "Evil Empire Speech"  
Margaret Thatcher, "Christianity and Wealth"  
Slobodan Milošević, "Gazimestan Speech"

### ***Assessment Three: Thinking Like Nationalists***

**PART I:** Students may choose to work in pairs or alone to write a brief speech using the main rhetorical ploys encountered by our nationalists. The speech should be no longer than 2 minutes and should be based on a **fictional** country. They do not have to be a leader of their "nation," but could also choose to be a grassroots organizer, a revolutionary, or a "regular person" expressing their views of their country. The goal of this exercise is to determine how well the students have interpreted the bias and arguments at work in the primary sources. Rhetorical ploys and fallacies should include at least two of the following:

- either / or fallacy (or black / white) fallacy – putting ideas into stark terms with no middle ground;
- hasty generalization – or jumping to conclusions. In this exercise it may mean using evidence from another country to jump to conclusions about the country's intentions;
- pathos – the use of emotional appeals;
- ethos – establishing one's right / authority to speak for the group, in this case, the nation;
- *ad hominem* – attacking the opponent, not the issue; in this case, it can be a leader of another country or the country's ideals;
- us / them – the classic rhetoric of the nationalist used to establish identity and maintain allegiance (sometimes used in connection with the either / or fallacy, but the two should not be conflated)

**PART II:** When students give their speech to the audience, the class will critically analyze the speech for its logical flaws in the same way they analyzed the documents in Assessment 2. Students must be made aware, even when they purposefully construct them, of the problems of creating a myth-history built around difference. Instructors must carefully monitor students as they work on this assignment to keep it clearly focused and should not adopt this exercise unless there is enough time to devote both to Parts I and II.

### ***Assessment Four: Retaining Chronological Knowledge***

Students will be tested in two ways under timed conditions. First, they will be asked to identify and explain an excerpt from a primary source in relation to the main themes of the exercises. Primary-source analysis strengthens their critical-thinking skills. Second, they will be required to write an analytic essay exploring the definitions of nationalism and their consequences for state development.

## Appendix A: Journal of World History References and Primary Source Material

- Bentley, Jerry H. "Myths, Wagers, and Some Moral Implications of World History." *Journal of World History* 16/1 (2005): 51-82.
- Dirlik, Arif. "Performing the World: Reality and Representation in the Making of World Histor(ies)." 16/4 (2005): 391 – 410.
- Sachsenmaier, Dominic. "World History as Ecumenical History?" *Journal of World History* 18/4 (2007): 465-490.
- Strayer, Robert. "Decolonization, Democratization, and Communist Reform: The Soviet Collapse in Comparative Perspective." *Journal of World History* 12/2 (2001): 375-406.
- Sutherland, Heather. "The Problematic Authority of (World) History." *Journal of World History* 18/4 (2007): 491 – 522.

Many of the **primary sources** are readily available online. Specifically, the following websites might be explored:

- Paul Halsall's *Modern History Sourcebook* – a website of selected primary documents with citations.  
<<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook.html>>
- European NAvigator (or ENA) – a website on the history of the European Union <<http://www.ena.lu/>>
- Cold War International History Project – a website connected to the Wilson Center that houses a digital library of documents relating to the Cold War. Many documents very specifically deal with nationalism. <[http://wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic\\_id=1409&fuseaction=topics.home](http://wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=topics.home)>
- Tamilnation – a website primarily devoted to Tamil history. Nevertheless, it dedicates several pages to defining nationalism and ideas of nationhood: <<http://www.tamilnation.org/nation.htm>>
- 

## Appendix B: Example of Group Exercise

### Group Exercise #3: Nationalism and Argumentation

**Directions:** In your group, read the document and then answer the following questions. You will have 45 minutes to complete this form (write on another sheet of paper or on the back) and we will reconvene as a group to discuss your findings. You should also to use the supplied butcher paper to outline your responses for the class.

1. Who is the author/speaker? What is her/his title? What country is the speaker from? Who is the intended audience?
  2. Does the speaker make comments about the nation? How? In what form?
  3. Does the speaker make any allusions to other nations? What are these allusions? How do you think the audience is supposed to react to these comments?
  4. What forms of argumentation does the speaker use (appeals to emotions, recognition of counterargument, appeal to authority of the speaker, etc.)?
  5. What is the argument being made in this piece? Can you pinpoint a "thesis statement"? Summarize the main argument (your OWN words) in one or two sentences.
  6. Can you pull out the bias in the argument? You should also pinpoint logical fallacies used by the speaker (either / or, ad hominem, overuse of pathos, etc.).
  7. Compare your reading to the statements Michael Ignatieff made about nationalism in *The Road to Nowhere*. Are there similarities between your reading and some of the people Ignatieff interviews? Explain.
- 

## Appendix C: Student Reflection

I generally solicit student reflections on the effectiveness of group assignments after the semester. The following response is from a student who took my class in Spring, 2007.

**What, in your view, was the primary goal of the exercise?**

*The primary goal of this exercise was to recognize and analyze the bias that was present in different country's [sic] nationalistic arguments. By recognizing this bias, we could begin to speculate the reasons, goals, and motives for such arguments.*

**How were all of these documents related to each other?**

*All of these documents and films were related to each other in that they all focused on nationalist rhetoric and bias. They all contained a specific language and tone, and used carefully selected images, words, or phrases to either mask or embellish their arguments with pathos specific to their targeted audience.*

**What did you learn about nationalism?**

*I learned that nationalism can be both a unifying and dividing factor and that bias and prejudice often affect the way other nations and peoples view each other.*

**Based on the lesson, did you realize that you had preconceived ideas about the nation that you never really contemplated before? If so, what and why?**

*This lesson made me realize that I had preconceived ideas about how the United States was viewed around the world. Based on American media from the 1980s Cold War period, one would believe that the United States was viewed as liberators spreading democracy to people that were begging for our help, when in reality, it may only have been the United States desire for this image.*

**Did the exercise make you think about the world around you any differently? If so, how? If not, why not?**

*This exercise made me think more critically about the language and bias that is present in nationalistic rhetoric, especially that of the United States. It is often easier to analyze argument of another nation or people, yet it is harder to do so with your own country as it is more common place and trite. This exercise made me view and analyze both my own country and others countries [sic] nationalistic arguments more critically.*

**General Comments on usefulness of the exercise:**

*This exercise is very useful, it forces students to think and analyze argument critically and not accept everything at face value. The use of nationalism as a medium for critical analysis is both engaging and informative, especially with the use of both foreign and domestic examples.*

# World History From Afar

## Global/World History in China

*Professor Xia Jiguo and Mr. Sun Yue of Capital Normal University in Beijing presented the following papers at the session "World/Global History in China," Friday, 27 June 2008, at the opening session of the WHA's 17<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference at Queen Mary, University of London. Both are actively engaged in the study of global history, Professor Xia as a member of the faculty of CNU's Global History Center, with a specialty in the medieval era, and Mr. Sun as a Ph.D. candidate, with a specialty in early modern Europe. Additionally, Sun Yue teaches in the English Education Department of CNU's College of Foreign Languages. Both colleagues serve on the Local Arrangements Committee, which Mr. Sun chairs, in preparation for the 20<sup>th</sup> Annual WHA Conference, which Capital Normal University will host, 7-11 July 2011, at its state-of-the-art International Cultural Plaza.*

*In his paper, Professor Xia offers a general overview of the past and current states of global and world history studies in the PRC, pointing out the differences between the U.S. and Chinese understanding of the term world history. There, what we understand as world history is termed global history, and, as we shall see in this essay, world history and world general history are something entirely different from one another and from the WHA's world history.*

*Sun Yue has pointed out in private correspondence with this editor that his essay on the early modern European witch-hunt phenomenon not only places it within a global context but presents it with a distinctly Chinese perspective and voice. Moreover, it nicely reminds us of next year's WHA conference venue: Salem, Massachusetts (25-28 June 2009), site of the infamous 1692 witch trials.*

*So we have one paper which deals with the state of world and global historical studies in contemporary China, and another that illustrates global history as practiced in the Peoples' Republic of China. Taken together, the two papers will allow WHA members who plan to attend the 2011 conference at Capital Normal to engage in meaningful and mutually beneficial dialogue with the Chinese colleagues and students whom they will meet there.*

A. J. Andrea

## Teaching World History at Chinese Universities: Past and Present

Xia Jiguo  
Capital Normal University

**Three Concepts: World History, World General History, and Global History** - The Ministry of Education in China requires world history as one of eight history subfields. The other subfields are: the theory and philosophy of history, archaeology and museology, historical geography, the philosophy of historical documents, special history (courses focused on fairly narrow topics, such as the Renaissance), the ancient history of China, and modern Chinese history. Of these, the most important are the ancient history of China, modern Chinese history, and world history. The histories of all foreign countries are subsumed under the title world history. Generally speaking, teachers who are engaged in the teaching and studying of world history reside and practice in only one discrete teaching and research area. The main courses, or subjects, they offer include: world general history, special history, dynastic histories, national, or state, histories, and regional histories. Among these courses, world general history is compulsory, the others are elective. Whereas world history is the history of anything outside of China, traditional world general history is a collage of national and regional histories. In this sense, it is somewhat similar to the world history surveys offered in the U.S. by those who are not comfortable or conversant with the new world history, as represented by the AP World History curriculum and as promoted by the WHA. But a distinctive feature of world general history is that Chinese history is not included. The so-called new world history, especially as practiced in the U.S., which focuses on global relationships, systems, interactions, and comparative history, is called global history by Chinese scholars, to distinguish it from world history and world general history as taught and practiced in China. So there are some real differences here.

**The Development of World History Teaching at Chinese Universities** - From the beginning of the twentieth century to 1949, a curriculum of Foreign History was set up in all Chinese universities history departments, consisting mainly of many kinds of Western histories. These included Western General History, the History of Greece, the History of the Roman Empire, Western Medieval History, Western Modern History, the History of England, the History of France, the History of the United States, and so on. Western General History was a required course for history students. The teaching materials used were mainly written by Western scholars; few were com-

piled by Chinese scholars. Many of the Chinese professors had returned from studying in Europe or America.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the discipline of world history greatly changed.

First, specific teaching and research sections of world history were set up in all history departments. Today, teachers of world history account for about 40 percent of the faculty of a department.

Second, the categories of world history have greatly increased in contrast to the pre-1949 period. The histories of some important countries are now taught. These include the former Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Japan, and so on. There are also teachers who lecture on the History of Regions, such as Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Before 1949, these regions, or areas, as they are known in the U.S., were merely treated as the objects of colonialism in the curriculum of Western History. Today we also offer specific histories, such as the History of World War Two, the Western Renaissance, the Culture of Ancient Greece, and the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages.

Third, since 1949, Chinese universities have been teaching world general history. World general history is divided into four stages: Ancient, Medieval, Modern, and Contemporary. The 4-volume edition of World general history was published in 1962, as the first comprehensive teaching guide and curriculum at the university level. With historical materialism as its guiding principle, this book was deeply influenced by Soviet historical science. Since 1978, Chinese scholars have probed in depth into the system of world general history, and many new textbooks have been published.

**World History Teaching Conditions Today: A Survey** - We at Capital Normal University conducted a survey in early 2005. The main aim was to provide practical information for scholars engaged in the study of world general history and to encourage teaching reforms in this field.

Statistical Information from the Teacher Questionnaire. We distributed a single questionnaire to 50 universities, inviting a teacher engaged in the teaching and study of world history to fill it out. We received responses from the following 37 universities: East China Normal University, Shandong University, Wuhan University, Fudan University, Beijing Normal University, Sichuan University, People's University, Nanjing University, Nankai University, Northeast China University, Jilin University, Neimenggu University, Zhengzhou University, Shanghai University, Nanjing Normal University, Hunan Normal University, Hebei Normal University, Southwest China Normal University, Shanghai Normal University, Qufu Normal University, Shanxi University, Ningxia University, Heilongjiang University, Anhui

Normal University, Middle China Normal University, Huaibei Coal Industry Teachers' College, South China Normal University, Capital Normal University, Liaocheng University, Hubei Teachers' College, Hunan University of Science, Xihua Normal University, Yan'an University, Anshan Teachers' College, Guangxi University for Nationalities, Baotou Teachers' College, and Jiangxi Science and Teachers' College. As is clear, these universities cover almost every part of China. Seventeen of these universities are considered first-rate universities; 19 are the key normal universities of their province; and 4 are common universities (some are double-counted). Among the 37 persons who participated, 5 are deans or presidents of universities that teach or

| Table 1: Age Distribution |                     |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| Age Distribution          | Number (Percentage) |
| 20-30 years               | 43 (12%)            |
| 31-40 years               | 135 (37%)           |
| 41-50 years               | 112 (31%)           |
| 51-60 years               | 68 (19%)            |
| above 60 years            | 8 (2%)              |

study world history, 14 are leading scholars in the discipline of world history, and 18 are common teachers of world history. We believe that this survey is sufficient to reflect the basic condition of world general history education in China, and that its results provide abundant and comprehensive first-hand material that is thought-provoking.

At the 37 universities that responded, a total of 366 people are engaged in teaching and studying world history. The following is some background information about them.

Looking at the data, especially at the large number of people who have been abroad for further study and who hold a doctoral degree or senior title, there is no doubt that there has been a high level of achievement within the discipline of world history in recent years. Yet if we classify these 37 schools into three kinds according to the standard or level of the discipline of world history at each, we still find great differences among them.

With regard to the total number of class hours of world general history, we have information on 36 universities. At 1 university the program spanned 6 semesters; at 9 universities, 5 semesters; at 13 universities, 4 semesters; at 12

Table 2: Highest Educational Level

| Highest Educational Level | Number (Percentage) |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| A bachelor's degree       | 59 (16%)            |
| A master's degree         | 107 (29%)           |
| A doctoral degree         | 200 (54%)           |
| Abroad experience         | 152 (42%)           |

universities, 3 semesters; and at the remaining universities, 2 semesters. The total number of class hours at the different universities is shown in Table 4.

This reflects the fact that world general history is changing now. Ten years ago, almost every university had more than 400 class hours of world general history, and the same number class hours of Chinese history. Now some universities are offering more elective courses.

We also know from the survey that 14 universities (38%) offered world general history in their non-history departments, 18 universities (49%) did not offer it at all, and 5 (15%) didn't respond. Excluding the courses on world general history, 80% of the universities offered more than 10 world history elective courses.

To gain a more in depth view of the teaching methods and quality of teaching in the field of world general history, we developed the following two selective questions: Do you adopt multimedia techniques in your course(s)? and Which teaching methods are used in your world general history course? From these results (Tables 5 and 6), we conclude that most teachers not only understand the basic foundations of world general history education, but they also incorporate advanced international research into their courses to widen the students' horizons. To the subjective question, "Do you have any suggestions for improving upon teaching methods?" many good ideas were offered, which mainly focused on several aspects mentioned below. As to the topic of multimedia teaching, 12 respondents stated that more multimedia methods should be put into practice; the source-building of multimedia-teaching should be

| Table 3: Teacher Qualifications |                        |                  |                      |                 |                   |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|------------------|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Type                            | Number of Universities | Members Employed | Further Study Abroad | Doctoral Degree | Senior Capability |
| I                               | 11                     | 143              | 98 (69%)             | 101 (71%)       | 118 (83%)         |
| II                              | 17                     | 158              | 49 (31%)             | 79 (50%)        | 106 (67%)         |
| III                             | 9                      | 65               | 5 (8%)               | 20 (31%)        | 39 (60%)          |

Table 4: Number of Class Hours of World General History Teaching

| Universities | Class Hours   |
|--------------|---------------|
| 3            | 400 and above |
| 12           | 301 to 399    |
| 12           | 251 to 300    |
| 4            | 201 to 250    |
| 4            | 151 to 200    |
| 1            | 150 and below |

Table 5: Question - Do You Adopt Multimedia Techniques in Your Course(s)?

|           |                  |
|-----------|------------------|
| usually   | 13 persons (35%) |
| sometimes | 20 persons (54%) |
| few       | 2 persons (5.5%) |
| never     | 2 persons (5.5%) |

strengthened; documentary materials should be shared among institutions; and multimedia materials should be edited for use. Other teachers argued that multimedia methods should not be promoted too much, as they are only audiovisual aids and cannot replace the traditional methods of historical science. Nine teachers proposed that lectures should be combined with classroom discussion in order to motivate students to study. The textbooks on world general history, the teachers believe, should be revised constantly so that new study results can be incorporated; references should be appended to each chapter, and textbooks should include historical maps. The prevalent textbook World history should be revised as soon as possible.<sup>1</sup> In addition,

| Table 6: Question - Which Teaching Methods are Used in Your World General History Course?                 |                  |
|---|------------------|
| Thoroughly explain entire contents  | 1 person (3%)    |
| Emphasize key events and complex developments   | 14 persons (38%) |
| Supplement with extra information to keep up with international studies                                   | 21 persons (57%) |
| Instruct students to learn by themselves, supplemented with extra material based on international studies | 7 persons (19%)  |
| Other ways  | 1 person (3%)    |

tion, it is imperative that teachers constantly improve their own knowledge of world history theory, methods, and research. In order to overcome the high degree of specialization, teachers should foster a broader view of world history. They should be familiar with the relevant materials and studies, reinforce communication with other scholars, and attach more importance to language-training in both Chinese and English.

Looking beyond a world history which is everything but China, there is integrated global history, which has become the focus of international historiography since the 1980s. To gain the view of history teachers in China on this subject, we asked the following questions: Are you familiar with global history? Do you give lessons in global history? and Have you ever read books on global history? (See Tables 7 and 8)

The most popular global history books they read are: Stavrianos' A Global History, Pomeranz' The Great Divergence, Wallerstein's Modern World

Table 7: Question - Are You Familiar with Global History?

|          |                  |
|----------|------------------|
| very     | 5 persons (15%)  |
| a little | 28 persons (75%) |
| heard of | 4 persons (10%)  |

System, Frank's *Reorient: Global Economy in the Asian Age*, Spengler's *The Decline of the West*, and Toynbee's *The Study of History*. These results prove that teachers have a certain familiarity with the Western tradition and current international scholarship in world and global history.

Teachers articulated, however, widely varying views on *global history*, which are enlightening. Out of 37 teachers investigated, nearly 30 offered their opinions on the topic. Some teachers made a positive evaluation of *global history*. Their arguments can be summarized in six points:

**Table 8: Question - Do You Give Lessons in Global History?**

|           |                  |
|-----------|------------------|
| yes       | 24 persons (67%) |
| no        | 4 persons (11%)  |
| no answer | 8 persons (22%)  |

First, the field of *global history* is one that a rising China should take up as it represents valuable assets in trying to reestablish the *world general history* system after having gotten rid of the fetters of ideology. The key to *global history* lies in its completely new approach. It is neither a superficial change in traditional general history nor the result of a balanced history in area studies. Its focal point is not the nation but the greater world. *Global history* treats the globe as a whole from the angle of domestic politics, nation and race, geography and climate, cultural traditions, and diplomatic relations, and it aims at investigating the features and trends of *global history* developments by exploring the exchanges and relationships among people, nations, regions, and countries. Moreover, Chinese *global history* scholars should attempt to thoroughly abandon the influence of Eurocentrism and to express the particular Chinese understanding within the international discourse on *world history*.

Second, *global history* could macroscopically draw the general outline of the whole development of *world history* and avoid Eurocentrism.

Third, as a historical research method, *global history* is useful in understanding the complexity of the world and in avoiding treating *world*

**Table 10: Question - Do You Like the Course of World General History?**

|                |                   |
|----------------|-------------------|
| like           | 188 persons (60%) |
| generally like | 114 persons (37%) |
| dislike        | 10 persons (3%)   |

*general history* as a collection of seriatim national histories.

Fourth, *global history* reflects an interdisciplinary approach and applies systemat-

ic thought and methods to historical research.

Fifth, in an era of globalization, *global history* opens up new research fields in the study of *world history* and indicates new ways for its future.

Sixth, *global history* provides the tools to study the history of the world in its entirety; it offers a structure for its development and highlights global trends.

Besides these positive reactions, teachers also expressed their perplexity and anxiety about how to apply *global history* in the course of teaching. Five points were raised.

First, *global history* is an effective theoretical method for analyzing history and doing historical research. It emphasizes transnational relationships in the development of history and is helpful in deconstructing Eurocentrism and Sinocentrism. However, it should not be used when compiling textbooks and teaching courses. Especially in the field of ancient history, it has led to an artificial exaggeration of relationships among ancient peoples. *Global history* brings many perplexities into teaching and, for example, should not be applied to the teaching of ancient history.

Second, although *global history* is very useful, its scope is more complicated and intimidating for students. Furthermore, the degree of difficulty of the courses increases rapidly. It therefore makes much more sense to teach history by focusing first on geographical areas. Once the

**Table 11: Question - How Often Do Your Teachers of World General History Use Multimedia?**

|            |                   |
|------------|-------------------|
| very often | 87 persons (28%)  |
| sometimes  | 101 persons (32%) |
| little     | 78 persons (25%)  |
| never      | 48 persons (15%)  |

**Table 12: Question - What Kinds of Teaching Methods Do Your Teachers of World General History Often Use? (Multiple Choice)**

|                               |                   |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| Lectures                      | 284 persons (91%) |
| Discussions and Disquisitions | 125 persons (40%) |
| Comparisons                   | 105 persons (34%) |
| Multimedia Presentations      | 63 persons (20%)  |
| Others                        | 15 persons (5%)   |

students have mastered the key issues of *world history*, they are then more capable of grasping the concepts of *global history*.

Third, *global history* should be understood and comprehended fully by every teacher who teaches *world history* and even by those who teach only Chinese history. But the problem still remains as to how to effectively teach *global history* well, how to incorporate it into the curriculum, and how to join theory and practice success-

fully.

Fourth, while *global history* is objective and scientific, its grand sweep is nonetheless based on microcosmic history. Above all, we must teach essential historical facts. Only after this is done can we introduce the global dimension of history to students.

Statistical Information from the Student Questionnaires. For the student survey, we distributed 340 questionnaires to students at 9 universities: Nankai University, Shandong University, Sichuan University, East China Normal University, Middle China Normal University, Tianjin Normal University, Qufu Normal University, Liaocheng University, and Capital Normal University. We received 313 responses, from which we can draw some conclusions about the degree of students' understanding of *world general history* and their assessment of teaching and textbooks, as well as their degree of satisfaction with this field. The main questions and feedback are presented in Tables 11 through 19.

We can conclude here that the undergraduates are interested in *world general history*, they want to know the world, including the history of the world and the world today, and they are generally satisfied with the *world general history* teaching conditions.

From the teacher questionnaire, we found out that economic growth led to the improvement of teaching facilities in universities, which allows most teachers to use multimedia if necessary. However, from the student questionnaire, we found that teachers do not use multimedia presentations enough:

Comparing the responses for the questions in Table 12 and Table 13, we know most teachers are still using traditional teaching methods, such as lectures. In contrast, the discussion/disquisi-

**Table 13: Question - What Kinds of Teaching Methods Are Your Favorites? (Multiple Choice)**

|                               |                   |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| Lectures                      | 99 persons (32%)  |
| Discussions and Disquisitions | 189 persons (60%) |
| Comparisons                   | 130 persons (42%) |
| Multimedia Presentations      | 138 persons (44%) |
| Others                        | 33 persons (11%)  |

tion approach is favored by the students. There are many reasons for this. The main reason is, the Chinese students tended to be shy in the past. When teachers asked them questions, generally there was no response. But now, the students are different. They are more active than before, so teachers should change their teaching methods, and the sooner, the better.

From the data in Table 14, it is very clear that teachers usually assess students through written tests. Surely this is connected with their teach-



ing methods. Because of this, Chinese undergraduates don't have too much to do after class, and over 90% of them can pass the finals.

With regard to these current teaching condi-

**Table 14: Question - What Means Do Your Teachers Use to Evaluate Your Performance? (Multiple Choice)**

|                     |                   |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| Questions (Quizzes) | 50 persons (16%)  |
| Written Tests       | 262 persons (84%) |
| Homework            | 93 persons (30%)  |
| Research Papers     | 182 persons (58%) |
| Other Means         | 27 persons (9%)   |

tions, students suggested six points on how to improve the *world general history* program.

First, it is necessary to read more foreign history masterpieces. For the beginner, teachers should introduce easy books and frequently conduct activities on reading and comprehension techniques.

**Table 15: Question - Have You Read Any Extra Books?**

|           |                   |
|-----------|-------------------|
| usually   | 67 persons (21%)  |
| sometimes | 221 persons (70%) |
| none      | 24 persons (9%)   |

Second, students want to obtain more perceptual knowledge about *world general history*. Multimedia, video documents, classical movies,

and introductions to foreign customs, are seen as good ways. In order to enhance students' comprehension of geographical spaces, or "spatial perception," textbooks should contain illustrations, graphs, and other visual materials, especially historical maps.

Third, teachers should talk more about important world topics and try to guide students from ancient to modern times.

Fourth, it is suggested to diversify the means of examination. For example, term papers could be used in addition to final examinations.

Fifth, students expect to be offered advanced foreign-language classes in order to be able to read more original documents from other coun-

**Table 16: Question - If You Have Read Some, Please List Your Favorites. [The most popular books are listed.]**

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| <i>History</i> by Herodotus   | 14 persons |
| <i>The Bible</i>  | 10 persons |
| <i>Germania</i> by Tacitus  | 6 persons  |
| <i>Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire</i> by Edward Gibbon            | 6 persons  |
| <i>Anabasis Alexandri</i> by Arrian                                     | 5 persons  |
| <i>The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy</i> by Jacob Burckhardt | 4 persons  |

**Table 17: Question - Do You Know Something About the Viewpoints of Global History?**

|           |             |
|-----------|-------------|
| very much | 2 persons   |
| basic     | 154 persons |
| heard of  | 138 persons |
| none      | 20 persons  |

i.e. self-directed learning. In that regard, Tables 15 through 19 reflect the responses received to our questions.

**Table 18: Question - Have You Read Some Books About Global History?**

|                   |             |
|-------------------|-------------|
| regularly         | 9 persons   |
| some              | 119 persons |
| only occasionally | 150 persons |
| none              | 35 persons  |

**Conclusions** - From the teacher and student surveys, we can sum up the current teaching conditions in *world general history* at Chinese universities. With the quick development of the Chinese economy, the increasing possibility of international and national communication, and especially the high-speed development of postgraduate education, teaching facilities have greatly improved and library resources have become abundant. In addition, teachers have improved their academic credentials and broadened their perspectives. All of these factors have benefited teaching and made reforms possible.

At the same time, many problems need to be resolved in *world general history* education. First, since it is a great project to transform the traditional *world general history* into a real *global history*, *world general history* should be taught by sophisticated senior professors in the third academic year. In the first and second years, courses such as Chinese history, national histories, and historical theory and methodology should be offered, which are helpful to lay the foundation for learning *world general history*. These recommendations are based on the following current realities: At Chinese universities, *world general history* is taught from the first academic year, and most of the teachers of this course are young and do not have much teaching experience; similarly, more experienced and advanced professors prefer to offer elective courses based on their narrow research.

Second, it is necessary to improve textbooks. Our surveys of teachers and students have

tries.

Sixth, they propose to enforce the study of historical theories and methods and to extend the class hours of *world general history*.

In summary, above and beyond classroom teaching, more attention should be paid to students' acquisition of knowledge by themselves,

**Table 19: Question - Which Books Have You Read? [The most popular books are listed.]**

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| <i>A Global History</i>                          | 73 persons |
| <i>Modern World System</i>                       | 12 persons |
| <i>Reorient: Global Economy in the Asian Age</i> | 12 persons |
| <i>The Study of History</i>                      | 12 persons |
| <i>The Great Divergence</i>                      | 4 persons  |

proven this point. We should compile textbooks on special areas and national histories, omit national histories in our *world general history* textbooks, and focus instead on relations and mutual exchanges among different parts of the world.

Third, as the result of the second problem area, the class hours of *world general history* at all universities should be standardized.

Fourth, teaching methods must be improved. We should change the traditional method to discussion and disquisition and guide students in solving problems independently while reading.

Finally, there need to be some changes in examinations and in the methods of scoring students.

<sup>1</sup> According to our survey 23 institutions use *World history* (six volumes), compiled by Wu Yujin and Qi Shirong.



## ***Prospects and Pitfalls of a Global History Approach To the Early-Modern European Witch Hunt***

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**Abstract:** *The contemporary rise of global history signals the efforts of history as an academic discipline to keep abreast of the times. Many historical issues, including the early-modern European witch hunt, when examined in the new light of global history, yield startlingly fresh images and new prospects for historical research. Yet global history is not without pitfalls. Failing to critically examine primary sources can be lethal; blindly following established narrative frameworks can lead one astray; and global history is not the history of everything, something to be borne in mind by practitioner and reader alike.*

Arguably, *global history* covers everything that has happened to man in time and on Earth. Or

conversely, “all aspects of past human activity and belief”<sup>1</sup> fall properly into the domain of a *global history* examination. As such, *global history* stands in sharp contrast with traditional historiographical schools, which either square history within the nation-state container, or are regionally/culturally structured, leading almost inevitably to the dualistic dilemma of civilization versus barbarism. The approach is laden with problems and frustrations. For one thing, fits of barbarism erupt within the epicenter of civilization itself, sometimes lasting centuries, one example being the early-modern European witch hunt, which the historian Rossell Hope Robbins (1912-1990) denounced as a “shocking nightmare, the foulest crime and deepest shame of modern civilization, the black-out of everything that ... reasoning man has ever upheld.”<sup>2</sup>

This paper is not to argue that *global history* provides the only viable perspective and methods for eliminating this apparent dilemma, but rather that the *global history* approach does yield important insights. In a nutshell, this paper aims to offer a critique of current scholarship on the early-modern European Witch-hunt, advocating a *global history* treatment. It intends to show, from the perspective of *global history*, that the early-modern European witch hunt was unique but not exceptional; along with witchcraft, it is a perennial human fact; was underlined by a plethora of human factors, the gist of which is none other than a power game, scapegoating, and persecution of the Other; needs triggering, in the form of personal animosity, social tension, or natural hazardness, among other factors.

**The Problem:** The early-modern European witch-hunt has attracted so much recent scholarly attention that the topic has earned the status of a “genre in its own right,”<sup>3</sup> and, consequently, the amount of witchcraft literature is voluminous. Simply put, historical explanations of the episode run as follows: 1) witchcraft as *maleficium* (sorcery), when coupled with the notion of a pact with the Devil, was perceived as a diabolical endeavor, and this, in turn, generated the intellectual foundation for witch persecution; 2) the shift from accusatorial to inquisitorial procedures facilitated legal torture, boosting the size and momentum of the witch craze,<sup>4</sup> which, in turn, led to widespread “judicial murder;” 3) the Reformation served to intensify witch-hunts in a period of religious and social turmoil, especially throughout the Holy Roman Empire, and particularly in Germany; 4) though witch persecutions showed variations in terms of size and locale, the typical accused witch was a poor, old, ugly hag, often widowed, and known as a bitter gossip; 5) witchcraft beliefs and witch persecutions declined as a result of four factors, namely: a new judicial climate in which evidence of a crime was demanded, as well as credible crime witnesses; a

“disenchantment of the world”<sup>5</sup> with a rejection of the mysticism of religion and a turning toward a more mechanical, rationalistic worldview; the rise of religious pluralism; and a general amelioration of the social condition.<sup>6</sup>

This neat explanation, however, leaves major problems unresolved. For example, what were the ultimate drives behind this frenzied,

human-orchestrated atrocity? Rationalists regard witchcraft beliefs as resulting from delusion

and the witch-hunt a deliberate attempt by the Church to crack down on dissidence for its own benefit; romanticists contend that witchcraft practices and alleged sabbats, or covens, were historically true and represented a perennial pagan resistance to Christian belief and practices; and social scientists depict the witch-hunt as a product of enormous social strain at a time of dramatic change.<sup>7</sup> Agendas<sup>8</sup> aside, all three schools are sympathetic with the persecuted ones; few scholars today find much agreement with Sprenger and Kramer—authors of the *Malleus maleficarum* (*Hammer of Witches*) of 1484—who presented the side of the persecutors. Were the persecutors not at all justified in what they wrote and did? Levack, for one, provides a clue to partially answering this, i.e., the “fear of rebellion.” For at least in late-medieval or early-modern Europe, it was widely held that “Rebellion is the mother of witchcraft.” And the fear was not groundless, for “the numerous calamities of the late fourteenth century, most especially the Black Death, may have encouraged intellectuals to assume greater demonic intervention in the world...”<sup>9</sup> Equally confusing is the decline of witchcraft beliefs and the witch hunt.<sup>10</sup>

The result is that this episode in European history continues to be shrouded in the mists of a “proliferation of theories,” which has created “more confusion than enlightenment.”<sup>11</sup> It is certainly reasonable to recognize that the early-modern European witch hunt was “multi-causal,”<sup>12</sup> but one is slow to attribute it to a collective mania, considering the length of witch hunting episodes and the legal mechanisms that were widely employed during the whole process. The least likely explanation, of course, is that there suddenly emerged countless sabbats, or covens, of witches who were practicing infanticides and cannibalism and had in mind nothing short of overthrowing the whole of Christendom, as conspiracy theorists’ fantasies would have us believe.

The early-modern European witch hunt is perceived as unique, particular to a specific time and place, and nowhere else to be found if *examined in isolation or in low-context profile*.<sup>13</sup> So despite several dozen different interpretations, this period of seeming anomaly is always used to justify the exceptional quality of European history. Meanwhile, in China, the topic itself is avoid-

ed in standard *world history* textbooks, while a number of Chinese world historians have chosen to dwell on other issues.<sup>14</sup>

How do we make sense of the rise and fall of the early-modern European witch hunt? Standing farther back, one may ask: Were witch hunts unique to early-modern Europe and English North America?

**The Methods:** For Chinese historians studying the early-modern European witch hunt, perhaps the only thing they can possibly rely on is just common sense, often prevented as they access archival materials. That means they have to rely largely on “second-hand” materials – other historians’ interpretations and edited sourcebooks as well – in musing on just about any topic in *world history*. It is not a comfortable position, professionally.<sup>15</sup> But this can be turned into an advantage: the lapse of time and a sociopsychocultural distance could provide vistas unavailable to people nearer at hand, the gist of which is aptly captured in a short poem by the eleventh-century Chinese poet Su Shi titled “Written on the Wall of Xilin Monastery”:

*Horizontally we see a range of hills, and  
sideways a peak,  
Each perspective and altitude shift gives a  
different shape.  
The true face of Lushan is not to be revealed,  
To one lost in its misty haze.*

So it is my wish that I, an outsider to Western mainstream culture, and one who, within a Confucian tradition, embraces a holistically humane approach, with the help of a *global history* perspective, might be naturally endowed with a vision that possibly contributes to unveiling the “true face” of the early-modern European witchcraft and witch hunt.

History sets out to account for what actually happened. But that is only part of the job of historians. They are burdened with the task of detecting patterns of continuity and change, helping to shape wiser, healthier minds and sustainably happier lives.

Historians are detectives and doctors at the same time. Detectives find; doctors save. Both are eagle-eyed and cool-minded. And on the basis of the above model, historians can set out to integrate individual experiences, social encounters, and natural environment transformations, detecting the struggling, shifting, intertwining, interacting, mutually reinforcing or confining among them, all of which results in an order arising out of chaos, an order of the holistic dynamism of change.<sup>16</sup>

Beyond that, *global history* is a conscious attempt to break away from over-professionalization in historical studies,<sup>17</sup> the rigid nation-state paradigm, and the prevalence of Eurocentrism, to name but three phenomena against which it stands. So instead of simply searching within the boundaries of nation-states, regions, or civiliza-

tions, global historians look at the globe and human societies as a whole to make sense of humanity's adventure on Earth; they stare into life or the world itself to see what it can yield about the human existence, from above and below, from within and all around.

**The Solution:** The need for a global treatment of the early-modern European witch hunt has gradually surfaced. The publication of the six-volume *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe* series<sup>18</sup> testifies to the perennial appeal of witchcraft beliefs, and sporadic outbursts of "witch hunts," even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, are manifestations of this. It is also a hopeful sign that the geographical and chronological coverage of witchcraft studies has increased in recent years, while global and interdisciplinary approaches to witchcraft are steadily being published, as the global perspective continues to yield a number of astoundingly new findings.

First, it has been discovered that witchcraft beliefs or even witch hunts have never ceased both as manifestations of a human psychological need to account for the inexplicable, and in the service of certain economic or political agendas, which dampens, if not totally destroys, the notion of early-modern European exceptionalism in regard to its witch hunts. If it were only ignorance, religious dogma, and the lack of advanced sci-tech means that led to witchcraft beliefs in the late Middle Ages, how can one explain the widespread witchcraft beliefs in some of the world's most developed countries in the contemporary world?<sup>20</sup> Besides, witchcraft beliefs have been long cherished by Africans, Asians, Amerindians, Australian aborigines, as well as Europeans,<sup>21</sup> and witch hunts or quasi-witch hunts flare up in cases of inexplicable disasters or political agenda-setting, almost always within the context of a conspiracy theory.

It must be admitted that for any event to happen, for any response to be elicited such as the legitimated use of violence against an alien "Other," there must be a plethora of factors at work. First and foremost, there must be a perceived danger to individuals, to the power hierarchy, or to the moral order of society. To a large extent, this scenario exemplifies the spirit of why witches are hunted almost everywhere. In "Why Salem Made Sense," Isaac Reed demonstrates that the fears and anxieties that drove the people of Salem to execute twenty of their own men and women, cannot be reduced to political uncertainty, economic competition, or village jealousy; rather, it made sense to the Congregationalists in Massachusetts because it was a set of actions in defense of an emotionally charged order of morality, metaphysics, and sex – the Puritan world view. What Salem put at stake was not only the self-conscious collective identity of the Puritans as God's chosen people, but also the nature and place of men and women, and their relationship to the invisible world of God and the

devil. It was the understanding of gender inside Puritan culture that enabled husbands to turn on their wives, "good" women to accuse "bad" ones, and high-minded judges to believe them.<sup>22</sup>

Taken as a whole, it is only natural that monotheistic Christian dualism would have bred heresy and the zeal of persecution lavished on the alien Other. This points to the sociocultural climate of the late-Middle Ages of European society as the single most important factor feeding into the early-modern witch hunt, this despite the concept of diabolism triggered by various natural disasters, including the Black Death and the Little Ice Age,<sup>23</sup> and despite the legal facilitation of torture, which served only as a means to an end of persecution. In short, the witch hunt was the logical outcome of a dualistic scheme of things. Consequently unless people can arm themselves with a new set of values that honor harmonious development, accommodate differences, place human beings above cultural orientations, and transcend conflicts, new rounds of witch hunt or pseudo-witch hunts are likely to recur.

Most cultures have narratives or myths in which the "Other," apprehended as a blameworthy stranger, is sacrificed as a scapegoat. Cultural identity is affirmed by holding the stranger responsible for the ills of society and sacrificing him or her accordingly. The biblical scapegoat symbolically laden with all the guilt of the Israelites is reenacted, usually in human form, right down to the present day. Jews, lepers, heretics, witches, shamans, pagans, Gnostics, Sufis, infidels, Catholics, Protestants, Muslims, Native Americans, Negroes, homosexuals, and atheists, have all been cast in this role. The alien Other is also experienced as a demonic monster, as quasihuman but degenerate, exceeding the bounds of human decency, inspiring unease, disquiet, and even terror.

The perception and persecution of the "Other" as a threat has persisted throughout history. The elimination of the Philistines by the Israelites (Amos 1:6-8), the destruction of Carthage by the Romans, the massacres of "infidels" by Christians and Muslims alike during the Crusades of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, the extermination of the Huguenots by Louis XIV, the Spanish conquest of Meso- and South America, the state-inspired slaying of Jews in tsarist Russia, the bounty imposed on Apache scalps in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Mexico, and the extirpation of Beothucks in Newfoundland, are all examples of attempts to kill off an unwanted "Other." Yet all these pale against the "systemic slaughters" of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which makes it indisputably the bloodiest and most barbarous century, hardly deserving the name of "civilization."<sup>25</sup>

Conspiracy theory,<sup>26</sup> the "erroneous view that whenever something evil happens, it must be due to the evil will of an evil power,"<sup>27</sup> is the natural outgrowth and companion of such demonizing tendencies. Despite Sir Karl Popper's sober

yet vehement attack, conspiracy theory does not seem to have lost its staying power, especially in the United States. In his essay on Communism, motherhood, and Cold War movies, Michael Rogin identifies three major moments in the history of demonology in American politics, in "inventing" enemies as targets of attack to define the U.S.A.'s own cultural identity.<sup>28</sup> That was what drove Thomas Jefferson to describe the motives of King George III as "the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states";<sup>29</sup> that was how the former Soviet Union almost immediately replaced the Nazis and the Japanese (who had earlier usurped first place from but never fully replaced "Indians" or "blacks" and the immigrant working classes) as the new "perceived" threat to America during the Cold War, as savage, alien, and fit to be eliminated.<sup>30</sup>

So far, I have a feeling of marching into unknown lands. But this piece of common sense is not yet lost to me: in studying witchcraft and witch hunts, historians' eyes are filled with bitterness and bloodshed if they allow their eyes to be fixed on the cruelties of the human past, to the deprivation of the wholesomeness and meaningfulness of human existence on earth and in the universe. The historians' aim remains clear, i.e., to help build a more harmonious and sustainable human society where creativity and happiness reign. Following the logic of conspiracy theorist, what we refer to as "witch hunting," or anything like it, is highly likely to recur in a time of rapid change coupled with unexpected, unfathomable disasters. So even though we as historians are seemingly entrusted with the duty of reminding the world of the evil and vain barbarity of scapegoating, we cannot guarantee that it will not happen again; for once it gets started, it has a life of its own. For example, in times of war, soldiers, with no obvious "propensities toward rape, sexual sadism, or sadistic violence in civilian life," might resort to rape, torture, random killing, and mutilation.<sup>31</sup>

**Prospects and Pitfalls:** Witchcraft studies, or, more specifically, the study of early-modern European witch hunts, may well turn out to be a tester of the possibilities and limits for historical inquiry and research. It is perhaps impossible for historians to provide definitive explanations of even the core factors behind the formation, ardor, and execution of witch persecutions in early-modern Europe. Perhaps it was simply an attempt to get rid of swarming dissidents in an age of sociopolitical turmoil on the part of the powerful but declining Church and the burgeoning nation-state. Was there really a paradigm shift with empirical science replacing dogmatic Christianity, thus shaking the foundation of the latter? But Christianity stands firm and sound even in the contemporary world, with the number of Christian believers alone approaching over two billion worldwide.<sup>32</sup> Just as the decline of Catholic Christianity's authority and the rise of

state power might have triggered large-scale witch hunts, the state decline in Nigeria is already followed by the “return” of occult power and the eruption of witch persecutions.<sup>33</sup> Religious pluralism is customarily lauded as a terminating factor of the great witch hunt, yet the current trend toward a multicultural globe often accompanies demonological predictions of clashes and conflicts.<sup>34</sup> Is the world heading toward a new global order or chaos?

As much as witchcraft studies have benefited from enlarging perspectives and cross-disciplinary scholarship, much more remains to be done. Needless to say, much of the previous invaluable regional research needs to be incorporated into a *global history* of witchcraft and witch hunt. And such an endeavor calls for joint transdisciplinary efforts; it demands institutional collaboration; it urges historians to go both wider and deeper in search of elements bolstering human development and interactions, giving rise to patterns of continuity and change, taking insights and clues from both regional microhistorical analysis and a sweeping global vision of the human adventure on earth.

Moreover, global historians face the challenge of accommodating both a macroscopic vision and vivid details, thereby composing grand historical narratives that are alive with the joys and sorrows of humanity.

**Conclusion:** If it is true that concerning witchcraft, “we know far too little,”<sup>35</sup> we might as well acknowledge that there’s much more that remains to be uncovered in order to construct of a *global history* of witchcraft. The problem of evil resurfaces in the contemporary world as a result of intermittent horrifying disasters, either mysteriously visiting or overtly befalling various societies; in meeting the challenge human solidarity is called for to eliminate the evil. Buddhism finds an escape from this dilemma in an abolition of all selfish desire, Confucianism, in a hierarchy of human relationships and proper conduct, and Christianity in good triumphing over evil. If the current constitution of modern human existence is shaped by generations of human efforts, global historians must see it as incumbent upon them to make sense of all of this.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Alfred J. Andrea and James H. Overfield, (eds.) *The Human Record: Sources of Global history*, 2 vols. 6th ed. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2009), Prologue, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology* (London: 1959), p. 3, quoted in Scarre and Callow, *Witchcraft and Magic in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, 2nd ed. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), pp. 2-3. One does not seem to be accountable for even the “foulest crime” committed during “black-outs of reason” or sleep. But the whole thing was deliberate and legally supported!

<sup>3</sup> Darren Oldridge, (ed.) *The Witchcraft Reader* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 1; Wolfgang Behringer, *Witchcraft Persecutions in Bavaria. Popular Magic, Religious Zealotry and Reason of State in Early Modern Europe*, trans. J. C.

Grayson and David Lederer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 1, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Brian P. Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1995), p. 2. The “mania” explanation typifies a pathological model, essentially progressivistic. Robert Scribner thus sums up the evolution of witch hunts: “An accusation of witchcraft is brought against an individual and stirs up deep-seated fears and anxieties; persons are interrogated, accomplices sought, confessions made and other persons named; the list of suspects grows longer as the activity of witchcraft is revealed as a widespread conspiracy, precipitating a moral panic in the community at large. The net of complicity spreads out to encompass those apparently above reproach: potentially everyone within the community is implicated. There are interrogations under torture, burnings, a rising tide of panic, until even the very judges themselves are suspect. Then the boil bursts, the fever burns itself out and the exhausted social body is left to recuperate as best it can.” This explanation is “fundamentally flawed,” argues Scribner, insisting on an empathetic understanding of the role of popular magic, sorcery or witchcraft as “embedded in the texture” of the early modern European “daily life” before historians can come to terms with this period of seeming “anomaly.” See Robert W. Scribner, “Witchcraft and Judgement in Reformation Germany,” *History Today* (Apr., 1990): 12-19.

<sup>5</sup> The term “Entzauberung der Welt” is derived from Max Weber, who first elaborated on the thesis of “disenchantment of the world” in a 1917 lecture, pinpointing the retreat of a magical, animistic world, and therefore, the loss of meaning in a rational, secularized, bureaucratic world. See Max Weber, “Science as a Vocation,” in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, (eds.) *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York, 1946), pp. 129-156, quoted in Michael Saler, “Modernity and Enchantment: A Historiographical Review,” *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 111, Issue 3 (Jun., 2006): 692-716, n. 5. According to Weber: “the increasing rationalization and intellectualization...means that principally there are no mysterious incalculable forces that come into play, but rather that one can, in principle, master all things by calculation. This means that the world is disenchanted,” see Weber, “Science as a Vocation,” p. 139. Weber saw “disenchantment” as a “great historic process in the development of religions...which...came here to its logical conclusion.” See Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York, 1958), p. 105, quoted in Robert W. Scribner, “The Reformation, Popular Magic, and the ‘Disenchantment of the World,’” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 23, No. 3, Religion and History (Winter, 1993): 475, n. 1. A similar thesis is argued in Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (Harmondsworth, 1971), pp. 27-89.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*; Alan D. J. Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1970; London: Routledge, 1999); C. Lerner, *Enemies of God: The Witch-hunt in Scotland* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1981); Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clark, (eds.) *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Period of the Witch Trials* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); Jonathan Barry, Marianne Hester, and Gareth Roberts, (eds.) *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Beliefs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*; Gary K. Waite, *Magic, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); H. R. Trevor-Roper, *The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: Religion, Reformation, and Social Change* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1967).

<sup>7</sup> See Jonathan Barry, and Owen Davies, (eds.) *Palgrave Advances in Witchcraft Historiography* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Thomas A. Fudge, “Traditions and Trajectories in the Historiography of European Witch-hunting,” *History Compass*, 4/3 (2006): 488-527.

<sup>8</sup> Rationalists were eager to install the supremacy of reason while romanticists, in protest, were perhaps too much absorbed in the “willing suspension of disbelief,” or in service of the French Revolution. Feminist interpretations of the witch hunt in recent decades are perhaps another typical case of agenda-making, in that they have mainly sought to take advantage of this episode of “patriarchal atrocity” to work out a feminist witch figure to their own advantage, hence the legendary nine million witch martyrs for the feminist cause. So although the exact number of persecuted witches supported by serious academic historians is no more than 60,000, feminists have postulated a

staggering nine million! In the United States, the nine-million figure appeared in the 1978 book *Gyn/Ecology* by the influential feminist theoretician Mary Daly, who picked it up from a 19th-century American feminist, Matilda Joslyn Gage in *Woman, Church and State* (1893; reprint, Watertown, Mass.: Persephone Press, 1980), pp. 106-7. See also Diane Purkiss, *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth-Century Representations* (London and New York, 1996), p. 28, n. 23. Miriam Starhawk, an influential figure in the modern witchcraft movement, claims “to be a witch is to identify with nine million victims of bigotry and hatred...” This is certainly unreliable, for she says at the beginning “[a]ccording to our legends.” See Miriam Simos Starhawk, *The Spiral Dance. Rebirth of the Ancient Religion of the Great Goddess*, 10th anniversary edition with a new introduction and chapter by chapter commentary (Harper, 1989; orig. 1979), p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> See Levack, pp. 64-67.

<sup>10</sup> For a gruesome individual case, see Adrian Howe and Sarah Ferber, “Delivering demons, punishing wives: False imprisonment, exorcism and other matrimonial duties in a late 20th-century manslaughter case,” *Punishment Society*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (2005): 123-146, which details Australia’s most famous “exorcism-womanslaughter” case, in which a woman, Joan Vollmer, underwent an “exorcism” performed by four people, resulting in her death on January 30, 1993. For some of the latest publications on witchcraft in Africa, see Andrew Apter, “Atinga Revisited: Yoruba Witchcraft and the Cocoa Economy, 1950-1951,” in J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, (eds) *Modernity and its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Misty Bastian, “Bloodhounds Who Have No Friends’: Witchcraft and Locality in the Nigerian Popular Press,” in *Modernity and its Malcontents*; Peter Geschiere, *The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997); Adam Ashforth, *Madumo: A Man Bewitched* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Elias Kifon Bongmba, *African Witchcraft and Otherness: A Philosophical and Theological Critique of Intersubjective Relations* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001). One wonders: have witchcraft beliefs and witch hunt really declined?

<sup>11</sup> Levack, p. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Levack, p. 3; Robin Briggs, “Many reasons why’: witchcraft and the problem of multiple explanation,” in Jonathan Barry, Marianne Hester, and Gareth Roberts, (eds.) *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Beliefs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 49-63.

<sup>13</sup> Green and Bigelow list three things that set Europeans “far apart from most other peoples at most other times and places”: “Between 1500 and 1700 they set sail in tall ships and explored and colonized the far corners of the globe. They made stunning strides forward in the sciences. And they executed tens of thousands of people, mainly women, as witches.” See Karen Green and John Bigelow, “Does Science Persecute Women? The Case of the 16th-17th Century Witch-Hunts,” *Philosophy*, Vol. 73, No. 284 (Apr., 1998): 199. Levack, for one, regards the witch hunt as a “time-bound phenomenon,” peculiar to early modern Europe and nowhere else. In the same vein, the witch hunt in early modern England is claimed to possess qualities of its own, in terms of both its lack of diabolical elements and inquisitorial procedures targeted at the accomplices of the Devil. See Levack, *Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 3, 10, 73-4, 83.

<sup>14</sup> World history textbooks in China, e.g., Wu Yujin and Qi Shirong, (eds.) *Shijie shi [World history]*, vols. 1-6 (Beijing: Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994), usually make no reference to this period of seeming “anomaly” in European history. The first doctoral dissertation on this topic, “The Witch-Hunt amidst the Great Transformation” (Yao Peng, Beijing Normal University, 2005), dwells on the “intricacy, complexities, and paradoxes of the early modernization process,” while other pioneering efforts in this regard place the witch hunt in a new wave of patriarchal reformulation in early modern times, resulting in the persecution of women, see Xu Shanwei, “Reality and Theoretical Foundation of the Persecution of Women in Europe, 1500-1800,” *World history*, No. 4 (2007): 82-91; and his “Patriarchal Reformulation vs. the Persecution of Women during the European Witch-hunt,” *Studies in Historical Theory*, No. 4 (2007): 34-41.

<sup>15</sup> It is often said and basically true that a historian’s competence approximates the quantity of archival materials available to him or her. But there is something else, vision.

Confinement to the mythic structure of the nation state, for example, can often result in one's inability and failure to view the rise and fall of the nation state itself.

16 This is different from Kant's universalistic *a priori*; instead it is based upon faithful transcriptions of humanly accessible facts and *a posteriori* generalizations. See Immanuel Kant, *Idea for a Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Point of View* (1784).

17 E.g., history study in China is usually further segmented to Chinese History and *World history*, with the latter covering what is outside Chinese History, which are mutually exclusive. Each is trained and expected to know his/her own stock in trade, with no communication whatever between the two, to say nothing of integration. For this reason, in China the term "*Global history*" has been coined to indicate what is elsewhere known as "*world history*." Concerning over-professionalization, here is an enlightening story about the awkward chef: A royal chef once had a holiday and went back to his ancestral home. Rural folks, neighbors, and villagers were enthusiastic about this and asked him to cook them a few dishes so that they would have a chance to taste royal cuisine. To their disappointment, the chef told them he worked at the pastry department, meaning he could not cook a dish. All right, make us some dumplings, requested the villagers. There was a sparkling in the eyes of the chef, since that was just his specialty. Yet upon second thought, he told them that was beyond him since his specialty was the dumpling exterior. You could see that even royal dumpling skins were appealing to these eager faces of this marginal region. But again, the chef declined, saying he couldn't roll the dough for making dumpling hides! So the villagers didn't get what they desired. I got this story from Associate Professor Hao Peng of our English Education Department, when we were on an experience-sharing outing, when the faculty unanimously denounced the over-specialization of the current education system.

18 Ankarloo and Clark, (eds.) *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Biblical and Pagan Societies; Ancient Greece and Rome; The Middle Ages; The Period of the Witch Trials; Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries; The Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999, 2002).

19 Wolfgang Behringer, *Witches and Witch-Hunts: A Global history* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2004); Ronald E. Hutton, "The Global Context of the Scottish Witch-hunt," in Julian Goodare, (ed.) *The Scottish Witch-hunt in Context* (Manchester University Press, 2002). For interdisciplinary efforts, see Ronald E. Hutton, "Anthropological and historical approaches to witchcraft: Potential for a new collaboration?" *Historical Journal*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (2004).

20 According to Behringer, *Witches and Witch-Hunts*, pp. 11-46, esp. 21-22, in West Germany, "a stable minority of about 10-15 per cent" of Germans still believe in witches! And the "ideal type" of witch-believer is female, aged, living in rural areas, featuring low education, low social status, and political conservativeness. *Die Hexe* in Germany, *la strega* in Italy, vampires in Romania – belief in supernatural creatures or humans with supernatural and even diabolical powers is still part and parcel of Western thought; then there is the evil eye of Middle Eastern-Mediterranean cultures. In comparison, 66 percent of US citizens believe in the existence of the devil, "surely a temptation for American politicians." Meanwhile, Pope John Paul II (Karol Wojtyla, 1920-, r. 1978-2005) repeatedly confirmed the Catholic Church's conviction in the existence of a personal devil. If Pope Benedict XVI (Joseph Ratzinger) continues preaching that the devil is "a puzzling but real, personal and not merely symbolical presence," there naturally arises the equally puzzling issue of "Who is the devil?" and another round of witch-hunts might not be far away. See *Spirit Daily*, April 26, 2005.

21 The Muslims do not feature prominently in witchcraft beliefs and witch-hunt campaigns, see Behringer, *Witches and Witch-Hunts*, pp. 22, 34, 144, 153, 205. The "Koran does not prescribe the killing of witches," while the Bible does, frequently and emphatically.

22 See Isaac Reed, "Why Salem Made Sense: Culture, Gender, and the Puritan Persecution of Witchcraft," *Cultural Sociology*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Jul., 2007).

23 Behringer finds that the witch-hunts in Europe are found to be statistically correlative to a spell of extreme climate known as the "Little Ice Age," concentrating in the years from 1560 to 1630, the Little Ice Age's peak period. The cold climate gave rise to a subsistence crisis and drastic reduction of vine and grain produce, prompting poor farmers to retaliate against

presumed culprit witches. A dramatic exception was the year 1430, which alone reports no execution of witches in what was otherwise an almost continuous frenzy of witch-hunting during the decade of 1427-1436, because that single year saw "no climatic extreme events." Further, Behringer points to the frequent accusations of witches indulging in weather magic that was responsible for "unnatural weather," which destroyed crops and drove grain prices up, despite the official teaching of theologians who rejected popular beliefs in weather magic. That is to say, climate anomalies and the ensuing subsistence crises were attributed to the deeds of so-called "evil persons," transformed and personified as enemies in accordance with popular beliefs in the occult. See Behringer, "Weather, Hunger and Fear: Origins of the European Witch-Hunts in Climate, Society and Mentality," *German History*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (1995): 1-27; Behringer, "Climatic Change and Witch-Hunting. The Impact of the Little Ice Age on Mentalities," *Climatic Change*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (1999): 335-51 for comprehensive coverage. For 1430, see Behringer, *Witches and Witch-Hunts*, p. 65.

24 For the persecution of heresy, see Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), pp. 194-207; for persecution of pagans, Ramsay MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); for persecution of the Jews, H. S. Q. Henriques, "The Civil Rights of English Jews," *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Oct., 1905): 40-83; Maria Boes, "Jews in the Criminal-Justice System of Early Modern Germany," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Winter, 1999): 407-435, and David Norman Smith, "The Social Construction of Enemies: Jews and the Representation of Evil," *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (Nov., 1996): 203-240; for persecution of many women as "witches" who were religious non-conformists, Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1972); Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*; Kors and Peters, *Witchcraft in Europe: 400-1700*.

25 Indeed, the 20<sup>th</sup> history gave rise to a more sinister type of aggression: genocide, coined and introduced into the human language by Rafael Lemkin, a Polish Jew, who survived the Holocaust and lobbied tirelessly for recognition of this particular form of mass killing of groups of people, and defined by the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 1948, as acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. Such acts include killing members of an identifiable group, causing serious bodily harm or mental harm to members of the group, deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life to bring about its destruction in whole or in part, imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group, and forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. See Donald G. Dutton, et al, "Extreme mass homicide: From military massacre to genocide," *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 10 (2005): 437-473.

26 The term "conspiracy theory" was first used in the 1920s, see Peter Knight, *Conspiracy Culture – American Paranoia from the Kennedy Assassination to the X-Files* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 16.

27 Karl Raimund Popper, *Conjectures and Refutations; the Growth of Scientific Knowledge* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 8.

28 Michael Rogin, "Kiss Me Deadly: Communism, Motherhood, and Cold War Movies," *Representations*, Vol. 6, (1984): 1-36.

29 Thomas Jefferson, "The Declaration of Independence," *Speeches and Documents in American History: Vol. 1: 1776-1815* (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 3.

30 Rogin, "Kiss Me Deadly," p. 1.

31 Donald G. Dutton, et al, "Extreme mass homicide: From military massacre to genocide," *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 10 (2005): 437.

32 560 million in Europe, 260 million in North America, 480 million in Latin America, 360 million in Africa, and 313 million in Asia. That means almost 60% of Christians in the world today live in the Third World. In 2002, Jenkins forecast that of the expected 2.6 billion Christians in 2025, 67% would live in Africa (633 million), Asia (640 million), or Latin America (460 million). For details, see Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). Jenkins wrote that "soon the phrase 'a White Christian' may sound like a curious and mildly surprising

as 'a Swedish Buddhist,'" on p. 3.

33 Johannes Harnischfeger, "State Decline and the Return of Occult Powers: The Case of Prophet Eddy in Nigeria," *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* (Summer 2006): 56-78. Kristin Aune, Sonya Sharma, and Giselle Vincett, (eds.) *Women and Religion in the West Challenging Secularization* (Ashgate, 2008); Hannah E. Johnston and Peg Alo, (eds.) *The New Generation Witches: Teenage Witchcraft in Contemporary Culture* (Ashgate, 2007) may also be of reference value in this connection.

34 For the former, see Waite, *Magic, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*; and the latter, typically represented by Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72., No.3 (Summer 1993); *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996); Richard Bernstein and Ross H. Monro, *The Coming Conflict with China* (New York: Alfred & Knopf, Inc., 1997; Vintage, 1998).

35 Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 9.

## WORLD HISTORY PH.D. MINOR FIELD AT LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

The Department of History at Louisiana State University announces a new minor field in world history for the Ph.D. Requirements consist of a seminar in comparative history plus at least three graduate-level courses in any three of the following four areas: East Asia, South Asia, Africa, Latin America. An oral exam is designed to prepare students for teaching world history. Participating in the program are the following faculty: David Lindenfeld (Ph.D. University of Chicago, Europe, world history); John Henderson (Ph.D. Berkeley, East Asia); Gibril Cole (Ph.D. UCLA, Africa); Reza Pirbhai, (Ph.D. University of Toronto, South Asia); Margherita Zanasi (Ph.D. Columbia, Modern China); Louise Walker (Ph.D. Yale, modern Latin America)

The department offers major fields in the following areas: US History, European History to 1650, European History since 1500, British History, and Latin American History. Further information is available at the Department's website: <http://www.artsci.lsu.edu/hist/index.htm>. Students interested in the program should contact Victor Stater, Graduate Advisor. Email address: [stater@lsu.edu](mailto:stater@lsu.edu)

## Conference Group for the Study of Religion in World History

*Minutes of 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual Meeting*  
**June 28, 2008 1:45-2:45PM**

**World History Association Conference**  
**Queen Mary College, London**

Approximately 20 people attended. Approximately half of them were previously enrolled members, and half were new faces. David Lindenfeld, who has served as the organizer of the group, presided. He briefly explained the group's purpose, which is to promote the integration of the study of religion into world history teaching and scholarship, and to be a visible pres-

ence in the WHA and other professional organizations by contributing papers, organizing panels, and other activities to be determined. He reviewed the progress of the organization since its founding last year at the Milwaukee meeting of the WHA. Thanks to advertisements in the *World History Bulletin*, *World History Connected*, and *Perspectives*, we had 39 members prior to today's meeting. Charles Weller established an electronic list-serv for the group in April.

Several items were follow-ups from last year's meeting. At that time, the group resolved to seek official recognition from the WHA as an affiliate. We were informed in December that such recognition would be contingent on having a constitution with officers and by-laws. The question was raised whether we want to go that route. There was a brief discussion of pros and cons. Although affiliate status would give the group greater visibility, especially in dealing with organizations outside the WHA, the predominant opinion was that such an apparatus was unnecessary for the work of the group to proceed, and might lead to cumbersome bureaucratic complications down the road. As an alternative, the group could operate electronically through the list-serv. When a vote was taken, no one was in favor of the constitutional route, at least for the moment.

Next, the issue of panels for next year's meeting was discussed. The theme of that conference is "Merchants and Missionaries", offering a prime opportunity for panels related to religion. Several people volunteered to work on panel proposals for next year, as follows: American religious history in global perspective—Phil Sinitiere; The AP world history curriculum and religion—Dale Hueber; Eschatology in Sacred Scriptures in World History—Ernest LeVos; Mughal Government and Contemporary Hinduism; confessionalization—Douglas Streusand; Pluralism and World Religions—Alan Kramer; Quaker Missionaries, Women Missionaries—Carolyn Dorrance; Missions and Politics in Contemporary World History—Charles Weller; Witchcraft and Witch-Trials: Cross-Cultural Comparisons—David Lindenfeld.

Lindenfeld agreed to circulate the names, email addresses, and subject interests of all the members to facilitate the formation of panels.

Finally, the question of a newsletter for the group, proposed last year, was raised. No one has volunteered to take on the job of editor, which admittedly would require a lot of work. As an alternative, Lindenfeld suggested utilizing the list-serv mechanism, having people from different regions or specialties volunteer to post material on it designed to stimulate interest and discussion. In this manner, no one person would shoulder too great a burden. Postings could include short book reviews, notices of meetings, references to articles in other journals, more extended bibliographies, sample syllabi and curricula, thought-pieces or questions for discussion, links to other websites. Ideally, the volunteers

could serve as liaisons to professional associations, networks, and meetings in their respective regional specialties. This could bring in more members to the conference group. Each volunteer would be responsible for at least one posting every two months. The purpose would be to stimulate discussion and further exchange of information. Having such volunteers would in no way preclude anyone from contributing to the list-serv on any topic relevant to the group's purpose. This proposal found general approval. The following regions were proposed, and the following people volunteered to fill them.

Ancient history, origins of religion—vacant  
 Medieval Europe—Corliss Slack  
 Modern Europe (since c. 1500)—Richard Gawthorp  
 North America—vacant  
 Latin America—vacant  
 Middle East—vacant  
 Africa—Al Howard  
 South Asia—Lipi Turner Rahman  
 Central Asia—Charles Weller  
 East Asia—vacant  
 Pedagogy—Dale Hueber  
 General, theory—Abdullah al-Ahsan

Volunteers for the vacant positions are welcome and should contact David Lindenfeld (hylind@lsu.edu).

Several other projects for the group were suggested, such as publishing an edited volume on religion and world history, or providing information for secondary school teachers and school systems. It was felt that these might be appropriate for the group to undertake at a later stage in its development.

Discussion then turned to the most effective venue for the electronic discussion group, in order to involve more people in the discussion and give the group (and the study of religion) greater visibility. Several suggestions were put forward: 1) merge the group into H-World, with a designated tag in the subject line for religion in world history, so that our exchanges wouldn't get lost in the multiple threads of discussions there; 2) establish a separate address on H-Net; this would preserve our identity but might be too isolated; 3) have access to the discussion group through the WHA website. Lindenfeld suggested that each of these alternatives might present practical problems, depending on the policies of these various other organizations. He agreed to look into each of them, and will report back via email to the group. Meanwhile, we can continue to utilize the site that Charles Weller has provided. Its address, for those that are new, is whareligion@ara-cahrc.com.

From here, discussion turned to the types of questions that might be aired in the electronic discussion forum, and the meeting ended with an exchange of views on the question "What is religion?" On this broad finale, the meeting concluded at app. 2:45.

Respectfully submitted,

David Lindenfeld

## The Conference Group for the Study of Religion in World History

The Conference Group for the Study of Religion in World History was founded in 2007 for the purpose of promoting the integration of the study of religion into world history teaching and scholarship. For the moment, this mission centers around two sorts of activities: 1) Maintain a presence at the meetings of the World History Association and other professional groups by presenting papers and organizing panels. These should not merely draw attention to religious topics as a distinct subfield, but also by showing its connections to political, economic, social, intellectual and cultural history. 2) Create a network of information sharing on issues pertaining to religion that would be of interest to world history teachers and scholars. These could include short book reviews, notices of meetings, references to articles, bibliographies, sample syllabi and curricula, of thought-pieces or questions for discussion. At its second meeting at the London conference of the WHA, the group resolved that the best way of doing this was through an electronic listserv. We plan to do this via H-World, which already has a wide readership. Our postings will begin with the subject line: "religion in world history" plus the topic. (Of course, such discussions need not require a formal group apparatus, as the recent lively exchange on East Asian religiosity demonstrates!) To facilitate the process, a number of people have volunteered to submit periodical postings on particular geographical areas or approaches to religion in world history. The following noble souls have agreed to volunteer: Medieval Europe—Corliss Slack (cslack@whitworth.edu); Modern Europe—Richard L. Gawthorp (rgawthrop@franklincollege.edu); North America—Philip Sinitiere (sinitiere@sbcglobal.net); Latin America—Jason Dormady (dormadyj@sfasu.edu); Middle East—John Curry (john.curry@unlv.edu); Africa—Al Howard (ahoward@rci.rutgers.edu); South Asia—Isat Turner-Rahman (Lipi) (ilipi@wsu.edu); Central Asia—R. Charles Weller (rcwbusiness@ara-cahrc.com); East Asia—Gareth Fisher (gfisher@syr.edu); Theory, general—Abdullah Al-Ahsan (ahsan@iiu.edu.my); Pedagogy—Dale Hueber (huedale@verizon.net); Media and religion—Donna Halper (DLH@donnahalper.com).

To become a member of the Conference Group, or if you have any questions about the group, contact David Lindenfeld (hylind@lsu.edu).



## Report of the World History Network at the European Social Science History Conference 2008

The European Social Science History Conference is a large and diverse gathering of scholars using the methods of the social sciences, very broadly construed. It meets biennially. For many years, world history was a regular offering in the program.

In 2006, however, the World History Network of ESSHC had become inactive and was not listed on the program. Thanks to the organizing efforts made both by the ESSHC-secretary and by the two undersigning network chairs, the network was revived for the 2008 conference in Lisbon. The network chairs, working together for the first time, were able to present nine panels, selected from more than 100 proposals for papers and panels. Five of these panels were cross-listed with other networks, namely Women and Gender, Theory and Historiography, Material Culture, Rural, and Religion. This befits the broad and diffuse state of the field of world history, which in fact overlaps with what many historians in other fields are doing, regardless of whether or not they consider themselves to be world historians. Nevertheless we believe that the panels programmed for the 2008 edition were a contribution to the growing field of world history and were in fact related to the very general goal of the ESSHC to bring together mainly European and American scholars from a wide range of disciplines dealing with social and cultural transformations throughout the world.

The offerings further reflected the fact that many participants in the network do not feel entirely comfortable with the label "world history". There is, to be sure, a shared desire to break away from the nation-state as the primary stage of historical narrative and analysis, to emphasize various sorts of connectivity across national boundaries, and to highlight broader worldwide developments such as colonialism, the emergence of world markets or cultural encounters across civilizational borders. But for some, "world history" implies an overly grandiose approach to such themes. Thus three panels had the word "transnational" in their titles, implying a more modest scope and looking for relationships between European and non-European countries or regions. Three others were content to call themselves "international" and dealt with social phenomena transcending borders of continents too. One may see in this terminological uncertainty a hint to ongoing debates on the status of "world history in a global age" which might be also subject to further debates at the ESSHC in 2010.

The range of papers presented in the nine panels was fairly representative of the current practice of world history, with notable omissions of: 1) "big history" which reaches back in time

before the existence of written records, and 2) environmental history. Among the topics offered were: international business, travel, colonialism, international organizations, consumer patterns, migrant workers, slavery, foodstuffs in world trade, missionaries and responses to them. A sequence of two panels on "critical historiography of international history" revealed sharp differences in approach between the two sessions. The first dealt with historiography and discourse of relations between nation-states, while the second dealt with other units of connectivity between nations and regions, such as maritime history and global capitalism.

Panels on the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century globalization processes explored not only a variety of empirical cases from Asia to Africa and from Europe to the Americas, but raised also several fundamental methodological questions concerning the way comparison or network analysis should be used or how to apply insights from the so-called spatial turn to a poststructuralist world history.

At a meeting of the network itself on Thursday afternoon with some 15 participants, there was a consensus on the need for greater coherence within and among the panels. Many participants expressed some uncertainty about what is meant by world history, asked for theoretical debate at subsequent conferences and proposed to compare how world, transnational or global history are practiced in different places. There was also an interest in reaching out to some of the area-studies networks (e.g. Africa, Asia, Latin America) to schedule one or more joint sessions at the next meeting. The level of interest, both in the number of papers submitted, and in the attendance at the sessions, suggests that world history has a continuing place at ESSHC. From all the suggestions made by the participants at the meeting and from the encouragement for further cooperation got from other networks, we take the conclusion that a well structured network on world history will have its place at ESSHC-conferences to come. It might develop in such a way that will allow us to connect efforts from various networks, but will have to include local initiatives at the places the conferences will be held as well. The network can become at the same time a place for a more intense debate between American and European scholars in the field of world history - a forum that is missing to some extent until now.

The next ESSHC conference will be in 2010 in Ghent, Belgium, April 13-16. A call for papers will come probably within the next few months. The Conference website is: <http://www.iisg.nl/esshc/>

David Lindenfeld  
Louisiana State University, USA

Matthias Middell  
University of Leipzig, Germany

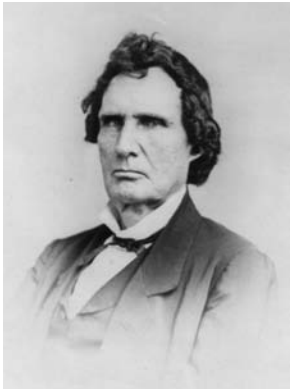
## U.S. History From Afar

### *Progressivism and Its Discontents: The Limits of Hope and Optimism in Modern America*

Tanfer Emin Tunc  
Hacettepe University (Turkey)

In *The True and Only Heaven: Progress and its Critics*, Christopher Lasch provides a compelling critique of progress, and searches for the reasons why "serious people continue to believe in progress, in the face of massive evidence that refutes the idea of progress once and for all."<sup>1</sup> Lasch posits that it is a *vision* of hope, and not the superficial optimism of progressive thought, that is the driving force behind progress: "If we distinguish hopefulness from the more conventional attitude known today as optimism, we can see why it serves us better, in steering the troubled waters ahead, than a belief in progress."<sup>2</sup> According to Lasch, the hope for progress in the United States has been fueled by an unrestricted capitalism that has democratized consumerism at the expense of true class and racial equality. Lasch thus frames American progress as a limited expression of pecuniary hope, which, despite its positivistic name, found little support in the Progressive tradition of the past two centuries.<sup>3</sup> For minority, immigrant, and working-class groups in the United States, this hope, which has taken the form of the "American Dream" was, and continues to be, particularly limited. For some, it has even become an American "Nightmare" - an anti-progressive tradition of democracy masked behind the illusion of financial success. This limited vision of prosperity has been an underlying theme of the major political and cultural movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, whose social and economic "improvements" have failed to provide the equality and tangible "progress" they promised.

*De Jure and De Facto: Racism and Reconstruction* - Thaddeus Stevens "fondly dreamed" of a "fortunate chance [that] should have broken up the foundation of our institutions, [and] would have so remodeled our institutions as to have freed them from every vestige of human oppression, of inequality of rights, of the recognized degradation of the poor, and the superior caste of the rich."<sup>4</sup> During the nineteenth century,



Thaddeus Stevens. Source: U.S. Library of Congress.

this “fortunate chance” was embodied in the Abolition movement, which was a driving force behind the Civil War. However, despite the optimism of social activists such as Thaddeus Stevens, William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, and the Grimké

Sisters, Reconstruction failed to fulfill these hopeful expectations of reconciliation, equality, and human progress. While legislation, such as the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, were passed by Congress to protect and ensure the rights of former slaves, these *de jure* measures proved to be ineffective, for they did little to discourage other methods of racial oppression, such as black codes and the Jim Crow laws. Although African-Americans gained partial “freedom” during the post-Civil War era, such as the rights to sell their labor and remain with their families, racial violence, random lynchings, and other acts of terror perpetrated by vigilante groups (e.g., the Ku Klux Klan), continued, especially in the South. For a short period of time, former slaves were allowed to vote and participate in the political process, and schools were opened for the purpose of educating black children. However, by the end of Reconstruction, former slaveholders had regained political power through alliances with Southern Democrats, and black schools lost their funding. The Civil Rights Acts of 1875 was declared unconstitutional in 1883, and many of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution could no longer be enforced, reducing freed slaves to a powerless class of subsistence laborers, and permanently indebted sharecroppers.

Reconstruction was intended to rectify racial injustice in the United States. However, in practice, it merely reconfigured the boundaries of oppression: slavery, with all its brutality, had been replaced with the beginnings of a form of capitalist segregation. Thaddeus Stevens’ idealistic hopes and “bright dreams of equality had vanished...[Reconstruction became a] ‘patching up’ of the worst portions of an ancient edifice...leaving it, in its many parts, to be swept through by...the storm of despotism.”<sup>55</sup> Consequently, “the idealism that had been a prime motivating force behind Reconstruction...by 1877 had lost its relevance.”<sup>56</sup> The Reconstruction that consolidated American industrial capitalism, and strengthened U.S. politics by reaffirming the two-party system, simultaneously transformed the emancipation of slaves into an empty gesture. Slavery was replaced by an archaic caste system,

which reduced African-Americans to inferior citizens.<sup>7</sup> Social segregation, which was upheld by *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), institutionalized their second-class educational and recreational facilities. “Race etiquette” dictated deference to whites in all social and political matters, and supported depictions of blacks as “sambos,” “coons,” and “dandies.” The amendments were still law, however, coercion, deceit, and a Southern desire to maintain the *status quo* continued to deprive former slaves of hope, progress, and justice.

### **Industrialization and the Rise of Capitalist Culture**

- As Lasch argues, the capitalist interpretation of progress rests on the belief that “human wants are insatiable, that new wants appear as soon as old ones are satisfied, and that rising levels of comfort will lead to an indefinite expansion of the productive forces required to satisfy rising expectations.”<sup>8</sup> In *Socializing Capital*, William Roy complicates the connection between human wants and the expansion of productive forces by examining the rise of the American corporation.<sup>9</sup> Roy illustrates how “the corporation” originated as a quasi-public device used by the government to create and administer public services like turnpikes and canals. He also explains how it provided a distinctly interactive American social, political, and economic framework that addressed human needs and expectations: “corporations [were] constructed by the extensive and complex interaction between societies and institutions...implicit in these interactions [were] human wants, needs and desires...human expectations of corporations shaped, expanded and produced economic relations,” and undoubtedly, notions of hope and progress.<sup>10</sup>

Minorities and immigrants, however, were not a part of this optimistic corporate vision. After the Panic of 1873, the United States experienced a boom in building and commercial trade, particularly in urban centers.<sup>11</sup> This involved the construction of expansive railroad networks, which required strong and reliable financial backing. Industrialists, such as Cornelius Vanderbilt, looked to J.P. Morgan and other investment bankers for versatile funds and large sums of capital to back their ventures. Not only was this relationship mutually-beneficial to both parties, but it also served as a model for the partnership that developed between business and government.<sup>12</sup> Under the guise of supporting the nation’s best interests, railroad companies supported racist governmental regulations, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which, in effect, suspended Chinese immigration (and the influx of Chinese laborers) to the United States. The government, on the other hand, welcomed the power and prestige that such an association with business could bring.

### **The Sinister Underbelly of American Progressivism**

- While the progressives of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries maintained that abundance would eventually give all

Americans equal access to leisure, cultivation, and refinement, “or as populists would have it, ‘competence,’ a small piece of earth, a shop, or a calling,” in practice, progressivism fell short of its optimistic promises.<sup>13</sup> According to Lasch, “a great deal of ‘progressive’ economic, social, and political thought worked against the progressive grain.”<sup>14</sup> Essentially, progressive reforms served as both a panacea to the nation’s illnesses (i.e., urbanization, immigration, the decline in social and moral standards, inadequate education, etc.) and a mixture of “anti-democratic initiatives.”<sup>15</sup> Josephine Goldmark, Frances Kellor, Katharine Bement Davis, Margaret Sanger, and a host of other white Anglo-Saxon middle-class progressive intellectuals “benevolently” devoted themselves to creating public and private agencies to manage problems like factory safety, immigration, child labor, delinquency, alcoholism, and family planning. However, implicit in these “progressive” attempts at improving the underclasses was a rather sinister agenda: many of these individuals sought to reinforce their own authority by promoting “scientific solutions” to social problems. In other words, many progressives sought the *elimination* (or at least the reduction) of the working class through eugenic programs, birth control crusades, and the education, or rather “Americanization,” of ethnic groups and minorities.<sup>16</sup>

According to Lasch, “pseudo-progressives advocated ‘education’ as a substitute for social change; this ‘education complex’ enabled the ‘anti-utopian’ to oppose change and yet appear progressive.”<sup>17</sup> American educational reforms between 1870 and 1940 were thus closely linked to progressive politics and power.<sup>18</sup> While elite and professional progressive reformers stressed stable, efficient, non-partisan, and secure education for *all* children, the actual result was a more pronounced delineation between the social classes. Rigid curricula, vocational teaching, and trimmed educational budgets “tracked” ethnic and immigrant students into low-paying, blue-collar fields, almost from the outset. Because of their financial situations, many working-class children could not afford to attend college, which only strengthened the progressive intelligentsia’s hold on higher education. The establishment of required teaching credentials also perpetuated this cycle of elitist control. While in 1870 most teachers were educated through normal schools or the apprenticeship system, by 1940, a



The immigrant. Is he an acquisition or a detriment? 1903 lithograph. Source: U.S. Library of Congress.

Bachelors degree and a teaching license became required of all instructors. Since the working class found it difficult to meet such requirements, the educational establishment become grounded in, and restricted to, the middle class. As a result, teaching, as well as education, became coded and classified: the technical jargon of the professional middle class became “unintelligible to outsiders but immediately recognizable, as a badge of status, to fellow specialists all over the world.”<sup>19</sup>

As Lasch posits, “progressive programs were not just instruments to achieve particular ends; they were also programs societies employed to determine the ‘virtuous social actor.’”<sup>20</sup> Progressivism thus became a collective means of social labeling; a system of social inclusion and exclusion where political issues, such as welfare and motherhood, were seen in moral, rather than sociological, terms. As Theda Skocpol elucidates, “the United States . . . did not follow other Western nations on the road toward a paternalist welfare state in which male bureaucrats administered regulations and social insurance ‘for the good’ of breadwinning industrial workers. Instead, America came close to forging a maternalist welfare state, with female-dominated public agencies implementing regulations and benefits for the good of women and their children.”<sup>21</sup>

While at the turn of the century, a broad array of protective labor regulations and social benefits were enacted by state legislatures and Congress to help American mothers, such measures did not prove to be truly “progressive” in nature. These benefits and regulations resulted in the protection of *middle-class* women and their children, for members of the middle class were able to contribute, through their wages, into the welfare system.

Working-class single mothers, minority women, and immigrants were often deliberately excluded from such programs, for they were deemed as being “unfit” or “undeserving.” Many did not fit the requirements for welfare, for they were either unmarried, and/or had never held tax-contributing occupations. Others did not have the resources to access benefits provided by the Federal Children’s Bureau or the Sheppard Towner Act of 1921. As in the case of educational reform, the optimism inherent in maternal welfare reform was soon dispelled: these reforms resulted in increased assistance to the *virtuous* middle class at the expense of the *ineligible* under

classes, who did not belong to the “meritocracy” of the progressives.

Another “progressive” measure that was intended to benefit the marginalized was the regulation of working-class, immigrant, and minority female sexuality. Those promoting reform, once again, consisted mainly of white Anglo-Saxon middle-class progressives, who sought to “protect” lower-class women from rape, predatory men, and other dangers of their lifestyles.<sup>22</sup> While reformers maintained that policing female sexuality would benefit women, as well as the state (e.g., it would no longer have to finance the support of working-class mothers, and would not have to worry about their “unfit” children), “progressive” regulations had an adverse effect. Formerly “seduced” working-class girls were suddenly transformed into “seductresses,” and became “delinquents” who were in need of reformatories, juvenile courts, moral referees, and homes for unwed mothers.

Working-class, minority, and immigrant institutions, such as dance halls, social clubs, and unions, came under progressive scrutiny because they also did not conform to middle-class standards of morality. Women who participated in these institutions were often subjected to degrading punishments, such as strip searches and virginity tests, all with the hope of eliminating expressions of sexuality and agency that did not conform to the rigid middle-class gender definitions, which required women to be submissive, pure, chaste, and sexually naive.<sup>23</sup> Working-class, minority, and immigrant families who tried to use the middle-class court system to “reform” their daughters, also became victims of alienation, conflict, and discrimination. In the end, these “progressive” reforms, just like American educational and welfare reforms, resulted in coercion, decreased autonomy for the marginalized, an increase in elitist authority, and the perpetuation of the poverty of the underclasses.<sup>24</sup>

***The Promise of Prosperity: World War Two and the Rise of Consumer Culture*** - Even though the “benefits” of progressive reforms often did not reach working-class immigrants and ethnic groups, these individuals did not lose hope in the American Dream. As Lizabeth Cohen illustrates, “Chicago workers’ experiences as citizens, immigrants, ethnic minorities, wage earners, and consumers, all converged to transform them into New Deal Democrats and CIO unionists.”<sup>25</sup> While, at first, the immigrant, minority, and working-class communities were “isolated in local neighborhoods, fragmented by ethnicity and race, and incapable of mounting the unified action necessary for success,” these populations were able to challenge the manipulation and divisive strategies of the corporate structure.<sup>26</sup> They were able to withstand the effects of the Depression, which saw a decline in ethnic and immigrant-run welfare institutions, societies, banks, and stores, to renew their faith in a system that had failed to accept them as part of the

American social and political fabric. However, this corporate subversion and resistance from within the margins was short-lived. “Enlightened virtues [often] carry along with them a long list of enlightened vices,” and for these Americans, one vice became conspicuous consumption.<sup>27</sup>

As *luxuries* became redefined as *necessities* in the post-World War Two era, the immigrant, ethnic, and working-class communities of Chicago came to regard the acquisition of popular “American” products as a means of entering the social and cultural mainstream (i.e., assimilating). While, at first, local neighborhoods resisted large chains by continuing to patronize ethnic groceries, minority groups soon began *desiring* advertised chain-store products. The consumption of mass culture and “keeping up with the Joneses,” suddenly became *caché*, and former luxuries, such as automobiles, cosmetics, jewelry, and furs, soon became “necessities.” Moviegoing also became an important indicator of progress, “Americanization,” and social class; so much so that “even those fighting destitution made the motion picture a priority.”<sup>28</sup>

However, while the appeal of consumerism temporarily bridged class differences, the process of acquiring these goods and the implications of such spending were far from homogenous: “those with low incomes automatically had less to put toward the purchase of durables.”<sup>29</sup> Moreover, mass consumption transformed the relationship between consumer and supplier from a family affair, into a capitalist relationship that centered on the cycle of supply and demand. As an A&P supervisor stated, “there is an ethnic fruit store in our block of stores which must go broke at any cost. The great A&P will last longer than those people.”<sup>30</sup> Moviegoing also had a similar divisive effect: it segregated the working class into two groups – those who attended cinematic events, and those who did not. “Progressive” reforms, capitalism, and mass consumerism thus came to dictate who constituted “America.” Immigrants, minorities, and the working class became the unfortunate victims of this system, and were placed in a differential relationship with the political, economic, and social institutions of the nation. This inevitably placed limits on their hope, prosperity, and progress.

***The 1950s: Artificial Progress and Shattered Dreams*** - For immigrants, minorities, and the working class, the 1950s, with its artificial “Donna Reed” families, racial segregation, rigid restrictions on sexual expression, and obsession with “shiny new things,” became the epitome of the American Nightmare. Nothing symbolized this unattainable goal of prosperity and progress more than the American suburb, with its white picket-fenced homes and grassy yards.<sup>31</sup> The social antagonism inherent in this lawn-centered conception of “the good life” actually began around the time of the Civil War, when “the first suburban communities, encouraged by the expan-



Margaret Sanger, 1922.  
Source: U.S. Library of Congress.

sion of the railroad, street car, and trolley lines, were founded near East Coast cities. The public-parks movement directly influenced suburban development. Late-nineteenth-century suburban communities were modeled after parks, and were frequently named 'park'.<sup>32</sup>

With this notion of the park-like home came the aesthetic of the front lawn which, by the end of the Second World War, had become synonymous with the conspicuous consumption of the middle class. "Nostalgia for a simpler rural [and perhaps "whiter"] past, a new craving for spatial beauty, and a yearning for a piece of the aristocratic lifestyle," spurred middle-class Americans to desire "the lawn," which became symbolic of the "good life." Thus, mass consumerism constructed "the lawn" as a product to be purchased, especially by those individuals who wished to distinguish themselves from immigrants, minorities, and the working class. Middle-class Americans willingly bought the concept, as well as the expensive accoutrements that were necessary to maintain it.<sup>33</sup>

As standards of 1950s perfection became more pronounced, homes, cars and lawns also became increasingly artificial and unnatural, promoting a vicious cycle of consumerism based on the sale of home-care, car-care, and lawn-care supplies. This need for "bigger and better" products was defined by capitalist producers, who dictated what constituted an acceptable home, car, and front lawn, and linked their maintenance to comfortable and spacious living, property values, good citizenship, and middle-class American morals.<sup>34</sup> However, this climate of suburban comfort, artificially maintained by air conditioners and central heaters, resulted in a false sense of hope and progress. While the suburbs provided the middle class with private home ownership, a division between work and leisure, superior educational systems for their children, and security from the crime and violence of the city, it also encouraged economic exclusiveness, social conformity, racial segregation, and ecological destruction (e.g., "the lawn" stripped the suburbs of valuable farmland, and infused chemicals into the environment). Thus, the suburbs became a land of "codes and norms," which discouraged the building of communities, and promoted isolationism, insulation, and personal disillusionment.<sup>35</sup>

**Disenchantment and Progressive Backlash** - Even though immigrant, minority, and working-class groups, through their union activism, liberalism, and participation in New Deal politics, helped build a "democratic political order" in the 1930s and 1940s, four decades later, these groups were abandoning the Democratic Party for the "hopeful and optimistic" neo-conservatism of the Reagan administration.<sup>36</sup> The reasons for this political shift are as numerous as they are complex. As Lasch posits, "attempts to achieve a redistribution of income, to equalize opportunity in various ways, to incorporate the working class-

es into a society of consumers, and to foster economic expansion [were merely] substitutes for social reform...these policies failed to create the kind of active, enterprising citizenry envisioned by [New Deal] Democrats."<sup>37</sup> Starting in the mid-1960s, many New Dealers suddenly felt as if their party had betrayed them. Disillusioned by foreign-policy decisions in Vietnam, the feminist movement (which failed to gain complete gender equality, especially with respect to the wage gap), and major upheavals in race relations (e.g., the civil rights movement, which was accompanied by black militancy and urban riots), many immigrant, minority, and working-class Democrats began to reconsider their political allegiances.

This social and political failure mobilized embittered ethnic, immigrant, and working-class Democrats to seek a radical solution to their discontent. According to Lasch, these groups "deserted the Democrats, their former benefactors, because they were prosperous enough to resent high taxes and welfare programs, but still insecure in their middle-class status. [Their] status-anxiety reinforced their racism, and made them irrationally jealous of the racial minorities favored by liberal policy."<sup>38</sup> Feeling as if their hope for progress had been shattered by the Democratic Party, these former liberals participated in the conservative backlash that began in the 1970s, many of them becoming supporters of the *status quo* which they had challenged for over a century. Based on the troubled history of minority, ethnic and working class-groups in the United States, it is highly unlikely that this ongoing political strategy will actually fulfill their interpretation of the American Dream.

Since Reconstruction, marginalized citizens have "hoped" that Federal efforts and reforms would improve their lives and increase equality among individuals. However, in reality, this hope for progress has been sidetracked by political, sociological, and ideological limits. As Lasch illuminates, immigrants, minorities, and the ethnic working class "were more often victims of progress and progressive 'improvement' than beneficiaries. [As a result], they are unlikely to mistake the promised land of progress for the true and only heaven."<sup>39</sup> While "the expectation of indefinite, open-ended improvement [explains] the resilience of progressive ideology in the face of discouraging events, [the result of this expectation has been the] shattered illusion of utopia. [As a result], nothing is certain except the imminent obsolescence of all our certainties."<sup>40</sup> Despite the fact that in the contemporary world it is becoming increasingly difficult to defend the limited idealism of progress, the hopeful optimism of human nature will forever ensnare us in a perpetual cycle of dreams and disillusionment.

#### NOTES

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2 *Ibid.*, 15.

3 *Ibid.*, 532.

4 Eric Foner, *Reconstruction 1863 - 1877* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1988), 254.

5 *Ibid.*, 6.

6 Kenneth Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction 1865 - 1877* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), 211.

7 *Ibid.*, 214.

8 Lasch, 78.

9 William Roy, *Socializing Capital* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997).

10 *Ibid.*, 265 - 266.

11 Vincent Carosso, *Investment Banking in America: A History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), Ch. 2.

12 Albro Martin, "The Troubled Subject of Railroad Regulation in the Gilded Age: A Reappraisal," in *Journal of American History* 61 (1974), 339 - 371.

13 Lasch, 531.

14 *Ibid.*, 360.

15 Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order 1877- 1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

16 *Ibid.*, see chapters 5 and 6.

17 Lasch, 454.

18 Paul Peterson, *The Politics of School Reform, 1870 - 1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

19 Lasch, 467.

20 *Ibid.*, 415.

21 Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 2.

22 Mary Odem, *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885 - 1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

23 *Ibid.*, 3.

24 *Ibid.*, 183 - 189.

25 Elizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago 1919 - 1939* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

26 *Ibid.*, 13.

27 Lasch, 528.

28 Cohen, 120.

29 *Ibid.*, 103.

30 *Ibid.*, 117.

31 Virginia Scott Jenkins, *The Lawn: A History of an American Obsession* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994).

32 *Ibid.*, 4.

33 *Ibid.*, 2.

34 *Ibid.*, Ch. 5.

35 Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 272.

36 For more information, please see David Plotke, *Building a Democratic Political Order* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

37 Lasch, 224 - 225.

38 *Ibid.*, 476.

39 *Ibid.*, 17.

40 *Ibid.*, 47.

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# Book Reviews

Peter Dykema

Book Review Coordinator

Donald L. Fixico, ed. *Treaties with American Indians: An Encyclopedia of Rights, Conflicts, and Sovereignty*. 3 vols. ABC-CLIO, 2008. 1054 pp.

Ray Miles

McNeese State University

This latest publication from ABC-CLIO is a welcome addition to the publisher's numerous other works on American Indian topics. This title's editor, Donald Fixico, has gathered an impressive assortment of contributions from a variety of scholars covering just about every conceivable angle on Indian treaties.

Volume 1 includes more than twenty essays, divided broadly along thematic and regional lines. Thematic essays present views on treaties from both Indian and federal government perspectives. The changing nature of the treaty making process is covered in essays examining different time periods. Still other thematic essays deal with important topics such as land, water, and natural resource rights; hunting, fishing, and gathering rights; and jurisdictional issues. The six regional essays examine the differing histories and experiences of native peoples, including those of Canada and Hawaii.

Volume 2 is divided into three distinct sections. The first contains traditional encyclopedia style entries for all of the nearly 400 treaties concluded with both United States and Canadian tribes and the entries are in chronological order. These entries range in usefulness as some of them are only brief paragraphs while many are extended accounts that discuss the content and context of the treaty under discussion. The second section is an interesting examination of some of the important treaty sites. It is refreshing to see this consideration given because sites often held strategic, economic, and even sacred significance to the tribes who negotiated there. The third section contains an assortment of forty treaties. This sampling provides the reader some insight into the range of matters covered in treaties, the complexities and nuances of language used, and the solemnity attached to these documents.

Volume 3 is also divided into three sections. Section one is designated as a "Historical Chronology" that provides entries on topics that are of substantial significance to Indian people as they relate to treaty rights. For example the entry on the *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* case of 1903 deals not only with the legal framework of the case, but

with the federal government's violation of the Treaty of Medicine Lodge of 1867. The second section largely consists of biographical sketches of notable people involved in writing treaties or contesting treaty violations while the third section is devoted to a wide range of treaty-related issues. In this section one would find entries on topics such as aboriginal title, sovereignty, and trust responsibility.

The editor also provides three segments that are reprinted in all three volumes: Resources, Selected Bibliography, and Index. The resources section includes alternate tribal names and spellings, tribal name meanings, and a list of treaties signed by each tribe.

This set will be useful to those looking for specific reference information in high school or undergraduate settings, especially as a starting point for research projects. The essays provide a rich context, the entries provide more direct information on the wide variety of topics, and the treaties provide primary documents that can serve as points of discussion, writing prompts, or to enrich research.

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Laird W. Bergad. *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States. New Approaches to the Americas*. Cambridge University Press, 2007. ix + 314 pp. \$22.99 paper, \$80.00 cloth.

Jacob M. Blosser

Texas Woman's University

At a time when scholarly frameworks such as the Atlantic World have become indispensable pedagogical tools in teaching New World slavery, Laird W. Bergad's recent comparative study of slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States provides a useful textbook narrative of the slave experience written from a broad, cross-cultural perspective. Ideally suited for advanced undergraduate or first-year graduate students, Bergad's textbook complements the comparative pedagogical approach that animates many current university courses in New World slavery.

Focusing upon three New World societies in which slavery held a tenaciously long grasp – Brazil, Cuba, and the United States did not abolish slavery until the last third of the nineteenth century – Bergad compares the slave experience in these societies in terms of demographics, eco-

nomics, and slave culture. Importantly, Bergad carefully contextualizes his comparisons of slave life in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States within the unique histories of these politically, culturally, and economically different societies. Indeed, his work pays special attention to the "extraordinary diversity of what it meant to be a slave at different epochs and regions" (33). While stressing the diverse experiences of slaves in three societies over a period of three hundred years, Bergad, nevertheless, finds unique comparative commonalities. For example, although slave demographics diverged greatly in the three nations – slave populations in the United States, for instance, were more self-sustaining than in Brazil or Cuba where high death rates and imbalanced sex ratios militated against natural reproduction – Bergad notes that certain regions of Brazil approximated the American model of natural increase. Moreover, the movement of slaves from northeastern Brazil to coffee and sugar plantations in central and southern regions of the country mirrored the simultaneous population shifts occurring as a result of the U. S. cotton boom. Bergad also describes key demographic differences between the three societies. Most notably, he remarks on the small size of U. S. free black populations in comparison to those in Cuba or Brazil.

When comparing the economic aspects of slavery, Bergad argues that slavery's economic profitability in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States not only contributed to its longevity as a labor source in those nations but that it also facilitated the technological and infrastructural development of all three nations. In all three countries, profits realized from the ever-increasing prices of cotton, sugar, and coffee were invested by slave owners in the purchase of increased numbers of slaves and in plantation technologies such as cotton gins, sugar mills, railroads, and steamship lines. Bergad's larger point is that regardless of the crops produced, slavery emerged in all three nations as a profitable, economically viable source of labor.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Bergad's comparative study of slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States is his treatment of slave culture and agency. In a chapter that will likely capture students' attention and promote interesting classroom conversations, Bergad compares the lives of slaves in each of these nations through the lenses of autobiographical accounts. Bergad's analysis of the life experiences of enslaved women on Louisiana sugar

plantations, Cuban men who worked in the sugar fields and as domestic slaves, and an African man who survived the Middle Passage en route to Brazil, provide an intimate comparison of nineteenth-century slave life. While Bergad explains the limitations inherent in the use of autobiographical accounts as gauges of collective identity, his personalized examples clearly demonstrate both the barbarity of slavery and the simultaneous cultural agency of slaves. In this sense, the autobiographical accounts illustrate Bergad's larger point, argued throughout the book, that in all three nations slaves carved out personal space and identity for themselves; they "struggled to be treated as human beings, not simply as objects to be bought and sold" (75). Beyond the fascinating use of autobiographical evidence, Bergad demonstrates the cultural agency of slaves through a comparative study of slave family structures, religious beliefs, and attempted rebellions in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States.

As a synthetic introduction to key themes in the history of New World slavery presented from a cross-cultural, comparative perspective, Laird W. Bergad's work will undoubtedly be useful in the college classroom. Bergad's emphasis upon the many similarities and occasional differences existing between "the last great slave societies in the Americas" will encourage student appreciation for the broad comparative constructs – such as the Atlantic World – that predominate in academic discussions of New World slavery (157). While the book is written in accessible prose and provides readers with an ample introduction to both slavery and its eventual abolition in each of the three nations, occasionally the transitions between paragraphs on Brazil, Cuba, and the United States are not as pronounced as student readers may want or need them to be. Nevertheless, in providing a comparative analysis of New World slave societies that clearly resonates with current trends in historiography and pedagogy, *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba and the United States* is a welcome addition to textbooks on slavery in the Americas.

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**Sebastian Conrad and Dominic Sachsenmaier, eds. *Competing Visions of World Order. Global Moments and Movements, 1880s-1930s*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. 266 pp.**

**Alice-Catherine Carls**

*University of Tennessee at Martin*

Written by German and American authors, *Competing Visions of World Order* seeks to find the origins of our migrating, transnational, multi-layered, complex post-modern world. Reexamining Enlightenment principles in the light of Juergen Habermas, Hannah Arendt, and Aime Cesaire, the book covers a period stretching from the height of colonialism to the height of

totalitarianism. This somewhat provocative periodization is divided around a compelling triple concept – consciousness, moment, movement. The post-1850 communication and information revolutions (global newspapers, the telegraph, the railroad, steamboats, standard world time, the Gregorian calendar) brought about global consciousness, which in turn brought about global moments (world fairs, the stock market crashes of 1873 and 1929, the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, World War I, the Russian Revolution, President Wilson's 14 points); in turn, these brought about global movements (migrations, pan-Africanism).

Two strong points of the book are the emphasis on China and the focus on race, both of which confirm the authors' continuity thesis and legitimize their transcultural approach. Each of the book's nine chapters provides promising core samples. Their case-studies approach inspires the reader to fully realize that yesteryear's world was already pulled in opposite directions between globalization and polarization, between the "universal" and the "particular." Seen in the paradox of colonial rule, the nation-state stage appears as an uncomfortable Western monopoly that was being bypassed by the coming of the global village. Identity and community were defined by philanthropic and other international organizations on the one hand, and by cultural and religious fundamentalism and regionalism on the other. The rise of new urban or plantation-style industrialized societies and global markets made possible and required a globally mobile workforce which was fueled by a worldwide population increase. The responses to migration therefore were not just anti-globalization reactions. The repression of the Civil Rights movement in the United States, Apartheid laws in South Africa, and the Holocaust, to name but these, were the growth pains of mass society.

Published exactly thirty years after Mineke Shipper's seminal *The White Man Seen From Africa* (1977), *Competing Visions of World Order* offers important transnational perspectives. This reviewer hopes that in future studies, female scholars will no longer just "warm up the bench" (all nine present contributors are male scholars), and that the primary contributions of women at a time when they were entering the profession of nurses, social workers, educators, lay church workers, to mention only these, will be truly honored. This is particularly important in light of the avowed goal of the editors, to provide a non-exceptionalist, non-Euro-centered perspective.

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**Lisa Tendrich Frank, ed. *Women in the American Civil War*. ABC-CLIO, 2008. xxviii + 631 pp. \$195.00.**

**Mildred Diane Gleason**

*Arkansas Tech University*

*Women in the American Civil War* moves beyond the traditional description of women's wartime

roles as keepers of the home and the farm. By asserting that women played a central role in both the prosecution and the outcome of the conflict, editor Lisa Tendrich Frank presents an inclusive view of women's American Civil War involvement. As an overview of women's wartime experiences, the work discusses women's numerous non-traditional nineteenth century activities such as a soldiering and spying as well as working as abolitionists, slavery apologists, writers, war protesters, community volunteers, nurses, government employees, and the more traditional work women took responsibility for while men were absent from the home and community. While encompassing a study of diverse racial, class, ethnic, religious, geographic, and socio-economic components, this two-volume encyclopedic work affirms the obvious, that the American Civil War affected women's lives, and the less obvious, that women affected American Civil War events. Thus, by arguing that women were not simply acted upon by the events of the war, but that their diverse activities affected significant civil war results and outcomes, this work notes a powerful women/civil war reciprocal relationship. The editor's acknowledgement of this reciprocity creates a more accurate and complete historical analysis of both women's history and civil war history.

This encyclopedic work consists of two volumes primarily comprising fourteen introductory contextual essays and 300 individual alphabetized entries presenting events, battles, and biographies which are cross referenced to other entries and include a bibliography. Additionally the work includes a useful wartime chronology which interlaces important events from women's history with major civil war events and a selected documentary section containing 23 entries replete with summary introductory overviews for each primary source document. An excellent index, bibliography, and list of contributors complete the elements of the work. This combination of materials offers the reader a highly useful reference guide to the subject.

Frank's work encourages the reader to discard traditional, limited interpretations of civil war women's history as it promotes the adoption of a more realistic, broader understanding of the diversity of women's wartime activities. This work provides sufficient analytical impetus especially with its sources for further research. Mainly this work provides educators excellent materials from which to craft a women's history component for integration into civil war studies. Students will find the concise and cross referenced entries replete with ample research materials. Many entries, while presenting straightforward factual data, also contain appropriate historical antidotes which amplify the entry's factual value and offer a sophisticated, more nuanced insight into the material. Therefore, this work could be of assistance to any educator attempting to enhance instructional materials as well as to students striving to more fully comprehend the parameters of the American Civil War or engage in research. Reading the work reveals a certain



amount of redundancy and thematic repetitions. This work is highly readable, well researched and provides additional research assistance. While it presents engaging and enlightening profiles of civil war individuals, events and issues, the work is able to intertwine these with major historical themes that together form a strong historical presentation of the era.

By presenting a focused study of the interaction between women's history and civil war history, *Women in the American Civil War* affords a new dimensional understanding of both. By its nature any encyclopedic presentation will inherently have certain analytical limitations. This work, however, successfully presents factual data clearly and affords the reader the opportunity to consider thematic synthesis through the cited research sources and self-contained ancillary elements. The primary value of *Women in the American Civil War* is its operational thesis that women played critical and diverse wartime roles which helped determine civil war outcomes. Therefore, this work expands the field of women's history while offering expanded dimensions to civil war studies.

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**Cynthia Stokes Brown. *Big History: From the Big Bang to the Present*. The New Press, 2007. xvi + 288 pp.**

**Edward H. Jeter**

*Sam Houston State University*

Cynthia Stokes Brown introduces *Big History* as "the scientific creation story ... told in succinct, understandable language" in which she has "woven many disciplines of human knowledge together into a single, seamless narrative" (xi). "Big History" deals with the history of the universe from the Big Bang to the present and how Earth, humans, and human histories fit into it. Brown's *Big History* is organized chronologically, tracing the formation of the universe, the emergence of *Homo sapiens*, the development of agriculture and cities, the creation of local, continental, and global trade/cultural networks, and finally the rise of industrialization—all with an eye toward the ecological factors and consequences of each change. Brown successfully captures the expanse and excitement of Big History. For the most part, the narrative moves briskly and the broad outlines of the scientific information she surveys and its relationships to history are persuasive. However, *Big History* falters in moving beyond broad outlines into detail and analysis. It fails as an introductory *book* in that it is merely longer and not deeper than an introductory *article*. Though *Big History* broaches most of the appropriate topics and might be useful to some portions of the popular market, its lack of integration, depth, and accuracy make it unsuitable for high school, undergraduate, and graduate students. For the quantity of reliable information in its 288 pages, lower-level students would bet-

ter utilize their book money and reading time with an introductory essay; advanced students seeking an introduction to the field would do better to read selections from other Big History texts.

Perhaps most significantly, Brown's description of science lacks precision and accuracy. For example, she mistakenly claims there was no matter before the formation of atoms (6); misidentifies "event horizon" as a gravity field (9); and mislabels measles, smallpox, influenza, yellow fever, and malaria as diseases caused by bacteria rather than viruses and a protozoan, respectively (196). Other descriptions are more awkward than wrong: in common usage, nucleotides are components and not "precursors" of nucleic acids and cells do not, in fact, "constitute" fossils, though cells can fossilize (20, 17). More problematic are the purposive and teleological words Brown uses to describe evolutionary processes, such as the claims that "blue-green bacteria *invented* a way to breathe oxygen" and that monkey eyes "faced forward ... *for* more overlapping fields of vision" (22, 32-33, my italics). Such word choices pervade the text, obscuring the scientific processes and weakening Brown's credibility as a commentator.

Once *Big History* moves on to more traditional history, the narrative wanders. Of necessity, any discussion of Big History deals with many cultures, but as Brown describes the various peoples, it becomes difficult to determine why some details are included and others not. For example, in the single page she devotes to Olmecs, she spends a whole paragraph describing their ritual ball-game without connecting it to anything else in the narrative (150-51). Similarly perplexing is why Brown informs us that Aztecs fermented "two kinds of cacti" into "*ochtli* and pulque" (154) when they are not otherwise defined or mentioned. (Typical of the fact-checking, the two words refer to the same beverage, which is not made from cactus.) As interesting as such facts are in their own right, they, and many other such details, fit into the narrative only as random trivia.

More fundamentally, *Big History* does little to build on its scientific foundation, flawed though it be. Though Brown points out progressive deforestation and concludes with an environmental analysis, she rarely mentions physics, chemistry, or meteorology in the latter portion of the text. Genetics, evolution, and ecology occasionally enter the later narrative, but with little elaboration or clear connection. For example, in discussing smallpox's near annihilation of the Native American population after Afro-Eurasian contact, Brown attributes the immigrants' comparative immunity to their contact with domestic animals but omits to explain how the exposure created immunity or how other factors played roles (196). In addition, after earlier describing genetic mutation, she does not refer back to those processes to explain how continuous smallpox mutation made particular strains even more lethal among Native American populations. Finally, she does not mention that the population genetics of

semi-nomads earlier identified as keeping hunter-gatherers free from disease (58) increased vulnerability to smallpox. In this instance and several others, an additional paragraph or two could have greatly increased both the explanatory power and the level of connection among various parts of the narrative. Such omissions and their replacement with non-integrated content contradict Brown's claims of succinctness and seamlessness and make what could have been a useful essay a less-useful book.

Big History is a promising and exciting field but Cynthia Stokes Brown's *Big History* inadequately introduces it. Enough of *Big History*'s scientific content is inaccurately or misleadingly portrayed to compromise the value of the remainder. The relations of the various historical components among themselves or to the scientific components are unclear or underdeveloped. The understandable, substantive overview of Big History described in the introduction does not materialize; what Brown does deliver is enjoyable at parts but is not worth assigning to students. Brown promises, as it were, a vegetarian pot-pie but delivers a wilted raw-vegetable platter.

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**Nick Smart, ed. *The Second World War*. Ashgate Publishing, 2006. 513 pp.**

**Jason Morgan**

*University of Texas - Austin*

*The Second World War* edited by Nick Smart of the University of Plymouth is the most recent installment in The International Library of Essays on Military History series edited by Jeremy Black. As the title indicates, this particular volume takes a look at the Second World War. This is not a traditional survey of the war or a detailed monograph, but a collection of essays that showcases the broad range of scholarship written over the most violent episode in the twentieth century. Smart went to great lengths to choose essays that appeal to those who have spent a great deal of time studying World War II. The essays, all previously published in journals as varied as *The Journal of Modern History* to *The Economic History Review*, are representative of the newer scholarship on the conflict. Smart purposefully chose articles that would challenge traditional interpretations and incorporated the new social history that has viewed the Second World War as "a territory ripe for colonization" (xi).

Smart justifies his approach in moving away from traditional military histories in this volume by saying that "the relative absence of operation studies is explained by the simple fact that not many are written for the scholarly journals," and so he must focus on the non-military aspects of the conflict (xiv). A simple glance at the articles would show that the only thing they have in common is some link to World War II, and there is not a logical pattern that one can see in the selection

of articles. This diversity, however, is what makes this such an important collection. There have been hundreds of books written on World War II covering any topic that one can imagine, and a number of good surveys have also been written that cover the operational aspects of the war. This volume offers a fresh perspective on many of the conflicts that have become familiar to those all over the globe.

Articles range in topic from the treatment of POWs, the German economy, German workers, gender, rural society, the Battle of Britain, the military capabilities of Italy, and the fall of France. On the stories that are familiar to many, including the Battle of Britain and the fall of France, the articles chosen fly in the face of traditional interpretations. The article on the Battle of Britain, written by H.W. Koch, argues that it was the British not the Germans who first began bombing civilian targets. James Sadkovich's article "Understanding Defeat: Reappraising Italy's Role in World War II," argues that it was Rommel's forces not Italy's that led to the Axis defeat in North Africa.

The articles chosen are extremely well written and offer the reader a more nuanced interpretation than one given in traditional military histories covering World War II. Because of these new interpretations, the volume is not intended for the general reader; the book assumes that the reader has a basic understanding of the Second World War. The detail and arguments in this volume would make it inappropriate for use in anything but an upper level seminar on World War II, and only then as a supplementary text, or in a graduate course. As a teaching tool, this book would make a great contribution to a class after students acquire a solid knowledge of World War II, otherwise they will be lost in the complexities of the articles.

*The Second World War* is a fine addition to Dr. Black's military history series. The selection of articles by Nick Smart give a unique and intriguing view to what is otherwise a very familiar and, some can argue, over-studied subject. It is refreshing to see a volume on military history move away from operational studies and focus upon the social, economic and intellectual aspects of war, and because of this, it is a valuable addition to any serious scholars' library.

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**Frederick F. Anscombe, ed. *The Ottoman Balkans, 1750-1830*. Markus Wiener Publishers, 2006. 174 pp.**

**Craig Patton**  
*Alabama A & M University*

The Ottoman Empire occupies a prominent place in many World History courses and rightly so. Unfortunately, it attracts far fewer scholars and students than other more "glamorous" epochs or civilizations such as Rome, China, India, and so forth. Therefore new studies on it are always wel-

come. The book under review is a collection of articles that examine in great detail the period of the Ottoman Empire's so-called decline during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. I use the term "so-called decline" deliberately because the theme that unites the various essays is the question of exactly how much the empire's control and legitimacy was weakened in the Balkans during this era. Not surprisingly, the individual authors have slightly different perspectives on this issue, but the overall picture is less dismal and clear-cut than is often portrayed in most survey texts. Each of the articles here argues that many groups in the Balkans supported the Ottoman state in the 1700s, albeit for different reasons and with different levels of commitment, and that at least until the early 1800s very few people rejected the empire *in toto* for nationalistic reasons.

One of the major functions of any pre-modern state, including the Ottoman, was to provide justice for its subjects and the first two articles by Antonis Anastasopoulos and Michael Hickok deal specifically with the judicial system and the application of law. Both authors describe a complex system in which local and provincial authorities were expected to deal with most cases and that was quite flexible because these authorities had a variety of codes and approaches they could employ to resolve disputes or deal with crimes such as murder (13-14, 47-48). While this complexity could create disputes and conflicts among the different types of officials that could be exploited by transgressors, Hickok argues it worked well enough to provide some kind of justice to Bosnia (56). Anastasopoulos' article points out that when local authorities failed to resolve cases, people not only routinely appealed to the central authorities for redress, indicating they continued to see it as the ultimate source of justice, but that the state sought to respond to such appeals and thus reaffirm its ties to its subjects and their concerns (26).

The other contributions by the other three authors Virginia Aksan, Frederick Anscombe, and Rossitsa Graveda present a less rosy picture. Aksan's article examines illegal usurpation of farmland in the "frontier" region of Wallachia in the mid-1700s and the Ottoman government's response to this problem as revealed in the reports by a special investigating commission. She argues that while the Ottomans did make a concerted effort to restore order and legitimacy in the region, employing a variety of contractual practices, the efforts failed and conditions worsened, ultimately leading to the rise of powerful local warlords in the late 1700s. In the process of discussing these points, though, she makes a number of points important to keep in mind not only about the Ottomans but many empires. First, she stresses the porosity of the frontier and complexity of people's identity in such areas. Second, she highlights the importance of military considerations in shaping the government's response to reports of lawlessness on the frontier.

One of the most famous warlords to rise in the Balkans in the late 1700s was Osman Pasvantogulu and he is the focus of the article by Rossitsa Graveda. She argues that Pasvantogulu did not simply exploit the turmoil of the 1790s for his own aggrandizement. Instead she portrays him as a "conservative reformer" who sought to restore the glory of the classical Ottoman state. His efforts to introduce reforms in his own territories and to court the support of various European powers were in some ways a precursor of those of the more well-known Muhammad Ali in Egypt. Graveda also points out that Pasvantogulu often received support from various non-Muslim groups and individuals. Although such support was guided primarily by pragmatic considerations about his ability to provide security and reduce taxes, it again highlights the fact that people's loyalties in unsettled border areas frequently shifted and were not always dictated by simply their religious or ethnic identity, although these began to become more common with the rise of "nationalist" sentiment among the Serbs in the early 1800s (130-31, 134).

The unstable and tumultuous nature of life in the provinces also features prominently in Anscombe's article on the rise and fall of "banditry" in the Albanian regions of the Balkans in the late 1700s. He emphasizes how this was the result of several underlying economic, social, and political problems and how the Ottoman state had only limited control over some of them. Although the Ottomans made repeated efforts to curtail such lawlessness, he argues the state lacked the military and fiscal resources to eliminate it completely or to solve the underlying problems (106). As in Aksan's article on Wallachia, one of the key factors limiting the Ottoman's efforts to restore stability and justice in the region was their preoccupation with military threats posed by neighboring states, which provided both bandits and local notables numerous opportunities to enrich themselves (89).

The overriding impression one gains from these articles is that while the Ottomans were still capable of providing a modicum of security and justice in parts of the empire, it was hard pressed to do so in border regions, especially during a time of nearly constant warfare with increasingly powerful neighbors. This may be the most significant feature of the book for teachers and students of World History. It provides detailed examples of the difficulties that imperial states have in controlling and administering territories that are geographically and culturally removed from the center.

While most of these articles are probably too detailed to be assigned in high school or even introductory college World History classes, they offer a rich source of information for instructors to use in developing their own lectures or assignments. For example, many of the problems facing the Ottomans such as geographic obstacles, recalcitrant nobles, military and fiscal pressures, popular rebellion, banditry, and so forth were hardly unique and the information provided here could

fruitfully be used in comparisons with many other pre-modern states, especially those in Europe or Asia. The articles also highlight the complexity, fluidity, and innovativeness often found in such border areas and it is not hard to imagine a comparison of the Balkans with other regions at different periods of time. Similarly, since most empires are first acquired and then maintained, at least in part, by force, the way in which military factors constrained the ability of the Ottomans to halt decentralization and instability could easily be compared with similar problems faced by other empires from ancient ones such as the Assyrians up to very recent ones such as the Soviet Union.

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***Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora: Origins, Experiences, and Culture.* Carole Boyce Davies, editor, 3 volumes, ABC-CLIO, 2008.**

**Georgena Duncan**  
*Arkansas Tech University*

This three volume encyclopedia contains entries on a wide range of ethnic African activity across the globe, arranged in three alphabetical volumes. It is the outcome of emerging university programs centered on the African Diaspora of peoples, and several international meetings on the diaspora. The length of entries varies from fairly short half-page entries to multiple-page detailed over-views of history within a particular nation or region. Each entry is contributed by a specialist in that area. The encyclopedia contains an extremely broad range of information on ethnic African activities, culture, and history for Africa, Latin America, South America, North America and Europe, as well as some information on Asia. The entries also cover a broad array of geographic, historical, cultural and biographical data on prominent people of African descent, African ideas, African music, culture, dance, languages, religion, history and organizations across the world. Each entry also lists suggestions for further reading, giving the reader more options for pursuing knowledge than can be contained in an encyclopedia article. The entries are written in part from an Afro-centric viewpoint which will stretch the average reader's perceptions. There is also a lack of useful information on the current political and economic history of Africa itself. Colonialism, while creating the foundations for many of the current political and economic systems of Africa, cannot be simply assigned responsibility for all current African social, political, and economic problems. The encyclopedia is at its best in giving information on various African cultural developments in music, art, literature, and religion on a world-wide basis. It is also helpful in giving biographical information on a very broad range of Africans world-wide. While the cost and scope of the encyclopedia make it of limited appeal for class-room use, it would be a

helpful addition for public and school libraries and for various student programs in African-American, Latin-American and South American study programs.

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**Colin Kidd. *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600-2000.* Cambridge University Press, 2006. 309 pp. \$27.99 paper.**

**Phillip Luke Sinitiere**  
*University of Houston*

In *The Forging of Races*, Colin Kidd offers a probing study of where and how Protestant biblical interpretations factored into conceptions of race across the Atlantic World over a four hundred year period, a time of multiple developments and major change. Situated alongside studies that examine scientific, cultural, and economic dimensions of race construction, Kidd argues that "scripture has been for much of the early modern and modern eras the primary cultural influence of the forging of races. 'Race-as-theology' should be an important constituent of the humanistic study of racial constructs alongside accounts of 'race-as-biology', 'race-as-ethnicity' and 'race-as-class or -caste'" (19).

Kidd begins making his case with a useful survey of how during the last four hundred years scholars and writers have interpreted particular biblical accounts through the prism of race: discussions about the "race" of Adam and Jesus, for instance, as well as whether or not the sons of Noah, one "blessed" and the other "cursed," led to different races. These theological arguments, Kidd convincingly shows, led to particular social, cultural, and political claims about racial superiority, racial inferiority, and notions of chosenness among nations and between individuals.

The Enlightenment plays a critical role in Kidd's formulation of racialized scripture interpretation across the Atlantic World, as he calls for a more nuanced reading of the movement since the "Enlightenment took place largely within churches" (83). And attendant to such claims, Kidd points out, were ideas about monogenesis and polygenesis, and he deftly shows how these arguments impacted nineteenth century discussions about slavery and abolitionism (particularly in the United States), for example, and about the contested claims of Jesus' "race" and "ethnicity." In addition, Kidd contextualizes the forms of "racialized religion" (203) that emerged during the nineteenth century (e.g., Mormonism and Theosophy) and twentieth century (e.g., Christian Identity Movement), and locates these groups, not as independent Protestant offshoots necessarily, but into the stream of biblical interpretation through racialized lenses.

Kidd's final chapter examines another form of racialized religion, what he terms "black counter-theologies" (247). This chapter surveys the arguments of some black theologians (e.g.,

James Cone) and Black Nationalist writers (e.g., Marcus Garvey) who imagined a black Christ at the center of salvation history, or who found Africa as the locus of God's work in the world. The Nation of Islam fits into Kidd's formulation of black counter-theologies as does his brief attention to persons of African descent who embraced Judaism. Kidd fails to consider, however, that white theologians might adopt a liberation perspective and offer a black counter-theology, as is the case with James Perkinson's *White Theology: Outing Supremacy in Modernity* (2004), whose theological formulations against white supremacy adopt critical perspectives provided by James Cone.

To demonstrate the central role of Protestant biblical interpretation and conceptions of race in the Atlantic World, which he does quite convincingly, Kidd marshals evidence from scientific writers, cultural critics, theologians, economists, historians, journalists, ethnographers, and a host of other specialists. Kidd's important study is thick intellectual history, and he brilliantly and carefully sifts through arguments and structures of arguments with precise detail and clear articulation. As a work of intellectual history, Kidd's analysis overlooks ordinary lives, and the ways that ideas about race and scripture figured into the social and cultural experiences of the people he writes about. This is partly a minor quibble since Kidd claims as much at the book's outset, yet in this case the greatest strength of *Forging of Races* – its deep engagement with ideas – proves to be a weakness as well. This should not deter those interested, however, as this book is a must read for those who study social, cultural, political, or religious history.

Historiographically, Kidd's work makes a signal contribution to the intricate ways that the history of theology figures into national and transnational understanding, owing much to Kidd's fine work on nationalism. World historians who study religion will find a wealth of material with which to engage, and as a result one hopes that in the future scholars may build upon the arguments about race and scriptural interpretation Kidd explores and locate them in a global context. Although it fits neither an Atlantic World paradigm nor world history, those interested in the intersection of scripture and constructions of race may wish to examine Kidd's work alongside J. Kameron Carter's *Race: A Theological Account* (2008).

Despite the book's limiting Atlantic scope, *Forging of Races* is still useful for advanced undergraduate classes and certainly graduate courses, both as a way to understand yet another chapter of the Atlantic world's religious history (in this context it may be helpful for both scholars and students to compare Kidd's work to Allan Greer and Kenneth Mills, "A Catholic Atlantic," in Jorge Canizares-Esguerra and Erik R. Seeman, eds., *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500-2000* [2007]) and to problematize notions of the Atlantic world itself, with the aim of understanding race and scripture(s) in a world history frame-

work. With whatever disciplinary angle one approaches *Forging of Races*, it is worth the time and effort to probe the history and the ideas Kidd examines; his work is sure to provoke discussion and prompt questions for years to come.

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**Resat Kasaba, ed. *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 4, *Turkey in the Modern World*. Cambridge University Press, 2008. xxvi + 574 pp.**

**Alexander Mirkovic**  
*Arkansas Tech University*

Students, both undergraduate and graduate, professors, teachers, doctoral candidates, and the general public have come to rely on Cambridge Histories as the best, most reliable, up-to-date surveys of regional or national histories. In that sense, the latest *Cambridge History of Turkey*, edited by Resat Kasaba with contributions from Turkish and Anglo-American scholars, does not disappoint. The quality of each article could be graded as excellent or, at least, very good. The book begins with the Ottoman background of modern Turkey, continues with the Tanzimat period, the reign of Abdulhamid II, the Young Turk movement, and the Ataturk Revolution. It ends with the latest in a series of promises of the European Union to open full membership to the republic that spans two continents. The history of the Turkish Republic after Ataturk is covered thematically, rather than chronologically, with essays on migration, political parties, ethnic minorities, Islam, women, and the arts. The "icing on the cake" is the last essay, a brief history of the city of Istanbul, which rightly points out that the ancient Byzantine and Ottoman capital is currently the largest city in Europe, emphasizing further the importance of Turkish history and the importance of this volume.

Every volume of the Cambridge Histories brings something new to the debate, especially in the area of general historical concepts and the words that we use to define them, and likewise this volume requires its readers to re-think their basic definitions. For example, we learn that the Young Turk Revolution was neither liberal nor really a revolution (63), or that the Ottoman defeat in World War I was not really a defeat, but the beginning of the titanic "Struggle for Independence" and a true "Turkish Revolution" (112). Naturally, these provocative statements will disappoint those used to traditional historical interpretation, but they will also open a much needed debate.

Are there any problems with the volume? Unfortunately, yes. The most obvious is the issue of the Armenian Genocide. Cambridge Histories are considered authoritative and that is the reason why these problems are so obtrusive. One does not expect glaring omissions in a volume such as this. Since the issue of Armenian Genocide is so widely known and often debated, I assume that

many readers, even before reading the volume, would go to the index and look for it, just to test how reliable the volume is. They will not find the word genocide mentioned there. Instead the reader will find the entry, "Armenians, deportation from Anatolia" (544). Then, when one checks the referenced pages, one finds statements in passive voice such as "The Armenia population had been dislodged." On the other hand, it is encouraging to see that the "deportation" is classified as a "tragic event" or that the agency is clearly declared: "the Ottoman government decided to deport all Armenians affiliated with the Armenian Apostolic Church from the war zone ... to Syria" (96).

I understand that those advocating the classification of the events of 1915 as an act of genocide have been and could be easily persecuted by the infamous article 301 of the republic's penal code referring to "the insult to Turkishness." However, I fail to see how the republic's penal code could have jurisdiction over the editorial offices of a Cambridge History. The complaint about the Armenian Genocide could be reiterated with regard to the devastation of Smyrna in 1922. It is indicative that the Greek word Smyrna is not even listed in the index. One will find all the references to the city under its Turkish name, Izmir. Etymologically, these two words are the same; to include both would be a common courtesy to the reader and a sign of the willingness to overcome a particular national bent. Parochialism has always been a nemesis of the history of Ottoman successor states, and in spite of trying to overcome it, the editor has not managed to succeed completely in this process. The volume, however, makes a good effort in that direction. Maybe the selection of contributors should have been a bit more ethnically diverse?

The consequence of these editorial issues will be a lack of confidence in the volume, which is, in my opinion, very unfortunate and completely unnecessary. The volume really represents a large step forward in the historical scholarship on modern Turkey. In spite of the above mentioned omissions, I warmly recommend this volume. *The Cambridge History of Modern Turkey* is far too important for world historians to overlook, even if it does not address the issue of Armenian Genocide.



### ***WHA Members Participate in Global Encounters Conference***

The new Program in Medieval and Early Modern Studies (MEMS) of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill held its inaugural interdisciplinary conference on the theme "Global Encounters: Legacies of Exchange and Conflict, 1000-1700," November 14-15, 2008. Five WHA

members played roles in the conference. Professor Brett E. Whalen of UNC at Chapel Hill organized and presided over the conference, David M. Perry of Dominican University in Chicago presented the paper "Eastern Objects and Venetian Identity: Before and After 1261." Lauren Arnold of the Ricci Institute, the University of San Francisco, spoke on "the Heavenly Horse of 1342: How a Gift from a Medieval Pope Came to be Portrayed as a Tribute Horse in a Chinese Painting," and Timothy May of North Georgia College and State University offered the paper "The Mongols and Afghanistan." The conference's concluding keynote address, "The Cult of Santiago Matamoros in Sixteenth-Century Mexico: The Adaptation of Reconquista Ideology by an Amerindian People," was presented by Alfred J. Andrea, vice-president of the WHA and professor emeritus at the University of Vermont.



### ***SEWHA Business Meeting Minutes, 18 October 2008 Little Rock, Arkansas***

Micheal Tarver (Arkansas Tech) opened the 2008 annual meeting of the Southeast World History Association with a welcome to attendees, introduced the officers (Rob Willingham [Roanoke College], President-Elect; Jared Poley [Georgia State University], Secretary; Masako Racel [Kennesaw State University], Webmaster; and Jonathan Grant [Florida State University], Treasurer), and explained that future SEWHA meetings would be held at Roanoke College in 2009 and Kennesaw State in 2010. He was asked by Laura Cruz (Western Carolina) to explain the mission and philosophy of SEWHA. Jared Poley gave a brief financial report.

#### **New Business:**

A) Micheal Tarver suggested two amendments to the SEWHA constitution. The first modification centers on the timetable for nominating and electing officers. Tarver proposed accepting nominations from the floor at the annual meeting with a ballot to be mailed to all active members the following month that would also contain space for write-in candidates to be considered. The officers-elect would then take office the following January. The second amendment consisted of adding the office of "webmaster (or -mistress)" to the slate of council members. These proposed amendments will circulate to the active members and a vote will be held in the near future.

B) The prizes will be updated and the contests modified to correspond more closely to a timetable that corresponds to the annual meeting.

C) Nominations for a single open at-large

council member were solicited; Dorothea Martin (Appalachian State University) nominated Chris Hill of Hamilton College. Ballots will be distributed shortly.

D) Maryville College (TN) issued a proposal to host the SEWHA conference in 2011. The proposal was accepted. A copy of the proposal is available for review from the Secretary.

E) Dorothea Martin moved that Micheal Tarver and the local arrangements committee, as well as Arkansas Tech, University of Arkansas-Little Rock, University of Central Arkansas, and the Old State House be commended for their hospitality. The motion passed unanimously.

Jared Poley  
19 October 2008



## ***History Wars and School Curricula: The New History Curriculum in Australia***

**Binoy Kampmark**

In the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, University of Queensland academics Andrew Bonnell and Martin Crotty put forth their case about how Australian history had been represented by the conservative Prime Minister John Howard. Their survey is another significant shot in what has been termed an Australian Historikereit, a bitter struggle on the meaning of history to a nation.<sup>1</sup> For the authors, the Prime Minister and his government had minimised the suffering caused to the Aboriginal populace in favour of an unblemished history favouring democratic uplift. Disasters had become triumphs, or were less significant than made out to be.

Australian history has never quite been same since the distinguished historian Geoffrey Blainey ventured into the hazardous waters of history as politics. His 1993 lecture posited two key views of Australian history. One was “the Three Cheers view of history” – Australian history seen through a patriot’s goggles. Then there was the “Black Armband view of history” – Australian history seen through the goggles of the pessimist, gloomy and very much a “disgrace” marked by an appalling record in the treatment of Indigenous peoples.<sup>2</sup> While Blainey was unfairly vilified in subsequent debates, the battlelines had been drawn.

Under Howard, the black arm-banders were hounded and marginalised, the high priests of Aboriginal history, amongst them Henry Reynolds, dethroned.<sup>3</sup> The history of Australian success, three cheers and all, returned with a vengeance. The pendulum is now set to go the other way: in November 2007, the Howard Government was defeated by the opposition

Labor Party. Prime Minister Kevin Rudd immediately mounted a challenge to the historical orthodoxy of the Howard years: the members of a board to formulate the guidelines of a national curriculum were announced in April 2008.

The history debates, through print, speech and footnote, continue to tap the barrel of uncertainties and suspicions with the release of the National Curriculum Board paper by Professor Stuart Macintyre on October 13.<sup>4</sup> The foes, whether they be “black armbanders”, or the heroic, chest-thumping narrators, may have shifted chairs with Rudd’s coming to power, but not allegiances. A national apology to the indigenous peoples, notably those of the “stolen generations”, may have been issued by the current Prime Minister but the trenches are again being occupied by familiar combatants.<sup>5</sup> Inevitably, the NCB paper is rapidly becoming an object of political disputation.

The initial advice has various leitmotifs. One is the influence of globalisation on the practice of historical pedagogy. Consider, the advice argues, how a quarter of Australians were born elsewhere. This had to be paired with an appreciation of Aboriginal history. The gist of this argument is simple: that “the restriction of the national curriculum to Australian history is inappropriate.”

Foundations for historical learning needed to be broadened; migrant and indigenous histories placed in context. Major civilizations needed to be understood. Australian history would remain, a necessary curriculum fixture, but trimmed to accommodate a more international, “comparative” perspective. Studies in junior secondary would feature discussion about the “earliest human communities” (60,000 B.C. – 500 A.D.) and to the birth of the modern world (1750 A.D.). Australian history comes in a humble fourth place, featuring from 1901 onwards.

Various “units” of learning will be incorporated. Global migrations “of the earliest communities”, in terms of economy, technology and social structures, will be studied. Connections between Africa, the Near East, Europe and Asia will be taught. The rise and fall of empires, along with the development of “global networks of exchange” will feature, while the third unit will examine the emergence of the global economy. Australian history will be a composite covering Aboriginal history and the imperial age, leading to a study of modern Australian politics.<sup>6</sup>

It is hard to fault this, or reasoning that allows children to be liberated from their labouring immaturity, to paraphrase Immanuel Kant. That is another theme of the advice: Get them early, in short, and immerse them broadly, in practice. From kindergarten to Year 10, school children will have to pay homage to historia, and in its international guise. This is only to the good.

The report, despite its sober, calm assessment, has riled various critics. Former education advisor to John Howard, Kevin Donnelly, smells a progressive rat, if not several, in the proposal:

the old left is out for its revenge on the triumphalists. Macintyre, was a one-time communist, so he reminds us, and believer in “history from below”.<sup>7</sup> That discredits his opinions and tomes on any subject, or so Donnelly would have you believe. More footnote bashing is in the pipeline.

Opposition frontbencher Tony Abbott, member of the conservative Coalition and long time critic of the ‘black armband’ view, sees the need to flag the Union Jack over any history curriculum, an indication for some that it was never taken down. The “modern world” was made in England, though he never specifies what he means by that. “People have to know where we came from, and they’ve got to know about the ideas that shaped the modern world”. Australians were “a product of western civilisation, in particular we are product of English-speaking civilisation.”<sup>8</sup>

If the NCB recommendations are followed, it’s hard to see how Abbott could have any complaints at all. Imperial history (read British), explains much of Australian settlement, but it would be nice for Aussies to realise that they might be using Euros (or Francs) today were it not for British suspicions of their colonial rivals in the Eighteenth Century. Empires, within a savage hotchpotch of conquest and settlement jostled for ascendancy, and that story can hardly be missed. Abbott would just like to think the perfidious Albion did it all, in addition to doing it well.

Putting Australia back into the world of history is certainly better than keeping it out of it. While the frontier settlement (or invasion?) should be studied with specific local references, and a place definitely exists for local histories, specialisations can duly follow. Parochial history rarely does anybody any good, except those who carve a perilous niche in the hope that their views will win popular support.

*Binoy Kampmark was a Commonwealth Scholar at Selwyn College, University of Cambridge and lecturer in history at the University of Queensland.*

### **NOTES**

1 Andrew Bonnell and Martin Crotty, “Australia’s History under Howard, 1996-2007,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617, 1 (2008): 149-165; and by the same authors, “An Australian ‘Historikereit’?” *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 50, 3 (2004): 425-433.

2 G. A. Blainey, “The Balance On Our History,” *Quadrant* (July 1993): 10-15.

3 For a sense of this endeavour, see Keith Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (Sydney: Macleay Press, 2003).

4 National Curriculum Board (NCB), *National History Curriculum: Initial Advice*, 2008, available at <[http://www.htansw.asn.au/home/nationalcurriculum/2008/NCBHistory\\_Initial\\_Advice\\_Paper.pdf](http://www.htansw.asn.au/home/nationalcurriculum/2008/NCBHistory_Initial_Advice_Paper.pdf)>

5 The reference to the state sponsored removal of children of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent that took place in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

6 NCB, *National History Curriculum*, 12.

7 Kevin Donnelly, “My Worst Fears Have Been Realised,” *The Australian*, September 10, 2008.

8 Quoted in Australian Associated Press, “New History Curriculum Proposed,” *The Age*, October 13, 2008.



**18TH ANNUAL WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE  
SALEM STATE COLLEGE, SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS, JUNE 25-28, 2009**

## **CALL FOR PAPERS**

The 2009 WHA Program Committee invites proposals for full panels, single papers, and roundtables on topics related to the scholarly and/or pedagogical aspects of this year's conference theme.

**Submission deadline: January 15, 2009**

**Conference Themes: "Merchants and Missionaries: Trade and Religion in World History"**

### **Submission Guidelines:**

1. All proposals must be submitted with the relevant forms.
  - a. *The WHA will not accept incomplete submissions.*
2. Sessions are ninety (90) minutes long.
  - a. Ideally, panels will consist of three presenters, who will be allotted no more than 20 minutes each.
  - b. Panels are limited to a maximum of four presenters each. Roundtables may have five panelists, but each will be limited to a 10-minute initial statement.
3. Each paper, panel, or roundtable proposal must include a title and a brief (300 words or less) description of the topic.
  - a. Panel proposals must also be accompanied by a 100- to 200-word abstract of each paper, using the individual paper submission form.
  - b. Where possible, panel organizers should attempt to assemble panelists from a range of institutions, regions, and professional/academic levels.
4. The Program Committee reserves the right to add appropriate participants to panels having fewer than 3 presenters.
5. The Program Committee may accept, reject, alter panel proposals, or assign presenters to other panels should it be deemed advisable.
  - a. Papers and panels that do not directly address the conference theme are welcome and may be accepted as the program allows.
6. Papers submitted individually will be grouped into panels by the Program Committee, a chair will be assigned, and panelists notified.
  - a. Please contact the chair directly regarding the time allotted for your paper and other organizational matters.
7. Panel proposals consisting entirely of graduate students may be strengthened by a letter of support from a faculty member familiar with the students' work.
8. If you are willing to act as a chair or discussant for another session, please indicate yes on your individual submission form.
9. For audio-visual equipment, please see the individual paper proposal form.
10. When appropriate and relevant, presenters should consider providing handouts for the audience. Audiences vary in size, but 35 copies would be suitable for most sessions.



*Submission Guidelines continued*

11. In the case of proposals of equal merit, preference for acceptance will be given to proposals that address a conference theme and to WHA members in good standing.
12. In the event a program participant is forced to withdraw, he/she should notify both the Program Committee Chair and the WHA right away and, if possible, recommend a suitable replacement.
13. All program participants (paper presenters, chairs, and discussants) must register for the conference by May 1, 2009.
  - a. Program participants who have not registered by this date will not be listed in the printed program and the panel Chair or Program Committee may seek a replacement.
  - b. Registration information will be posted by February 2009 at the WHA's website: <http://thewha.org>.
14. A very limited number of 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 citizens of or residents in the United States, Canada, Western Europe, or Australia-New Zealand. Please see the WHA's website for an application.

**Notification:**

Once the Committee has finalized the program, all persons who have submitted proposals will be notified via e-mail of the Committee's decisions. Panel organizers are responsible for notifying the individual members of their panel of the Program Committee's decision. If you require a hard copy of your acceptance letter to secure funding or obtain visa approval, please let the WHA office know as soon as possible, preferably at the time of your proposal submission.

The Program Committee will make every attempt to inform panelists of their scheduled appearance time and date at the time of initial notification.

If you have not received an official e-mail or letter by April 15, please contact the Program Committee, c/o The World History Association, Department of History, Sakamaki Hall A203, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI 96822 (U.S.A.); tel: (808) 956-7688; e-mail: [thewha@hawaii.edu](mailto:thewha@hawaii.edu). Questions regarding the Call for Papers should be addressed to the Committee Chair (below).

**2009 WHA Program Committee:**

**Chair:** Carolyn Neel, ABC-CLIO <[cneel@ABC-CLIO.com](mailto:cneel@ABC-CLIO.com)>

Maryanne Rhett, Washington State University, <[mazrhett@yahoo.com](mailto:mazrhett@yahoo.com)>

Robert Willingham, Roanoke College, <[willingham@roanoke.edu](mailto:willingham@roanoke.edu)>

William Zeigler, San Marcos High School, San Marcos, California, <[wzeigler@cox.net](mailto:wzeigler@cox.net)>

**Panel Proposal Cover Sheet**  
**18th Annual World History Association Conference**  
Salem State College; Salem, Massachusetts June 25-28 2009  
**Submission Deadline: January 15, 2009**

I. Please read the Submission Guidelines first.

II. Panel proposals must include:

1. A title and a brief (300 words or less) description of the panel topic
2. Individual proposals for each paper, using the individual paper proposal submission form
3. Postal and electronic mailing addresses and phone numbers for all panelists (use this cover sheet)
4. Individual CVs of **no more than two pages** for each member of the panel

III. Please **email** your **complete panel proposal** via an attached document to [thewha@hawaii.edu](mailto:thewha@hawaii.edu). Compile all relevant items, separated by page breaks, in one MSWord document. Items sent individually will be treated as individual paper submissions. Mark the subject header of your e-mail "WHA 2008 Panel Proposal" and name your document with your last name, underscore, first name, underscore, PANEL as in "Smith\_Mary\_PANEL.doc".

For more information, visit the WHA website: <http://thewha.org> or email [thewha@hawaii.edu](mailto:thewha@hawaii.edu) or [cneel@ABC-CLIO.com](mailto:cneel@ABC-CLIO.com). You may also contact us by writing the WHA 2008 Program Committee, c/o The World History Association, Dep't of History, SAK A-203, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, HI 96822 (U.S.A.).

---

**Panel title:**

**Panel content and approach:** Please append a brief (300 words or less) description to this document.

**Organizer's Name:**

Institutional Affiliation (if any):

Mailing Address & phone number:

Email Address:

**Chair's Name:**

Institutional Affiliation (if any):

Mailing Address & phone number:

Email Address:

**Discussant's Name:**

Institutional Affiliation (if any):

Mailing Address & phone number:

Email Address:

**Panelist 1 Name:**

Paper Title (if any)

Institutional Affiliation (if any):

Mailing Address & phone number:

Email Address:

**Panelist 2 Name:**

Paper Title (if any)

Institutional Affiliation (if any):

Mailing Address & phone number:

Email Address:

**Panelist 3 Name:**

Paper Title (if any)

Institutional Affiliation (if any):

Mailing Address & phone number:

Email Address:

*IF NECESSARY USE THIS FORM AS A SECOND PAGE FOR ADDITIONAL PANELISTS*

**Individual Paper Proposal Cover Form**  
**18th Annual World History Association Conference**  
Salem State College; Salem, Massachusetts June 25-28 2009  
Submission Deadline: January 15, 2009

I. Please read the Submission Guidelines first.

II. The individual paper proposal must include:

1. This cover form, with 100-200 word abstract
2. A CV of no more than two pages

III. Please **email** your complete paper proposal via an attached document to [thewha@hawaii.edu](mailto:thewha@hawaii.edu). Compile all relevant items, separated by page breaks, in one MSWord document. Mark the subject header of your e-mail "WHA 2008 Paper Proposal" and name your document with your last name, underscore, first name, underscore, PAPER as in "Smith\_Mary\_PAPER.doc".

For more information, visit the WHA website: <http://thewha.org> or email [thewha@hawaii.edu](mailto:thewha@hawaii.edu) or [cneel@ABC-CLIO.com](mailto:cneel@ABC-CLIO.com). You may also contact us by writing the WHA 2008 Program Committee, c/o The World History Association, Dep't of History, SAK A-203, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, HI 96822 (U.S.A.).

---

**Your Name:**

Departmental and Institutional affiliation & position:

Mailing Address & phone number:

Email Address:

Are you a current member of the WHA?                      Yes / No                      If Yes, member since: \_\_\_\_\_

**Paper Title:**

Paper content and approach – Please insert a brief (200 words or less) description here:

**Vital audiovisual equipment needs\* (all requests must be submitted with this proposal):**

Because of room and scheduling constraints, the Program Committee cannot accommodate late equipment requests. A/V equipment comprises a significant portion of conference budgets, so please request it only if it is absolutely essential to your presentation. Be very specific (e.g., slide projector, overhead projector, LCD projector, TV/VCR, CD player or audiocassette player). **For your part, please provide your own laptop and all requisite cords, cables, and connectors.** For slides, please bring your own slide carousels. You may also want to back-up your materials on a USB (flash) drive or via an email to yourself, should you encounter technical difficulties. The WHA reserves the right to refuse equipment requests for any reason.

**Scheduling needs (e.g., not first/last day) and justification:**

Would you be willing to act as chair or discussant for another panel, if requested by the Program Committee? Yes/No



## **WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP FORM**

Note: membership year runs from January 1 to December 31. If you join or renew mid-year, back issues will be sent to you.

Join or renew on-line by visiting <http://www.thewha.org>

### **MEMBERSHIP DUES:**

☐ NEW ☐ RENEWAL

Regular Membership (*includes independent scholars*)

One year US\$ 60 \_\_\_\_\_

Two years US\$ 110 \_\_\_\_\_

Three years US\$ 155 \_\_\_\_\_

Student; Unemployed US\$ 30 \_\_\_\_\_

New Professional\* (defined below) US\$ 45 \_\_\_\_\_

Life membership US\$ 1200 \_\_\_\_\_  
(payable in either 3 installments of \$400 or one lump sum)

\*"New professionals" are in their first five (5) years of paid professional work at any level. This does not include paid graduate teaching assistants and fellows who still qualify for the student rate.

*Please consider giving an additional tax-deductible donation to the WHA (below). Thank you!*

### **WHA FUND CONTRIBUTIONS:**

Annual Fund:

To fund WHA projects in the coming year. US\$ \_\_\_\_\_

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WHA Foreign Scholar Travel Fund US\$ \_\_\_\_\_  
Provides financial assistance for scholars outside the U.S. attending to attend WHA conferences.

TOTAL TAX DEDUCTIBLE GIFT: US\$ \_\_\_\_\_

Contributions to the WHA are tax-exempt under US tax law. However, U.S. tax law does not permit the deduction of the full amount of a life membership in the year it is taken out. Persons seeking this option should consult a competent tax advisor for guidance.

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University of Hawaii at Manoa  
Department of History  
2530 Dole Street, SAK A-203  
Honolulu, HI 96822-2383

Questions? Please contact us at [thewha@hawaii.edu](mailto:thewha@hawaii.edu)

### **MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION:**

\* = required fields, please write as neatly as possible

\* Name \_\_\_\_\_

\* Mailing address \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

\* City, State, and ZIP code \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

\* Country \_\_\_\_\_

Phone number \_\_\_\_\_

Fax number \_\_\_\_\_

\* E-mail address \_\_\_\_\_

\* Institution/Organization/School, if applicable  
\_\_\_\_\_

\* Employment Category (Secondary, JC, CC, 4-year, etc.)  
\_\_\_\_\_

Field(s) of Interest \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



**18TH ANNUAL WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE  
SALEM STATE COLLEGE, SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS, JUNE 25-28, 2009  
WORLD SCHOLAR TRAVEL GRANT APPLICATION**

Travel awards for full or partial relief of travel costs and conference fees are available to scholars, teachers, and matriculating students who are presenting a paper at the WHA conference in Salem, Massachusetts, June 25-28, 2009, and who are not citizens or residents of the United States, Canada, Western Europe, or Australia-New Zealand. Please understand that the WHA's funds are severely limited, and it can only award one or two grants per year.

This application must be posted electronically or by airmail no later than January 15, 2009. Incomplete applications will not be considered. Applicants will receive an e-mail notice of the disposition of their request on or before March 1, 2009. Please do not contact the WHA headquarters before that date once your application has been received and acknowledged.

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION: \_\_\_\_\_

STATUS (e.g. professor, teacher, graduate student): \_\_\_\_\_

INSTITUTIONAL ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

E-MAIL ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

THE TITLE OF YOUR PROPOSED PAPER: \_\_\_\_\_

HAVE YOU SUBMITTED YOUR PAPER PROPOSAL TO THE WHA? YES / NO

HAVE YOU APPLIED FOR A VISA TO THE USA (if needed)? YES / NO

WHAT IS THE DISPOSITION OF YOUR VISA REQUEST? \_\_\_\_\_

WHAT ARE YOUR ESTIMATED COSTS? (Please itemize all costs –airfare, hotel, etc. and attach additional pages if necessary) \_\_\_\_\_

HOW MUCH OF THIS AMOUNT DO YOU SEEK AS A TRAVEL GRANT (Please list minimum amount needed)? \_\_\_\_\_

IN FIFTY (50) WORDS OR FEWER, PLEASE PROVIDE AS AN ATTACHMENT, A STATEMENT OF NEED.

Please submit this form directly to the WHA at:

The World History Association  
University of Hawai'i at Manoa  
Sakamaki Hall A203  
2530 Dole Street  
Honolulu, HI 96822-2383

Questions? E-Mail us at [thewha@hawaii.edu](mailto:thewha@hawaii.edu) or call 808 956 7688



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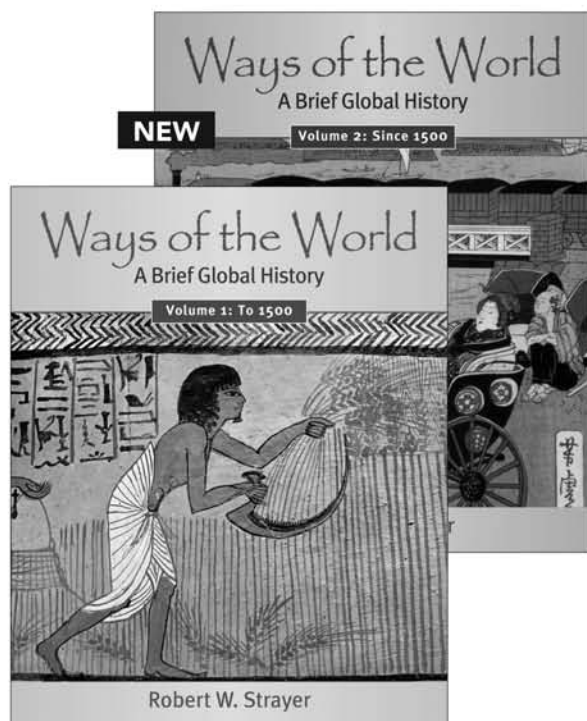


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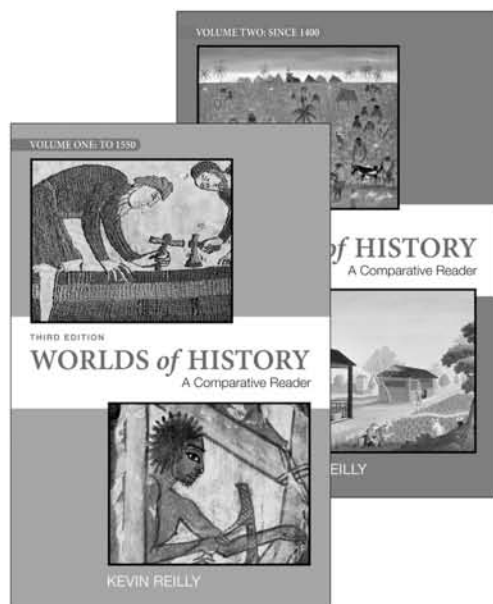
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Membership in the World History Association can be achieved by mailing your name, address, and institutional affiliation, along with the applicable membership amount listed below. The WHA accepts Visa, MasterCard, and Discover (please include the type of card and expiration date) or check payable to the WHA.

|                               |               |
|-------------------------------|---------------|
| Regular Membership            | \$60 per year |
| Two-Year Membership           | \$110         |
| Three-Year Membership         | \$155         |
| Students/Independent Scholars | \$30 per year |
| New Professionals             | \$45 per year |
| Life Membership               | \$1200        |

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WHA dues are payable on a yearly basis. During each year, members will receive two issues of the *Journal of World History* and two issues of the *World History Bulletin*. Memberships run on a calendar year. Applications received before September 1 will receive that current year's publications. Applications received after September 1 will begin membership the following January unless otherwise requested. If your address has changed since the last issue of the *World History Bulletin*, please send notification to the WHA Headquarters.

The *World History Bulletin* appears in April and December.