

# World History Bulletin

Spring 2011

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World History Association

**Jared Poley**

*Editor*

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**Editor's Note:**

Dear Colleagues,

We are pleased to present the Spring 2011 *Bulletin*, and we are especially excited because this issue contains the two prize winning papers selected by the Phi Alpha Theta-World History Association Student Prize Committee in 2010. Please congratulate Samantha Huang and Gregory Rosenthal, not only because they were selected for this prestigious award, but also because they represent the exciting emerging scholarship in world history. Young historians like Samantha and Gregory represent the vitality and future of world history. The 2011 committee is soliciting submissions now, so if any of your students have produced something exceptional, please encourage them to submit their work. And if you are a student who has produced a prize-winning paper, please submit it to this competition.

I also wish to call attention to the special forthcoming issue of the *Bulletin* focusing on Transnational Crime in World History, appearing Spring 2012 under the guest editorship of Andrae Marak and Elaine Carey. Submissions may include articles, classroom lessons, and/or mini-essays. Please see their call on page 14 of this issue of the *Bulletin*.

As always, we strive to produce a thoughtful and engaging *Bulletin*, and we encourage regular communication with members. If you have ideas—don't be shy; share them with us!

all my best,

Jared Poley

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The *World History Bulletin* is edited by the Southeast World History Association, which is housed in the History Department of Georgia State University.

# *Letter from the Executive Director of the World History Association*

Winston Welch

Dear Members,

The World History Association exists because of you – your dedication, your professionalism, your passion and your volunteerism for the organization and world history. We come together to bring about the best of scholarship and pedagogy, learn from each other, advance the field, and have opportunities that do not exist elsewhere. For all of you who have dedicated your time, talent and treasure to this association, you are sincerely appreciated. Our small headquarters relies on just the two of us working part-time. We could never have this organization without the myriad people who serve on the Executive Council, work on standing and ad-hoc committees, contribute expertise to conferences and symposia, edit the print and electronic publications, distribute information on listservs, contribute to the website, moderate the social media, offer to be on the Speakers' Bureau, coordinate regional affiliates, volunteer to help at a conference, or serve the WHA in so many other ways. Besides these tremendous gifts of time and talents, each of you supports the WHA by maintaining your membership, attending our conferences, and contributing to our general fund, world scholar travel fund, and endowment.

The WHA is at a stage in its existence where a comprehensive plan of philanthropy and planned giving is the next phase of development. To this end, the WHA asks that you consider making more substantial financial gifts to the WHA—now, perhaps to fund certain activities, events or programs, and also as a future legacy gift in your own estate planning. From this issue onward, the *Bulletin* will contain a reminder that encourages you to continue your dedication to world history and this organization through a variety of methods. Thank you for your kind consideration of this important call to further service.

President Andrea has mentioned the upcoming Beijing Conference, for which we are in the final stages of planning. This will be by far the largest conference the WHA has had, and we hope you will be able to attend—a great deal of effort and care have been placed to make this an excellent experience for you. Critical to conference planning and membership services, I'd like especially to recognize Jackie Wah here at our headquarters, who continues to grace the WHA with her considerable abilities, wit and charm. Please introduce yourself at the conference and extend your thanks to her for all that she does for the WHA, and you will see in person why we are blessed to have Jackie here.

It is my pleasure to continue to work with Jackie, the WHA officers, the EC, volunteers, our members, partners, sponsors and all others for the success and health of the WHA. Please send us any ideas, questions or comments so that we may keep offering the best that we can for you.

Collegially,

Winston Welch  
Executive Director



# *Letter from the President of the World History Association*

Alfred J. Andrea, University of Vermont

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March 2011

As I write these words, our conference in Beijing is only four months away, and it will certainly be a lot closer when you read them. I am excited. Each of our triennial conferences outside of the United States has been a success and a great opportunity for WHA members to travel to an interesting corner of the world, but this conference will be something special. As the two pictures that accompany this letter suggest, it will be our opportunity to make new friends in one of the most fascinating regions of the world and to experience things out of the ordinary for most of us.

The first photo, taken at a luncheon with faculty and graduate students from Capital Normal University, was snapped at a noodle restaurant only a few steps from where we will convene in July. The second shows us folk dancers and singers, a daily occurrence at scenic Beihei Park, once the vast pleasure garden of the Yuan, Ming, and Qing courts and now Beijing's most popular site for a stroll. Close by the imperial palace complex (the so-called Forbidden City), Beihei is one of the many "must-see-and-experience" sites of historical and cultural interest that are an inexpensive taxi-ride away from Capital Normal University.

In addition to exploring Beijing and environs on their own, conferees and those traveling with them who desire to experience China in the company of first-rate guides can and should take advantage of the many pre- and post-conference tours that the WHA Secretariat has arranged through two of China's finest private tourist agencies. You can read about the tours and register and pay for them on the WHA web site, but do not delay.

Turning from what we can see and do as historian-tourists, let us consider the conference program itself. On 1 March, Maryanne Rhett, chair of the Program Committee, sent off to our hosts a 459-page list of accepted panels, round tables, and papers, with abstracts and the CVs of the presenters. When counted up, it came to 129 panels and round tables and 379 presenters from 28 nations. Even allowing for the inevitable attrition, whereby some would-be presenters will not be able to travel to the conference, this will be the largest conference in WHA history. Among the

presenters are professors and teachers from China's finest universities and schools. Especially exciting is something new and, we hope, a permanent element in WHA conferences from this point onward. Several multinational round tables are scheduled in which Chinese and American K-12 teachers will discuss issues facing them as they endeavor to teach world (or global, as it is termed in China) history. These are not to be missed.

As always, conference organizers have not forgotten the social elements that are essential to any successful meeting. In addition to daily refreshment breaks, there will be a meet-and-greet reception on Thursday and two Beijing-style banquets, Friday and Saturday. All of this is included in the conference registration fee.

As noted on numerous occasions, our meeting in Beijing, as well our new policy of holding annual symposia outside of the USA, will extend the global reach of the WHA. Already there have been some positive consequences of our initial symposium, which was held in Istanbul this past October. Three days ago, I received an e-mail from a member of the board of trustees of the Doğa Schools inviting me to represent the WHA at a forum that it is holding in Istanbul on 10 May 2011. Doğa Schools, founded in 2002, is a Turkish private school corporation, which currently enrolls about 15,000 K-12 students. I hope that my presence there might contribute to the introduction of world history into a progressive curriculum that already focuses on each student's

taking an active role as a world citizen.

The minutes of the Executive Council Meeting and of the Business Meeting, both held in Boston in January, appear elsewhere in these pages and mention the planned Siem Reap-Angkor Watt Symposium to be held in Cambodia in January 2012 and our tentative plans for a third symposium in Fremantle, Australia, probably in 2013. You will hear much more about these symposia in the months ahead, and I need not say anything more about them now, save to note that

the symposium in Siem Reap sounds fascinating, and I plan to be there. I hope many of you will be, as well.

In planning these conferences and symposia outside of the USA, the Secretariat and Conferences Committee have endeavored to keep costs as low as possible. The registration fees and the prices of hotels, optional tours, and





travel insurance are as low as our hard-bargaining executive director could drive them, and the discounted airline fees available through the WHA web site are likewise a saving for all conferees. Even so, there are many members of the WHA around the world who could not afford to attend one of our conferences were it not for assistance from the World Scholar Travel Fund. Unhappily, the fund is exceedingly modest in size, and the WHA can only assist a minuscule percentage of the deserving applicants. If you have the wherewithal, I ask you to consider a contribution on our web site to this worthy fund. Indeed, any gift to the WHA, whether targeted or unrestricted, will be wisely used to further the association's mission. Go to the WHA home page and pull down "Support the WHA" to find the various ways, including bequests, in which you can offer financial support to a cause and an organization we all hold dear.

Even if you cannot afford to give a gift, you can still help to build the coffers of the WHA by bookmarking and using the link to Amazon.com that appears on our home page. Moreover, if you sign up for the WHA Visa card, which is also on our home page, the association receives an immediate finder's fee, and it also receives a small fee every time you use that card. Use of the Amazon.com and the WHA Visa card will not cost you a penny more than if you bought from Amazon without that link or used another credit card. So, please, seriously consider these two painless means of supporting the WHA. And tell your friends and relations about these links.

The WHA needs your support in another way. Simply put, the greater the number of active members that it has, the better it can expand its services to those members. Please be an advocate for both the WHA and world history, and urge your colleagues who are not currently members to either join or rejoin. On your part, please consider a multiple-year membership or, if you can afford it, a lifetime membership next time you renew your membership.

Speaking of "active members," let me tell you about some special members of the WHA. I already mentioned Maryanne Rhett and the great service that she and her Program Committee have provided. Such devotion to the WHA has its counterparts throughout the association.

On a recent visit to WHA headquarters at the

University of Hawai'i at Manoa, I spent several days with our executive director, Winston Welch, and Jackie Wah, the WHA's administrative assistant, graphic designer, and conference organizer without peer. The Secretariat's professionalism is a core strength of the WHA, and it was obvious as I worked alongside them how dedicated Winston and Jackie are to the association and its mission. Jackie's value to the WHA was recognized when she became a finalist in February for the 2011 Employee of the Year Award sponsored by the Research Corporation of the University of Hawai'i (RCUH), the office that facilitates the WHA's HR

(Human Resources) functions. She fully deserved this honor and recognition. On his part, after lengthy study and a challenging examination—all done on his time and at his expense—Winston received certification as a Certified Association Executive from the American Society of Association Executives. The letter that I received on 5 March from the ASAE's president noted that persons who are entitled to put CAE after their names "have demonstrated a high

level of knowledge, ethical fitness, and leadership in the field of association management."

While in Honolulu, it was my pleasure to visit and work with Marc Gilbert, our vice-president, his wife Cathy Hall, who has given the WHA tremendous legal advice and assistance, Jon Davidann of Hawaii Pacific University, and our esteemed editor of the *Journal of World History*, Jerry Bentley. Each is performing invaluable service to our association.

In February, Wendy Egan took time from her busy schedule to represent the WHA at talks in Atlanta regarding a national common core curriculum for social studies, talks at which the WHA must have a seat.

If you want to learn about more special people—all active volunteers in the association—visit the WHA web site. Under the pull-down "About" you will find a list of current officers, editors, and committee members, each doing her/his bit to further world history. Please consider joining in this work. There is a volunteer form under "Support the WHA."

Now, it's on to Beijing!

All best to all,

Al



# World History Association Executive Council Meeting Minutes

**American Historical Association Conference,  
Boston Marriott Copley Place. 3:00-6:00 pm  
Thursday, 6 January 2011.**

**Convened at 3:00 PM**

## **ATTENDANCE**

### **Present:**

Al Andrea (President), Marc Gilbert (Vice-President), Winston Welch (Executive Director), Kerry Ward (Secretary) Paul Jentz, David Kalivas, Craig Lockard, Jared Poley, Rick Warner, Craig, Benjamin, David Northrup, Jerry Bentley, Heather Streets-Salter, Patrick Manning.

### **Apologies:**

Laura Wangerin, Alan Karras, Marnie Hughes-Warrington, Howard Spodek, Joel Tishken, Merry Wiesner-Hanks, Maryanne Rhett, Anand Yang, Kieko Matteson, Connie Hudgeons.

Andrea presented Craig Lockard with a Certificate of Appreciation for his service on the Executive Council. Other retiring board members absent will be sent their certificates in the mail.

Andrea welcomed Paul Jentz as the newest member of the EC and in absentia Alan Karras and Merry Wiesner-Hanks.

## **PRESIDENT'S REPORT**

First WHA Symposium in Istanbul at Istanbul Sehir University was a huge success. 350 conferees and 53 new members of WHA. The symposium was made possible largely through the hard work of the WHA Secretariat.

Istanbul Sehir University wants to start up an Eastern Mediterranean WHA Affiliate, awaiting approval from Board of Trustees.

WHA presently has its highest membership numbers ever, nearly 1400, from 34 nations.

As a result of our membership in NOGWHISTO, the WHA is now a member of International Congress of Historical Sciences (CISH), representing an expansion of our reach.

The WHA has passed the first two stages in its application for membership in the American Council of Learned Societies, and we are optimistic that our membership will be approved in May.

A Speakers' Bureau is now activated, thanks to Joel Tishken and his graduate student assistants, Nathan Sowry, Johanna Lash, and Wesley Underhill. A form for membership is being developed by Jackie Wah on the website.

Andrea stressed the importance of volunteerism and urges EC members to forward names of WHA members to the nominating committee for nomination to committees.

Andrea encouraged members to consider bequests to the WHA.

Welch is developing new tours for the Beijing conference, including a shorter tour that is part of one of the existing tours. WW has developed optional full-day tours for partners of conferees.

Craig asked about the subsidies given by Istanbul Sehir University for the 53 memberships. Andrea responded that the university contributed \$25 for each new membership.

Notre Dame University in Fremantle, Western Australia, represented by Deborah Gare is enthusiastic to host a symposium on the theme of colonialism.

Craig enquired about the status of the WHA in NOGWHISTO and whether or not there was some ambivalence about the place of the WHA in this European organization. David Northrup and Jerry Bentley discussed some of the historical tensions of the place of the WHA but highlighted the fact that the WHA underwrites NOGWHISTO financially, and there is general acceptance of the role of the WHA in the organization. Andrea stressed that the desire for a global outreach is also behind the decision to hold annual international symposiums and the fact that the WHA holds conferences outside of the USA every third year.

## **TREASURER'S REPORT**

Winston Welch presented the report on behalf of the Treasurer. The WHA finances are good and the endowment has recovered to pre-Great Recession levels. Carter Findley is looking to diversify the financial holdings. The bookkeeper has helped smooth the process of getting the records ready and available. We are in the black, with a balance enough to cover six months expected expenses in the bank. If conference registration stays at the level of the WHA's other international conferences, then the finances will be strong.

David Northrup congratulated Welch for the clarity of the Treasurer's Report.

The WHA Visa credit card, travel insurance, and tour companies' commission fees are all new sources of income.

Marc Gilbert - suggests that as an alternative to WHA planned tours, persons enroll in an Overseas Adventure Travel – China Tour, which starts before and continues after the conference – and includes the airfare. Gilbert gets \$100 per person for recommendation, which he will pass on to the WHA. Encourage people to enroll for tours.

A major Public Relations push for the conference will begin after the January meeting.

A liability waiver will be developed for the China Conference.

## **EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S REPORT**

Jackie Wah has been great and is bringing visual clarity to the website. 96% of members now do everything online, although paper is available for all membership functions. Website design will undergo amendment in the Spring.

It is necessary to organize all the conference business and registration online due to the complexity and amount of work required. This also helps the Secretariat tremendously.

Facebook link is up – over 300 friends have joined without any promotion – so this is a potential area of growth for connecting members.

Twitter – Paul tweeted for the Midwest conference.

Linkedin – more professional network – also up & running.

Welch thanked Paul Jentz for his valuable assistance in Istanbul.

Welch requested an ad-hoc committee be formed so that the WHA can develop a comprehensive policy for Planned Giving and asks for volunteers to develop this policy and begin promoting this.

Marc Gilbert said that an article on this was going to be in the *Bulletin* hitherto.

Kalivas suggested stressing personal stories to generate enthusiasm for fundraising.

Welch informed the EC that he is working on revising and updating the Procedures Manual, and asks that those committees that have not updated their descriptions and procedures do so now.

Welch looking for a committee to survey the WHA membership to see what they want – Craig Lockard volunteered to assist. It was suggested that developing a survey on Survey Monkey would be useful.

Round of applause in appreciation for Winston Welch.

## **COMMITTEE REPORTS**

### **Book Prize Committee**

Welch on behalf of Anand Yang. The book prize is now supported by Oxford University Press.

### **Conferences Committee**

Andrea thanked the outgoing members and welcomed the four new members Marianne Rhett, Luke Clossey, Tom Sanders, and Paul Richgruber. The committee now has a full complement of members. The Committee has produced a description of its own procedures and responsibilities and also a Procedures Page to guide Local Arrangements Committees. Both are available online.

The WHA Conference in San Diego was expensive because of hotel charges but still profitable because of the large numbers of attendees.

The Istanbul Symposium was successful.

### *WHA Conference in Beijing*

Organization is on track.

Keynote speakers have submitted their acceptances and abstracts, biographies, and photos.

There needs to be a major media blitz for Beijing – especially on H-World.

15 January 2011 is the absolute deadline for panel and paper proposals for the conference. There has been a rolling acceptance of panels.

Craig Benjamin mentioned that there have been inquiries about when people are going to hear about their panels. Welch said he'd follow up.

### *Cambodia Symposium 2012*

Marc Gilbert officially wants the symposium to be officially called “Siem Reap-Angkor Wat Symposium” rather than the “Cambodia Symposium.”

The symposium is being promoted as “family friendly” - safe for travel, cultural performances, cooking classes and tours. It is difficult to predict attendance.

A panel at Beijing on Southeast Asia in World History will help promote the symposium.

Fee structure. Gilbert suggested a fee waiver for Cambodian faculty and students to attend the conference. Organizers are developing an equitable fee structure for academics from the region.

### *Albuquerque 2012*

Andrea reported as Connie Hudgeons was unable to attend. Welch has negotiated two deeply discounted hotels for the conference, the Albuquerque Hotel in Old Town and Embassy Suites next door to the conference site.

### *Minneapolis 2013*

Andrea excited about WHA's first conference at a community college. Awaiting news from LAC.

### *Whither 2014?*

Puerto Rico suggested because of perceptions of security concerns regarding Mexico.

### *2015 & Beyond*

Suggestions for Great Northwest or the South?

No further questions or comments.

### **Conference Program Committee**

No further questions or comments

### **Executive Committee Report**

Email has facilitated the Executive Committee, which operates as an advisory board – and then matters are brought to the full Executive Council.

### **Finance Committee Report**

Welch was asked to absent himself.

Andrea presented a Motion regarding the employment status of the WHA Administrative Assistant and the Executive Director and asked for open discussion of the motion.

Jerry Bentley supported the Motion and pointed out that until recently the WHA couldn't afford any further compensation.

Motion carried unanimously.

A recess of 15 minutes was called.

Welch was invited back into the meeting room.

### **Membership Committee**

Craig Benjamin reported that the WHA has its highest ever membership – around 1400. Membership dues might hit 100K this year, and this includes the various discounted memberships. It is hopeful that these discounted members will rejoin at the full fee.

Andrea does not envisage that the Beijing conference will generate significant membership numbers.

Benjamin reported that there will be a WHA table again at the AP World History Exam Grading, where we offer a discounted rate but he also hopes that those who received discounted membership previously will rejoin.

Andrea pointed out that no learned society exists on membership dues. Conferences are the financial

backbone of any organization.

Paul Jentz is currently building data base of community college faculty who teach world history as a potential source for memberships. Grace Chee is taking care of Pacific Coast. Once they are done, they need to mount a membership drive. The University of Texas at Austin has a database of each community college which Jentz is using to generate the database. Andrea suggested a call for volunteers on H-world to assist with creating the database.

Benjamin is working on other initiatives with affiliates – goal to have 1500 members by 2012.

Welch & Andrea are encouraging lifetime membership. Recognition of lifetime members includes special ribbons at conferences and recognition in the WHA Bulletin.

Gilbert suggested that the WHA should team up with related organizations to generate mutual membership and affiliates.

Gilbert talking with Jeff Sommers – conference/symposium in Riga.

### **Nominating Committee**

Welch on behalf of the Nominating Committee. Smooth nominations and great candidates. The main concern is to have elections as early as possible so it doesn't conflict with the meeting.

### **Student Paper Prize Committee**

Welch presented the report submitted by outgoing chair Laura Wangerin. Merry Wiesner-Hanks will be taking over as chair.

David Northrup raised a question regarding Wangerin's point about whether or not past winners could compete in same category. Other organizations say that students cannot win in consecutive years in the same category except if they have changed status from undergrad to grad. All agreed.

### **Teaching Committee**

Welch presented the report submitted by Ane Lintvedt. Explosive growth in world history continues.

Gilbert has written to the NEH regarding the necessity

of having workshops in creating standards for WH.

Bentley pointed out that cooperating closely with the AHA will increase our influence because the AHA is the organization that is most consulted for creating standards. The AHA is well disposed to the WHA and wants to have our input.

Heather Streets-Salter has just written an article on graduate education and training in World History. She will contact Ane Lintvedt about the current data. General discussion ensued regarding Streets-Salter's data.

### ***Journal of World History***

Jerry Bentley asked for comments. Special Issue on Cosmopolitanism had attracted significant attention. The next special issue will center on Global China and porcelain.

Andrea thanked Bentley for his ongoing leadership of the *Journal of World History*.

### ***World History Bulletin***

Jared Poley presented his report. The transition to a new editorial team is going smoothly. Changes include a peer-review system for articles not directly solicited by members. *WHB* has just signed an agreement with Gale to archive and index the *WHB* and it will be fully accessible and searchable.

Andrea thanked Poley for his present and future contributions.

### **H-World**

David Kalivas presented a verbal report.

H-world continues to be as active as the members want it to be and has various forms of participation. The Author's Forum has been reinstituted and featured in its initial offering Craig Lockard's maritime article.

Early November and February is going to be the ideal time for the Author's Forum. The next one will be on the *JWH* Cosmopolitanism issue. Also looking at the *Journal of Global History*.

Suggests that focusing on articles rather than books might generate more participation.

Subscriber list almost 2300 – most receiving posts.

Discussion logs are up to date.

Discussion at H-net about whether it will be staying at MSU or not.

Website is in bad shape – hasn't been updated since the 1990s when Pat Manning was editor. Kalivas is working with H-net to update the H-world website. The editors are planning to brainstorm.

Eric Martin, Maryanne Rhett, David Kalivas are rotating editorship.

Craig Lockard expressed appreciation for all the hard work of the editors. The EC responded with a spontaneous round of applause.

Pat Manning informed the EC that graduate students at the University of Pittsburgh World History Center are making a summary of H-world contributions.

Digest format is best format for searching discussion.

Andrea thanked all three H-World editors.

### **Ad Hoc Committee Task Force on Speakers' Bureau**

Andrea presented the report submitted by Joel Tishken.

Andrea thinks there should be a vetting process for the Speakers' Bureau, as we want people who are expert in their fields. Two person vetting committee – one a teacher, and one a scholar. That said, the speakers' bureau is not going to be heavily subscribed. Tishken proposes that the vetting committee should be constituted by senior people not assistant professors and graduate students.

Northrup asked how the WHA could control the self-selecting nature of invitations for speakers?

Welch reported that there are ten people are on the Speakers' Bureau and none has been asked to speak so far.

Andrea proposed a one page cv as part of vetting process and a letter indicating what they are willing to talk on and in what capacity they will be willing to so.

Deborah Johnston will be asked to be on vetting committee.

Craig Lockard volunteered to serve in this capacity and his volunteerism was appreciated by all.

### **Mark Welter K-12 Prize**

Paul Jentz reported that the committee was working under first-year award time pressure and was pleased to make an initial award at the K-12 level. No award at the community college level was made this year.

### **Task Force on Community Colleges**

Already dealt with under membership.

### **World Scholar Travel Fund**

Winston Welch noted some interest and a generous contribution of anonymous donor \$2000 who underwrites it.

Andrea noted and praised the work of Kerry Ward & Howard Spodek work on the vetting committee.

### **Affiliates' Reports**

Paul Jentz – Midwest Affiliate produced a very successful conference at Loyola. Treasury looking good. Will be at Alverno in September, 2012 in conjunction with International Big History Association at Grand Valley State University.

Also launched new online journal *Middle Ground* with first issue in October 2011 and next issue due in March 2011. College of Saint Scholastica is funding 100% of the journal and is doing a lot of work on design. Hong-Ming Liang is a wonderful chief editor, who has networked globally for contributions. Next issue will feature an essay by Ted Farmer, who is just retiring from Minnesota.

Jentz reported that Coco Toderon from Santa Fe New Mexico – wants to help develop affiliate in the Southwest – and she is fully in charge of the website.

Mountain West Affiliate is growing and will be in attendance at Albuquerque.

Gilbert pointed out that there were previously NEH funded workshops for teachers in world history. We need to re-approach NEH for regional workshops



funding. Local affiliates need to think about participating in it, as it includes three speakers coming in to speak to teachers.

*World History Connected* – February issue “Whose history is it?” Excellent articles, some generated from San Diego conference.

*WHC* and *Middle Ground* are going to coordinate their publication schedules to serve teachers.

Welch reported that the affiliates will have their designated time at the AHA conference on Friday afternoon.

Gilbert suggested that the WHA President and Vice-President should report to and participate in the affiliates’ meeting.

## **Old Business**

None

## **New Business**

Question regarding whether or not the WHA should grant a subsidy to H-Net as requested by David Kalivas.

Kalivas reported that H-Net is doing better but that the WHA should give to H-Net because it provides a service. If we can afford a donation, we should do so. However if the WHA cannot afford the donation, then Kalivas will withdraw his request. H-Net is having difficulties with funding because Michigan State University and the National Endowment for the Humanities are not subsidizing it. Job Guide is now charging for its services and that has helped. Kalivas suggested that there is a precedent for the donation, as other academic organizations do so.

Bentley responded that everyone loves H-World and it continues to evolve. But the question is what is the best way to use WHA resources. This is not an effective way to use WHA resources as our donation would go to H-Net not to H-World. When we authorized the donation at Salem, it was clearly given as a one-off donation that could not be sustained in future years. At Salem we heard a lot of discussion regarding the value of H-World for generating WHA membership but we have no way of verifying this claim. If it was an effective conduit for membership

then the membership levels between H-World and the WHA would be equal.

Gilbert reported that AP World & H-World are the only two conduits for getting out messages to people interested in world history. Morally, we owe something to the H-Net system but what is the appropriate donation?

Kalivas responded that the donation isn’t about “saving” H-Net – it is a contribution because H-Net runs the server and without the server there would be no H-World. Whether or not H-World contributes to membership cannot be quantified – but H-World is one of the main information forums for world history and the WHA.

Jentz definitively claims that H-World was used to generate membership for the affiliates.

Benjamin responded that the membership committee should use H-World more actively.

Northrup stated that as a former WHA president, he is uneasy that a not-for-profit organization is donating money for another not-for-profit organization because members give money to the WHA and not to H-Net. Rick Warner suggested that everyone is rethinking who and how to pay from free websites.

Pat Manning – Jerry wrote an article a few years ago in the *JWH* in which he suggested that it is necessary for H-World and H-Net to take stock and reflect on their contribution to the whole field.

Poley suggested that the WHA membership form to have a check box for an optional extra donation for H-Net.

Welch stated that a non-profit organization giving money to other non-profit organization can be justified if it is a business expense. H-Net is providing the WHA with a service. It’s not just H-World, it’s all the other related lists as well which the WHA uses for (free) publicity.

Bentley suggested that before donating to H-World the WHA should be given the information that it requested from H-Net and H-World regarding the services it provides, new membership, flow of information.

Kalivas did not recall that there was a specific request for information.

Andrea asked how those data would be generated as they are not retrievable from the website.

No further discussion.

*Amended Motion:*

The WHA Executive Council empowers the WHA Executive Committee to consider the question of making a donation to the h-Net system for the services it provides. The Executive Committee will come back to the Executive Council for further discussion and vote.

Motion carried and will be referred to the Executive

Committee.

Andrea stated that in light of the hour, two new issues for new business will be raised for further discussion online: the WHA Honor Roll and a one-day strategic planning meeting update. As long as we were discussing online communications, Welch requested that there be a 72-hour turn around by Executive Council members on online discussions and motions. Motion for adjournment, seconded, approved, carried.

Meeting adjourned at 6:00 PM.

Respectfully submitted,

Kerry Ward

The **Human Drama** series is now complete.

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--Jennifer Laden, Supervisor of Secondary School Studies, Harrison Central School District, Harrison, NY

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World History Association

# World History Association Business Meeting Minutes

**Nantucket Room, Marriott Hotel, Copley Place,  
Boston. Saturday, 8 January 2011, 5:00-6:00 pm.**

President Al Andrea welcomed everyone to the Business Meeting. He introduced current Vice-President, Marc Gilbert, and Past Presidents of the WHA, David Northrup and Michelle Forman. He also introduced the Executive Director, Winston Welch, Secretary, Kerry Ward, and Jerry Bentley, the Editor of the *Journal of World History*. He acknowledged former Executive Council Members, Maggie Favretti and Craig Lockard, along with former Treasurers Roger Beck and Marie Donaghay, who is also a former Secretary. Current members of the Executive Council were introduced, including Heather Streets-Salter and Paul Jentz.

After these introductions, Andrea reported back from the Semi-Annual Executive Council Meeting, which took place on Thursday, 6 January 2011.

## **Symposia and Conferences Report:**

The new symposium series was implemented last year. It is comprised of tightly focused symposia on specific topics for cutting edge research in World History that are relevant for the host institution. The purpose of the symposium series is for the WHA to expand its global outreach and membership.

The first symposium was hosted by Istanbul Sehir University in Istanbul, Turkey. The symposium was hugely successful with over 350 conferees resulting in 53 new members for the WHA.

Second symposium will be hosted by Pannasastra University at Siem Reap, Cambodia on 2-4 January 2011. Marc Gilbert reported on the details of the symposium and tour activities for this “family friendly” event. The CFP and further announcements have been posted on the WHA website. Please contact Marc Gilbert for further details.

The possible venue for the third symposium is on the campus of Notre Dame University in Fremantle, Western Australia.

The 20<sup>th</sup> Annual WHA Conference will be held at

the International Cultural Plaza of Capital Normal University, Beijing, China, 7-10 July 2011. All details are available on the WHA website. Winston Welch has organized optional pre- & post- conference tours & day tours in Beijing during the conference.

Details of future conferences are available on the WHA website and will be updated as more information becomes available.

The 21<sup>st</sup> WHA Annual Conference will be hosted by Albuquerque High School in Albuquerque, New Mexico from 28 June to 1 July 2012. This will be the first time a WHA conference has been hosted by a high school, underlying the WHA’s dual commitment to research and pedagogy in World History. Hotels have already been negotiated by Winston Welch.

The 22<sup>nd</sup> WHA Annual Conference will be hosted by North Hennepin Community College in Minneapolis, Minnesota in summer 2013. Andrea thanked to Paul Jentz for facilitating arrangements for the first WHA conference to be held at a community college.

International venues in Latin America or the Caribbean are being considered for the 2014 conference. Please contact Al Andrea if you have any suggestions.

## **Finances:**

Winston Welch reported on behalf of the WHA Treasurer, Howard Spodek. The WHA’s finances are in sound condition, and he thanked the WHA’s wonderful bookkeeper. Welch is working on the stability and growth of the WHA’s finances, along with the formation of a financial stewardship committee. He wants to focus on developing major gifts in the coming year. The WHA has a reserve equal to six months operating costs. This is before the influx of funds from annual membership renewal. The WHA credit card and Amazon links are a small but steady income stream. WHA conference tours and travel insurance also generate a commission for the WHA at no additional cost to customers.

Welch is looking for other streams of revenue to expand services to membership.

Andrea encouraged members to think of a bequest to the WHA in their planned giving. For example, Mark Welter is currently funding the paper prize for K-12 and community college students, and this gift will be funded in perpetuity as a bequest to the WHA.

### **Membership:**

The WHA has its largest-ever membership with a bit over 1400 paying members, which it is hoped will reach 1500 by the end of 2011. The WHA has members in 48 of 50 states, the exceptions being Wyoming & Alaska.

### **Affiliates.**

Marc Gilbert reported about the new Midwest Affiliate organized by Paul Jentz, which already has 142 members, and a new journal *The Middle Ground*. The Mountain West Affiliate is being revived. The Northeast (former New England) Regional Affiliate is going strong. The affiliates are the strongest they have ever been. The WHA wants to give feedback to the affiliates to help strengthen their relationship towards a closer partnership. There is a suggestion of rebating money back to the affiliates for every member they bring to the WHA.

Gilbert encouraged the affiliates to consider applying for NEH grants for teachers of world history. Heidi Roup had an NEH grant for 3 years. The NEH is keen on world history and is looking to fund projects. The WHA is drafting a funding application for a NEH challenge grant, thanks to Marc Gilbert's vision.

The WHA submitted its application for membership to the ACLS in October 2010. The application is a three step process, and the WHA has already successfully passed two stages with positive results for the third stage anticipated. Membership of the ACLS represents a "coming of age" for the WHA, inasmuch as it is the federation body of the major national scholarly organizations in the USA.

The WHA also has a relationship with the Asian Association of World Historians and the African Network in Global History. Through membership in the Network of Global and World Historical Organizations (NOGWHISTO) the WHA is also a member of the International Congress of Historical Sciences (CISH).

### ***Journal of World History.***

Jerry Bentley reported that the special issue on "Cosmopolitanism" has just come out. The next special issue is "Global China" through the prism of porcelain. He indicated that there may be more special issues in the future considering the expanding research that incorporates approaches that are of interest to World History.

Al Andrea thanked Jerry Bentley for 22 years of service as Editor of the Journal.

### ***World History Bulletin.***

Michael Tarver stepped down after five years as editor of the *World History Bulletin*. The *Bulletin* has now taken over by the Executive Council of SEWHA, the Southeast Affiliate, hosted by Georgia State University and led by Jared Poley. The first new issue is out.

### ***World History Connected.***

Marc Gilbert reported that *World History Connected* continues to go from strength to strength and is fully financed. It receives over 300,000 unique visitors a month. This means visitors who read the journal not just open a link. *WHC* generates membership for the WHA. It is published three times annually and last year received twice as many articles as were published. The next issue will be on the theme of "Whose History is it?" and will feature a transcript of a forum from the WHA San Diego conference with Jerry Bentley, Pat Manning, and Trevor Getz. There is also a feature on environmental world history from a research group at Georgetown University.

### **Speaker's Bureau.**

Al Andrea reported that after fifteen years of discussion, the Speakers' Bureau is now online at the WHA website thanks to Joel Tishken and his graduate student assistants at Washington State University at Pullman. The site contains information and a form whereby persons can apply to be on the Speakers' Bureau to talk on topics within their expertise relating to world history research and pedagogy.. The WHA requests that institutions pay an honorarium to the speakers that will be given to the WHA.

### **Other Business:**

Winston Welch apologized for the printer's error regarding some mailing addresses for the *WHA Bulletin* and promised that it will be corrected. He

encouraged members to contact him and Jackie Wah with any suggestions.

Al Andrea continued to encourage volunteerism for the WHA as a theme of his presidency. This is evident in the tremendous slate of candidates for the Executive Council.

The WHA has a Facebook Account with 300 friends.

Maryanne Rhett is the Conference Program Chairperson again this year and the program for Beijing is on track.

Marc Gilbert suggested that we recognize new books by WHA members in the future.

### **Announcements, Questions, & Comments:**

David Lindenfeld announced the CFP of the bi-annual European Social Science Conference. It has an active World History network. He asked people to contact him with paper or panel suggestions.

Craig Lockard announced the International Convention of Asian Scholars and Association of Asian Studies will meet together at the conference in Honolulu from 31 March to 3 April 2011.

Marc Gilbert announced that immediately after the AAS there will be a conference on the Cold War in Vietnam. Please contact him for further details.

Charles Weller asked for circulation figures on the *JWH*. Jerry Bentley responded that it is impossible to find out accurate figures because of the multiple forms of electronic access to the journal.

Hope Benne asked where, outside the US, is the teaching of world history picking up momentum?

Al Andrea answered that, among other places, Istanbul Sehir University is committed to teaching World History and chose the WHA to host its first international conference. Its history faculty is also committed to setting up an Eastern Mediterranean affiliate of the WHA. There are also African, East Asian, and European associations dedicated to world, or global, history, all of which have a relationship with the WHA. Other areas that teach and organize around World History include Australia, China, and Western

Europe.

Jerry Bentley is on the staff of the Global History Center at Capital Normal University in Beijing, China. He said the idea of global history is wildly popular in China and that throughout the country there are different interpretations of the meaning of world history. Capital Normal's graduate, undergraduate and scholarly programs are closest to the WHA's understanding of world history.

Al Andrea reported that at the WHA Conference in Salem we first initiated recognition of the "Pioneers in World History" by honoring Alfred Crosby and William McNeill. In San Diego we honored Heidi Roupp and Kevin Reilly. At the conference in Beijing, President Liu Xincheng of Capital Normal University and Jerry Bentley will be honored. Nominations for next year are welcome.

Marc Gilbert announced that Northeastern University is looking for a Chair who is a World Historian. Please forward nominations directly to the History Department at Northeastern.

Jim Diskant raised a challenge regarding how the WHA is going to maintain its partnership with high school and community college teachers.

Marc Gilbert mentioned the WHA's proposed application for a Challenge Grant from with the NEH to fund summer institutes for teachers, stating that over 184,000 students took AP World History but the College Board has "for profit" workshops that aren't that well subscribed.

Jon Davidann said that the Challenge Grant, if received and met, will develop a permanent forum for teachers. The NEH wants Marc Gilbert to put together instructional packages for teachers on the NEH website. Marc Gilbert said that the aim is organize perpetual regional workshops for teaching best-practices workshops.

Michelle Forman commented that World History as it is taught in high schools is improving and that the College Board and AP World History program is foundational to this development. The NEH participated with the development of world history training for teachers. A new AP World History exam

has been developed for next year. Training for teachers to educate them about the new World History rubric is being developed extensively.

Michelle Forman has been involved in rewriting the standards for world history in schools. The National Board for Professional Teaching Standards has an excellent curriculum model.

Maggie Favretti stated that the national common core standards movement is reaching out to professional organizations, and we need to support this initiative.

Marc Gilbert noted that Noralee Frankel at the AHA

is determined to forward enquiries regarding world history to the WHA.

Al Andrea asked that people please write to WHA with further enquiries and questions. He thereupon closed the meeting and invited everyone to the WHA reception.

Respectfully submitted,

Kerry Ward

The *World History Bulletin* seeks submissions for upcoming issues. Authors should keep in mind that the *Bulletin's* audience is composed of specialists in a diverse range of historical fields and periods in addition to K-12 teachers; articles should be made as clear and accessible as possible for this diverse readership. The *World History Bulletin* publishes articles of varying lengths; although submissions between 500 and 5000 words will be accepted, we are interested in short articles of 1000 - 1500 words.

Submissions may consider all aspects of historical scholarship including pedagogy, research, or theory. Topics may include the prehistoric, ancient, medieval, early modern, modern, and contemporary periods. Articles may include model syllabi or assignments, if applicable. All submissions will be reviewed by an editorial team.

Manuscripts should be addressed to Jared Poley, Editor, *World History Bulletin*; Department of History, Georgia State University; PO Box 4117; Atlanta GA 30302; USA. Please submit two printed copies of each manuscript. You may also attach manuscripts (as a Microsoft word file) to an email sent to [jpoley@gsu.edu](mailto:jpoley@gsu.edu). All text, including quotations and footnotes, should be double-spaced with generous margins. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively and should appear in a separate section at the end of the essay. Manuscripts should conform to the Chicago Manual of Style, 15<sup>th</sup> ed.

### Call for Papers: Transnational Crime and Vice

The *World History Bulletin* is accepting materials for the Spring 2012 issue focusing on Transnational Crime in World History, under the guest editorship of Andrae Marak (Indiana University Purdue University at Columbus) and Elaine Carey (St. John's University). Submissions may consider all aspects of historical scholarship including pedagogy, research, or theory. Topics may include human trafficking, gun-running, rum running, cattle rustling, drug trafficking, sex tourism, organized crime, tax evasion, and piracy. The guest editors are particularly interested in ways in which studies of transnational crime can be integrated into the World historical narrative. Authors should send articles, classroom lessons, and/or mini-essays to Andrae Marak at [marak@calu.edu](mailto:marak@calu.edu) and Elaine Carey at [careye@stjohns.edu](mailto:careye@stjohns.edu) or [bulletin@thewha.org](mailto:bulletin@thewha.org).

Authors must keep in mind that the *Bulletin's* audience is composed of specialists in a diverse range of historical fields and periods, in addition to K-12 teachers. Thus, articles should be made as clear and accessible as possible for this diverse readership. The *World History Bulletin* publishes articles of varying lengths; though submissions between 500 and 5000 words will be accepted, we are especially interested in short articles of 1000 - 1500 words. The style sheet may be seen at <http://www.atu.edu/histoi~,WHB.~~df>. The deadline for submissions is August 1, 2011.



# Your Planned Giving for the WHA

## How do I include the WHA in my estate planning?

As a supporter and member of the World History Association, you realize the importance of the organization and its mission. You also realize the importance of a stable financial foundation and may have already considered placing the WHA in your planned giving so that you may have a continuing impact on world history education and research.

We currently rely on your help to sustain the WHA through your membership and contributions in the short term, but we also need your help to ensure the long-term viability of the WHA. You have the significant ability to accomplish this through your estate planning as an expression of your vision and your commitment to world history. While your bequest will not affect your financial situation during your lifetime, your gift will provide an important legacy to ensure the continued success of the WHA.

Some common ways to include the WHA in your planned giving in your will or trust include a gift as a percentage of your total estate, a specific dollar amount, or specific gifts (cash, stocks, bonds, IRAs, life insurance, royalty income, charitable gift annuity, charitable trust annuity, remainder annuity, remainder trust, or property).

Unrestricted gifts are the most flexible for the WHA. Most choose to name the WHA as a direct beneficiary in a bequest, but some may name the WHA as a residual estate beneficiary or as a contingency beneficiary, after other specific desires are provided for. Certain gifts have more significant tax advantages, while others can provide a lifetime of retirement income for you, which then continue on to the WHA in the future. Consulting your estate attorney and letting him or her know your wishes is the first step—the vehicle chosen will depend upon your individual desires.

Many sample bequest forms can be easily found online or at your local library, but your financial advisor or attorney is best equipped to assist you in the specific planning of any gifts and to ensure your wishes are correctly carried out. If you have already prepared your will or trust, you may simply add to it to make a gift to the WHA through a codicil or an amendment.

When you do put us in your planned giving, kindly notify us of your intentions for our confidential records, and include our full legal name and address in your documents, which is: World History Association, a 501 (c)3 non-profit organization, headquartered at 2530 Dole Street, Sakamaki Hall A-203, Honolulu, HI 96822. Our Federal Tax ID number is 22-2464092.

With your permission, the WHA would also like to add your name (but not details of your gifts) to its publicly acknowledged benefactors. Please understand that any bequest, no matter its size, will be a thoughtful legacy that will have a positive impact for many years to come.



World History Association

# World History Association Affiliate Reports

## California WHA (CWAH)

Affiliate Officers (names and positions): Jonathan Shulman (President), Michael Vann (Vice-President), Kathleen King (Secretary), Amanda Hale (Treasurer)

Number of members: 75

Accomplishments since previous report: 4<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference at Cal State Sacramento was a big success.

Assessment of success with goals from previous report (What is working or not working and why?):

- We remained solvent! This was a transition year from an executive board composed predominantly of people who founded the organization to those who joined later. As such, we were successful in bringing in new members while keeping a significant core of the founding members.
- Attendance at the 2010 Conference was strong considering our conferences in Southern California tend to draw more attendees. Michael Vann and Amanda Hale were instrumental in energizing the World History Department at Sac State for active participation in the conference. This event should also be considered a success given that many of our more dedicated members opted to attend the Istanbul conference the same weekend.
- Successfully transitioned our bank account from outgoing Treasurer Cynthia Brown to incoming Treasurer Amanda Hale. Amanda is the first graduate student to serve on our executive board member. She will be leading the outreach program to get more MA/PhD students at the conference.
- Nominating Committee was successful in replacing two retiring members of the Board of Directors as well as convincing a third to serve another term.
- A PayPal account on our website was a worthy expense in making conference registration much simpler.

- Instituted a Lifetime Membership program. Only two members thus far, but at \$250 each, it's a wonderful cash infusion. We solicited two \$1000 donations and actually ended up with more money after the conference than we had started!

Goals for next six months:

- Start building momentum in January for the 5<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference at La Jolla Country Day School in October 2011. Send out CFP early and encourage more breakout sessions/panels that would appeal to secondary school level educators.
- Send a survey out to CWAH members to get their feedback on possibilities for October 2011 conference.
- Revamp of the website and build up the Facebook profile.
- Revisit the teaching prizes, which have not been distributed for several years.

## Mid-Atlantic World History Association (MAWHA)

Affiliate Officers (names and positions): Jacky Swansinger, President; Sherri West, Vice President; Tony Snyder, Treasurer.

Number of members: 35

Accomplishments since previous report: Annual fall conference, "Race in World History," held at Monmouth University in West Long Branch, New Jersey, on Nov. 12-13, 2010. This conference was held in conjunction with an interdisciplinary conference on race, and we had approximately 40 scholars and students participate in seminars and workshops over the two days of the conference. Maryanne Rhett, Program Chair and on-site planner, did a marvelous job in working with the other departments at Monmouth and in organizing the sessions. Our keynote speaker was Minkah Makalani, Professor of History, Rutgers University, who addressed the group on "The Racial Archive in Writing the African Diaspora: Locality, Race, and the History of Black Globality."

Assessment of success with goals from previous report:

(What is working or not working and why?): It's difficult to keep members and to attract new leaders to sustain the organization. A commitment from the WHA leadership to provide a Speaker's Bureau and those in the region willing to be more active participants in helping to spread the word about the conference and/or membership would be useful.

Goals for next six months:

To update our website and plan for the 2011 conference.

### **Midwest World History Association (MWWHA)**

Submitted by Paul Jentz

DATE OF REPORT: December 8, 2010

#### **OFFICERS:**

President: Paul Jentz

Vice-President: Susan Smith

Secretary: Jodi Eastberg

Treasurer: Krista Feinberg

#### **Steering Committee:**

Hong-Ming Liang

Tom Barker

Tammy Proctor

Daniel Ringrose

John Pincince

#### **Editorial Staff for *The Middle Ground*:**

Chief Editor: Hong-Ming Liang

Assistant Editor for Articles (1300 - Present): Nathan Godley

Assistant Editor for Articles (pre-1300): Jeanne Grant

Assistant Editor for Articles

(Assistant to Chief Editor): Drew Manetter

Assistant Editor for Reviews

(Textbooks, Teaching, Multimedia, Websites, others):

Jodi Eastberg

Assistant Editor for Reviews (Books, Research): John Pincince

Assistant Editor for Special Projects

(Blogs, Timely, Postings, Reviews, etc.): Susan Smith

Contributing Editors: Tracy Barrett, Andrew Jarboe, Tanya Maus

#### **CURRENT GOALS:**

Expand membership

Publish 2<sup>nd</sup> issue of *The Middle Ground* in March,

2011 and continue publishing two issues annually

Plan 2011 conference at Alverno College, Milwaukee:

Music in World History

Plan 2012 conference at Grand Valley State

University, Michigan: Big History

Plan 2013 MWWHA activities during WHA's

Minneapolis conference

#### **ACCOMPLISHMENTS/SUCCESS STORIES:**

130 members have joined in our first years

Published first issue of *The Middle Ground* in

September

Succeeded in housing *The Middle Ground* at St.

Scholastica Duluth.

St. Scholastica is also funding 100% of our operating budget

as well as developing software to produce first-rate production values for the journal.

Produced a very successful conference at Loyola

University, Chicago in October:

15 panels, over 50 papers presented.

Facebook and Twitter accounts established.

### **Northeast Regional World History Association (NERWHA)**

NERWHA has reorganized; its newly elected officers are: Dane Morrison, Salem State University, president; Roland Higgins, Keene State University, vice-president; Mary Jane Maxwell, Green Mountain College, secretary-treasurer. Outgoing officers are Lincoln Paine, independent scholar, Portland, ME, president; Holly-Lynn Busier, University of Vermont, vice-president; A. J. Andrea, University of Vermont (emeritus), secretary-treasurer. Future correspondence should be sent to Mary Jane Maxwell at [maxwellmj@greenmtn.edu](mailto:maxwellmj@greenmtn.edu).

NERWHA has been given a permanent home at Salem State University (Salem, MA), and it will hold a

colloquium there on 9 April 2011.

### **Northwest World History Association Affiliate Report**

The NWWHA met for its 7<sup>th</sup> annual meeting on October 15-16, 2010 in Eugene, Oregon. Ralph Crozier was the program chair, and as a result of his efforts the NWWHA teamed up with the Oregon Council on Social Studies (a group of secondary school teachers) for a joint conference. We were also fortunate enough that Ralph secured the WHA president, Al Andrea, as the keynote speaker.

The first day of the conference (Friday) was held at a local Eugene high school. Al Andrea started the morning with an excellent presentation on art along the Silk Road, and the rest of the panels for the day consisted of a mix of presentations by NWWHA and OCSS members. The second day of the conference was held at the University of Oregon, and was mainly attended by NWWHA members.

The NWWHA remains a small affiliate, but it serves an important function bringing together world historians (and world historians in training) around the Pacific Northwest. The executive council of the affiliate is in the process of trying to broaden the base of the NWWHA's leadership, as until now it has been centered around Washington State University and WSU faculty.

### **Southeast World History Association (SEWHA)**

Affiliate Officers:

Robert Willingham (President)  
Denis Gainty (President-elect)  
Georgia State University History Department/Jared Poley (Executive Secretary)  
Masako Racel (Web)  
Jonathan Grant (Treasurer)  
Masako Racel (Council Member)  
Laura Cruz (Council Member)  
Chris Hill (Council Member)

Number of members:

400 total; 70 active

Accomplishments since previous report:

SEWHA Annual Conference, Kennesaw State University; October 2010  
Editorship, *World History Bulletin*; ongoing

Assessment of success with goals from previous report (What is working or not working and why?):

Membership is coming up, in part because of the conference being so well attended.

Goals for next six months:

Continue to increase active membership

Continue to have a high SEWHA profile at the annual WHA meeting

Smooth out the production of the *WHB* (!)

### **World History Association of Hawai'i**

NAMES OF AFFILIATE MEMBERS:

Jerry Bentley (UH Manoa), Dan Boylan (UH West Oahu), Jocelyn Cardenas (Hawaii Pacific), Jayson Chun (UH West Oahu), James Corcoran (Hawaii Pacific), Jerome Feldman (Treasurer – Hawaii Pacific), Jon Davidann (Hawaii Pacific), Marc Gilbert (President – Hawaii Pacific), Drew Gonrowski (UH Manoa), Kerri Inglis (UH Hilo), Matt Kester (BYU Hawaii), Abdul Karim Khan (Leeward CC), Matthew Lopresti (Hawaii Pacific), Rick McBride (BYU Hawaii), Vera Parham (UH Hilo), Pat Patterson (Honolulu CC), Alan Rosenfeld (Secretary – UH West Oahu), Sandra Schwartz (UH Manoa), Jim Tueller (BYU Hawaii), Wensheng Wang (UH Manoa)

CURRENT ACTIVITIES/RESPONSIBILITIES: We met on Friday, October 15, at which time we elected a new Vice President and discussed preliminary plans for a conference on Oahu in the fall of 2011 to coincide with the APEC conference. Other general activities include expanding membership; promoting publishing opportunities of members; teacher workshops; organizing a conference.

CURRENT GOALS: Planning of dedicated conference on the island of Oahu in the fall of 2011.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS/SUCCESS STORIES:

Although we lost two members, including our Vice President, to trans-Pacific relocations, we grew our affiliate to twenty members. While our membership is limited in terms of raw numbers, it is worth noting that we are now represented on six of the state's twelve college campuses: UH Manoa, UH Hilo, UH West O'ahu, Hawai'i Pacific University, BYU Hawai'i, Leeward CC, and Honolulu CC. Another WHA Hawai'i member published a book review in the

October issue of *World History Connected*.

CONCERNS: Lack of Board of Education Master List for Teachers; lack of secondary school membership; limited funding; unresponsive members.

RECOMMENDATIONS / MOTIONS: Continue to build relationships with instructors at Hawai'i's other college campuses and local high schools, in hopes of expanding membership; start planning for fall 2011 conference by identifying possible host sites and

organizers; Obtain other membership lists for teachers in use for other island activities; produce a publication for Hawaii teachers to use when teaching world history in our 'aina.

## Lifetime, Sustaining, and Contributing Members of the World History Association

### LIFE MEMBERS

Carol A. Adamson  
Alfred J. Andrea  
Yang Bin  
J. Leonard Blusse  
Richard W. Bulliet  
Keith Carson  
Charles A. Desnoyers  
Joe C. Dixon  
Pieter C. Emmer  
Anthony Esler  
Carter Findley  
Dennis O. Flynn  
Marc J. Gilbert  
Nancy Jorczak  
Raoul Kulberg  
Ann Levine  
Mihai Manea  
John R. McNeill  
William H. McNeill  
Zhong Meisun  
Douglas Northrop

David & Nancy Northrup  
Robina Quale-Leach  
Jonathan T. Reynolds  
Morris Rossabi  
Heidi Roupp  
Arnold Schrier  
Kristin Stapleton  
Douglas Streusand  
Joel E. Tishken  
Sheila B. Twombly  
Laura Wangerin  
Rick Warner  
Jack Weatherford  
Judith P. Zinsser

### SUSTAINING MEMBER

Edward L. Farmer

### CONTRIBUTING MEMBERS

Christian Jennings  
Marja van Tilburg



World History Association

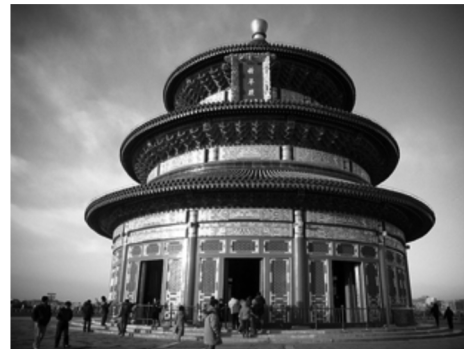
# 20th Annual World History Association Conference Beijing, China • July 7-10, 2011

CONFERENCE THEMES:

*China in World History*

and

*World History from the Center and the Periphery*



Temple of Heaven



The Forbidden City



Ruins of the Old  
Summer Palace



Great Wall of China

The Hall of Prayer for  
Good Harvests

## WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION

The World History Association is a community of scholars, teachers, and students who are passionately committed to the study of the history of the human community across regional, cultural, and political boundaries.

The **2011 World History Association Conference**, co-sponsored by the **Global History Center, Capital Normal University**, offers a wonderful opportunity to commune with an international community of world history scholars and teachers. Conference registration fee includes coffee breaks, two receptions, and one evening banquet. Lunch will be available onsite at a reasonable cost.

### ACCOMMODATIONS

The international five-star **Shangri-La Hotel** features deluxe accommodations, free high-speed wireless internet access, free state-of-the-art fitness center, and other amenities. Deeply discounted rates and free breakfast buffet included for conference attendees staying at the hotel.

Located near Capital Normal University, a 15-minute walk or short cab ride away.

For more information about the WHA and to register for the conference, visit:  
[www.thewha.org](http://www.thewha.org).

### WHY SHOULD YOU ATTEND?

- Cutting edge pedagogy
- Excellent keynote speakers
- A wide variety of panels, roundtables, and individual presentations
- Top scholars in the field will be in attendance
- Bridges the gap between K-12 teaching and scholarly work
- An opportunity to meet world history teachers and scholars from around the globe
- Low conference registration rates
- Refreshment breaks, opening reception, and banquets included
- CE graduate credit available
- Pre-conference tours of Beijing
- Post-conference tours of Xi'an, the Grand Canal, and the Silk Road



World History Association





20th ANNUAL WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE  
Capital Normal University, Beijing, China  
July 7-10, 2011

REGISTRATION / BADGE INFORMATION

PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY

ALL FIELDS ARE REQUIRED

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Badge Name \_\_\_\_\_ Affiliation \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE LIST BADGE NAME & BADGE AFFILIATION EXACTLY AS YOU WANT IT TO APPEAR.

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Full-Time Student ☐ \$ 85 ☐ \$110  
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+Must be accompanied by registered conferee. For social functions only.  
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NON-MEMBER REGISTRATION

EARLY Postmarked by 4/15/11 REGULAR After 4/15/11

☐ \$285 ☐ \$335  
Please consider joining or renewing your membership to the WHA in order to receive substantial savings on conference rates. If you wish to take advantage of member savings, fill out Section A & Section C. These non-member conference rates also apply to retired, non-employed, and students.



WHA INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP

☐ New Member ☐ Renewing

Regular Membership (includes Independent Scholars)

☐ US \$75 1-Year ☐ US \$145 2-Years ☐ US \$210 3-Years

☐ US \$125 **Contributing Member:** Your additional gift helps further support the WHA's mission.\*\*  
☐ US \$200 **Sustaining Member:** The WHA thrives on your generous additional gift.\*\*  
☐ US \$2000 **Life Member:** Payable in either four installments of \$500 or one lump sum.\*\*

☐ US \$60 **Adjunct / Part-Time Faculty**  
☐ US \$60 **New Professional:** Individuals in the first 3 years of paid professional work  
☐ US \$40 **Full-Time Student** (with current I.D.)  
☐ US \$40 **Retired / Non-Employed**

\*\*Life Members, Sustaining Members, & Contributing Members receive recognition in each issue of the *World History Bulletin*.

WORLD SCHOLAR TRAVEL

Please consider a gift to the **World Scholar Travel Fund** which assists scholars, teachers, and students, primarily from outside of North America, who would not otherwise be able to attend. More information is available at: [www.thewha.org](http://www.thewha.org). The WHA is a 501(c)(3) organization, and contributions may be tax deductible.

☐ World Scholar Travel Fund Donation US \$ \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL REMITTANCE

Conference Registration Fee US \$ \_\_\_\_\_

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Make checks payable to: World History Association. Payment must be in US\$ and payable through a U.S. bank.

Please note: returned checks will be assessed a \$25 fee.

The last day for Conference Fee refund (less \$30 handling fee) is MAY 15, 2011. Requests must be made in writing or via email.

Telephone: 808-956-7688 | Fax: 808-956-9600 | Email: [thewha@hawaii.edu](mailto:thewha@hawaii.edu) | Website: [www.thewha.org](http://www.thewha.org)

WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION, UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII AT MANOA, 2530 DOLE STREET, SAK A-203, HONOLULU, HI 96822-2383 USA



20th ANNUAL WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE  
Capital Normal University, Beijing, China  
July 7-10, 2011

REGISTRATION / BADGE INFORMATION

PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY

ALL FIELDS ARE REQUIRED

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Badge Name \_\_\_\_\_ Affiliation \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE LIST BADGE NAME & BADGE AFFILIATION EXACTLY AS YOU WANT IT TO APPEAR.

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WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION, UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII AT MANOA, 2530 DOLE STREET, SAK A-203, HONOLULU, HI 96822-2383 USA

**ACCOMMODATIONS INFORMATION**

The WHA is pleased to recommend two official conference housing options. Please note:

- All conferees are required to make their own accommodations reservations.
- Please make your reservations early as discounted rooms are limited. Rooms are offered on a first-come, first-served basis.

**OPTION 1**

**Shangri-La Hotel**  
**29 Zizhuyuan Road**  
**Beijing 100089 P.R. China**

Phone: (86 10) 6841 2211

Special rates for WHA Conferees will be offered from July 2-15, 2011.

Reserve your room online using the link at [www.thewha.org](http://www.thewha.org) or directly at: [www.shangri-la.com/en/property/beijing/shangrila](http://www.shangri-la.com/en/property/beijing/shangrila)

WHA Rate Code: ADO110707

Rate: 900 yuan (approx. \$135 USD)\* per night for singles  
 1000 yuan (approx. \$149 USD)\* per night for doubles  
 These rates include taxes as well as service fees.

- Easy access to Capital Normal University
- Free sumptuous breakfast buffet
- Free high-speed wireless internet access
- Fitness center
- Non-smoking rooms available
- Many other onsite amenities
- Early reservations are highly recommended

**OPTION 2**

**Beijing Ruyi Business Hotel**  
**No. 17 Beiwa Road, Haidan District**  
**Beijing, 100089, P. R. China**

Reserve your room by emailing [thewha@hawaii.edu](mailto:thewha@hawaii.edu) with the subject line as follows: Ruyi Hotel Reservation  
 LAST NAME, First Name.

Please include the following information:

1. Number of people in your party
2. If 2 people, the full name of your travel companion
3. Dates of your arrival and departure
4. Choose Business Standard or Deluxe Standard Room

Rates: 320 yuan (approx. \$49 USD)\* for Business Standard Room with a double bed or 2 twin beds, for 1 or 2 people / 390 yuan (approx. \$59 USD)\* for Deluxe Standard Room (twin beds only, room also includes a table/desk), for 1 or 2 people

- Budget-minded accommodations
- Located a short walk from the conference venue
- Standard Room includes breakfast for one person, breakfast for additional person is 20 yuan (approx. \$3 USD)\*. Deluxe Standard includes breakfast for 2 people.
- Free internet
- Also includes A/C, refrigerator, and television

**PERTINENT INFORMATION**

Other pertinent information can be found on the WHA website: [www.thewha.org](http://www.thewha.org).

- General Information Guide
- Travel Insurance
- Trip Cancellation Policy
- Visas
- Accommodations Information
- FAQs

**\*Rates are subject to change according to monetary exchange rates.**

**Please check the WHA website periodically for additional information and updates on Visa Information, Accommodations, Conference Tours, and the Conference Program.**



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# 20th ANNUAL WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE

## Capital Normal University, Beijing, China

### July 7-10, 2011

#### PRE-CONFERENCE TOURS

Dates	Morning	Lunch	Afternoon
Day 1 / Mon. July 4	Tiananmen Square Forbidden City	Roast Duck Lunch at the Quanjude Restaurant	Beijing Huton Rickshaw Tour Prince Gong's Palace, Boat on Hou Hai Lake
Day 2 / Tues. July 5	The Temple of Heaven Complex Shopping in Hong Qiao Market	Xinye Restaurant Taiwan Cuisine	Lama Temple The Capital Museum
Day 3 / Wed. July 6	The Great Wall (Mutianyu Section)	School House Innovative Cuisine	The Sacred Way & Ming Tombs
Day 4 / Thur. July 7	New & Old Summer Palaces	South Beauty Restaurant Sichuan Cuisine	Free time to make your own arrangements. NOTE: The conference opening reception is scheduled this evening.

#### Optional Evening Dinner Tours

Evening / Tues. July 5	Dinner Buffet: Grand Soluxe Tian Tan Hotel	Kong Fu Show
Evening / Wed. July 6	Dinner: Rainbow Hotel	Beijing Opera

#### DAY EXCURSIONS

(Tours scheduled during Conference Days)

Dates	Morning	Lunch	Afternoon
Day 2 / Fri. July 8	Panda House at Beijing Zoo Bell Tower	Chinese Fusion Cuisine Ken de Rouge Restaurant	Beijing Temple of Confucius Olympic Green & Bird's Nest
Day 3 / Sat. July 9	Zhihua Temple Beijing Ancient Observatory	Chinese & Western Cuisine China People's Palace	798 Art District

#### POST-CONFERENCE TOURS

##### Xian Express | July 11-14, 2011

A tour designed for those with limited time.

##### Remnants of the Silk Road | July 11-18, 2011

Beijing • Luoyang • Xian • Dunhuang • Beijing

##### China Grand Explorer | July 11-22, 2011

Beijing • Luoyang • Xian • Hangzhou • Wuzhen • Suzhou • Shanghai

For complete details and to register for any of these tours, visit the WHA website: [www.thewha.org](http://www.thewha.org)

#### AIRLINE DISCOUNTS

The WHA is pleased to have secured discounted airfares with both American Airlines and Delta Airlines. For details, check the WHA website at [www.thewha.org](http://www.thewha.org).

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# World History Association Symposium

## *Southeast Asia and World History*

January 2-4, 2012, Siem Reap, Cambodia

The World History Association, in conjunction with Pannasastra University of Cambodia, announces a symposium on the world-historical significance of Southeast Asia. The symposium seeks to generate dialog among scholars within and outside of the region regarding its place in world history. It seeks to identify those world history processes that have application to the region's past, present and future and stimulate discussion of world history methodology and pedagogy in the Southeast Asian context.

Among the topics that may be addressed at the symposium are: the nature of world history; the processes of indigenization, localization, and syncretism; the decline and fall of classical societies; Diaspora and gender studies; the colonial experience; nationalism; conflict and post-conflict studies; trade; economy; religion and culture; art; regional questions in global perspective such as borderlands; regional diplomatic relations; investment, tourism and resource management issues; the environment; comparative genocide; and models for World History and global studies in terms of scholarship and instruction. These topics are examples only and should not be taken to exclude proposals on other topics. Scholars from all disciplines are encouraged to submit proposals. Select refereed papers from the conference will be published in the e-journal "World History Connected" (University of Illinois Press) and a book project is planned.

The conference will be held minutes from the Archeological Conservation Area that includes Angkor Wat. Pre/post and concurrent symposium activities will be structured so as to permit tours of these and other local sites which connect them to the wider region and the world.

Panels will meet in air conditioned rooms on the newly-built Pannasastra University of Cambodia's Siem Reap campus. The time limit for presenting papers will be 20 minutes, and the deadline for submitting papers to the session moderator is three weeks in advance of the conference. Individual paper proposals must include a 100-200 word summary with the title of the paper, name, institutional affiliation, e-mail address, phone and fax numbers, and brief curriculum vitae, all integrated into a single file, preferably in MS-Word. Proposals for entire sessions or panels must contain the same information for each participant, as well as contact information and a brief C.V. for the moderator if you suggest one. (The program committee can help find moderators, if necessary.) There is a limited number of AV-equipped rooms available so it is essential that you indicate your need for audiovisual equipment (and what kind) in your proposal. All meeting rooms are air conditioned.

Please send your completed proposal with the following in the subject line of the email: WHS, followed by Your LAST NAME (family), and then Your First name, then short paper/panel name to the WHA Symposia coordinator, Maryanne Rhett, at [mrhett@monmouth.edu](mailto:mrhett@monmouth.edu).

Individuals wishing to moderate a session should send a statement of interest, contact information, and a brief C.V. to the program coordinator. The deadline for the submission of paper and panel proposals is September 1st, 2011.

All panelists must register to be on the program. The language of the conference is English. A rolling acceptance process will be in place to assist panelists to solicit travel support from their home institutions and organizations. Unfortunately, the conference does not have funds

to subsidize scholars' travel and lodging at the meeting.

Registration rates, benefits of registration for WHA members, and waivers for Cambodian teachers, in-service Teachers Across Borders members and others will be posted on the WHA registration site shortly.

Please check the World History Association website (<http://www.thewha.org/>) for registration information, low-cost housing options and both conference and optional touring logistics information (to be posted shortly). Excellent inexpensive lodging, food, shopping and entertainment are all available close to the conference site. Local transportation is available in the range of \$2.00 per ride and can be arranged for \$20.00 for an entire day. The weather in Siem Reap in early January is ideal: dry with cool mornings, high in the mid 80s at mid-day. Siem

Reap is famous for its Pub Street district, a five minute walk from the conference site. It features sidewalk restaurants, cafes and shops; most visitors make evening strolls there a habit. Siem Reap still has the flavor of a small town, albeit flooded with both backpackers and traditional tourists whose presence has led to widespread spoken English and Western-style supermarkets. Heath and crime issues are minimal (See State Department advisories and your travel medicine specialist before undertaking any travel). Tourist visas are inexpensive. Siem Reap's international airport is serviced by a variety of airlines from most Asian hubs. Most international travel passes through Bangkok's international airport. Because of the International Dateline, attendees departing January 4 will be able to make connections permitting participation at the American Historical Association in Chicago later that week.

## World History Summer Institute, Gettysburg College

An exciting summer institute for the teaching of world history will take place at Gettysburg College from 10-15 July, 2011. [[www.gettysburg.edu/whi](http://www.gettysburg.edu/whi)] We have created a program intended for high school and college teachers of world history, be they new to the field or somewhat more experienced. We are ourselves teachers of world history at Gettysburg and realize the challenges one faces in offering courses in the subject. Thus, we focus on issues like overall conceptualization, themes, and chronology in our institute, but we also spend much time talking about practical, hands-on topics such as lesson plans, readings, visuals, computer resources, and other materials that have worked in the classroom. We have also been fortunate to engage some of the leading figures in the field, such as Peter Stearns, Michael Adas, and Patrick Manning for the summer programs and couple their expertise with the advice of "master teachers," such as Ane Lintvedt from McDonogh School in Baltimore.

This summer, our theme is Greening World History, which will look at environmental approaches to world history. Our lineup of visiting faculty includes Michael Adas from Rutgers, Patrick Manning from the University of Pittsburgh, and Brian Black from Penn State-Altoona. We have our flyer and our short description of the program at the web site [www.gettysburg.edu/whi](http://www.gettysburg.edu/whi)

<[www.gettysburg.edu/whi](http://www.gettysburg.edu/whi)> and hope that you will help us to spread the word about this exciting opportunity. Please feel free to visit our website or to email any of us if you have enquiries. Registration is available online.

Finally, we would add that the summer institute in world history takes place in a historic setting, Gettysburg, and we have planned a tour of the battlefield and leave time for our participants to explore the campus, town, and surrounding area.

Please feel free to contact us if you have any questions.

Bill Bowman, Dina Lowy, Michael Weber, and Cathy Bain

The World History Institute at Gettysburg College

William D. Bowman  
Department of History  
Gettysburg College  
300 N. Washington Street  
Gettysburg, PA 17325-1486  
(717) 337-6573  
fax (717) 337-8565  
[www.gettysburg.edu](http://www.gettysburg.edu)

# World History Association Teaching Prize

The World History Association is committed to working across all grade levels to maintain the use of current world history research in classroom practice. Please consider submitting one of your lessons (based on historical research from the past ten years) for the WHA Teaching Prize.

**THE SOURCES:** Current historical research most frequently found in books and scholarly articles is a significant inspiration for our teaching. The WHA is committed to encouraging teachers at all levels to turn to substantive scholarship for content ideas. We are seeking lessons either inspired by or directly related to recent World History scholarship, including but not limited to pieces in the *Journal of World History*, published within the last ten years.

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

**DEADLINE:** Send one copy by MAY 1, 2011 to each of the committee members listed below. Submissions from all grade levels are welcome.

## PAST WINNERS

2010: Suzanne Litrell, "Before the Opium Wars: Panel Discussion and Debate," Bay Shore High School, Bay Shore, New York

2009: Daniel Greenstone, "Teaching the Axial Age Through a Biographical Comic Book of Buddha's Life," Oak Park and River Forest High School, Oak Park, Illinois

2008: Sharlene Sayegh, "The Logical Fallacies

of Nationalism: Critical Thinking in the World-History Classroom," Department of History, California State University, Long Beach

2007: Cedric Beidatsch, "Gateway to the Seventeenth Century: Dutch Shipwrecks on the West Australian Coast," University of West Australia, Perth, Australia

2006: Maggie Favretti, "Bound by a Silver Chain: 1571," Scarsdale High School, Scarsdale, New York

2005: Monica Bond-Lamberty, "Is There Really Something New Under the Sun?" James Madison Memorial High School, Madison, Wisconsin

2004: Michael A. Marcus, "Steppes to Civilization: Tracing the World History of 'Global Systems' Through Textiles and an Interdisciplinary Approach," Berlin High School, Berlin, Connecticut

2003:

Co-winner: Jessica Young, "A World History Research Education Project Adaptable for Honors, Advanced Placement, or Collegiate World History Classes" Oak Park and River Forest High School, Oak Park, Illinois

Co-winner: Linda Black, "The Economic Role of Women in World History," Cypress Falls High School, Houston, Texas

2002: Linda Karen Miller, "Japanese Colonialism in Korea 1910-1945" Fairfax High School, Fairfax, Virginia

So as to encourage new recipients, winners from anytime in the past three years, as well as committee members, are ineligible. These are suggestions to guide your thinking. Feel free to add to the prompt questions below.

- Brief introduction
- For whom is the lesson intended?
- What is the purpose of the lesson?
- How does it fit into your curriculum, or larger plan?
- What are the lesson 's links to current research?
- Procedures for implementation
- What preparatory work is assigned?
- How does the lesson work? (procedure, number of sessions, etc.) How do you know that students have “gotten it?”
- Conclusion
- Reflections on how it went in your class? (Student work and/or student reflections are encouraged)
- How might you adapt it to more advanced or lower level students?
- What other possible conceptual links do you see?

#### Possible Appendices:

1. Appendix of relevant handouts or supporting materials used
2. Annotated list of available resources for students and teachers

Send one copy to each of the following Teaching Award Committee members by MAY 1, 2011:

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# Phi Alpha Theta / World History Association

## Paper Prizes in World History, 2011

**Entries must be e-mailed or postmarked by June 30, 2011**

Phi Alpha Theta and the World History Association, with a generous subvention from Oxford University Press, a publisher of history textbooks, co-sponsor two student paper prizes in world history, each of \$500, for the best undergraduate world history paper and the best graduate-level world history paper composed in the 2010-11 academic year.

A world history paper is one that examines any historical issue with global implications. Such studies can include, but are not limited to, the exchange and interchange of cultures, the comparison of two or more civilizations or cultures, or the study in a macro-historical manner of a phenomenon that had a global impact. For example, world history topics might include a study of the trans-cultural impact of Eurasia's Silk Road; a comparative study of the Ottoman and British empires; or the worldwide impact of the Influenza Pandemic of 1919.

To be eligible, students must be members of either The World History Association ([www.thewha.org](http://www.thewha.org)) or Phi Alpha Theta ([www.phialphatheta.org](http://www.phialphatheta.org)) and must have composed the paper while enrolled at an accredited college or university during 2010-2011.

The Committee will judge papers according to the following criteria: world historical scope; originality of research; depth of analysis; and prose style.

### Submission guidelines:

- Submissions must be no longer than 30 typewritten, double-spaced pages of text, exclusive of the title page, endnotes, and bibliography.
- Number all pages except for the title page.
- Endnotes must conform to standard historical formats. Do not use parenthetical notes.
- The author's identity is to appear nowhere on the paper.
- A separate, unattached page should accompany the paper, identifying the author, title of paper, home address, telephone number, e-mail address, college affiliation, graduating year and status (undergraduate or graduate student), and the

association (WHA or PAT) to which the person belongs. Phi Alpha Theta members must indicate the institution at which they were inducted and the year.

- A one-page (250-word) abstract must accompany each submission. Abstracts of winning papers will be published in all announcements of competition results.
- Additionally, a letter or e-mail from a relevant history faculty member (the supervising professor, the Chair of the department, or the Phi Alpha Theta chapter advisor) must attest to the fact that the paper was composed during the 2010-2011 academic year.
- Papers that do not adhere to these guidelines will be disqualified.

### Submit the paper either:

- Via MS Word e-mail attachments of
  - 1) the paper;
  - 2) the page with identifying information; and
  - 3) the abstract.The faculty member's letter must be e-mailed or posted separately.
- Email to the Committee Chair, Merry Wiesner-Hanks, [merrywh@uwm.edu](mailto:merrywh@uwm.edu)

### OR

- Via hardcopy to the Committee Chair, below. Hardcopy submissions must include four (4) printed copies each of the paper, the page with identifying information, the abstract, and the faculty member's letter.
- Mail to:

Merry Wiesner-Hanks  
Department of History  
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee  
Milwaukee, WI 53201

Winning papers are eligible for consideration for publication in the various journals of the World History Association and Phi Alpha Theta, but no promise of publication accompanies any award.



## 2011 World History Association Membership Form

**Note: Membership year runs from January 1 to December 31, 2011. If you join or renew mid-year, back issues will be sent to you. Memberships received after October 1, 2011 will be applied toward 2012 membership unless otherwise requested.**

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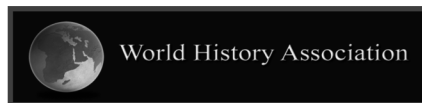
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## **The 2011 Mark Welter World Historian Award Student Essay Competition Presented by the World History Association**

This is an international student competition that will be judged in two categories: K-12 students and community college students. A prize of \$500 will be awarded in each category.

Each competitor will submit an essay that addresses the issue:

**“In what way has the study of world history affected  
my understanding of the world in which I live?”**

### **ELIGIBILITY**

The competition is open to students enrolled in grades K-12 in public, private, and parochial schools, and those in home-study programs. A separate category is open to students enrolled in the community college system.

Past winners may not compete in the same category again.

### **CRITERIA FOR JUDGING**

**The committee will judge papers according to the following criteria:**

1. Clear thesis
2. Elaboration on the thesis with specific, concrete, personal example(s).
3. Evidence of critical-thinking, such as synthesis and evaluation, when reflecting on the essay question.
4. Overall effectiveness of the student's ability to communicate what he/she thought about world history both before and after taking a course in it. In other words, how well has the student described the experience of being changed by a better understanding of world history?

**Areas for consideration in the essays may include, but are by no means limited by, the following:**

1. The relationship between humanity and the environment.
2. The exchange of ideas across cultures throughout history.
3. The impact of technology (agricultural, military, & communications) throughout history.
4. The implications of the increasing political, social, economic, and cultural interdependence of humanity.

### **ESSAY GUIDELINES**

**Length:** Submissions for the K-12 World Historian Award should be approximately 1,000 words. Submissions for the Community College World Historian Award should be approximately 1,500 words.

**Formatting:** Number all pages except for the title page, and all pages are to be double-spaced. Use 12 pt. Times New Roman font. All margins – left and right and top and bottom – are to be one inch. Submissions must be composed in Microsoft Word.

The author's identity is to appear nowhere on the paper. A separate, unattached page should accompany the paper, identifying the author, title of paper, home address, telephone number, e-mail address, and name of school.

All essays must be in English and must be the student's original work.

**Deadline: Entries must be time-stamped or postmarked by 11:59 PM, October 1, 2011.**

Late entries and papers that do not adhere to these guidelines will be disqualified.

## SUBMISSION INSTRUCTIONS

**To submit your materials by e-mail, send the following as separate attachments on the same e-mail (all attachments must be formatted in MS Word):**

1. Your essay submission
2. A page with identifying information (author, title of paper, home address, telephone number, e-mail address, and name of school.)

Send the e-mail to: paul.jentz@nhcc.edu

In the subject line of the e-mail write either:

“Mark Welter K-12 Submission” or “Mark Welter CC Submission.”

**To submit your material by mail:**

Send five copies of the paper and five copies of the page with identifying information. In the lower left hand corner on the front of the envelope write either “Mark Welter K-12 Submission” or “Mark Welter CC Submission.”

Send these materials to:

Paul Jentz, Chair of Mark Welter Committee

Department of History

North Hennepin Community College

7411 85th Avenue North

Brooklyn Park, MN 55445-2299

The World History Association reserves the right to publish in the *World History Bulletin* any essay (or portion thereof) submitted to the competition. It will do so solely at its discretion, but full acknowledgment of authorship will be given. If someone's essay is published, in whole or in part, the author will receive three (3) copies of that issue of the *Bulletin*.

Questions about the competition should be e-mailed to Paul Jentz: paul.jentz@nhcc.edu.

## AWARDS

Winners in each category will receive a \$500 prize and a certificate. In the event that the panel of judges considers that the quality of the entries does not warrant the awarding of any prizes, the judges shall have the right to make no awards available.

Winners will be notified after December 1, 2011.

## ABOUT DR. MARK WELTER

Dr. Mark Welter began teaching world history in 1963. He has been a member of the World History Association since 1984. After instructing at the secondary level for seven years, he earned a doctorate at the University of Minnesota. He then began teaching his self-authored world history course at St. Cloud State University. Today he instructs world history and world religion courses for the University of Minnesota Senior Citizens Program.

Dr. Welter's teaching is predicated upon the philosophy articulated by William H. McNeill that "Teaching world history is a high and noble undertaking because only world history offers the sufficient dimensions of space and time to elicit needed awareness of the world we all share."

**The World History Association is a community of scholars, teachers, and students who are passionately committed to the study of the history of the human community across regional, cultural, and political boundaries.**

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Phi Alpha Theta / World History Association  
Student Paper Prize in World History  
2010 Winner

**Chinese Smuggling across the U.S.-Mexico Border: Migratory  
Knowledge and Networks**

Samantha Huang

*Huang is a graduate of the University of California, San Diego; she begins a Ph.D. program in the Fall*

In 1912, Ching Wai Ying, a 35 year old laborer from China, traveled by steamer to Mazatlan, Mexico whereupon he switched boats to Ensenada and finally proceeded on land to Tijuana. From there, he walked across the U.S.-Mexico boundary line to San Diego, and secured lodging at a house in Chinatown for a couple days with “4 other contrabands.” Along with another Chinese immigrant named Haw Ying Chung, who he met at San Diego, he boarded a train bound to Los Angeles, where immigration officials patrolling the railroads arrested him. This was not Ying’s first venture to the United States. Twenty-six years prior, at only 9 years old, he had also eluded border agents when he entered alone from Mexico at El Paso without inspection, and boarded a train to Kingsman, Arizona. Finally reaching Stockton, California, he had stayed there for six years until returning to China.<sup>1</sup>

The story of Ching Wai Ying, retrieved from the thousands of Federal cases that comprise the Chinese Exclusion Act Files, is a rarity among the breadth of historical scholarship on Chinese immigration.<sup>2</sup> Until recently, immigration histories of Chinese have tended to focus disproportionately on the experiences of immigrants who arrived at Pacific seaports, overshadowing the peripheral sites of entry afforded by the expanse of the U.S.-Mexico border. Far from being considered the anomaly in immigration history, however, the case of Ching Wai Ying fits into a broader historical pattern of the thousands of Chinese laborers who flocked to Mexico, eventually traveling across the border to the United States in violation of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Laws.

This essay investigates the development of the intricate system of migratory strategies that facilitated Chinese migrants’ passage to the United States through Mexico. In the late 19th and early

20th centuries, just as the U.S. sought to restrict Asians from admission, Mexican immigration policy turned toward the opening up to Chinese migration as an answer to its looming national labor shortage. While many Chinese immigrated to Mexico with the genuine intent of engaging as seasonal hands in the agricultural economies that dotted the northern states of Baja California, Chihuahua, and Sonora, significant numbers of Chinese immigrants calculated their journeys with the ultimate purpose of taking advantage of the primacy of Mexico’s location and the porous, unregulated borderlands to illegally enter the United States. Deterred by the harshness of enforcement procedure at regular ports of entry such as Angel Island in San Francisco Bay, thousands of Chinese immigrants resisted the Chinese Exclusion Laws through this circuitous “back door” route.<sup>3</sup>

Resident and migrant Chinese in Mexico, China, and the U.S. coordinated smuggling ventures between and within multiple jurisdictions of nation-states through the order of transnational networks. Networks facilitated the circulation of migratory information, resources, and bodies across nodal hubs of smuggling activity. Significantly, while these social systems functioned to assist in the transition of Chinese migrants abroad, they were also variously employed by immigration officials, who tapped into migratory channels of information to thwart existing and emerging smuggling operations. From the late 19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the increasing sophistication of border crossing techniques by Chinese migrants and smugglers grew in direct response to the success of the Bureau of Immigration in foiling smuggling ventures throughout the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. The individual experiences of border crossings became fundamentally structured by the strategic shifts in

migratory techniques that developed out of this dialectical relationship between smuggling activity and enforcement practice.

### **Imperial Blockades and Gateways**

In the late 19th century, the legislative movement for Chinese Exclusion in the United States ironically overlapped with Mexico's economic modernization programs to recruit Chinese labor. Mexican President Porfirio Diaz and his advisory coterie nicknamed the Cientificos began a state-led initiative of institutional reforms to stimulate economic development and usher in "Westernization."<sup>4</sup> One of the first steps of the national agenda was to address Mexico's labor shortage by creating incentive programs to attract European workers, who were considered the most "desirable" of immigrant populations. After this first attempt soon failed, however, Diaz turned to the abundant supply of Chinese laborers to develop the national economy, opening up Mexico to Chinese immigration during the 1880s. Following nearly two decades of sporadic negotiations, the signing of a Treaty of Amity and Commerce between Mexico and China in 1899 provided for free, unhindered mobility between the two nations. This resulted in a mass influx of Chinese immigration to Mexico.<sup>5</sup>

Mexico's lax immigration laws would in turn serve to facilitate the growth in the number of Chinese illegal entries across the border to the United States. The mass influx of Chinese immigrants to Mexico in part stemmed from the opening up of employment opportunities in the industrial and agricultural sectors created by the Porfirian modernization program that migrants hoped to seize advantage of. A second significant factor involved new developments in United States immigration policy with the Chinese Exclusionary Laws and the intensification of anti-Chinese sentiment in California and many Western states throughout the mid to late 19th century. The foreclosure of migratory possibilities for laborers at Pacific ports consequently served to "re-route" the main migratory flow of Chinese from the United States to Mexico, forcing immigrants to rethink and re-strategize their migratory routes--whether to secure work elsewhere or attempt to secure illegal entry to the United States through Mexico.<sup>6</sup>

While Mexico's recruitment approach toward foreign labor continued to admit, largely indiscriminately, a number of ethnic groups deemed "undesirable" by American exclusionists, the United States turned toward a program of exclusion to

maintain its cultural and biological integrity as a white republic. In 1882, the enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Act signified a major shift in U.S. immigration policy by targeting a specific race for discriminative treatment. Substantively, the exclusionary laws banned the legal entry of Chinese laborers and prohibited Chinese residing within the United States from obtaining naturalized citizenship. The laws, however, held far-reaching ramifications that extended well beyond their legal ban on Chinese laborers. The Chinese Exclusion Act became the legislative model that inspired the passage of additional anti-Chinese laws, as well as legitimized subsequent movements to close the United States to other ethnic groups by the late 19th century, particularly those from southern and eastern Europe and the Asian continent.<sup>7</sup>

While the U.S. government established main immigration ports along the eastern and western seaboard for processing and screening arriving immigrants, management of the southern border developed according to a method of patrolling vast tracts of the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. Efforts to establish jurisdiction over border activity began as early as 1853 with the installation of a cavalry of mounted inspectors, whose primary task consisted in monitoring the movement of herds of cows, though included patrolling for illegal immigrants and outlaws. In 1891, special inspectors installed at high-traffic entry ports along the border replaced the mounted corps. By 1903, responsibility over the border was transferred from the Treasury Department to the Department of Commerce and Labor, which continued to work closely with the immigration service. Escalating concerns about the increased influx of Chinese illegal entries along the border, as well as the growing Chinese population just south of the United States, resulted in the creation of a specialized "China Division" under the U.S. Bureau of Immigration in 1908. During this time, border agents also became increasingly concentrated on the monitoring of migration of East Indian, Japanese, Jewish, and various Southern European immigrants.<sup>8</sup>

By the late 19th century, U.S. immigration officials had grown increasingly troubled by the high levels of Chinese immigration to Mexico. An estimated 60,000 Chinese immigrants reached Mexico between the late 19th and early 20th centuries. While the onset of the Mexican Revolutionary War in 1910 would result in economic instability and political violence along Mexico's northern states, Chinese

immigration to Mexico remained largely unaffected throughout the course of the war, continuing at “near-peak levels.”<sup>9</sup>

Growing concerns of Chinese illegal entries from the south were not unfounded. Upon arrival in Mexico, many migrants proceeded directly to the United States; others attempted to find work in the local economies, returning home to China or venturing to the United States after failing to find steady employment. One inspector noted that “these laborers come to said country, not with the intention of remaining there, but because they believe they can enter the United States from Mexico with ease. Many of them, probably the large majority of them... eventually reach the United States.”<sup>10</sup> By 1910, officials approximated that 80 percent of Chinese arrivals at Mexican seaports proceeded to cross the border. From 1907-1909, U.S. officials apprehended 2,492 Chinese immigrants in the Mexican Border District with the charge of illegal entry.<sup>11</sup> While some Chinese in Mexico likely departed to other nearby countries to find work, such as to the agricultural plantations in Cuba and Jamaica, many did indeed find their way north to the United States.

### **The Journey: Routes and Strategies**

Travel by foot, automobile, railroad, ships, and smaller launches all served as the main transportation technologies available to migrants in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In most cases, however, immigrants tended to use some combination of both land and sea passageways. Chinese migrants originating from China traveled directly to Mexican seaports at Ensenada, Manzanillo, Mazatlan, and Guaymas on the Pacific Coast. A significant number also disembarked at various ports stationed in the United States and traveled southward via railroad as “in-transit” exemptions.<sup>12</sup>

Chinese immigrants utilizing territorial routes tended to enter the United States by three main entry points. Upon arrival in Mexico, those seeking destination “in the eastern states proceed to Laredo or Matamoras; those who wish to reach the middle west go to Nagle Pass or Del Rio; and those who desire to locate in the far west proceed to El Paso or some point beyond.” Another established course involved disembarkation at Ensenada, near the American frontier, from where the migrants “disperse through the surrounding country and gradually work their way into the United States.” Many chose to proceed via railroad to the border, whereupon they usually switched to traveling on foot or automobile,

as U.S. inspectors were well known to patrol incoming Mexican railroads in search of “contraband Chinese.”<sup>13</sup>

Many migrants also chose to travel by sea in schooners, fishing boats, and gasoline launches along the Gulf of Mexico or up the Pacific Coast. Chinese seeking landing from Texas to Florida often left the Mexican coastline under the semblance of “fishermen and crews,” and transferred to a waiting schooner at a designated rendezvous point in the Gulf of Mexico. The schooner, originating “usually from the American coast,” conveyed the Chinese the rest of the way to the United States.<sup>14</sup> On the Pacific Coast, smugglers and migrants orchestrated a similar plan involving the transfer of Chinese from larger Mexican vessels to smaller launches that could reach shore. By 1911, Commissioner S.E. Redfern of New Orleans observed that illegal immigration from Mexico through water routes had become one of the most commonly employed migratory strategies, since it could “be accomplished without difficulty.”<sup>15</sup>

Educational training and other basic preparatory measures formed a critical part of the border crossing experience. In Mexico, Chinese migrants equipped themselves with American money, Chinese-English dictionaries, maps, and coaching books. Smuggling schools across Mexico trained migrants in English and geography.<sup>16</sup> Chinese could also easily purchase fraudulent certificates of identity, citizenship papers, and a range of other falsified documents. One such scheme in 1904 involved the doctoring of transit certificates for Chinese traveling from Havana, Cuba in transit to New Orleans. Once in Cuba, they had their transit certificates “‘lifted’ by an employee of the Ward Line of Havana,” and their photographs sent to a Chinese interpreter in New Orleans employed by the local transportation companies. Upon the return of their certificates, “their names undergo a change” and they are permitted to pass through New Orleans “as returning Chinese merchants.”<sup>17</sup> Since merchants retained the privilege of free mobility, the construction of merchant identities allowed Chinese migrants to legally enter the United States.

Chinese residents, migrants, and smugglers circulated information concerning the safest and most effective routes through letters, guidebooks, and by word of mouth. Such instructional aids informed their possessors of which houses and buildings they could secure rest, places to replenish their victuals, and sections of the country that should be avoided or

crossed with circumspection. Written directions passed down from kinsmen and smugglers carefully related the details of the landscape, guiding migrants with visual markers such as forests, railroads, windmills, and mountains. One such letter pointed out houses “where the white people lie” and “three Mexican houses,” warning travelers to “be careful” in these locales.<sup>18</sup> Coaching letters also referred to specific Chinese-owned houses where migrants could secure protection. One letter advised of a “small railroad station house” inhabited by Chinese with whom passing migrants “can remain there 30 days without any trouble.”<sup>19</sup> These stopover areas worked to ensure the safe crossings of Chinese to their destinations.

The development of common migratory routes and a vast pool of instructive resources formed the direct result of *learning* how to exploit the shortfalls of the immigration apparatus through active self-education and training. While the physical act of crossing was of course paramount to migrants’ success, preparation also formed an equally integral part in strategizing the journey. Thus the border crossing was rarely a spontaneous or uncoordinated event, but a highly calculated endeavor, informed by an institutionalized set of migratory knowledges.

### **Migrant Knowledge and Networks**

The stability and growth of the Chinese community in the late 19th and early 20th centuries relied on the continued circulation of commodities, money, persons, and information through the system of transnational networks. Transnational networks made possible survival abroad where living conditions were inadequate and resources scarce. They facilitated migratory flows and assisted in the transition of migrants throughout the world.

The central organizing mechanism of Chinese diasporic networks consisted in the recreation of families, villages, and entire clans across vast territories. The maintenance of these kinship ties ensured that principles of mutuality and support underpinned relationships among Chinese, allowing for a more extensive circulation of capital. New Chinese arrivals often found employment under members of the same clan or lineage, as well as borrowed money or bought supplies from them. Kinsmen were obligated to assist less affluent and well-connected migrants by providing money, resources, and personal contacts. Migrants provided with financial assistance thus often carried debts for several years that they were expected to repay to their

Chinese sponsors.<sup>20</sup>

Networks afforded migrants with a shield of protection from the potential dangers of outsiders. Many Chinese, for example, steadfastly refused to incriminate their friends or clansmen in criminal investigations. Immigration officials were well aware of the resistance power of these networks. One inspector, charged with surveying the Chinese community in Fresno, California for information concerning the immigration status of an arrested migrant, reported the reluctance of the local Chinese to assist in his investigations. “It is apparent,” he observed, “the Chinese at Fresno have been primed and are in no mood for divulging any further information having an incriminating tendency.”<sup>21</sup> In resisting these unwanted investigations, Chinese frequently took on supervisory roles over the safety of illegal immigrants, selectively choosing the nature and amount of information accessible to prying inspectors.<sup>22</sup>

Many Chinese were deeply committed to the maintenance of the bonds of mutuality that supported transnational networks, though this was not uniformly the case. In 1920, the capture of “14 contraband Chinese and chief smuggler” directly resulted from the betrayal of this system of mutual obligations. Lew Sing, a Chinese merchant, had employed three of the arrested Chinese at his ranch in Black Butte, Mexico. During their stay, he had loaned them five hundred dollars each, but none had repaid their debt. According to Sing, the failure of his debtors to repay him, especially after he had provided them with employment and offerings of good faith, constituted a severe offense to their relationship. Consequently, when Sing received information concerning the impending smuggling attempt by his debtors, he proceeded directly across the border to the immigration office to divulge the details of the smuggling plan to awed inspectors.<sup>23</sup>

Transnational networks were self-reinforcing, working to preserve the governing values of mutuality through the meting out of punishment for transgressive behavior and the persistent threat thereof. Consequently, migrants who violated these bonds faced ostracism and reprisals. The exchange of money formed the means by which Chinese could attain the resources necessary to migrate and establish themselves away from home.<sup>24</sup> Failure to adhere to these financial obligations jeopardized the integrity of the smuggling network and was justification for punitive measures taken upon the offender. Sing’s

position as a relatively well-to-do merchant, at least one with enough capital to employ and house incoming migrants, provided him privileged access to information concerning the ongoing smuggling operations in the region. His connections with Chinese outside his own network allowed him to marshal the assistance and resources necessary to ensure the fulfillment of contracts by liable parties, or, in this case, exact punitive measures upon the transgressor.

While persons sharing the same kin or village became profoundly interlocked in these social systems, outsiders who demonstrated fealty could also obtain admission. Transnational networks were adaptable entities.<sup>25</sup> Although kinship and village connections structured and institutionalized the forms of relationships developed abroad, transnational networks were not exclusive and also included a multifarious crowd of Asians, blacks, Europeans, Native Americans, Mexicans, and white Americans.<sup>26</sup> Unlike their Chinese counterparts, however, who held deeply personal obligations to their kinship ties within the smuggling trade, “non-Chinese” smugglers operated according to a different set of principles and motivations. While both shared a common interest in illegal profiteering, non-Chinese smugglers participated in smuggling networks wholly and unconditionally due to ambitions of earning money. Conversely, Chinese smugglers and migrants were also bound to the code of mutuality and cooperation that structured their clan and kinship-based relationships within transnational networks. They occupied more deeply entrenched and profound positions within the smuggling trade, and thus, unlike non-Chinese smugglers, were capable of activating financial assistance and other forms of support that networks provided. For instance, Chinese migrants could find free housing with other Chinese in stopover points throughout their journey, and Chinese elites and organizations often posted the jail bonds of arrested Chinese.<sup>27</sup> These forms of support were simply not available to non-Chinese smugglers.

The establishment of multinational businesses specializing in the transportation of immigrants, contraband liquor, and narcotics across the border derived largely from the substantial sums of money reaped from smuggling. Although most of these businesses were relatively small in scale, many extensive and well-established companies also participated in the illegal trade, the most notable of which being the Chinese Six Companies.<sup>28</sup> The polyglot crowd of European, white American,

black, and Mexican smugglers tended to run smaller smuggling enterprises, often in coordination with significant Chinese merchants and leaders. In most cases, however, the range of the responsibilities of these non-Chinese outsiders remained contained to the actual handling and guiding of Chinese migrants across the border, rather than directing and managing the trafficking of migrants and illegal goods.

Chinese merchants and elites often acted as the mediators in the cross-racial interactions that occurred within transnational smuggling. While the exclusionary laws discriminated against Chinese laborers, Chinese merchants could accumulate extensive wealth and power and were more generally attuned to adapt to the prevailing customs, language, and business standards of their surroundings. Chinese merchants and organizations thus formed the critical link bridging migrants to non-Chinese outsiders, as well as to Chinese from different clans and regions.<sup>29</sup> Due to their connections extending far beyond their provincial clan and village associations, Chinese elites dominated smuggling networks by determining the flow of resources, migrants, and information. In Mexico, Chinese merchants operated smuggling businesses out of Ensenada, Juarez, and Mexicali. Many Chinese smuggling businesses, however, conducted work on an international scale and from many different regional locations.<sup>30</sup>

Of course, the experience of crossing the border did not always follow the parameters of the forms of relationships and interactions set by institutionalized networks. The precarious nature of border crossings often forced migrants to adapt to the demands of the surrounding social and geographic landscape. Border crossings also included the spontaneous encounters that arose among Chinese migrants and others situated along the border, including white Americans and Mexicans. In nearly losing his way across the border in 1913, for example, a 21-year-old Chinese immigrant named Wong Wing was “lucky to meet a Mexican whose house was on the hill” and who furnished him with directions, as well as “two pieces of tortillas.”<sup>31</sup> In 1912, a Chinese border crosser called Lee Sing and five Chinese migrants, made their way to the United States after meeting an “American” near the custom house in Mexicali, who advised the group to “go over that way,” pointing in the direction of the border.<sup>32</sup> Such relationships between migrants and various passersby, although unstable and even potentially dangerous, sometimes meant a matter of survival for persons

trekking across the treacherous desert.

One case in particular, involving the arrest of five Chinese and two white American men, demonstrates the dynamic roles of the transnational participants in smuggling operations across the border. The arrest of the guilty parties took place at 10 o'clock at night, October 24, 1912, in a remote road along the outskirts of Calexico, but the series of transactions leading up to the smuggling scheme had begun several days prior. The principal organizers were an English-speaking smuggler in Mexicali named Lee Fong and his partner Gee Fat.<sup>33</sup> Each of the arrested migrants entered into separate agreements with Lee Fong at varying points during the week prior to the main undertaking. Mo Wah, one of the smuggled Chinese, met with Lee Fong "on the street...in Mexicali" after learning about Lee's reputation as a smuggler in Mexicali. Another of the smuggled immigrants, Moy Chung, had known Lee Fong "ever since [he] lived in Mexicali," and used the advantages of the close-knit Chinese community to contract Lee's assistance.<sup>34</sup>

On the day of the border crossing, Lee Fong went to each of the homes of the five Chinese in the late afternoon, and took them individually by automobile to a ranch just south of the international line. For most of the group, Lee Fong had employed a "Mexican driver," but for the retrieval of Moy Chung, Lee Fong was accompanied by Gee Fat and a "Chinese driver." From there, the group "waited out in the fields" for a "White man," an American smuggler named Harry S. Reynolds. Upon Reynold's introduction, Lee Fong departed from the ranch, saving the most dangerous part of the journey, the crossing of the line, for the white guide. Lee's relative high status among the Chinese community allowed him to operate from a position of safety; in addition to receiving the greatest percentage of profit from the transactions, he procured the help of two American guides to undertake the most risky segment of the venture.<sup>35</sup>

At around 7 o'clock in the evening, Reynolds led the band of Chinese over the international line by foot, walking from one to two hours to a second automobile stationed in a "vacant lot" on the United States side near Calexico.<sup>36</sup> From there, the Chinese loaded on the back of a second automobile, where Reynold's brother-in-law and accomplice, William Achison, was waiting in the front passenger seat. The guides concealed the Chinese men with a screen curtain before taking off along the remote roads outside of Calexico. Traveling for two or three hours,

they encountered a small banner, about one foot high, obstructing the road, where Mounted Watchman Hubbert and Spanish Interpreter Kasold had decided to settle themselves for the night to regulate illegal activity in the area. Stopping the vehicle at the road blockade, both Achison and Reynolds exited the car, rousing the officers from their positions behind the banner with an unceremonious "hello boys." The officers arrested the company at eleven o'clock p.m., arriving at Calexico station at four in the morning the next day with the captured offenders in hand.<sup>37</sup>

Achison and Reynolds were charged with violating Section 8 of the Immigration Act for aiding and abetting the landing of Chinese in the United States. The five apprehended Chinese were convicted variously for "persons likely to become a public charge" and entering "by land at a place other than a designated port of entry for aliens." Authorities set the bail for Achison and Reynolds at \$10,000 each and at \$2,000 a head for the apprehended Chinese.<sup>38</sup>

Fortunately for the captured migrants, the smuggling ordeal ended with a fortuitous break. On November 5, Moe Lung Fay, a Chinese bondsman purportedly from Los Angeles, deposited a \$2,000 bond for the release of one of the apprehended Chinese, Mo Wah. When Mo Wah failed to appear for his court hearing in March the next year, having seemingly "disappeared," officials instigated an official search for the Chinese bondsman. They began an investigation among "prominent Chinese [in Los Angeles but] found that he [was] unknown here among his own people." Shortly after, immigration officials learned that the other Chinese detained had also been "released on bond [through] the efforts of Chinese who came here from Chicago."<sup>39</sup> Like Mo Wah, these Chinese also defaulted on their bond when they failed to show up to their court hearings. Officials suspected that Moe Lung Fay "may be a Chicago Chinese" and that he had falsified his address to effect Mo Wah's permanent release into the United States.

Although officials remained uncertain of the Chicago Chinese's connection with the detained immigrants, the appearance of the unidentified Chinese hailing all the way from Chicago in the Los Angeles prison demonstrates the pervasive power of migratory networks in ensuring that migrants reached their destinations safely. That the bondsmen were comparatively well off, able to quickly mobilize \$10,000 in bail bonds, indicates the significance of cross-class interactions among transnational Chinese in the smuggling trade. Migrants depended on the

assistance of Chinese elites, and Chinese elites were often obligated to assist less affluent and well-connected migrants.<sup>40</sup>

Although the detained migrants had testified to not knowing one another prior to the smuggling transaction, their shared experiences interlocked them in profound ways. Their interconnectedness within the transnational network worked to activate the assistance of the Chicago Chinese. The same could not be said for the Achison and Reynolds, the two American guides. Though they became inextricably involved with transnational Chinese, their operating capacity to secure the support of transnational Chinese, particularly that of the bondsmen from Chicago, was in many ways precluded by their racial difference.

The retention of an “outsider” status for non-Chinese smugglers partly drew from a general mistrust of dealings with non-Chinese. Indeed, the American guides had less at stake in betraying their relationships with Chinese; almost wholly driven by the incentives of quick profit, they did not share the same principles of mutual aid and benevolence that comprised the foundation of Chinese diasporic networks. When interrogated by investigators, Reynolds quickly denied complicity in the smuggling sting, laying blame on the Chinese for duping him. “I sure thought I was innocent,” he testified. “I thought they belonged over here because they were so ‘English-fied.’ I never even thought about papers.”<sup>41</sup> The perception that non-Chinese smugglers were inclined to betray their relationships with Chinese undermined their potential for full integration into Chinese networks. Thus, while transnational networks came to include many non-Chinese participants, these types of bonds were tenuous, characteristically marked by the absence of mutuality, which structured the relationships among Chinese.

Despite their advantages, transnational networks were often bounded to what Adam McKeown calls “migrant grooves,” isolated lines of information extending from specific villages to migrant communities abroad. The systematization of migratory strategies and routes, combined by the supportive system of fellow kin and villagers, worked to institutionalize patterns of chain migration. However, while this served to facilitate certain forms of migration in congruence to the positioning of migrants within a geographic terrain, it also constrained the nature of the knowledge transmitted and the kinds of bodies being engaged. Networks

risked the tendency of becoming “inflexible, self-reproducing grooves.” The economic and migratory opportunities available to Chinese immigrants were determined by the strategies and routes set by preceding travelers, in addition to the range of resources communicated through these transnational hubs of percolating information.<sup>42</sup>

The case of the smuggler Lee Fong illustrates the monopolization of migrant knowledge in the smuggling business; the very fact that Lee’s business continued to succeed hinged on the privileging of information to the exclusive access of certain powerful individuals. During smuggling operations, Chinese migrants often had little awareness of the direction their guides led them. In his testimony, Moy Shee Pock asserted that “[Lee Fong] made the total arrangements with the Americans” and that he did not “know anything about his plans.”<sup>43</sup> Migrants’ fates often rested in the hands of their guides, rendering them wholly dependent on the amount of information guides decided to share. The deliberate restriction of access to forms of migrant knowledge worked to institutionalize the smuggling as a lucrative, underground industry. The privileging of knowledge and resources resulted in many migrants’ dependency on Chinese elites to facilitate illegal crossings across the border.

### **Regulating the U.S.-Mexico Border: “An Ounce of Prevention is Worth a Pound of Cure”**

In handling Chinese illegal immigration across the Southwestern border, immigration officials were faced with undertaking a task of far different dimensions than the type of bureaucratic proceduralism at regular ports of entry. Policing over two thousand miles of border was a practical impossibility.<sup>44</sup> Many points along the coast lay unprotected, penetrable by migrants who clandestinely reached shore by a variety of small schooners and fishing smacks. The territorial border remained virtually defenseless as well, scattered with only a limited number of mounted officers whose total manpower formed a feeble competitor against the grueling, practically endless terrain. As Chinese migrants were most likely to circumvent registering at designated points of entry when migrating from Mexico, the charge of immigration officials situated along the border revolved largely on their capacity to catch migrants in the act of crossing and in enacting regulatory measures to impede smuggling activity.<sup>45</sup> Such duties differed from the systematized interactions between officials

and immigrants at regular ports of entry, where inspectors dealt directly with immigrants in a highly structured set of procedures, medical examinations, and interviews to determine the latter's right of entry.<sup>46</sup>

Erika Lee argues that the "burden of enforcement work along the Mexican border" rested in the regulatory presence of the officers stationed throughout the Southwest, who were charged with the "detection and arrest of 'contraband Chinese'" and smugglers. The main enforcement measures of border agents involved the maintenance of well-guarded watches on a twenty four hour basis, a system of surveillance conducted in Mexico and the United States, and patrol efforts covering extensive tracts of the Southwestern territories and well beyond the U.S.-Mexico border.<sup>47</sup> Her explanation appropriately identifies the most prominent features of the system of border enforcement—that of the actual, physical enforcing—but struggles to anticipate the significance of the Bureau of Immigration's endeavors to institutionalize knowledge concerning illegal immigration across the border. Surveillance techniques all operated on the implicit idea that information could be detected, analyzed, stored, and shared with immigration stations and governmental agencies. The efficacy of border enforcement not only lay in the stepping up of patrol efforts throughout the Gulf of Mexico region, but also the Bureau's ability to tap into informational channels of migrant networks to prevent smuggling activity before it succeeded.

In many ways, it was this constant fixation with "knowing" and "needing to know" that fueled and shaped Bureau approaches to border enforcement in the Southwest. Inspectors employed devices of observation and documentation when active on the field. Despite the disapproval of the Mexican government, inspectors patrolled Mexican railroads in order to "note and report with as much exactitude as possible all Chinese and Japanese of the laboring classes observed traveling," seeking to create "a most valuable system of identification" that agents could refer to in the event that the documented migrants were later found on the American side.<sup>48</sup> Immigration officials also conducted sweeping investigations of Chinatowns and Chinese-owned establishments, searching for possible leads for uncovering smuggling rings and apprehending "illegal" Chinese. Bureau policy differentiated these surveillance activities from the "so-called 'raids,'" recommending that these investigations "be conducted quietly and discreetly," as opposed to the application of coercive force made

in cases of arrest and deportation.<sup>49</sup>

This system of surveillance and informal networks, which relied so heavily on the presumed truth of the transmitted information, served partly to facilitate illegal immigration. Smugglers learned to take advantage of the Bureau's reliance on informational channels—from rumors to leads provided by informants—by fabricating knowledge about various illegal activities being conducted throughout the region. By communicating rumors about impending smuggling ventures, smugglers diverted the attention of Bureau officials, who fumbled to address a fictitious problem and thereby provided clearance for migrants to cross into the United States through other entry ways unnoticed.<sup>50</sup>

In the early 1910s, immigration officials were having particular difficulty in securing the Yucatan Coast and coastlines bordering the Gulf of Mexico from Chinese migrants traveling by schooner from Mexico and various points throughout the Caribbean. While the success of these illicit maritime operations partly stemmed from the Bureau's deficiency in proper equipment and resources, the persistent failure of stationed agents to foil landings along the coastline drew Inspector S.E. Redfern to conjecture another reason for the growth in smuggling activity in the region. "When information reaches different branches of the service in this country," he speculated, "that a certain vessel is destined to a certain port to discharge Chinese illegally, that the information is furnished as ruse to direct attention of inspectors to a different part of the coast line from that where it is really intended to land the Chinese." Smugglers tapped into the Bureau's own communication channels, exhausting the latter's resources and attention. They sought not merely to control the information reaching immigration officials, but, in some instances, strategically produced and transmitted rumors and information as diversions.<sup>51</sup>

The continued success of illegal immigration necessitated that migratory strategies constantly readjust to changes in the Bureau's defensive measures. By perpetually developing new techniques, altering strategies and routes, smugglers could disrupt inspectors' abilities to adapt to their smuggling plots. In 1911, seeking to minimize public attention, smugglers orchestrated a plot that operated by alternating the routes and drop-off points of Chinese migrants throughout the Gulf of Mexico. According to the arrangements, a small vessel would carry Chinese to different points off the Mexican coast to transfer onto a large ship working under the pretense



of Mexican trade. From there, the ship would proceed to about ten miles from the U.S. shore, whereupon the Chinese passengers would be placed on a third vessel and shipped to three different destinations throughout the region, including the Barrataria Bay District, the Gulf Coast District, and a third point along the Florida coast. In ensuring that “no two successive trips [be] made at any one point,” smugglers sought to stave off the attention of immigration officers.<sup>52</sup> These rapid changes in migratory techniques served to perplex and frustrate immigration officers, who were often ill-equipped to tackle emerging frontiers in smuggling activity.

Most smuggling activities, however, did not follow such convoluted and complex plots. Migrants within the same network typically traveled the same routes, utilized the same methods, and employed the same smugglers in strategizing their crossing. The tendency of migrant networks to congeal into inflexible, stagnated nodal hubs for organizing smuggling activity worked to institutionalize migratory knowledge. While this largely served to facilitate illegal immigration by providing otherwise unknowledgeable migrants with greater access to resources and connections, this very advantage of the institutionalization of migrant networks also figured as a main weakness: high-traffic migrant routes attracted attention; prominent smugglers with an extensive history of illicit activity became closely watched; and commonly employed methods, such as transportation by boat or railroad, came to garner the scrutiny of immigration officials.<sup>53</sup>

The crystallization of particular hubs and channels of migratory information eventually attracted the attention of immigration officials, who acted swiftly to curtail smuggling activities as they obtained cognizance of them. Accessing these key channels of migratory information enabled border agents to work efficiently when resources were limited, directing their focus and force to certain locales where smuggling flourished. However, because immigration officials became trained and accustomed to handle specific forms of institutionalized smuggling strategies and routes, the ways in which they handled illegal immigration also risked deterioration into a program of rote procedure, whereby systems of surveillance and patrol became routinized to address what inspectors viewed as “high-traffic” areas. Already combatting insufficiencies in resources and manpower, border agents’ ability to thwart new developments in smuggling activity often became hindered by

excessive focus on certain migratory techniques that smugglers had once typically used but had since replaced for more effective alternatives.<sup>54</sup>

In August of 1922, for example, immigration officials detected a growth in smuggling operations by ship from the coasts of Mexico to California. Several years before, immigration officials had patrolled the off-shore waters with two launches, the *Azalea* and *Ellington*. The employment of these boats had “unquestionably reduced to a minimum” smuggling activities by vessels, forcing smugglers to shift their operations onto land with the usage of “fast automobiles” as the mode of transportation. However, since February of 1922, immigration officials on the coast had “abandoned defensive measures” against maritime smuggling after a deficiency in departmental funds resulted in the retirement of the patrol boat “*Azalea*.” The absence of regulatory machinery patrolling the water territories, in combination with recent crackdown on territorial routes resulting in the apprehension of “scores of land border smugglers,” had the “logical result” of a “revival of smuggling activities by vessel.”<sup>55</sup>

The incident illuminates the mutually adaptive relationship between smuggling activity and enforcement practice. Between the point of development of new migratory technologies and the Bureau’s response, a gap of time existed for smuggling operations of that particular nature to flourish, for the most part relatively unnoticed. Consequently, immigration officials sought to curtail developments in smuggling activities swiftly, as they gained knowledge of them; by doing so, they believed they could discourage new smugglers from joining the business and reduce the numbers of illegal entries. As one officer commented with an illustrative axiom, “an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.”<sup>56</sup>

### **The Arrival of the Airplane: The Evolution of Smuggling Technologies**

In December of 1921, for the first time in the history of the immigration service, officers of the Mexican Border District secured evidence of the usage of airplanes in the smuggling of Chinese aliens from Mexico to the United States.<sup>57</sup> C.E. Bennett, under the alias of Goldie Bennett, operated his illegal business near the U.S.-Mexico border in Imperial Valley, California. On a typical trip, he would drive three Chinese from Mexicali to the American line at Calexico, concealing them until nightfall when he loaded them onto his private airplane, in some

instances along with a few cases of contraband whiskey. Goldie employed Jack Atchison and Otto Enderton to drive the airplane to various landings around Los Angeles. Upon arrival of the airplane, Goldie would pick up the Chinese in his Cadillac and convey them to their final destination in Los Angeles Chinatown. Goldie profited a lucrative sum of one thousand dollars per trip.<sup>58</sup>

At the turn of the century, the range of smuggling technologies was contained to land and sea passageways. By the 1920s, the emergence of aviation technologies formed a profound source of perplexity and frustration for immigration officials, who found themselves poorly equipped to handle these radical developments in migratory technology. When inspectors received confirmation of Goldie Bennet's illegal operations, they envisioned the expansion a whole new frontier of smuggling activities via airplane. The apprehension of Bennett and the disbandment of his illegal trade consequently represented a critical preventative measure "to deter others from entering the field." Already lacking sufficient resources to combat the present state of smuggling affairs, inspectors realized that "it is highly important that the air traffic shall not get started."<sup>59</sup> Efforts to curtail illegal immigration depended on agents' ability to prevent new developments in smuggling technologies before additional smugglers became involved. Inspectors thus viewed the apprehension of Goldie Bennett as symbolic of the livelihood of the exclusionary laws.

The case of Goldie Bennet formed the first documented case of smuggling operations by airplanes. Immigration officials had previously heard rumors of smugglers using airplanes at various points along the border, but a lack of promising evidence had quickly put an end to investigations of this sort. The Bureau's rationale that the Bennet case, as the first of its kind, would open up a whole new frontier of smuggling activity was not unreasonable. Although this smuggling venture may not have directly "encouraged" other smugglers to use airplanes, as immigration officers believed, it signified the emergence of a new arena of illegal immigration.

The number of illegal immigration cases involving the usage of airplanes to convey Chinese migrants to the United States continued to increase throughout the decade. To the dismay of border agents, these schemes would become more elaborate and sophisticated with time. In the spring of 1924, nearly three years after the Bennett case, immigration

officials uncovered a smuggling ring that involved the usage of commercial airplanes conveying Chinese "two at a trip" between a ranch near Nuevo Laredo, Mexico and San Antonio. The operation, conducted by a mixed party of Chinese and Austrians, used a "system of signal lights" stationed on the top of a building in San Antonio to alert the pilots as to which airfield to make a landing. In anticipating the landing, smugglers working on the ground flashed red, green, and white lights with a reflector in a set combination that corresponded with one of the several fields in the area. Upon the landing of the airplane, the "two Chinamen" would be rushed to a waiting car and concealed by a blanket. When all was secured, the automobile "[sped] to the point of delivery."<sup>60</sup>

Migratory technologies were in constant flux in relation to the ability of border agents to regulate illegal immigration. The trend toward sophistication of the modes of transportation employed by migrants formed the direct result of the mounting pressure exerted by the Bureau in cracking down on illegal entries. At its foundation, this dialectical relationship between enforcement practice and smuggling activity was predicated on the shifts and developments in migrant knowledge, the capacity of immigration officials to tap into migrant knowledge, and their responsiveness in initiating the appropriate defensive measures. While migrant knowledge risked deterioration into a mere matter of ritual practice for strategizing border crossings, the Bureau's aptitude for adaptation in addressing smuggling problems necessitated that smugglers rethink and restrategize their migratory technologies to elude apprehension.

Of course, both migrant knowledge and, to that extent, enforcement practice ran the risk of declining into inflexible, institutionalized formations; indeed, in many ways they did. However, it was the lag period it took to process received knowledge and articulate a response that migrant knowledge and enforcement practice could become institutionalized. These structural formations worked within a system of duality, constantly operating between periods of institutionalization and periods of adaptation and transformation.

### **Crossed Borders**

While U.S. immigration policy and enforcement practice became ever more preoccupied with excluding and criminalizing the Chinese migrant, Mexico's recruitment stance toward Chinese laborers brought thousands of Chinese migrants within close

proximity to the U.S.-Mexico border. Throughout the early 20th century, Chinese illegal immigration across the border intensified, drawing further governmental resources and attention to regulate this problem area. The creation of a specialized “China Division” in 1908 to handle the influx of Chinese illegal entries along the U.S.-Mexico international line represented the material result of these growing xenophobic fears of an invasion from the south. The formation of the Border Patrol in 1924 would later reaffirm this national gate-keeping attitude.<sup>61</sup>

Yet even with the intensification of the U.S.’s immigration policies and patrol measures throughout the early 20th century, tens of thousands of Chinese migrants continued to gain access to the U.S. through evasion and fraudulence. Migratory strategies reached a new level of sophistication and effectiveness with the development of techniques for falsifying documents, the proliferation of smuggling rings and instructive tools, and finally, the arrival of the airplane. The evolution of transnational networks helped to create a cohesive system of organizing, sharing, and developing migratory technologies and knowledge. In spanning multiple nation-state boundaries, hardly contained to the region delimited by the geographic borderlands, transnational networks subverted the broader nation-making project of demarcating fixed borders. While by the mid-1920s, national scrutiny of the southern borderlands became increasingly focused on racialized images of Mexican migrants, the general observation held true that the borders seemed to exist only to be crossed.

#### Notes:

- 1 Ching Wai Ying, File #5528/63, Box #199, RG 85, National Archives Laguna Niguel (hereafter abbreviated: NALN) RG85; Haw Ying Chung, File #5528/64, Box #199, RG 85, NALN.
- 2 Of the trends of immigration scholarship, some of the most notable are: Martha Mabie Gardner, *The Qualities of a Citizen: women, immigration, and citizenship, 1870-1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Matthew Jacobson Frye, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000); Erika Lee, *At America’s Gates* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004).
- 3 Erika Lee, “Enforcing the Borders: Chinese Exclusion along the U.S. Borders with Canada and Mexico, 1882–1924,” *The Journal of American History* 89, no. 54 (June 2002).
- 4 John Mason Hart, *The Coming and Process of Revolutionary Mexico* (London: University of California Press, 1987).
- 5 Roberto Chao Romero, *The Dragon in Big Lusong: Chinese Immigration and Settlement in Mexico: 1882-1940* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Dissertation Services, 2003), 47-53, 59-73.
- 6 *Ibid*, 64-67.
- 7 Lee, *At America’s Gates*; Adam McKeown, “Ritualization of Regulation: The Enforcement of Chinese Exclusion in the United States and China,” *The American Historical Review* 108 (2004); Gardner, *The Qualities of a Citizen*.
- 8 Lee, “Enforcing the Borders.”
- 9 Romero, 7, 2, 59-73; Report of Conditions Existing in Europe and Mexico affecting Emigration/Immigration, File #: 51411/1, Folder 2, Reel #1, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Series A: Subject Correspondence Files, Part 2: Mexican Immigration 1906-1930, University of Publications of America, Bethesda, Maryland (hereafter abbreviated: RINS A2). This particular document is not dated, but it repeatedly references the Braun Report, which was released in February 1907. My estimate is that immigration officials created this document also in 1907).
- 10 Report of Conditions Existing in Europe and Mexico affecting Emigration/Immigration, File #: 51411/1, Folder 2, Reel #1, RINS A2.
- 11 For estimates of the number of illegal entries, see F.W. Berkshire to Commissioner-General of Immigration, April 16, 1910, File #52142/6, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Series A: Subject Correspondence Files, Supplement to Part 1: Asian Immigration and Exclusion, 1898-1941, University of Publications of America, Bethesda, Maryland (hereafter abbreviated: RINS A1); Lee, “Enforcing Borders.”
- 12 The system of “in-transit” privilege permitted the landing of Chinese immigrants at American seaports, who were bound to locations outside the United States, quite often to work as labor on foreign American investments in Mexico and the Caribbean; Report of Conditions Existing in Europe and Mexico affecting Emigration/Immigration, File #51411/1, Folder 2, Reel #1, RINS A2.
- 13 *Ibid*.
- 14 Commissioner-General of Immigration, Washington D.C., to W. Canada, American Consul, Vera Cruz, Mexico, dated March 8, 1931. No. 611/8-G, File #053161/2, Reel #1, RINS A1.
- 15 S.E. Redfern, Commissioner New Orleans, to Commissioner-General of Immigration, Washington D.C, dated Jan. 6, 1911, File #053161/2, Reel #1, RINS A1.
- 16 Report of Conditions Existing in Europe and Mexico

- affecting Emigration/Immigration, File #51411/1, Folder 2, Reel #1, RINS A2.
- 17 "Proposed Lines for the Investigation of Alleged Smuggling of Chinese into New Orleans, Louisiana, from Canadian and Mexican Points, Via Havana, Cuba," dated May 3, 1904, File # 51841/164 cont., Part 1, Folder 2, Reel #1, RINS A1.
  - 18 Translation of Circular Letter Describing Eastern Route Taken By Chinese After Gaining Surreptitious Entrance to the US at El Paso, translated by Wong Aloy, File #51478/11b, Reel #1, RINS A2.
  - 19 Translation of Circular Letter Describing Western Route Taken By Chinese after Gaining Surreptitious Entrance to the United States at El Paso," *ibid.*
  - 20 For more on migrant networks, see: Adam McKeown, *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change: Peru, Chicago, Hawaii, 1900-1936* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 62-99.
  - 21 Inspector in Charge, Chas T. Connell to Supervising Inspector, El Paso, Texas, dated January, 22, 1913, Low Chung, File #5528/112, Box #200, RG 85, NALN.
  - 22 Immigrant Inspector Chas H. Seetoo, Fresno, Cal., to Supervising Inspector, El Paso, Texas, dated February 2, 1913, Box #200, RG 85, NALN; Inspector in Charge Chas T. Connell, to Supervising Inspector, El Paso, Texas, dated January 22, 1913, Box #200, RG 85, NALN.
  - 23 Inspector Kuykendall of Arizona to Mr. Burnett in a Personal memo, dated October, 3, 1920, File #5528/678, Box #223, RG 85, NALN; W.A. Brazie, Los Angeles, to Inspector in Charge, Los Angeles, dated October 4, 1920, *Ibid.*
  - 24 McKeown, *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change*, 61-99.
  - 25 *Ibid.*
  - 26 Erika Lee, "Enforcing the Borders."
  - 27 Lucy Salter, *Laws as Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).
  - 28 Lawrence Douglas Taylor Hansen, "The Chinese Six Companies of San Francisco and the Smuggling of Chinese Immigrants across the U.S.-Mexico Border, 1882-1930," *Journal of the Southwest* 48, no. 1 (2006).
  - 29 Sarah M. Griffith, "Border Crossings: Race, Class, and Smuggling in Pacific Coast Chinese Immigrant Society," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 35, no. 4 (2004)
  - 30 Lee Yuen Jen, File #5528/1, Box # 198, RG 85, NALN; McKeown, *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change*; McKeown, *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).
  - 31 Wong Wing, File # 5528/130, Box # 200, RG 85, NALN.
  - 32 Lee Sing, File #5528/42, Box # 199, RG85, NALN; Ching Wai Ying, File #5528/63, Box #199, RG85, NALN.
  - 33 Affidavit of Harry S. Reynolds, dated October 25, 1920, File # 5528/688-C, Box # 223, RG 85, NALN; Affidavit of Moy Chung, dated October 28, 1920, *ibid.*; Affidavit of Mo Wah, dated October 25, 1920, File # 5528/688-A, Box #223, RG 85, NALN.
  - 34 Moy Chung, File # 5528/688-C, Box # 223, RG 85, NALN.
  - 35 Moy Chung, File # 5528/688-C, Box # 223, RG 85, NALN; Affidavit of Moy Shee Pock, dated October 28, 1920, File # 5528/688-B, RG 85, NALN.
  - 36 Estimates of the time it took the Chinese to walk to the second automobile across the border vary from 10 minutes to two hours, according to the interviewed Chinese migrants. *Ibid.*
  - 37 Inspector in Charge W.A. Brazie, Calexico, CA, to Supervising Inspector, El Paso, TX, dated October 26, 1920, *Ibid.*
  - 38 File # 5528/688-A, Box #223, RG 85, NALN.
  - 39 File # 5528/688-A, Box #223, RG 85, NALN; File # 5528/688-C, Box # 223, RG 85, NALN.
  - 40 *Ibid.*
  - 41 Affidavit of Harry S. Reynolds, dated October 25, 1920, *Ibid.*
  - 42 McKeown, *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change*, 84-86.
  - 43 Affidavit of Moy Chung, dated October 28, 1920, File # 5528/688-C, Box # 223, RG 85, NALN; Affidavit of Moy Shee Pock, dated October 28, 1920, File # 5528/688-B, RG 85, NALN.
  - 44 Braun Report, dated February 12, 1907, File # 519141/10-3 (folder 2) , Reel #2, RINS A2.
  - 45 During this period, Chinese immigrants, regardless of class, were generally disallowed from applying for entry at border ports along the U.S. Mexico border.
  - 46 U.S. Treasury Department , *Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration* (1903), 97; For more on enforcement procedure at ports of entry, see Nayan Shah,

*Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (London: University of California Press, 2001); Lee, *At America's Gates*; Alan M. Kraut, *Silent Travelers: Germs, Genes, and the 'Immigrant Menace,'* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1994); Amy Fairchild, *Science at the Borders: Immigrant Medical Inspection and the Shaping of the Modern Industrial Labor Force* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003).

47 Erika Lee, "Enforcing the Borders."

48 Report by Charles L. Babcock, dated Jan 11, 1908, File #51478/11b, Reel #1, RINS A2.

49 Commissioner General, Washington D.C., to Commissioner of Immigration, Gloucester, City, New Jersey, dated October 7, 1914. File #: 53371/72a, Reel #2, RINS A1.

50 Inspector S.E. Redfern, New Orleans, to Commissioner-General of Immigration, Washington D.C., dated January 13, 1911, File #:155136-1, Reel #1, RINS A1.

51 *Ibid.*

52 Inspector Stretton, Mobile, AL, to Commissioner-General of Immigration, Washington, D.C., dated August 15, 1911, File #053161/2, Reel #1, RINS A1.

53 McKeown, *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change*, 84-86.

54 Adam McKeown, "Ritualization of Regulation."

55 Inspector, Los Angeles, CA, to Supervising Inspector, El Paso, TX, dated August 23, 1922, File #55224/358b, Reel

#14, RINS A2.

56 Office of Inspector of Mexican Border District to Inspector in Charge, Los Angeles, dated April 14, 1922, File #55224/358b, Reel #14, RINS A2.

57 Office of Inspector, Mexican Border District to Commissioner-General of Immigration, dated March 28, 1922, *Ibid.*

58 Inspector in Charge of Calexico, CA, to Inspector in Charge, Los Angeles, CA, dated March 3, 1922, *Ibid*; Inspector in Charge, Calexico, CA, to Inspector in Charge, Los Angeles, CA, dated March 6, 1922, *Ibid*; To Inspector in Charge, Calexico, dated March 25, 1922, *ibid*; Office of Inspector, Mexican Border District, to Commissioner-General of Immigration, Washington D.C., dated March 28, 1922, *Ibid.*

59 Office of Inspector, Mexican border District, to Inspector in Charge, Los Angeles, CA, dated April 14, 1922, *Ibid.*

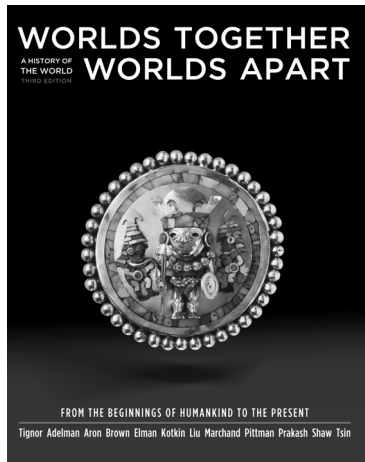
60 General Agents of Melvinton Shepherd Co., Wichita Falls, Texas, to Commissioner-General, Washington D.C., dated April 7, 1924, File #: 55224/358b (cont.), Reel #15, RINS A2. For another case of smuggling via airplane, see Inspector of Chinese Division, Los Angeles District, to Supervising Inspector Berkshire, dated August 28, 1922, File #: 55224/358b, Reel #14, RINS A2; Supervising Inspector Berkshire to Commissioner-General of Immigration, Washington D.C., dated August 29, 1922, *Ibid.*

61 Lee, "Enforcing the Border."



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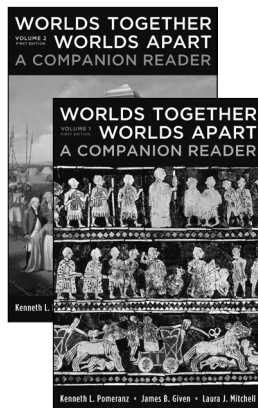
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**Boki's Predicament:  
The Material Culture and Environmental History of  
Hawaiian Sandalwood, 1811-1830**

Gregory Rosenthal

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An 1824 painting by John Hayter hanging in Honolulu's Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum captures on canvas the governor of O'ahu, Boki, and his wife, Liliha, during a visit to London that year. Hayter depicts the couple wearing the traditional dress of Hawaiian nobility, the dress of the *ali'i*, the ruling chiefs. Liliha is shown wearing a precious *lei niho palaoa*, a necklace made of rare whale's tooth and braided threads of human hair. She also wears a *pā'ū*, or skirt. Atop her head she wears a headband, perhaps made of woven *hala* (pandanus) leaves. Standing beside her is Boki. Even more so than his wife, Boki is depicted exhibiting the fullest expression of status and power (*mana*) in his dress, looking quite like a Hawaiian king with his *'ahu'ula*, or feathered cloak, and *mahiole*, feathered helmet. Alternating red and yellow feathers color Boki's dress; these were painstakingly picked over many generations by specially trained feather hunters in the service of *ali'i*.<sup>1</sup>

It is worthwhile to look closer at this painting. While a beautiful portrait, Hayter's representation of Boki and Liliha also tells a unique narrative about these two individuals and the land from which they came. Hayter portrays the couple handsomely against a sublime outdoor scene, a landscape including water, mountains, and storm clouds; these features no doubt reflect the artist's vain effort to simultaneously appeal to the English landscape tradition while also trying to capture the strangeness of a world he only knew through print, Hawai'i. Hayter places the governor and his wife within this imagined Hawaiian landscape because it is the only place where, in Hayter's mind, this manner of dress – especially Liliha's openly exposed chest – might belong: savage costumes only fitting for a savage and distant land. And yet the look in Boki's and Liliha's eyes is anything but savage or pitiable. Their eyes betray their worldly sophistication

and, above all, recognition of their own power. Boki stands tall and strong, and Liliha rests confidently on her man, both aware of the power they possess within the Hawaiian Kingdom, or, depending on the date of this portrait, the power they have just inherited in the wake of the death of Liholiho, Hawai'i's *mō'i* (king/ruler), who fell ill and died while the party was still in London.<sup>2</sup>

Peeling away yet another layer from the painting, we can also see an untold story behind Hayter's portrait: *the story of sandalwood*. We begin by noting that whether in London or in Hawai'i, Boki and Liliha almost never wore the costumes such as those depicted in this painting. They were accustomed to wearing European and Chinese-made garments, not traditional Hawaiian dress. Furthermore, Boki and Liliha's foreign garments – those that Hayter refuses to acknowledge on canvas – were the material cultural manifestations of a larger transpacific process of which these two Hawaiian *ali'i* were no small part: the early nineteenth-century triangular trade between Hawai'i, the United States, and China. European and Euro-American merchants and traders facilitated these exchanges by pushing Western and Chinese clothing and furniture into the hands of *ali'i* like Boki in exchange for Hawaiian sandalwood. Then they transported the Hawaiian sandalwood to Chinese merchants at Guangzhou (Canton) in exchange for teas, silks, porcelain, and other goods to be sold back in Boston and in London. Hayter's portrait thus fails to tell a crucial story about Boki and Liliha: that they were avid, and conspicuous, consumers of foreign commodities, and through their consumption they became an entangled component of the nineteenth-century transpacific exchange of goods and peoples as well as the commodification of biological resources such as silkworms, sea otters, and sandalwood. The

consequences of this trade for the Hawaiian Kingdom – for its ecology, its traditional socio-political order, its very sovereignty – were enormous. And Boki, caught between private desires and public responsibilities, faced a predicament.<sup>3</sup>

Boki's predicament comprised three interrelated challenges: how to protect Hawaiian sovereignty against American economic imperialism; how to maintain access to foreign commodities and support a new standard of living and material culture among the ali'i; and how to sustain these international relationships and negotiations upon the only indigenous resource – sandalwood – that foreigners thought Hawai'i useful for. To better understand the nature of this predicament, let us first consider two possible solutions that Boki might have considered at the time.<sup>4</sup>

On the one hand, Boki and the ali'i could have solved the many varied diplomatic and economic challenges of the sandalwood trade by simply reducing their consumption of foreign goods. But reducing consumption was just not that simple. Commodity consumption not only enhanced Boki's image in the eyes of his Hawaiian subjects, but also among foreigners; they saw Boki, the consumer, as more "civilized" than other Hawaiians. In fact, when Euro-American missionaries and merchants combined their civilizing and capitalizing agendas to induce Hawaiians to consume more stuff, they created a situation where resistance to the consumption of foreign products was perhaps as likely a catalyst for the loss of sovereignty as the ali'i's failure to halt their consumption eventually became as debts they owed American creditors spiraled out of control.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, many if not most ali'i believed that they could consume as many foreign goods as they liked as long as they also produced enough sandalwood from their islands' forests to keep impatient American creditors and their stakes in the "China trade" in a satisfied state of economic stalemate. But could Hawai'i's sandalwood forests handle this significant diplomatic role? How could Boki and the ali'i sustain their material consumption – and sustain Hawai'i's very sovereignty – upon the single economic and ecological variable of the islands' indigenous sandalwood forests? Of the two possible solutions I have thus far suggested – to consume less, or to produce more – Boki chose the latter. Because Boki and the ali'i were unwilling to alter their consumption, the resolution of Boki's predicament therefore rested solely on whether or not he could get

enormous quantities of sandalwood into the hands of American traders, consistently and fast.

Why sandalwood? American traders were certainly not interested in sandalwood for their own consumer market. Rather, it was the Chinese market that endlessly demanded sandalwood. The Hawaiian sandalwood that Boki hoped to exchange in return for his own increasing material wealth was almost all eventually transformed into joss sticks, or incense, for use in Chinese religious rituals. Chinese incense consumers ignited joss sticks at temples and on family household altars, releasing the smell of Hawaiian sandalwood into the air. Yet these Chinese consumers very likely knew nothing of the manifold people and places involved in the arrival of that aroma, the complex interrelated histories that came together in that one quiet moment when sandalwood smoke floated to the ceiling of a prayer-filled room.<sup>6</sup> These simple acts of Chinese consumption had rippling consequences for the political, social, and environmental orders of Hawai'i. Laws, monopolies, and taxes all concerning the harvesting of sandalwood were implemented, engendering profound changes in the lives and labors of the Hawaiian *maka'āinana* (common people), all for the sake of preserving increased patterns of consumption among ali'i. Furthermore, the relationship between Hawaiians and their environment changed as a result of this sandalwood crisis.

Boki's predicament was anything but unusual in early nineteenth-century Oceania. In fact, situations very similar to Boki's predicament – where sandalwood was exchanged for new material wealth, and then hard choices had to be made once the sandalwood forests started to disappear – also occurred in the Fiji Islands from 1805 to 1811, in the Marquesas Islands from 1811 to 1817, and throughout Melanesia (including the New Hebrides [modern-day Vanuatu], the Loyalty Islands, and New Caledonia) from the 1830s well into the 1860s. Every island within each island-group faced its own "judgment day" once the sandalwood supply ran out. Only in Western Australia, upon joining the global sandalwood exchange in the 1840s, was sandalwood cultivated on plantations as a means of avoiding a reoccurrence of "Boki's predicament." Many of the predicaments faced by small sandalwood producing nations in Oceania were further compounded by the triangular nature of the trade. Transoceanic ships from North America, Britain, Australia, Russia, and elsewhere facilitated the distribution and exchange of



commodities between Oceanian sandalwood producers and Chinese sandalwood consumers. The triangular nature of the trade between China, the United States, and Hawai‘i between 1811 and 1830 made Boki’s predicament that much more complex and difficult to resolve.<sup>7</sup>

Situations such as Boki’s predicament – specifically, the challenges posed by an unbalanced relationship between the material cultural desires and consumption practices of a people on the one hand, and the wealth of their natural environment to compensate for that consumption on the other – present a useful model for understanding a much broader history of the relationships between material culture and environmental history among human populations. The dual role performed by sandalwood in my narrative – as both biological species and as commodity – calls precisely for such a combinative perspective utilizing these two sub-disciplines in tandem.<sup>8</sup>

I suggest that thinking at the intersections of material culture and environmental history necessarily involves the examination of how aspects of nature enter into human material culture as commodities, and how consumption of these natural commodities in turn impacts species viability, biodiversity, and ecology. The historical development of global capitalism, and the attendant rise in consumerism, is at the root of relationships between material culture and environmental history. In a capitalist economy, biological species are taken from their natural habitats and removed to other places where they then take on completely different signification, as commodities rather than as organic elements of some distant ecosystem. Direct lines of causation therefore can and should be drawn between material cultures on the one hand and processes of environmental change on the other, as the consumer demands of the former inevitably engender the ecological transformations of the latter.<sup>9</sup>

Relationships between material culture and environmental history are perhaps most interesting, and most morally discomfiting, when these exchanges occur between peoples and environments of markedly disparate size, global power, or wealth of resources. J.R. McNeill has argued, for example, that the economic relationship between Hawai‘i and China during the early nineteenth century represented a dangerous state of “concentrated demand” in which “demand for whale oil, for sandalwood, even for sea slugs focused the consumer demand of millions in

America, Europe, and China upon [the comparatively small islands and limited resources of] Fiji, Hawaii, Tahiti...” and elsewhere throughout Oceania.<sup>10</sup> These transregional relationships between producers, consumers, and biological species/commodities add to the awesome complexity and multivariability of Boki’s predicament. At the same time, individual agents such as Boki were influential in the evolution of these complex global predicaments. Indeed, despite the interwoven, multinodal aspects of the Hawaiian sandalwood trade, Boki’s involvement was significantly personal. It was his predicament.<sup>11</sup>

This article will narrate the history of Hawaiian sandalwood through what perhaps is an unconventional scheme. My intention is to stress the ways in which sandalwood functioned both locally and globally at the same time. Moreover, I want to show how sandalwood functioned both as material object – burdened with the many meanings placed upon it by various human groups – and as biological species – growing in a defined ecological niche high in the mountains, struggling to survive the oncoming onslaught of deforestation. To accomplish these goals, my narrative revolves around two analyses of the intertwined material cultures and environmental histories of sandalwood, one set in Hawai‘i, the other in China. Interwoven within and around these two sections is the story of just one man – Boki – and a narrative of his personal experiences in the sandalwood trade. My desire here is rather simple: I want to draw attention to the power of stories in narrating world history. Telling stories, especially biographies, not only helps connect the individual, local, and global aspects of history into one readable narrative, but also helps expand the “tent” of world history by (hopefully) cultivating a broader readership.<sup>12</sup> Let us now begin this journey by entering Boki’s world through the entrance of his *hale* (house) in Honolulu. Here we may get a richer sense of one man’s material culture.

### ***Boki’s Hale***

Boki’s Honolulu was a small village marked by an unusual degree of hybridity between Polynesian, European, Chinese, and American material cultures. Foreign-style dress and foreign-made decorative objects and furniture pieces were particularly fashionable among Honolulu’s ali‘i elite. In 1828, French Captain Auguste Duhaut-Cilly noted this striking material cultural diversity. Entering an ali‘i’s hale, he noticed chiefs dressed in a “European style,

that is, in pantaloons and white shirts,” while others dressed in *kīhei*, kapa cloth worn as a toga, and even some ali‘i wore only kapa *malo*, or loincloths. At the same gathering, “Princess Boki” (Liliha) wore a fine European style dress, while most of the other ali‘i wives wore only simple white dresses, and all the women wore crowns or necklaces made of locally harvested red, green, and yellow feathers. Indeed, to these foreign visitors, 1820s-Honolulu appeared as a melting pot of local and foreign peoples, material cultures, and fashions. Each person’s body was an exhibition of his or her own consumer tastes as well as *mana*.<sup>13</sup>

Boki’s Honolulu residence, where he welcomed and entertained visiting foreign merchants, missionaries, and government representatives, was also furnished with an odd mix of Hawaiian and foreign-made material goods. From the outside, Boki’s traditional home “of wood and straw” appeared “quite the same as all other houses in the town of Honolulu,” Duhaut-Cilly noted. The inside of Boki’s home, on the other hand, was quite different: “the interior,” Duhaut-Cilly remarked, “carpeted with mats like the others, differed only in its European furniture, standing in every corner and mixed with the native furniture.” In this foreigner’s eyes, “[n]othing could have been more strange than to see a magnificent porcelain vase of French manufacture paired with a calabash, a work of nature,” or to see “two hanging mirrors with gilded frames meant to display beauties in their most elegant toilette but reflecting instead dark skin half covered with dirty tapa cloth.” The visiting French captain saw a scene of utter conflict and disorder in Boki’s material culture: a clash between the finely made European materials on the one hand, and the seemingly rudely made Hawaiian man on the other, as if Boki was not worthy of the new material culture he had adopted.<sup>14</sup>

Although some foreigners, such as Duhaut-Cilly, saw disorder – even a sort of comicalness – in the material culture exhibited by these Hawaiian consumers, other *haole* (foreigners) saw the Hawaiians’ adoption of foreign commodities as a welcome development. American merchants and missionaries in Hawai‘i, so often in opposition to each other’s activities, agreed on this one point: commodity consumption had a positive effect on Hawaiian society. Missionary William Ellis remarked in 1823 that Hawaiian consumers’ “intercourse with foreigners of late years has taught many of the chiefs to prefer a bedstead to the ground, and a mattress to a mat, to sit on a chair, eat at a table, use a knife and fork, &c. This

we think advantageous, not only to those who visit them for purposes of commerce, but to the natives themselves, as it increases their wants, and consequently stimulates their habits of industry.” Merchant-trader Jacobus Boelen observed first-hand the successes of this transformation just five years later, noting that, “if the increase of demands of these islanders for Western goods indicates some degree of civilization, then progress towards that goal is undeniable.”<sup>15</sup>

Hawaiian ali‘i such as Liholiho and Boki increasingly consumed foreign-made commodities in the years leading up to their trip to London in 1823. When they purchased these items, they invariably did so on credit. Liholiho and his delegation may have traveled to London for many reasons, but fundamentally they hastened to London to seek protection. This is because they worried that their impatient American creditors would ask the United States government for military assistance in exacting debt payments from them (as indeed was the case in the years following Liholiho’s death). As repayment for the Chinese “silks, crapes, umbrellas, furniture, and trunks,” and the European “hardware, earthenware, linens, broad-cloth, slops, hats, shoes, canvas, cordage, &c.” they had sold to the ali‘i, American creditors wanted just one simple commodity: sandalwood.<sup>16</sup>

American traders already knew sandalwood very well by this time. They had exploited Hawaiian sandalwood since 1790 to sell at the great transoceanic emporium of Guangzhou, China. The earliest Hawaiian sandalwood sales were facilitated by American traders already engaged in the thriving transpacific trade of sea otter furs harvested on America’s Northwest coast. Hawai‘i’s ali‘i quickly realized that they too could profit by tightly controlling at least one aspect of the Americans’ “China trade”: the harvesting and export of sandalwood. So, by the early 1820s, Hawai‘i’s ali‘i, including King Liholiho himself, had made selling Hawaiian sandalwood to American traders a regular habit. Yet despite making many sales, the actual sandalwood often remained in the forests, leaving American merchants waiting years to receive the wood they had purchased. At the time of his death, Liholiho’s many debts owed to the American merchants remained unpaid; the sandalwood promised to his creditors remained untouched. Liholiho thus left behind a political and diplomatic problem that other ali‘i, including Boki, had no choice but to inherit.<sup>17</sup>

## **‘Iliahi: Sandalwood in Hawai‘i**

### ***The Materiality of ‘Iliahi***

The discovery of Hawaiian sandalwood by American traders in 1790 set the stage for the eventual transformation of sandalwood from a local species of limited value into a global commodity with multiple meanings, significations and users. The path of *‘iliahi* (the Hawaiian name for sandalwood) and all its human relations, from initial harvest to transoceanic transport to China, demonstrates how *‘iliahi*’s arrival into the global marketplace during this period engendered a fundamentally transformed Hawaiian relationship with this once-familiar plant.

One of the most interesting examples of this cultural transformation was the restructuring of relationships between Hawaiian *maka‘āinana* (commoners) and the natural environment. As many environmental historians have recently argued, one important way that humans have historically come to know and relate to nature has been through work, through the act of laboring with, alongside, or against natural resources. Such an analytical approach, examining relationships between labor and environment, offers a clear window into the personal – even corporeal – experiences of the Hawaiian sandalwood trade as only *maka‘āinana* laborers knew and felt it.<sup>18</sup>

As *ali‘i* and as governor, Boki possessed the authority to order O‘ahu’s *maka‘āinana* to labor on his behalf. He could and did order *maka‘āinana* to cut sandalwood in the mountains for the benefit of his own material wealth. It was standard practice for *ali‘i* to request labor from the common people within their district. Commoners were traditionally called upon to construct public works such as fishponds, irrigation systems, and *heiau* (temples); they were also called upon to serve as foot soldiers in war. The labor required of *maka‘āinana* for the sandalwood trade fit reasonably within this traditional labor system. Boki’s responsibility, as *ali‘i*, was to protect and provide for the commoners by provisioning them with fish, *poi*, *kapa*, and fresh water in reciprocation. This, at least in theory, was how *ali‘i*-*maka‘āinana* labor relations were *supposed to operate*. But the pressures of the sandalwood trade – political, economic, cultural, and ecological – forced the breakdown of this relationship.<sup>19</sup>

First, let us turn to the personal experiences of *maka‘āinana* laborers in the sandalwood forests. We can chart how these men, through work, learned to interact with *‘iliahi* in novel ways specific to the

requirements of their labor. Their work began, of course, with the labor of locating the sandalwood trees in the forest. To locate *‘iliahi* in early nineteenth century Hawai‘i, a variety of methods were employed. Most common was to simply walk through the forests where the sandalwood was likely to grow and search for it with the naked eye. For a foreign crewman this was difficult because he was often completely unfamiliar with Hawaiian ecology. Thus, as the sandalwood trade developed, especially into the 1820s, foreigners increasingly negotiated with *ali‘i* at major ports on the coast rather than entering the forests themselves. The *ali‘i* – who were eager to harvest *‘iliahi* in order to support their own material desires – mustered *maka‘āinana* within their ruling area and sent these laborers into the mountains to locate wood. As sandalwood became even more scarce in the late 1820s, one desperate method of locating stands of *‘iliahi* was to light fire to the forest. If the sandalwood fragrance wafted into laborers’ noses, they could follow the scent. Because the heartwood of the tree was the most valued part, a little scalding of the outer bark was not a major sacrifice.<sup>20</sup>

Once a sandalwood tree was located, it then had to be harvested which itself required certain knowledge of the physical character of the tree as well as of the particular demands of the consumer marketplace. The best indicator of the quality of a tree was its color just below the bark. Thus, “[t]he bark and sap [were] chipped off with small adzes,” to reveal the inner color, noted missionary William Ellis. American merchant Charles Bullard’s employer instructed him in 1820 to “be *particular* and attend to the weight of [the] wood,” but also to its color, which would effect its handling, and consequently its value. “When received in a green state allowance ought to be made for its loss in drying which will be considerable [,] also for the sap which may remain on it & will have to be shaved off before selling at Canton [Guangzhou].” Which part of the tree the wood came from also mattered. While not every part of a sandalwood tree could be sold, most of the tree was harvested. Even the smallest or thinnest piece of wood – “small sticks not more than an inch thick and a foot and a half long” – could net some profit in the hands of a skillful trader.<sup>21</sup>

*Maka‘āinana* laborers rarely if ever cut sandalwood alone. Rather, periods of peak sandalwood harvesting witnessed mass-coordinated bursts of energy and labor in which whole villages of Hawaiian men abandoned their homes and families on the coasts and valleys and marched *en masse*, often led by their

ali'i, into the mountains. The manpower involved in these harvesting expeditions is suggested by accounts such as William Ellis' report from Kawaihae, Hawai'i, in 1823, where he saw "between two and three thousand men, carrying each from one to six pieces of sandal wood, according to their size and weight" descending the mountains of Kohala. Sometimes these massive harvests occurred in the middle of the night, as in 1827 when an anonymous sailor reported seeing in the mountains "a vast number of men assembled" in the darkness "each with a torch made of sandalwood which burns bright and clear." Sandalwood harvests also removed the maka'āinana men from their homes and families for extended periods of time.

Interviewing a group of Hawaiian men who said it was their duty to "cut sandal wood for the king," William Ellis was told in 1823 that "when they went for sandal wood, which was not very often, they were gone three or four days, and sometimes as many weeks." When maka'āinana were away for weeks, they left "most of the villages destitute of inhabitants, except a few women who had charge of some of the houses." In one village on the northwest coast of the Kohala region of the island of Hawai'i, Ellis reported finding "only three women and two small children [who] remained in the place"; all the other inhabitants had "gone to Waimea to fetch sandal wood for Karaionoku [Kalanimōku, the prime minister]." When they went into the mountains to cut wood, the maka'āinana also abandoned their *kalo* (taro) fields at home. Even though ali'i were supposed to reimburse the laborers with fish, *poi*, and kapa cloth, several notable famines resulted. Afflicting both workers and their families, these famines were a consequence of widespread farm abandonment and ali'i negligence during periods of peak sandalwood harvesting. As Marshall Sahlins has simply put it: "...the people were dying, while the *ali'i* were buying."<sup>22</sup>

Once harvested, cut wood was then transported by maka'āinana laborers from the mountains to the coast where the wood was measured, valued, and loaded onto ships. Each maka'āinana laborer was expected to carry as much as 1 *picul* (or 133 1/3 pounds) of sandalwood. As Ellis reported in 1823, this incredibly heavy load of 'iliahi was "generally tied on their backs by bands made of ti leaves, passed over the shoulders and under the arms, and fastened across their breast." Maka'āinana laborers carried over one hundred pounds of wood down mountain paths, descending sometimes thousands of feet over many miles, thereby acquiring a nickname that hinted at the

enduring pain of their physical labor: *kua leho*, or "calloused backs."<sup>23</sup>

From the mountains the *kua leho* carried the wood to the coast where it was stored in either government or merchant warehouses. Stephen Reynolds, a resident American merchant in Honolulu and a vigorous participant in the sandalwood trade, managed a general merchandise shop owned by William French in the center of town where Hawaiians, mostly ali'i, came to buy goods on credit, promising future deliveries of sandalwood. Reynolds, just like maka'āinana laborers in the forest, had to develop a certain familiarity with the different qualities of 'iliahi. For on any day, "the Natives" might be "bringing a lot of most miserable wood[,] which no doubt had been culled & rejected many times before..." Reynolds had no choice but to reject this wood as well. Yet in general, Reynolds appears to have been the least discriminating of American sandalwood traders. His boss, William French, even developed a reputation among Hawaiians for extending generous credit to Hawaiian consumers and for accepting practically any quality wood brought to him. For this the Hawaiians dubbed him, *Hāpuku*, or "Grab-all."<sup>24</sup>

Upon selecting the finest grade wood possible, Reynolds' next task was to accurately weigh the wood, as the wood's weight determined its exchange value. Reynolds most frequently weighed wood in Honolulu, but sometimes he traveled to other ports where the wood was gathered. As the 1820s progressed, the sandalwood trade centralized its operations in Honolulu and all sandalwood collected at other ports was shipped to, weighed at, and assigned a value in Honolulu before making the journey to China. As attested to by the curious exchange values that merchants like Stephen Reynolds assigned to sandalwood, we can say that once in Honolulu 'iliahi was no longer really a tree. It was now a commodity. Its value was solely in its exchangeability. Its use was in its ability to be replaced by something else.<sup>25</sup>

### ***Sandalwood and Boki's Predicament***

In October 1825, just three months after Boki's return from London, he wrote the missionary William Ellis, now back in England, affirming that "We are serving God: we are making ourselves strong in His word. Turned have the chiefs to instruction: their desire is towards God. I speak unto them, and encourage them concerning the word of God, that it may be well with our land." But this was deception.

In fact, upon return to O‘ahu, Boki found himself in a struggle with other ali‘i, especially his cousin, Queen Regent Ka‘ahumanu, not just for political power, but also over the role of Christianity in the kingdom. There was a new mō‘ī: Liholiho’s younger brother, Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III, just eleven years old at his inauguration. Since he was so young, it appeared that whoever had his ear had in effect control over the kingdom. Ka‘ahumanu and Boki rivaled for that position. Ka‘ahumanu favored the American missionaries and their efforts to spread Christianity; she hoped that young Kauikeaouli would side with her and take upon himself the Christian faith. But the young king latched onto Boki instead, and Boki explicitly favored American merchants and their interests over those of the missionaries. Besides, Boki had a new, lavish material culture to support. He therefore needed to focus on encouraging the ali‘i to work closer with American merchants to facilitate trade, not “encourage” the ali‘i “concerning the word of God.”<sup>26</sup>

Ellis was actually quite prescient of Boki’s likelihood to favor the free flow of trade over the free flow of religion. After Boki left for England in 1823 Ellis confided, “...we were not without serious apprehensions that his [Boki’s] visit to England might considerably weaken, if not altogether obliterate, [his] religious impressions, and originate others of a character totally different.” Indeed, upon his return to O‘ahu, Boki’s mind did become obsessed with matters “of a character totally different”: sandalwood.<sup>2</sup>

Pressure mounted on Boki in January 1826 when the USS *Dolphin* arrived in Honolulu harbor. The *Dolphin* was the first American warship to enter Hawaiian waters, and would not be the last. American resident merchants – men like Stephen Reynolds – hoped and believed that the USS *Dolphin* and its captain, John Percival, would pressure the Hawaiian ali‘i into finally paying back all debts owed to the American mercantile community. But their hopes were quickly dashed as Captain Percival decided instead to use his precious political capital to convince the ali‘i to allow Hawaiian women onboard his ship for evenings full of sex, rather than to convince them to repay their creditors. Boki was more than willing to help distract Captain Percival with women. In one incident, Reynolds noted in his journal that a young *wahine*, a Hawaiian woman, probably a teenager, had fled from Percival’s attempt at rape only to be forced back to him by the ever-pliant Boki who simply “gave the word and she was sent to him!!!” Reynolds later

noted in disgust that, “...Several [of us] went to his [Percival’s] house, to whom he related his treatment [of the] young girl – too disgraceful to be related.”<sup>28</sup>

If Boki privately reasoned that giving Captain Percival whatever he wanted might distract him from the question of ali‘i debt, he was indeed correct. Percival and the *Dolphin* eventually left Honolulu without pressing the issue, and Boki and the ali‘i continued to evade repaying their debts. Meanwhile, ali‘i debts continued to accumulate, further angering American merchants. Reynolds became increasingly irate with the ali‘i. When he pressured Boki for debt payments “...Boki Said had no Sandlewood [sic], nor Cash.” And when Boki had pledged to repay his entire debt to Reynolds in two months’ time, the next month Reynolds discovered that instead of paying his debts, “Boki and [the] Kings man [were] up taking goods [buying more commodities] for the wood.” Apparently Boki and the young king under his wing could not control their consumption, even when they had promised to use recently harvested ‘iliahi to pay their creditors.<sup>29</sup>

To Reynolds’ immense relief another United States naval ship, the USS *Peacock*, arrived in Honolulu harbor in October 1826. Its captain, Thomas ap Catesby Jones, meant to secure American business interests once and for all. It is not entirely clear what Captain Jones said to the Hawaiian ali‘i behind closed doors over the following months, but by the dawn of the year 1827, the ali‘i were ready to implement a serious plan for paying back their debts to American merchants. On January 2, 1827, “At ten o’clock, the Chiefs assembled under the grove of Cocoa Nut trees – below the Fort,” and announced a mandatory sandalwood tax that would affect every Hawaiian adult (over 13 years old) in the kingdom. As Reynolds recalled in his diary, the sandalwood tax ordered “that every man should go to the mountains and get half a picul of Sandlewood [sic] for the government, and half they got over should be their own: the Women to produce tapas [kapa] or mats or a dollar [Spanish dollar], they who choose can pay four dollars as an equivalent for their half picul.” The ali‘i also announced for the first time the severity of their debt problem, displaying a number that they had undoubtedly negotiated over many long nights with the American merchants and the visiting naval captain: they owed 15,000 piculs of ‘iliahi.<sup>30</sup>

Immediately, thousands of maka‘āinana men got out their axes (or bought new ones in town) and headed for the hills, engaging in a mass harvest of

‘iliahi from Kaua‘i to Hawai‘i. Their labor, as the ali‘i reasoned, was equally exchangeable in value with Boki’s “magnificent Porcelain vase,” his “splendid twin beds,” or any of the other foreign-made items the ali‘i had long bought on credit. Within six months, as much as 10,000 piculs of ‘iliahi had been cut. By January 1828, within one year, the ali‘i had repaid at least 7,000 of the necessary 15,000 piculs owed the American merchants. The difference of 3,000 piculs between these two figures (piculs cut vs. piculs paid) suggests, perhaps, that the maka‘āinana were independently harvesting their own ‘iliahi beyond the required half-picul of tax wood. This behavior, made legally permissible by the 1827 sandalwood tax law, thus enabled the maka‘āinana to establish their own independent wealth while simultaneously laboring to preserve the wealth of the ali‘i.<sup>31</sup>

At this pace, the ali‘i seemed on target to pay off their entire debt to the American merchants within one or two years, but there was still a problem: ali‘i like Boki had not stopped consuming, and the American merchants had not stopped selling to them on credit. Even as tax wood was collected, ali‘i debt continued to skyrocket. It was soon apparent that the 1827 sandalwood tax would only make a small dent in reducing total ali‘i debt. Furthermore, a second problem was becoming apparent: the sandalwood was fast disappearing. As visiting Dutch Captain Jacobus Boelen remarked in 1828 of the deforestation around him: “It was clear...that in a few years’ time sandalwood would be completely exhausted on these islands.” As 1828 rolled into 1829, Boki, too, appeared increasingly aware of this situation. Reynolds noted on numerous occasions that Boki attempted to stop the maka‘āinana from selling their own ‘iliahi to the Americans. Boki must have found this predicament astonishing: he himself, the governor of O‘ahu, was now competing with his own previously subservient maka‘āinana for access to the last remaining stands of sandalwood in the forests (FIG 1).<sup>32</sup>

## Tanxiang: Sandalwood in China

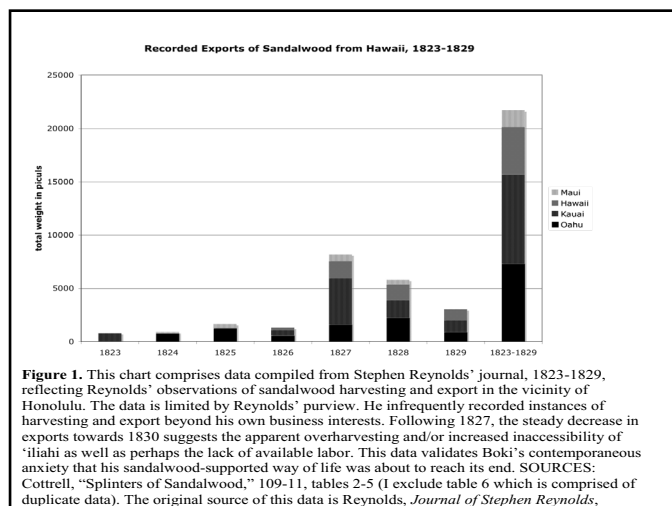
Three months after Auguste Duhaut-Cilly’s visit to Boki’s Honolulu *hale*, and thousands of miles to the

southwest, the French sea captain and his crew entered the Pearl River Delta of South China. They traveled north up the Pearl River to the great transpacific emporium of Guangzhou. Surrounded by 20,000 “boats, large and small, moving and stationary,” Duhaut-Cilly sensed he had entered a “city on the river (divided into streets, squares, and avenues),” bustling with the traffic of traders from across many oceans. At Huangpo (Whampoa) Island, they unloaded their cargo of Hawaiian sandalwood into the many smaller “chop boats” destined for the “factories” of Guangzhou’s Hong merchants. In the weeks to come, this Hawaiian sandalwood would be pulverized and affixed to thin bamboo rods called joss sticks. Then, on altars large and small, in temples, in homes, and on small *sampan* boats along the congested waterways, Hawaiian sandalwood was lit on fire, rapidly converted by heat into smoke, ash, and aroma.<sup>3</sup>

On their way north up the Pearl River, these foreign crewmen witnessed a landscape seemingly memorialized as a site of buying, selling, producing and consuming aromatics. They saw the land called *Xiangshan*, or the “fragrant hills” to their west. And to their east they saw an island known as *Xianggang*, or the “fragrant port.” And deep in the hull of their own ship emanated another odor, their cargo from Hawai‘i: *tanxiang*, “fragrant sandalwood.”<sup>34</sup> These names all utilize the Chinese character “*xiang*,” which has two meanings: “fragrance” and “incense.” This dual meaning appropriately signifies the long-term historic interrelationship between consumer demands (for fragrance) and the actual consumption of material resources to satisfy those demands (such as incense) in Chinese history. The Hawaiian sandalwood that regularly arrived in the Pearl River

Delta during the period 1811-1830 was material evidence of Chinese consumers’ long history of converting exotic aromatic raw materials into the commodities that were essential to the maintenance of Han Chinese material culture. The history of Chinese sandalwood and incense consumption, furthermore, is essential to understanding the

pressures that were placed on Hawaiians and on the



Hawaiian environment at the height of the transpacific sandalwood trade.<sup>35</sup>

### *A Sacred Smell*

The use of incense in China dates back to as early as the Zhou Dynasty (1045-256 BCE), while the consumption of *sandalwood* incense probably originated with the arrival of Indian Buddhism in China during the first centuries of the Common Era.<sup>36</sup> The earliest Chinese sandalwood consumers most likely adopted Indian Buddhist ideas about sandalwood as much as they adopted use of the foreign wood itself. These ideas may have included the belief that sandalwood smoke had the ability to create a favorable environment, known as the *xiangshi*, or “incense room,” for the earthly manifestation of the Buddha.<sup>37</sup> Although this particular belief has its roots in Indian Buddhism, it was also practiced in early China and even, perhaps, in the nineteenth century. By lighting a stick of incense, perhaps the Chinese Buddhist took a small step towards creating the favorable environment, the *xiangshi*, where the Buddha could be summoned to reappear.

Another possible interpretation of the material cultural significance of sandalwood incense in China comes from the writings of foreigner W.W. Wood. Exploring the cities and landscapes of the Pearl River Delta in the late 1820s, Wood noticed all around him a sustained interest in incense among the Chinese, despite the modernizations and commercializations of Chinese life and consumer habits during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911 CE). Wood was astounded by the size of the “idolatry” industry that supported incense consumption throughout the Guangzhou area. By rough estimation, Wood suggested that the Pearl River Delta region alone employed approximately 2,000 “makers of gilt paper”; 400 “shrinemakers”; about 10,000 “makers of candles”; and *at least* 10,000 “makers of jos-stick,” or incense.<sup>38</sup>

“Part of the market purchases of a Chinese,” Wood remarked about Guangzhou consumers, “are the brown paper, with a sheet of brass-leaf in the centre,” and also “the odiferous [sic] matches, oil, and small sacrificing candles made of wax filled with tallow, and having a wooden wick.” These “odiferous matches” that Wood noticed exchanged in Guangzhou’s marketplaces were sticks of incense. Many of these sticks were likely made of powdered Hawaiian *tanxiang*. When Wood documented religious rituals practiced by Chinese consumers, he specifically noted

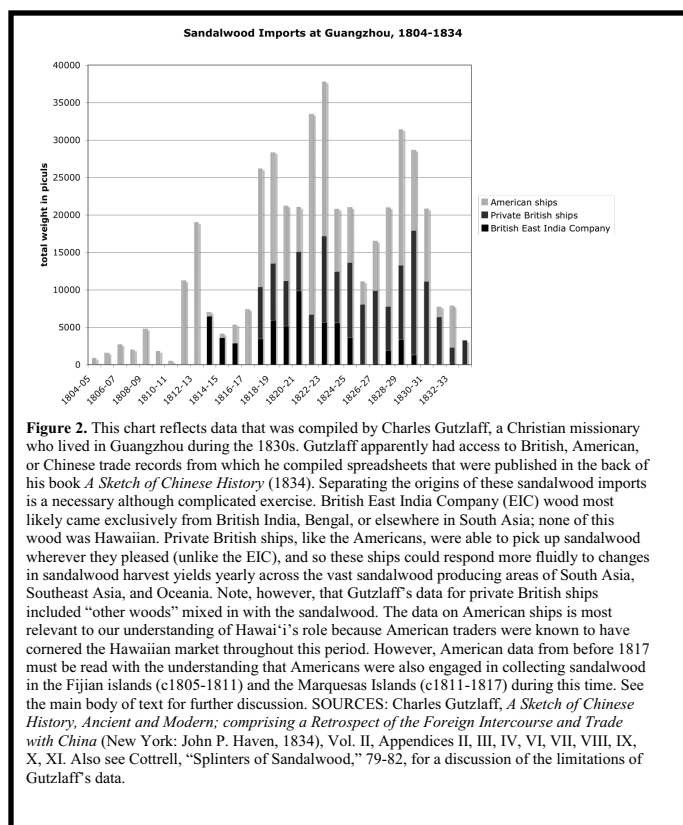
the role of incense in the material cultures of both elites and commoners. In the homes of the wealthiest Chinese, he noted that “an ancient copper censer, for burning sandal wood, or odiferous [sic] matches... constitute the most frequent decoration of the oratories or small temples, which are placed at the entrances of houses, and in the chambers.” Not just confined to the wealthy few, however, “[t]he superstitions with regard to evil spirits, are very prevalent among all classes,” Wood noted, “and no house or boat is seen at night undefended by small odoriferous matches, which are burnt at the entrances, intended with an offering of burnt paper, to conciliate the evil genii, which are supposed to be ever present.” As Wood walked the city streets he found that “every evening are bunches of jos-stick stuck about the doorways [of homes], and the light carefully attended to which burns in the small temple or oratory with which every Chinese house is provided, under the idea that these ceremonies will prevent the ingress of evil spirits.”<sup>39</sup>

Wood’s comments point to yet another meaning embodied in the fragrance of incense as understood by the Chinese. While the use of *sandalwood* incense, in particular, may have been confined to the wealthier classes of Chinese consumers, both elites and even common *sampan* residents (boat-dwelling people) appear to have used incense (no matter what its material origins) in similar ways: to ward off “evil genii” and “evil spirits.” Elites and commoners alike carefully placed incense sticks at doorways and at entrances, barring the entrance of angry, or inauspicious, supernatural beings into their places of home and rest. Incense sticks were also lit at even the smallest altars, within the home or in the temple or even on the *sampan*. Chinese incense consumption appears to have been both unusually egalitarian and incredibly profuse. Whether understood as a medium for “recapturing” the Buddha, or as protection against evil spirits, or simply as part of traditional ancestor worship, the act of burning incense had profound meanings in Chinese material culture. This material culture was the driving force behind Chinese incense consumption, and hence sandalwood consumption. Furthermore, Chinese consumers and the religious beliefs and practices that informed their consumption were correspondingly an indirect driving force behind the social, political, and environmental changes in Hawai‘i in the 1820s.

### *The Materiality of Tanxiang*

The suggested relationship between Chinese

sandalwood consumption on the one hand, and the material cultural and environmental change experienced by Boki and his contemporaries in Hawai‘i on the other, is corroborated by data on sandalwood imports at Guangzhou from the early nineteenth century. This information sheds light on the specific variables of the sandalwood trade – the ups and downs of the Guangzhou market, for example – that Boki personally experienced (consciously or not) in his efforts to solve his predicament half a world away.



Nearly all imported Hawaiian sandalwood in Guangzhou was destined for incense manufacture. In the Pearl River Delta, especially in Dongguan, southeast of Guangzhou, a fair number of incense manufactories operated where Hawaiian *tanxiang* was transformed into incense. In the factory the wood was pulverized into a powder that was affixed to slender bamboo rods with wood resin, thus becoming joss-sticks. Some *tanxiang* was utilized for decorative woodwork, but Hawaiian sandalwood was almost never used for carving because the Hawaiian species were considered far inferior when compared to the available South Asian and Southeast Asian sandalwoods.<sup>40</sup>

When Chinese incense consumers went to the market, they frequently chose from among a

variety of incenses made from a global selection of imported aromatic woods. During the early nineteenth century, British East India Company ships and private British vessels brought sandalwoods to Guangzhou from India, Bengal, and elsewhere in South Asia and Southeast Asia, while American ships transported sandalwood from Fiji (c1805-1811), the Marquesas Islands (c1811-1817), and Hawai‘i (1811-1830s). By the early 1820s, Hawaiian sandalwood had become practically the only sandalwood carried by American ships; at the same time, American trading companies became the leading exporters of sandalwood to China. Thus, Chinese incense consumers were increasingly exposed to Hawaiian *tanxiang* (FIG 2).<sup>41</sup>

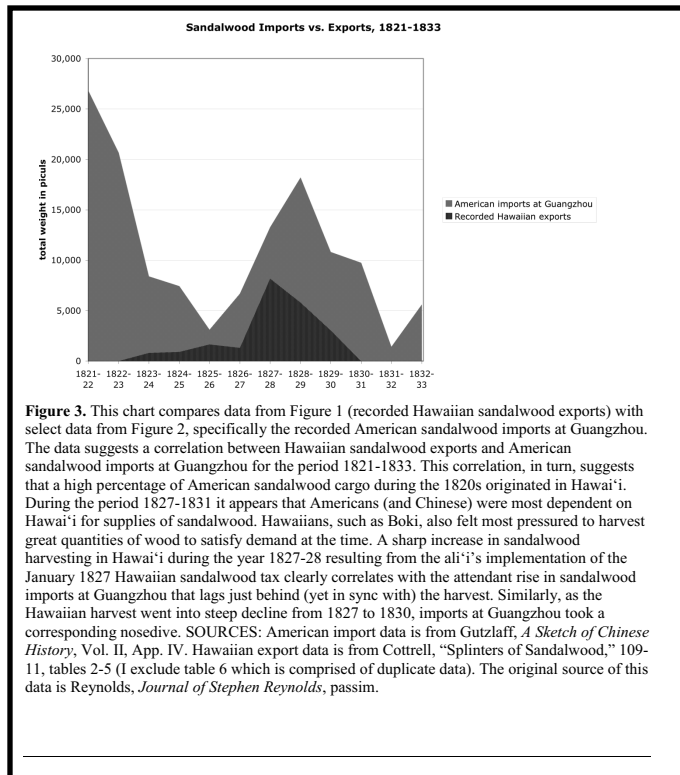
After total sandalwood imports at Guangzhou reached their peak, in the years 1821-23, Hawaiian sandalwood imports thereafter dropped significantly. This decrease, from 1825-27, coincided with the decision by American gunboats to visit Hawai‘i and press for debt payments in 1826. American merchants no doubt recognized that the decrease in sandalwood imports at Guangzhou presented an excellent opportunity to flood the Chinese market with sandalwood from Hawai‘i; as long as global sandalwood supplies were insufficiently low to meet previous levels of Chinese sandalwood consumption, Americans knew that they could receive unusually high prices for Hawaiian wood.

The ups and downs of sandalwood imports at Guangzhou suggest that patterns of sandalwood consumption among Chinese consumers were not static. On the contrary, during the years 1811-1830, relationships between Chinese consumers and foreign sandalwoods underwent a marked transformation. During periods of peak import, such as 1822-23 for example, either the wealthier Chinese classes consumed much more sandalwood than ever before, or, more likely, the influx of lower-quality Oceanian woods pushed prices down allowing more *laobaixing* Chinese (commoners) to consume sandalwood incense and other sandalwood products for the first time.

Sandalwood imports at Guangzhou dropped once again after 1829, suggesting that just as rapidly as sandalwoods entered into the material culture of the Chinese *laobaixing* in the early 1820s, these objects increasingly disappeared from those same consumers' market purchases in the late 1820s and 1830s. From the British perspective, decreased sandalwood exports were likely the result of sandalwood's substitution by a more profitable commodity: opium. Opium would be the key to Britain's imperial expansion into China, and



the opium trade very soon made sandalwood trading look like child's play. Yet from Boki's perspective in Hawai'i, the contraction of transpacific sandalwood trading in the late 1820s provoked great anxiety. Boki's islands did not have any other commodity (like opium) that the Chinese wanted, and so the decline of sandalwood imports at Guangzhou during the final years of the 1820s reflected in his eyes a more uncertain and ominous future (FIG 3).<sup>42</sup>



### ***Boki's Predicament Concludes***

Widespread sandalwood deforestation; increased competition between maka'āinana and ali'i; increased demands by Chinese consumers and merchants; irate American creditors with gunboats waiting in Honolulu harbor: how would Boki respond? In the fall of 1829, amidst the myriad economic and ecological problems plaguing Hawai'i's sandalwood trade, the British ship *Sophia* pulled into Honolulu harbor with a tantalizing report: while exploring the New Hebrides islands (today's Vanuatu) off the eastern coast of Australia, the crew had discovered magnificent stands of sandalwood growing on the island of Eromanga. Immediately, Boki and the Hawaiian ali'i resolved that Eromanga's untouched sandalwood trees were just what Hawai'i needed at this time. The ali'i would pay off all their debts by capturing and colonizing Eromanga.<sup>43</sup>

The Hawaiians prepared two vessels and a combined army of 479 men to travel to Eromanga to put this ambitious, imperial plan into action. One Hawaiian ship, the *Becket*, was captained by an ali'i named Manuia; the other, the *Kamehameha*, and its crew of 300, was captained by none other than Boki. Excited by the Hawaiians' plan, and also wanting some of the spoils, the British ship *Sophia* set a return course for Eromanga; another British ship in Honolulu harbor, the *Dhaule*, followed as well. On their transpacific voyage, all four ships stopped at the island of Rotuma (one of today's Fiji Islands) and kidnapped over 400 Rotumans to assist in their joint campaign to seize Eromanga. As these four ships raced onwards from Rotuma to Eromanga, they were poised to release an army of nearly *one thousand* Oceanian foot soldiers upon the Eromangans and their forests of sandalwood!

And they nearly did. The *Becket* and the *Dhaule* arrived at Eromanga first in January 1830. The unexpected arrival of another ship, the *Snapper*, with a crew of 113 Tongans, added even more manpower to the operation. But all was not well. By March 6, when the *Sophia*, the last ship to arrive, pulled into Eromanga's Cook's Bay, the crew reported seeing hundreds of the Polynesian foot soldiers dying upon the beach, succumbing to unknown diseases that the Eromangans were apparently immune to (and likely the carriers of). In reconstructing the narrative of what had happened, the crew of the *Sophia* soon learned that the first Hawaiians to arrive, aboard the *Becket*, had apparently made great headway towards conquest; they captured an Eromangan chief, and easily overpowered the Eromangan natives with their firearms. But they had not succeeded in overthrowing the Eromangans. They had, in fact, engendered so much discord, distrust, and violence between themselves and the Eromangans that the *Sophia* found the situation not at all conducive to trade. The *Sophia* simply turned around and abandoned the assault. In the end, the Hawaiians had suffered massive casualties; only 20 Hawaiians out of the nearly 500 who began this adventure returned home alive.

As for Boki, his ship, the *Kamehameha*, apparently reached Rotuma just like the others, where Captain Boki likely picked up his own fair share of Rotuman captives for the intended seizure of Eromanga. And then the *Kamehameha* was never seen again. Boki, his crew, and his army had apparently died in an accident at sea. We may never know what happened to Boki, or fully understand why he

undertook this risky adventure. Of course it had a lot to do with sandalwood and, fundamentally, with the very future of Hawai‘i. If the sandalwood debts were never paid in full, would not the Americans eventually take Hawai‘i by military force? But to think that there was another way to resolve this predicament. Could the ali‘i have curtailed their consumption? Could the Hawaiians have found something other than ‘iliahi that the Americans would buy? Prior to his failed adventure, Boki was at work introducing new agricultural industries to Hawai‘i. He had established Hawai‘i’s first experimental sugar plantation and sugar mill on his own lands in O‘ahu, and he was also trying his hand at raising coffee.<sup>44</sup> But these successes would not come fast enough. In retrospect, the attempt to seize Eromanga, which cost Boki his life, did not seem the most likely solution to Boki’s predicament. But what was?

## Conclusion

It seems surprising – perhaps even anti-climatic – that the same wood that engendered material cultural change, environmental change, and even war and death within Boki’s world was experienced in a daily, simple, quiet ritual of incense consumption within the world of the Chinese worshiper. The relationships between sandalwood production and consumption across the Pacific comprise a much larger, more complex story than the simple act of burning incense could have ever possibly revealed. Chinese material culture indirectly placed incredible demands upon foreign resources, but so did American and other *haole* traders and merchants. Even more influential were the material cultural desires of Hawaiian ali‘i, such as Boki, compelling Hawaiians of all classes to redefine their relationships with ‘iliahi. It is remarkable that the consumption of just one simple commodity – Hawaiian sandalwood – seemingly engendered such immense transformations of Hawaiian society, economy and ecology in the 1820s. It is similarly remarkable how thoroughly the consequences of this historical moment have lingered in Hawaiian society and in the Hawaiian landscape.

Following Boki’s failed colonization of Eromanga, Hawaiian ali‘i continued to contribute ‘iliahi to the transpacific commodities trade but only in small quantities. By 1843, the year when the Hawaiian Kingdom finally resolved all its “debts” with American creditors, the harvesting and commodification of Hawaiian sandalwood trees had come to an end. There was a new commodity on

the rise: sugar. A tortuous half-century of Hawaiian-American negotiations over sugar production would eventually culminate in the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom by American businessmen in 1893. But it was *sandalwood* that had first “opened” Hawai‘i to American economic and ecological intervention in the early nineteenth century, and it was *sandalwood* that had offered American merchants and diplomats their first experiences at building a commodities-based empire in the Pacific World.

“Boki’s predicament” – the story of this one man and his unique experience of the world – demonstrates the many advantages of a biographical approach to world history. We may note that Boki’s experiences were in part the embodiment of a global web of production, consumption, commodities, and ecologies (much of which perhaps existed far beyond his own understanding). But at the same time, Boki’s predicament was a reflection of one man’s personal struggle with his addictions, his culture, his power, his people, and the world around him. Boki’s predicament reminds us that history is at once simple and complex, personal and communal, local and global. For Boki, his predicament was that of a man stuck between pleasing fellow ali‘i on one hand and pleasing American merchants on the other, between consuming foreign commodities on one hand and resolving outstanding debts on the other. Nothing in Boki’s early biography suggests that following his return from London he was destined to end up in such a tangled thicket of sandalwood! Yet within just five years of his return from London he found himself slowly sinking into the clear blue waters of the South Pacific Ocean, thousands of miles from his Hawaiian home. As he slipped below the water’s surface I imagine Boki cursed the wood that had brought him here, to this, his untimely death.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> This particular painting is on display at Hawaiian Hall, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai‘i, where I viewed it on January 7, 2010. A similar image may be seen here: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:John\\_Hayter\\_-\\_%27Govenor\\_Boki\\_of\\_Oahu\\_and\\_his\\_wife\\_Liliha%27,\\_pastel,\\_c.\\_1860..jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:John_Hayter_-_%27Govenor_Boki_of_Oahu_and_his_wife_Liliha%27,_pastel,_c._1860..jpg) Another analysis of this painting is in Gavan Daws, “The High Chief Boki: A Biographical Study in Early Nineteenth Century Hawaiian History,” *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 75, no.1 (1966): 65-66. For contemporary references to the material objects mentioned in this paragraph, see William Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis: A Narrative of an 1823 Tour Through Hawai‘i* [1825] (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2004), 91-95, 141-42, 265. On the material embodiment of mana within objects, see Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and*

*Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), esp. 92, 108, 186-187. On Hawai'i's feather-bearing birds and methods of feather harvesting and featherwork, see Alan Ziegler, *Hawaiian Natural History, Ecology, and Evolution* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 266-276, 328-329; Theodore Morgan, *Hawaii: A Century of Economic Change, 1778-1876* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948), 44; Ellis, Journal of William Ellis, 141-42. On the status of ali'i as the ruling socio-political class in Hawai'i, see Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* [c1866-1871] (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961), 229-232; Ralph S. Kykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: 1778-1854, Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1938), 3, 9-10, 51-54.

<sup>2</sup> On the Hawaiian delegation's experience in London, see J. Susan Corley, "The British Press Greets the King of the Sandwich Islands: Kamehameha II in London, 1824," *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, v42 (2008), 69-103. Many reasons have been suggested for why Liholiho, Boki, and the Hawaiian delegation traveled to London at this time. Possible motives range from Liholiho's fears of American imperialism in Hawai'i (that he went to London seeking British protection of Hawai'i) to his fears of being deposed by political enemies back home, many of whom feared that Liholiho's excessive alcoholism and consumption of luxuries were bankrupting the Hawaiian Kingdom. I believe that both of these reasons are correct, because they both relate to the larger problem facing Hawai'i at this time: the excesses of the sandalwood trade. For perspectives on Liholiho's motives, see Corley, "The British Press Greets the King of the Sandwich Islands," 70-73; Charles H. Hammatt, *Ships, Furs, and Sandalwood: A Yankee Trader in Hawai'i, 1823-1825*, ed. Sandra Wagner-Wright (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), ix-xi, 8-10, 30-34; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 250-51, 254-56; Kykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: 1778-1854*, 77-79.

<sup>3</sup> My use of Hayter's painting as a window upon many layers of history (and its representations) is encouraged by Timothy Brook's delightful *Vermeer's Hat: The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008). Evidence of the fashions Boki and Liliha appear to have worn around London is in Corley, "The British Press Greets the King of the Sandwich Islands," 75-6, 78-9, 86-7. The fashions of Honolulu will be dealt with later. Hawaiian royalty frequently asked European portraitists to depict them as "modern" consumers of foreign fashions, but European painters insisted on representing the ali'i in their traditional Hawaiian costume. See David W. Forbes, *Encounters with Paradise: Views of Hawaii and its People, 1778-1941* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992), esp. 77, 80-81. On conflicting ideas about faith, gender, and fashion in 1820s Honolulu, see the story of Nāhi'ena'ena in Marjorie Sinclair, "Nahienaena, Hawaiian Princess," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 3 (1969): 3-30. Another analysis placing Hawai'i and the sandalwood trade within a "world systems" approach to the Pacific, highlighting transoceanic relationships between North America, East Asia, and Oceania, is Marshall Sahlins, "Cosmologies of Capitalism: The Trans-Pacific Sector of 'The World System,'" [1988] reprinted in *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, eds. Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, Sherry B. Ortner

(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 412-455.

<sup>4</sup> For other biographical treatments of Boki (sometimes referenced as *Poki* or *Kama'ule'ule*), see Daws, "The High Chief Boki"; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 270-296; also see the editorial note in Jacobus Boelen, *A Merchant's Perspective: Captain Jacobus Boelen's Narrative of his Visit to Hawai'i in 1828*, ed. and trans. Frank J.A. Broeze (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1988), 104 n8. The index in David W. Forbes' *Hawaiian National Bibliography, 1780-1900*, Vol. 1, 1780-1830 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999) lists a small number of primary documents both written by and about Boki available in various Hawaiian archives.

<sup>5</sup> Euro-American missionary and merchant discourses on Hawaiian consumption are discussed later. Sahlins sees the economic relationships between Hawaiians and foreigners at this time as both globally exploitative and locally advantageous; on this, see Sahlins' concept of "develop-man" economics in "Cosmologies of Capitalism," 415. Elsewhere, Sahlins articulates some of the ways in which the consumption of foreign goods performed the ali'i's legitimacy as power-usurpers (power taken from the mō'ī) for both Hawaiian and *haole* (foreigners) audiences; see, Marshall Sahlins (with the assistance of Dorothy B. Barrère), *Anahulu: The Anthropology of History in the Kingdom of Hawai'i: Volume One: Historical Ethnography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 58-59. On the argument that ali'i debts were "not a measure of the excesses of Hawaiian chiefs," but actually were "an interested invention by U.S. merchants and military personnel in the 1820s" seeking the erosion of Hawaiian economic sovereignty, see Mark Rifkin, "Debt and the Transnationalization of Hawai'i," *American Quarterly* 60 (March 2008): 43-66, quotes on 44-45.

<sup>6</sup> One of my interests in this article is in the disassociation between sandalwood producers and consumers across a vast ocean. I find the following example also very descriptive of such disassociations, if not just an amusing anecdote as well. Dorothy Shineberg quotes southwest Pacific sandalwood trader and ship captain Andrew Cheyne in the 1850s as noting that "The natives [Melanesians] for a long time could form no Idea as to the use we made of the Sandal Wood – and would not believe it was used for burning – after seeing us eating Biscuit, (which they thought was made of Sawdust) they came at last to the conclusion that we ground it into Powder, and used it as food, and no explanation could dissuade them from holding that opinion." Dorothy Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood: A Study of the Sandalwood Trade in the South-West Pacific, 1830-1865* (Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1967), 144.

<sup>7</sup> On the history of sandalwood trading elsewhere in Oceania, see Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood*; Pamela Statham, "The Sandalwood Industry in Australia: A History," in *Proceedings of the Symposium on Sandalwood in the Pacific; April 9-11, 1990; Honolulu, Hawai'i*, eds. Lawrence Hamilton and C. Eugene Conrad (Berkeley, CA: Pacific Southwest Research Station, Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1990), 26-38; Christopher Cottrell, "Splinters of Sandalwood, Islands of 'Iliahi: Rethinking Deforestation in Hawai'i, 1811-1843" (MA thesis, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2002), 9-10, 20-31. On the impact of sandalwood trading in the Marquesas specifically, see Greg Denning, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse*

on a Silent Land: Marquesas, 1774-1880 (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1988), 115-122. On the American role in transpacific trade, see, for example, Arrell Morgan Gibson (and John S. Whitehead), *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993); John S. Whitehead, "Noncontiguous Wests: Alaska and Hawai'i," in *Many Wests: Place, Culture, and Regional Identity*, eds. David M. Wrobel and Michael C. Steiner (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 315-341; David Igler, "Diseased Goods: Global Exchanges in the Eastern Pacific Basin, 1770-1850," *American Historical Review* 109(3) (June 2004): 693-719; and, also see a special issue on "Pacific Routes" in *Commonplace* 5, no. 2 (January 2005), <http://www.common-place.org/vol-05/no-02/> (20 Mar. 2010). Gary Y. Okihiro has also written a wonderful new treatment of historical Hawai'i-U.S. relations that attempts to reverse our normal understanding, showing how the United States was in fact a frontier for Hawaiian exploration and influence, rather than the other way around; see Okihiro, *Island World: A History of Hawai'i and the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

<sup>8</sup> On the history of sandalwood trading elsewhere in Oceania, see Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood*; Pamela Statham, "The Sandalwood Industry in Australia: A History," in *Proceedings of the Symposium on Sandalwood in the Pacific; April 9-11, 1990; Honolulu, Hawai'i*, eds. Lawrence Hamilton and C. Eugene Conrad (Berkeley, CA: Pacific Southwest Research Station, Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1990), 26-38; Christopher Cottrell, "Splinters of Sandalwood, Islands of 'Iliahi: Rethinking Deforestation in Hawai'i, 1811-1843" (MA thesis, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2002), 9-10, 20-31. On the impact of sandalwood trading in the Marquesas specifically, see Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land: Marquesas, 1774-1880* (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1988), 115-122. On the American role in transpacific trade, see, for example, Arrell Morgan Gibson (and John S. Whitehead), *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993); John S. Whitehead, "Noncontiguous Wests: Alaska and Hawai'i," in *Many Wests: Place, Culture, and Regional Identity*, eds. David M. Wrobel and Michael C. Steiner (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 315-341; David Igler, "Diseased Goods: Global Exchanges in the Eastern Pacific Basin, 1770-1850," *American Historical Review* 109(3) (June 2004): 693-719; and, also see a special issue on "Pacific Routes" in *Commonplace* 5, no. 2 (January 2005), <http://www.common-place.org/vol-05/no-02/> (20 Mar. 2010). Gary Y. Okihiro has also written a wonderful new treatment of historical Hawai'i-U.S. relations that attempts to reverse our normal understanding, showing how the United States was in fact a frontier for Hawaiian exploration and influence, rather than the other way around; see Okihiro, *Island World: A History of Hawai'i and the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

<sup>9</sup> The disciplinary perspectives of material culture and environmental history are rarely explicitly brought together in historical analysis, although recent work in each of these two sub-disciplines points to the potential fruitfulness of such a collaboration. Note the increased prominence of the use of objects in historians' study of the past: Leora Auslander, Amy Bentley, Leor Halevi, H. Otto Sibum, Christopher Witmore, et al, "AHR Conversa-

tion: Historians and the Study of Material Culture," *American Historical Review* 114(5) (December 2009): 1355-1404; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "Presidential Address: An American Album, 1857," *American Historical Review* 115(1) (February 2010), 1-25. More central to the study of the transpacific world, historian Robert Marks has recently remarked that while we know quite a lot about the environmental impacts of Chinese behaviors within China, he questions "what was the *global* environmental impact of China's huge economy and consumption of goods *from around the world*?" (emphasis added); see Marks, "Why China?" *Environmental History* January 2005 <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/eh/10.1/marks.html> (15 Feb. 2010). Marks' question appropriately suggests that where material culture and environmental history may meet is within the historical study of "consumerism." At the intersection of consumerism and environmental history, noteworthy works include Jennifer Price's delightful *Flight Maps: Adventures with Nature in Modern America* (New York: Basic Books, 1999); and, Matthew Klinger, "Spaces of Consumption in Environmental History," *History and Theory* 42(4) (December 2003): 94-110.

<sup>10</sup> The preeminent treatment of the transformation of nature into capital is William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991). Also see Kathryn Morse's insightful discussions on the meaning of gold in *The Nature of Gold: An Environmental History of the Klondike Gold Rush* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), esp. 16-39. On the disassociation between a living thing's meaning as a species (as a plant or animal) among the people who share its natural habitat, and its meaning as an exchange commodity (as capital or currency) within another group's consumer culture, and sometimes even within its native consumer culture, see Jennifer L. Anderson, "Nature's Currency: The Atlantic Mahogany Trade and the Commodification of Nature in the Eighteenth Century," *Early American Studies* (Spring 2004): 47-80; and, Anya Zilberstein, "Objects of Distant Exchange: The Northwest Coast, Early America, and the Global Imagination" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, July 2007 <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/wm/64.3/zilberstein.html> (21 Jan. 2010).

<sup>11</sup> J.R. McNeill, "Of Rats and Men: A Synoptic Environmental History of the Island Pacific," *Journal of World History* 5(2) (Fall 1994): 325. Other historical examples of imbalanced relationships between regions of production and consumption include Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985); and, John Soluri, *Banana Cultures: Agriculture, Consumption, and Environmental Change in Honduras and the United States* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005).

<sup>12</sup> The usefulness of a transregional perspective on material culture – for example, in analyzing the meaning attributed to sandalwood in both Hawaiian and Chinese contexts – is suggested by Nicholas Thomas' monograph *Entangled Objects*. Thomas strongly argues that material objects do not have fixed, objective realities or meanings that transfer along with the object from one owner to another. Rather, Thomas argues for the "mutability of things in recontextualization": an apt description for sandalwood's journey from species to commodity; see Thomas, *Entangled Objects*, 28-30.

<sup>13</sup> It would be incredibly hard here to trace the genealogy of my

sentiments on this subject. My previous work as a public historian has greatly influenced the way I think about audience. Furthermore, I am most recently inspired by the writing of Timothy Brook in *Vermeer's Hat*, as well as Tonio Andrade in his article "A Chinese Farmer, Two African Boys, and a Warlord: Toward a Global Microhistory," in *Journal of World History* 21(4) (December 2010): 573-591.

<sup>14</sup>Auguste Duhaut-Cilly, *A Voyage to California, the Sandwich Islands & Around the World in the Years, 1826-1829*, trans. and eds. August Frugé and Neal Harlow (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 205. For more information on these particular fashions, see Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis*, 91-95. On the relationship between fashion and *mana* for Honolulu's ali'i, see Sahlins, *Anahulu*, 58, 66.

Duhaut-Cilly, *A Voyage to California*, 204, 207; Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis*, 319; also see Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 238. Further examples of dismissive attitudes towards Hawaiian consumers and their material cultural adaptations can be found in Boelen, *A Merchant's Perspective*, 78-79, and *passim*.

<sup>15</sup>Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis*, 319-320; Boelen, *A Merchant's Perspective*, 60-61. Americans' belief in the civilizing power of commodities endured well into the twentieth century, too; see Mona Domosh, *American Commodities in an Age of Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

<sup>16</sup>Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis*, 423. On increasing patterns of consumption among Liholiho and other ali'i in the years before 1823, see Cottrell, "Splinters of Sandalwood," 50-57. Also see Stephen Reynolds, *Journal of Stephen Reynolds, Volume I, 1823-1829*, ed. Pauline King (Honolulu, HI: Ku Pa'a Inc.; Salem, MA: Peabody Museum, 1989), *passim*, for examples of exchanges of sandalwood, promissory notes, and foreign commodities between Reynolds and Hawaiian customers. Together these exchanges demonstrate the system of credit that was advantageously utilized by the ali'i to amass great quantities of material objects in exchange for promises of wood.

<sup>17</sup>Reynolds, *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, 5-6; Hammatt, *Ships, Furs, and Sandalwood*, ix-xi, 33-34. On the relationships between the American Northwest coast and the discovery and subsequent parallel exploitation of Hawaiian sandalwood, see Morgan, *Hawaii: A Century of Economic Change*, 57-58, 61-62; Marion Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure in Hawaii, 1778-1850" (MA thesis, University of Hawai'i, 1956), 94-95; Edward Beechert, *Honolulu: Crossroads of the Pacific* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 23, 26; Gibson, *Yankees in Paradise*; Cottrell, "Splinters of Sandalwood," 31-32; Igler, "Diseased Goods."

<sup>18</sup>I should note here that Cottrell, in "Splinters of Sandalwood," 33-36, makes a similar argument for a specifically environmental historical approach to maka'āinana labor. My goal therefore is to add depth to, rather than contrast from, his thesis. On relationships between work and environment, see Richard White, "'Are You an Environmentalist or Do You Work for a Living?': Work and Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: Norton, 1996), 171-185; Richard White, *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995); Morse, *The Nature of Gold*; Myrna I. Santiago, *The Ecology of Oil: En-*

*vironment, Labor, and the Mexican Revolution, 1900-1938* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Thomas G. Andrews, *Killing For Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); Chad Montrie, *Making a Living: Work and Environment in the United States* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); among many others. The counterargument – that the early nineteenth century sandalwood trade did *not* involve changed relationships between laborers and the natural environment – is offered in the case of the Fijian sandalwood trade in Thomas, *Entangled Objects*, 119-120.

<sup>19</sup>On traditional ali'i-maka'āinana labor relations, see Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985), 3-15, esp. 6-10; Sahlins, *Anahulu*, 27-33. For a larger discussion of traditional Hawaiian land management, which in many ways provided the structure of ali'i-maka'āinana relationships, see Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure in Hawaii," 11-33; Morgan, *Hawaii*, 16-31. One reason for the disintegration of traditional ali'i-maka'āinana labor relations in the sandalwood era was the political infighting among an "oligarchy of great ali'i" in O'ahu rivaling to fill the power vacuum left by the death of King Kamehameha I in 1819. An overabundance of rival ali'i led to an overexploitation of maka'āinana labor. On this point, see Sahlins, *Anahulu*, 2-3, 50-51, 59.

<sup>20</sup>Cottrell, "Splinters of Sandalwood," 106. Shineberg describes yet another technique involving smell to locate sandalwood in Melanesia in *They Came for Sandalwood*, 82-83. In Fiji's sandalwood trade, Fijian females used sexuality to entice foreign traders to purchase sandalwood; this behavior may have also been practiced in Hawai'i; see Cottrell, 29; Igler, "Diseased Goods."

<sup>21</sup>Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis*, 299-300; Bullard quoted in Hammatt, *Ships, Furs, and Sandalwood*, xxiv.

<sup>22</sup>Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis*, 69-70, 299-300, 400, 404-406; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 204; Cottrell, "Splinters of Sandalwood," 34-36, 51-52, 114, 139; Sahlins, *Anahulu*, 83-84, quote on 82. These famines that resulted from the overexploitation of maka'āinana labor only added greater misery to an already debilitating era of "mass death" for the Hawaiian people. On the relationships between Christian missionaries, conversions, "mass death," and the ways in which Hawaiians and *haole* alike interpreted disease and demographic change during this period, see Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 24-32; and, Seth Archer, "Remedial Agents: Missionary Physicians and the Depopulation of Hawai'i," *Pacific Historical Review* 79(4) (November 2010): 513-544.

<sup>23</sup>Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis*, 405-406; Cottrell, "Splinters of Sandalwood," 34; Mark Merlin and Dan VanRavenswaay, "The History of Human Impact on the Genus *Santalum* in Hawai'i" in *Proceedings of the Symposium on Sandalwood in the Pacific*, eds. Hamilton and Conrad, 52.

<sup>24</sup>Reynolds, *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, 28-29; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 286. Shineberg describes how sandalwood merchants had to always be on the look out for acts of deception in exchanges with Melanesians, such as the hiding of poor-quality logs under a pile of more attractive ones. Shineberg interprets these schemes as acts of resistance by Melanesians against foreign sandalwood traders; see *They Came for Sandalwood*, 187-



188. Captain Jacobus Boelen described William French's store in 1828: "On the ground floor of this establishment the stocks were kept, whereas the upper story served as a shop where everything was sold pell-mell. To reach the shop we ascended a wooden staircase that led from the yard first to a wooden balcony, and then inside. Mr. Renel [Reynolds], a North American whom we had already met, was the manager here and was busy hawking, selling, or exchanging goods." Boelen, *A Merchant's Perspective*, 78-79.

<sup>25</sup> Reynolds, *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, 59, and passim. For example, note some of the following exchange values for sandalwood recorded by merchants in Honolulu:

"a large wide coat" = 12 piculs sandalwood  
 12 hammers = 1 picul sandalwood  
 500 cannon balls = 18 piculs sandalwood  
 10 piculs ammunition = 35 piculs sandalwood  
 80 swords = 80 piculs sandalwood  
 600 lime trees = 30 piculs sandalwood  
 "Sold 40 looking-glasses for 4 piculs of wood"  
 "Sold the remainder of the muslin, 2 pieces, for 31 piculs wood received"  
 16 kegs of rum, 1 box of tea, and \$8,000 worth of guns and ammunition = 850 piculs sandalwood  
 1 ship = equal volume in sandalwood

That last transaction, sandalwood for a ship, was figured by digging a hole into the ground that was of equal measurement to the storage capacity (volume) of a ship being sold. The hole, called a *lua moku 'iliahi*, was then filled to capacity with sandalwood. The amount of sandalwood in the hole would then be exchanged for the ship. This was one of the favorite exchanges of kings Kamehameha I, II, and III. The above examples and quotations are compiled from: Morgan, *Hawaii: A Century of Economic Change*, 63-64; Beechert, *Honolulu*, 28; Hammatt, *Ships, Furs, and Sandalwood*, xx; and, Merlin and VanRavenswaay, "The History of Human Impact on the Genus *Santalum*," 52.

<sup>26</sup> Boki's letter, originally written in Hawaiian, is translated and presented in Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis*, 471. We must wonder whether Ellis, in his translation, purposefully exaggerated the extent of Boki's religiousness in order to make the missionary venture appear more successful than it may have actually been. Other evidence demonstrates that Boki became involved with the Roman Catholic Church in Honolulu at this time, much to the anger of the American Protestant missionaries and Ka'ahumanu who backed the Protestants. Many of the American merchants suddenly became Catholics, too. One wonders whether Boki and the merchants converted simply to spite Ka'ahumanu and the American missionaries, rather than as an expression of faith. On the rivalry between Boki *mā* (Boki and his cadre) and Ka'ahumanu *mā* (Ka'ahumanu and her cadre) see Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 273, 284-291, 327-329; Daws, "The High Chief Boki," 66, 72-78; Sahlins, *Anahulu*, 67, 74-75; and, Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 11-13.

<sup>27</sup> Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis*, 469.

<sup>28</sup> Reynolds, *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, 128. For more incidents of Percival's stay in the islands, see *ibid.*, 123-128; Daws, "The High Chief Boki," 70-71; Cottrell, "Splinters of Sandalwood," 58-60. Perhaps the most famous account of Percival's antics and violence is Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands* (Hartford, CT: H. Huntington; New York: S. Converse, 1847), 283-289. On the increasing U.S. naval presence in the Pacific Ocean during the 1820s, see Donald D. Johnson (with Gary Dean Best), *The United States in the Pacific: Private Interests and Public Policies, 1784-1899* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995).

<sup>29</sup> Reynolds, *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, 110, 142, 149.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 169. Rifkin, in "Debt and the Transnationalization of Hawai'i," 57, argues that Captain Jones, in his negotiations with the ali'i, created a discourse that "nationalized" the ali'i's personal debts to serve as justification for an increased U.S. governmental role in Hawaiian Kingdom affairs.

<sup>31</sup> Morgan, *Hawaii: A Century of Economic Change*, 66; Sahlins, *Anahulu*, 84; Cottrell, "Splinters of Sandalwood," 61-63.

<sup>32</sup> See Reynolds, *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, 185; Boelen, *A Merchant's Perspective*, 76. Clearly there was competition for 'iliahi, but were the sandalwood trees really in danger of being driven to extinction? On the extent of sandalwood deforestation in Hawai'i during this period, which remains somewhat inconclusive, see discussions in Merlin and VanRavenswaay, "The History of Human Impact on the Genus *Santalum* in Hawai'i"; and, Cottrell, "Splinters of Sandalwood."

<sup>33</sup> Duhaut-Cilly, *A Voyage to California*, 235. On the history of trade at Guangzhou, see Paul Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005); and, Jacques Downs, *The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784-1844* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 1997). On the environment of the Pearl River Delta, see Robert B. Marks, *Tigers, Rice, Silk, and Silt: Environment and Economy in Late Imperial South China* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

<sup>34</sup> On the naming of Xianggang, or Hong Kong, see Chen Ka-Yan, "Joss Stick Manufacturing: A Study of a Traditional Industry in Hong Kong," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 29 (1989): 94-120.

<sup>35</sup> On the *longue durée* history of aromatics in China, two useful references are Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 133-138, 155-63; and, Edward H. Schafer, *The Vermillion Bird: T'ang Images of the South* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 193-200.

<sup>36</sup> John Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), esp. 277-278; also see Valerie Hansen, *The Open Empire: A History of China to 1600* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000), 153-175. Edward Schafer claims that the first mention of sandalwood in Chinese literature was during the fifth century CE; see *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, 137, 157.

<sup>37</sup> John S. Strong, "'Gandhakuti': The Perfumed Chamber of the

Buddha.” *History of Religions* Vol. 16, no. 4 (May 1977): 390-406. Other accounts of miracles engendered by the application of fragrant incense and/or aromatic oils exist in early Chinese Buddhist literature; see Hansen, *The Open Empire*, 159-60. I also thank James McHugh for allowing me to consult two chapters on sandalwood from his forthcoming monograph on smell and aromatics in South Asian religions.

<sup>38</sup> W.W. Wood, *Sketches of China* (Philadelphia, PA: Carey & Lea, 1830), 250; William Rowe, *China’s Last Empire: The Great Qing* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2009). On the commercialization of the Pearl River Delta region during the Qing era, also see Marks, *Tigers, Rice, Silk, and Silt*.

<sup>39</sup> Wood, *Sketches of China*, 147, 185, 193.

<sup>40</sup> Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, 22-24; “Sandalwood in the Pacific: A State-of-Knowledge Synthesis and Summary from the April 1990 Symposium,” in *Proceedings of the Symposium on Sandalwood in the Pacific*, eds. Hamilton and Conrad, 1-11; Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood*, 1. Marks and Chen both confirm that Chinese incense manufacture during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 CE) centered in Dongguan. Marks also mentions that incense was also produced on Hainan Island (now Hainan Province southwest of Guangdong Province). Guangzhou merchants not infrequently purchased large quantities of incense from producers at Haikou, Hainan, for sale in Guangzhou, suggesting that some of the best incense was perhaps made in Hainan as well; Marks, *Tigers, Rice, Silk, and Silt*, 117, 193; Chen, “Joss Stick Manufacturing,” 96-9. Many other aromatic woods besides sandalwood were also used in incense manufacture, including primarily aloeswood or agarwood (*chenxiang*); see Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism*, 277-78; Chen, “Joss Stick Manufacturing,” 94-5; Ju Kow-Choy, “The Cultivation of the ‘Incense Tree’ (*Aquilaria Sinensis*),” *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 23 (1983): 247-249.

<sup>41</sup> The following discussion is based upon data presented in Figures 3 and 4. Please refer to Figures 3 and 4 for sources.

<sup>42</sup> The variability of sandalwood imports at Guangzhou during the 1820s was not only due to the machinations of Western imperial powers (specifically the British), nor the persistent failure of sandalwood to be as profitable as opium or other commodities, nor simply the complexities of managing labor and ecology in the Hawaiian forests, but the sandalwood market was also affected by China’s severe economic depression of the 1810s and 1820s. This depression resulted in both significant reductions in Chinese export production and import consumption; see Rowe, *China’s Last Empire*, 150-58, 166.

<sup>43</sup> The following account of the battle for Eromanga is based upon Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood*, 20-22; Cottrell, “Splinters of Sandalwood,” 64-65; and Merlin and VanRaven-swaay, “The History of Human Impact on the Genus *Santalum* in Hawai’i,” 54.

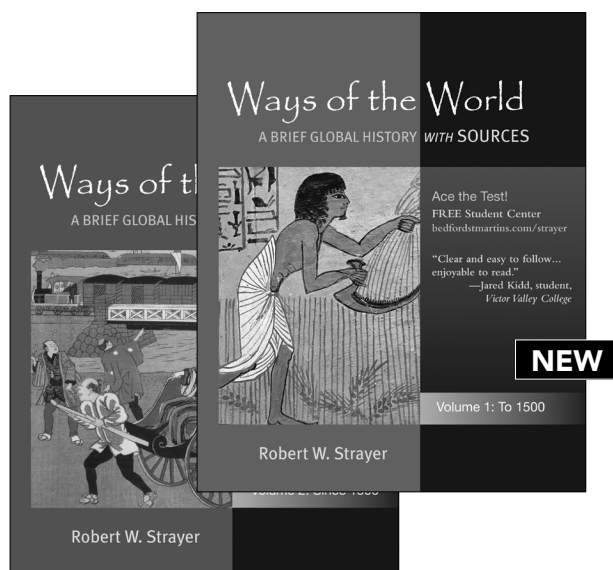
<sup>44</sup> Reynolds, *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, 83, 100, 177, 189; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 278; Daws, “The High Chief Boki,” 79. Kamakau suggests that Boki left for Eromanga hoping to rule the colonized island and to eventually die there. According to Kamakau, Boki hoped to “hide his bones” on Eromanga so that his enemies could not disturb his grave after his death. Kamakau’s narrative thus frames Boki’s escape to Eromanga and his subsequent death as a reenactment of Liholiho’s similar journey to London. Both transoceanic journeys, Kamakau suggests, were motivated by the individual’s desire to escape from a life of sin, from an ever-increasing number of political enemies, and fundamentally, from the ever-present predicament of consumption, debts, and sandalwood that had made life in Hawai’i impossible; see Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 294-296.

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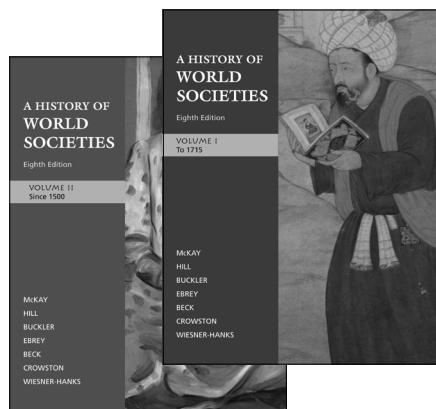
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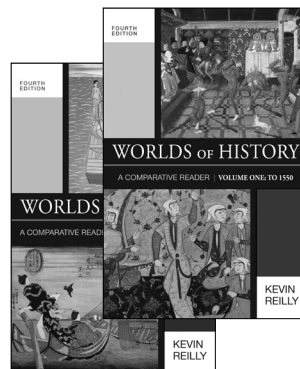
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# The Aftermath of the Katyn Massacre: Silent as the Grave

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Historian Niall Ferguson argues that geopolitical fault-lines in East Asia and East Europe, areas of mixed ethnicity that lay precariously among greater powers, were sites of mass murder as local, civilian populations were destroyed by the grinding geopolitical tectonic plates of Germany, Russia, China, Japan, and the United States.<sup>1</sup> Historian Timothy Snyder identifies one such seismic zone as the “bloodlands” between Germany and the Soviet Union where Poles, Ukrainians, Belarussians, Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians died in great numbers between 1932 and 1945.<sup>2</sup> Re-visiting Snyder’s bloodlands, Ferguson argues, “It is therefore no coincidence that so many of the locations where mass murder was perpetrated in the 1940s lay in precisely these regions of mixed settlement—in such many-named towns as Vilna/Wilna/Vilne/ Vilnius, Lemberg/ Lwow/L’viv and Czernowitz/Cernauti/Chernovtsy/ Chernivtsi.”<sup>3</sup> In the ironically titled *Dark Continent: Europe’s Twentieth Century*, Mark Mazower asserts that the transition of multiple nationalities uneasily commingling within European empires gave way to the lethal exclusion of the nation-state that characterizes the twentieth century.<sup>4</sup> Within the larger context of world history, the massacre in the Katyn Forest is merely a symptom of the malady of man in the mid-twentieth century. It is with this phenomenon that world historians must grapple.

No one knows how many Polish officers guessed that their next stop would be their last. In April 1940, approximately four thousand Polish POWs were loaded unto trains traveling west from Smolensk, USSR, destined for the Katyn Forest a few miles away. There General Secretary Joseph Stalin’s secret police, the NKVD, maintained a retreat on the grounds of an old monastery. It is known that a few condemned Poles believed they were heading home, westward, to Poland. We know this from diaries discovered on the bodies of Polish corpses. Others

scratched their names, dates, and approximate location on the interior walls of their train cars. Still others had a premonition that this trip would end badly. This foreboding was confirmed upon arrival as watches, pocketknives, belts, and shoes were forcibly taken from each Pole by Soviet guards a moment before another Russian took their lives.

At two other camps, one northwest of Moscow and another in Ukraine, the Soviet secret police prepared similar fates for many thousands more Polish officers. Those at the Kalinin camp, near Moscow, were executed in the cellar of their jail. According to a surviving NKVD officer, no formalities of sentencing took place. Instead, Polish prisoners were confronted by V. M. Blokhin, an experienced executioner. He wore a brown leather cap and leather apron with brown motorcycle elbow-length leather gloves. Held down by two guards, the Poles, one after another, received a shot in the back of the head by Blokhin.<sup>5</sup> Those Polish officers murdered at Katyn faced an even grimmer fate. Many must have heard the shots that dispatched their comrades and some certainly saw the terrible sight ahead of them as their colleagues were summarily executed and thrown into a large pit rapidly filling with fully-uniformed bodies. However futile, some of the doomed Poles fought back. Evidence of these struggles lie in the bayoneted bodies, the evidence of second and third shots, mouths filled with sawdust, and the garrets that tethered neck to wrists thus assuring strangulation upon resistance.

Stalin’s executioners perfected their “wet work.” To lessen the interminable work of killing, the shooters found the sweet spot, that is, the best shooting angle on the back of the victim’s head so that the bullet would exit via the mouth or one of the eye sockets.<sup>6</sup> The industrial killing of the Holocaust, which would soon consume Poland and the borderlands lying between the Germans to the west and the Russians to the east, has its predecessor here

as Stalin decapitated the future leadership of Poland, methodically, systemically. These mass murders point to Stalin's early aim, agreed to by Adolf Hitler, to render post-war Poland manageable after having eliminated its political and cultural elite. In addition, the execution of Poland's post-war leaders heralded Stalin's persistent claim to those borders awarded to the Soviet Union by Hitler—a claim acquiesced in by Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Franklin D. Roosevelt over the course of the Second World War.

The sequence of events that led to the murder of nearly 22,000 Polish officers and reservists in April and May of 1940 began with the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of August 1939. Hitler and Stalin agreed to divide Poland between them and to assign its eastern portions to the Soviets. The Polish army was defeated by the Germans and the remnants of this beaten force, driven eastward in retreat, were rapidly overcome by the Red Army's entrance into the war on September 17, 1939. The Soviets culled Polish officers and reservists of professional civilian status and transported them to three secluded camps for interrogation. These interviews, however deceptively innocuous, were in fact a deadly process of selection: those deemed enemies of the Soviet state would be further isolated until March 1940 when Lavrenti Beria, head of the Soviet NKVD, recommended to the Politburo the immediate liquidation of these future class foes as all were "sworn enemies of Soviet power, brimming with hatred of the Soviet system."<sup>7</sup> With Stalin's approval, and the acquiescence of his inner circle, the executions began the following month, in April 1940.

These massacres were foreshadowed by Soviet leaflets dropped during the Red Army's invasion of east Poland in September 1939: "Your officers are light-heartedly driving you to slaughter. Do not trust your officers! Come to us boldly, to your brothers, to the Red Army."<sup>8</sup> The Soviets annexed their occupied portion of Poland, thus transforming unsuspecting Poles into Soviet citizens. As such, Polish prisoners of war become, potentially, Soviet criminals vulnerable to charges that were punishable by death as they were no longer protected by the Geneva Convention, admittedly paper-thin armor in Stalinist Russia. Consequently, the biographies of Polish professionals now became writs of indictment in Soviet eyes. Dr. Zbigniew Czarnek was one such Pole. His status as a high-ranking reserve officer in Poland's "capitalist" army made him a "political criminal." As

a professional, he was considered "antiworker." His high standard of living made him "bourgeois" and a "social danger." His conservative views typed him as an "enemy of the people." Dr. Czarnek sealed his doom through his service in the Russo-Polish War of 1920. Dr. Czarnek, a "world counterrevolutionary" in NKVD eyes, was murdered during the general liquidation of Katyn.<sup>9</sup>

Silence ensued, followed by inquiries, official and otherwise. Wives and mothers wrote letters to no avail for information about their missing husbands and sons. The NKVD used the return addresses to find and exile many of these families to the far reaches of Russia where many thousands perished. To where had the thousands of Polish POWs gone? The massacre at Katyn, after all, remained a non-event from 1940 until 1943, unknown to all except for Stalin, his chief lieutenants, and the NKVD apparatus that carried out the slaughter. The mass graves were finally discovered by the retreating German army in the spring of 1943. Reichminister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, delighted in the discovery and sought to use it to drive a wedge among the American, British, and Russians arrayed against the Third Reich. The flurry of publicity attendant to Goebbels's efforts was exacerbated by the Polish government-in-exile, stationed in London. There, Polish leaders endorsed the Red Cross's intention to go to the sites and investigate the crimes. This provocation was sufficient to cause Stalin to denounce the tenuous treaty between the Poles and the Soviets as the former were accused of siding with the Nazis in their accusations of murder against the Soviet Union.

Before Stalin broke off relations with the Polish government-in-exile, its representatives visited the Kremlin in search of the missing officers. It was hoped that Polish divisions might be formed from the POWs held in Soviet prisons; these divisions would need their officers' leadership if they were to effectively fight alongside the Red Army against the Germans. Stanislaw Kot, Polish ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1941-42, was a close advisor to General Wladyslaw Sikorski who led the exiled Polish government. In the fall of 1941, Kot met with various Soviet officials without satisfaction. After being repeatedly assured that all Polish prisoners had been released, Kot replied that "so far not one has turned up."<sup>10</sup> He stressed that his missing countrymen had "found themselves in the USSR against their own choice" and that it was absurd for the Soviet authorities to act as if they had come "here of their

own accord as tourists” and then somehow become lost.<sup>11</sup> At another conference with A. J. Vyshinsky, Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Kot said that he “could understand it if a few dozen men were missing, or even a few hundred, but not several thousand.”<sup>12</sup> Especially embarrassing was the fact that General Sikorski’s own adjutant, a Major Jan Fuhrman, was missing. (Unknown to Sikorski or Kot, Major Fuhrman lay among the dead at Katyn.) General Sikorski was to meet with Stalin in November, and Kot hoped that the mystery of his missing adjutant might be solved by then.

Kot met with Stalin in November 1941 to prepare for General Sikorski’s visit in December. What followed was a black comedy dominated by Stalin’s deadpan amorality who, after brushing aside Kot’s assertions of how important Poland was as an ally, remarked, “Who wishes to have a weak ally?”<sup>13</sup> This from the man who had ordered the murder of the Polish elite in April. Stalin pretended surprise when Kot told him that he had exact lists with the names of the missing Poles. Stalin responded with a pantomime whereby he placed a call to the NKVD. “Have all the Poles been released from the prisons?” After a pause, Stalin said, “Because I have the Polish Ambassador with me and he tells they haven’t all been released.” Stalin returned to his seat. Another pause was punctuated by the ringing phone. Stalin listened and then reported to Kot, “They say they’ve all been released.”<sup>14</sup> While Stalin feigned resignation before the ineptitude of his own bureaucracy, Kot merely tried to remain calm in the face of obvious lies.

General Sikorski could do no better. In his December meeting with Stalin, the Polish head of state asserted that not one of the Polish prisoners previously interred by the NKVD has turned up either in Poland or in Nazi concentration camps. “Those men are here. Not one of them has come back.” Stalin replied, “That’s impossible. They’ve fled.” General Wladyslaw Anders, who had accompanied Sikorski, implored, “But where could they flee to?” Stalin replied, “Well, to Manchuria, for instance.”<sup>15</sup> Stalin excelled at this type of performance. After having executed the very men in question, Stalin dared his interlocutor to ask the tabooed question or to make the fatal accusation. Neither the Poles nor anyone else (including Churchill or Roosevelt) was willing to cross this line. By denying knowledge of the whereabouts of Polish POWs, Stalin triggered a general avoidance of Katyn as a topic of conversation that extended from anxious and grieving family members to Stalin’s

allies, the leaders of Great Britain and the United States.

Silence rendered contentious Poland’s collective memory of Katyn. The recollections of surviving relatives, mediated by the meanings attributed to Katyn, ran the gamut of human misery. A daughter of one of the victims explained that she had “amputated him [her father] from my memory... All the time he was someone we were forbidden to talk about as if he had been a criminal of sorts. Even Mom was unwilling to talk about him, fearing that I would ‘blurt’ something out” in the wrong company. To speak of Katyn was to bring the taboo into the community and the price for such indiscretion was high.<sup>16</sup>

Wesley Adamczyk was a boy when the Soviet NKVD arrived at his house shortly after the Red Army invaded its eastern portion of Poland in September 1939. The Soviet captain had detailed knowledge of each family member. He announced that they were bourgeoisie and enemies of the people. Promptly arrested, the family had an hour to pack essentials. Exiled to Kazakhstan, the family finally found itself in Iran. The young son lost his mother and sister and found himself an orphan in a strange land. He was nine years old. “I cried and I looked into the sky. I called on God and I saw only seagulls. I once again came to the conclusion that God was deaf and blind.”<sup>17</sup> Thus were Earthly infirmities extended to the heavens.

Marian Lesnik married Ewa Madejski and sought to establish his career in a post-war Poland dominated by the Soviet Union. Lesnik expressed surprise and dismay at the derailment of his career. “Right after my studies I received the opportunity to work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to travel to a diplomatic post outside of Poland.” Soon afterwards, the authorities discovered that Ewa’s father had been executed at Katyn and that two of her uncles were revealed as enemies of the Soviet state: one had flown for the Royal Air Force (ostensibly a Soviet ally) and the other had been exiled to Siberia. “I was accused of falsifying documents, hiding relevant facts; I was threatened with imprisonment. And so my dreams of diplomatic work remained forever only a dream.”<sup>18</sup> Thus, similar to the standard of evidence used during the Salem witch trials of 1692, guilt by association ruined the career of a young man otherwise innocent of the Katyn taboo.

A Polish poet repeatedly deleted all references to her father as instructed by the post-war Polish authorities. He had perished at Katyn. When she

sought to include any biographical information about her father for publication queries or her university application, she was repeatedly instructed to “cross it out!”<sup>19</sup> To, if not forget, at least remain silent. In a similar case, a Polish widow, whose husband had been among the slain in April 1940, requested her spouse’s pension benefits. The court found her documentation suspicious. She had been tactless enough to include her husband’s final letter before his murder at Katyn—a letter that proved his captivity by the Soviets, not the Nazis. Although the court had promised to return her application materials, it never did. Finally, the court informed her that her husband had died a natural death on May 9, 1946 and, since there was a five-year break in his service record, no benefits were due.<sup>20</sup>

Unsurprisingly, this widow ceased to speak of her husband at all and demanded that her children also remain silent about their father. Repeatedly reminded to forget, one child remembered, “from that time forward we lived not only in sorrow for our murdered father but also with the consciousness of a lie, with the feeling of being wronged, with shame and humiliation.”<sup>21</sup> Self-imposed silence affected many families in post-war Poland. A Pole could not visit Katyn. One surviving child remembered that her sister, Zosia, “always envied those friends of hers whose parents had died in Auschwitz. They at least could go to the grave sites, and didn’t have to hide the truth.”<sup>22</sup> Thus emerges perhaps the only favorable reference to Auschwitz in the historical literature.

One Pole who participated in the exhumation of the dead officers forty years after their deaths reported shock at finding prosthetic limbs and artificial eyeballs. Bones protruded from the ground, “here a jaw, there a segment of skull, elsewhere a tibia.” She was fearful of walking over her father’s remains—a man who before the war had been an athletic hero in Poland. After the war, his name was expunged from all sporting annals. His daughter noted that he had “ceased officially to exist because...he had died as the victim of a crime wrapped in a conspiracy of silence.” The daughter admitted that she had “amputated” her father from her memory as the family was “forbidden to talk about him as if he [had] been a criminal of sorts.”<sup>23</sup> Finally, Katyn had the effect of extending this family’s profound silence deep into the future in two ways. The daughter determined to remain childless because “there will be another war to follow and my children will be treated as badly as I was.”<sup>24</sup> Second, a chest of her father’s memorabilia—photographs,

letters, documents, and articles clipped from pre-war newspapers—were kept hidden for decades and nearly thrown out by accident. The shame and secrecy associated with Katyn rendered the Polish people mostly mute.<sup>25</sup>

The children of Katyn, psychologically damaged and politically subordinate, gave way to the generation of Solidarity, whose collective memory regarded with skepticism the national silence imposed by the Soviets and their Polish lackeys. These grandchildren of Katyn sought through a variety of symbolic measures to force a long-dead discourse upon their country, to construct “a non-Party sphere of communication.”<sup>26</sup> Though literally silent, subversive postage stamps commemorating Polish dead at Katyn were figuratively deafening. The provocative images depicted Soviet guilt: the word “Katyn” as a crucifix; a forest in the background with a hammer and sickle and the word “Katyn” in the foreground; a skull with a Polish military cap against the caption: “We remember!!!”<sup>27</sup> Such images helped to build an alternative national memory from that of the communists on the one hand, while shattering the code of silence on tabooed topics on the other.

Feigned forgetfulness, or, in other words, silence, imposed or otherwise, prevailed at the highest levels with regard to Katyn. The unlikely alliance of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States now mirrored the participation of Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt in Marshal Stalin’s conspiracy of silence about Katyn. After Goebbels announced the discovery of the bodies in the spring of 1943, Prime Minister Churchill remarked, “the less said about that the better.”<sup>28</sup> Later, perhaps with the specter of Stalin in mind, Churchill warned, “there is no use prowling morbidly round the three year old graves of Smolensk.”<sup>29</sup> Governed by the necessity of maintaining the Grand Alliance to defeat Hitler’s Germany, Churchill found tiresome his Polish allies’ constant demands that Great Britain be her advocate in the court of Soviet justice. The Poles wanted both her missing officers and her lost sovereignty. Such advocacy, of course, risked offending the Soviets who had already once signed an agreement with Hitler, and if sufficiently provoked, might do so again. Offending the Poles carried little consequence beyond having to live with one’s honor sullied.

Among the many hundreds of notes exchanged between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, a sizable number concerned Poland: its troubled relationship with the Soviets, its quarrelsome

exiled leadership, its disputed post-war borders, its tendency to demand more than could be had from the Grand Alliance. In this voluminous record, there is only one exchange that bears directly on the massacre at Katyn. A report submitted to British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden in May 1943, immediately following the execution of the Polish prisoners, was read by Churchill who then sent it to Roosevelt in August 1943. Churchill described the report as a “grim, well-written story, but perhaps a little too well-written. Nevertheless, if you have time to read it, it would repay the trouble. I should like to have it back when you have finished with it as we are not circulating it officially in any way.”<sup>30</sup> It is difficult to believe that Roosevelt did not read this report, although as is the usual case with FDR, there is no way of knowing exactly what he thought as he never responded to it one way or another.

The report written by Owen O’Malley, British ambassador to the exiled Polish government was based on the findings of the Red Cross’s investigation of the thousands of Polish corpses discovered at Katyn. It made virtually certain the case for Soviet guilt. The doomed Poles had been fingerprinted, inoculated, well fed, and given additional rations before their final journey. The victims’ final letters and diary entries all point to April 1940 as the time when they disappeared. O’Malley argued that Soviet denials of guilt “provokes incredulity; for it is notorious that the NKVD collect and record the movements of individuals with the most meticulous care.”<sup>31</sup> His report confirmed the murderous ritual of the NKVD when confronted with resistance: “If a man struggled, it seems that the executioner threw his coat over his head, tying it round his neck and leading him hooded to the pit’s edge, for in many cases a body was found to be thus hooded and the coat to have been pierced by a bullet where it covered the base of the skull.”<sup>32</sup> O’Malley confirmed the planting of trees to disguise the killing field. He concluded that “we have been obliged to appear to distort the normal and healthy operation of our intellectual and moral judgments; we have been obliged to give undue prominence to the tactlessness or impulsiveness of Poles, to restrain the Poles from putting their case clearly before the public.” O’Malley’s analysis ended with a devastating analogy: “We have in fact perforce used the good name of England like the murderers used the little conifers to cover up a massacre.”<sup>33</sup> Perhaps Churchill and Roosevelt took solace in the author’s conclusion that “in view of the immense importance of an

appearance of Allied unity and of the heroic resistance of Russia to Germany, few will think that any other course would have been wise or right.”<sup>34</sup> O’Malley himself felt the compulsion to maintain silence as he finished his memorandum with an admonition: “Let us think of these things always and speak of them never.”<sup>35</sup>

President Roosevelt never conceded Stalin’s guilt. FDR’s blind-spot was not a matter of faulty memory, but rather one of political expediency, which resulted in the further silencing of Katyn. Historian Fraser Harbutt argues that President Roosevelt’s first priority was to secure Stalin’s cooperation in his emerging United Nations, an international institution designed to maintain the post-war peace. Stalin recognized the president’s primary concern and implicitly linked his participation in the United Nations to the West’s acquiesce in Soviet post-war domination of East Europe generally, and Poland specifically. Stalin well understood Roosevelt’s interest in Poland was entirely one of domestic American politics, and while he conceded to Roosevelt’s entreaties to participate in the emerging liberal order constructed by the American president, the Soviet dictator anticipated that his Western allies would look the other way as he imposed a communist government in post-war Poland.<sup>36</sup>

FDR took steps to silence those who had either the audacity or the moral courage to accuse the Soviets of mass murder. Two examples will suffice. First, two radio stations, one in Detroit and the other Buffalo, began publicizing the Katyn massacre and Soviet guilt. The Federal Communications Commission protested and the offending journalists were suspended.<sup>37</sup> Second, Roosevelt asked George Howard Earle III, a personal friend, to investigate Katyn. When Earle’s report made plain Soviet guilt, the president refused to believe it. When he threatened to go public with his findings, FDR ordered him not to; shortly afterwards he had Earle transferred to Samoa where he could do no harm. There the president’s friend remained, in the remote South Pacific, until the war ended.<sup>38</sup>

Commemorations of Katyn remained contested because they intruded upon competing national narratives. In Poland, those associated with the communist regime and those affiliated with Solidarity advocated diverging narratives of the massacre: the former ignored the atrocity for political survival; the latter embraced the massacre to build a Polish identity without Soviet domination. For Russian leaders, Katyn remained stuck in the collective throat

of the Soviet leadership until 1990 when Mikhail Gorbachev finally spit out Stalin's responsibility for the killings. Russian leaders since the crack up of the Soviet Union, Boris Yeltsin and Vladimir Putin, have acknowledged Soviet guilt for Katyn. They simultaneously diminished that culpability by including victims of other nationalities—Ukrainians, Belorussians, and citizens of the Baltic States—with the Poles thereby mitigating Stalin's responsibility by laying the blame upon abstract "totalitarian terror" (7) instead of the murdering Soviet dictator.<sup>39</sup> The West remained silent about Katyn due to the awkwardness of explaining to its constituents the wartime alliance with Stalin, now widely viewed in the Atlantic world as belonging to an exclusive club whose previous membership included only Hitler and perhaps Satan himself.

In April 2010, Polish President Lech Kaczynski's plane crashed while in route to Katyn to commemorate the Polish dead. Poland's leading governmental and cultural figures accompanied the president. All those aboard died. Thus two eerily similar tragedies, separated by exactly seventy years, occurred to the Polish leadership class in nearly the identical place. These coincidences gave rise within the world press of cries of irony. The highly publicized latter tragedy also called attention—for the first time since Goebbels—to the forgotten former atrocity. The death of President Kaczynski and his entourage resurrected memories long buried in silence.

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The massacre at Katyn should be viewed as the epicenter of an eruption of violence against unarmed prisoners of war and civilians that rapidly spread in concentric circles across Eurasia. Preceded by shock of Ukrainian famine and the Rape of Nanking, and followed by the mass starvation of Chinese, the silence of the Soviet gulag and the unheard cries of those confined to Nazi concentration camps, the deliberate attempt to starve the citizens of Leningrad, the strategic bombing of urban centers across Eurasia, and the atomic bombings of Japanese cities, Katyn confirmed the 1930s and 1940s as a time of diminishing pity as men increasingly found justifiable reasons, from class to race, from disputed borders to indeterminate borderlands, to slaughter their fellow men, women, and children.

World history's purpose as an antidote to Eurocentrism is welcomed, but frankly, neither Poland nor Russia belong to this anti-Eurocentric endeavor; the first unhappily sandwiched between

two large and aggressive neighbors who periodically snuff out her sovereignty, while the later has been shunned and cordoned off by Europeans over most of the twentieth century. Poland, after all, would be happier if she could be transplanted to some safe spot in the American mid-west or, perhaps, Saskatchewan. Poles know better than anyone that geography is fate and that their unfortunate geographic position will remain until the crack of doom—which the Poles will probably hear before the rest of us. Russians, on the other hand, have always had a tenuous connection to the West. Russian politics are viewed with an uneasy blend of dread and contempt. Poland and Russia, both semi-peripheral nations, are appropriate topics for world historians.

Paths to approach Katyn by world historians have already been blazed. Perhaps most chilling—and potentially instructive—is historian Mark Levene's argument that links the nation-state to mass murder. Levene posits a "genocide conundrum" that suggests that the exterminatory policies of Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union rose from self-perceived "legitimate and justifiable" fears: enemies, imagined or not, had to be eliminated for the nation-state to thrive within the context of an ultra-competitive international system.<sup>40</sup> He suggests that, "the genocidal mentality...is closely linked with agendas aimed at accelerated or force-paced social and economic change in the interest of 'catching up' or alternatively avoiding, or circumventing, the rules of the system leaders."<sup>41</sup> Stalin murdered the Polish elite at Katyn to defend the future of Soviet communism. He committed this atrocity to strengthen his own nation-state at the expense of the worldwide communist movement. That the nation-state remains, at once, the epitome of modernity, the primary unit of analysis for historians, and the engine of mass murder, suggest that the answer to the mysteries of Katyn may be applicable to murdered innocents across the globe.

## Notes

1 Niall Ferguson, *The War of the World: Twentieth-Century Conflict and the Descent of the West* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006), xli-lxiii.

2 Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010).

3 Ferguson, lviii.

4 Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), 61.

5 Anna M. Cienciala, Natalia S. Lebedeva, and Wojciech Materski, eds., *Katyn: A Crime Without Punishment* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 124.

6 George Sanford, *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, Justice, and Memory* (London: Routledge, 2005), 99. See also Teresa Kaczorowska, *Children of the Katyn Massacre: Accounts of Life After the 1940 Soviet Murder of Polish POWs*. Translated from the Polish by Frank Kujawinski (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2006), 41: "It was only after thorough examination that the archeologists discovered that the skulls were damaged in a different way: either upper or lower teeth were smashed or eyeball sockets shattered. It turned out that the bullet had passed through the large occipital opening and gone out through the mouth or the eye. It wasn't by accident that the shots were so very precise. The criminals, with their knowledge of human anatomy, knew that by aiming that way the blood would remain in the sinuses. And as a result they wouldn't have to clean up often..."

7 Cienciala, *Katyn*, 118. A substantial portion of these Polish officers were reservists called up in the national emergency of their nation's invasion. These reservists were comprised of professionals—lawyers, administrations, professors, doctors—and contingents of law enforcement personnel along with career military officers. Thus the condemned constituted the leadership and elite class of Polish society.

8 Allen Paul, *Katyn: The Untold Story of Stalin's Polish Massacre* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1991), 33.

9 Paul, *Katyn*, 49.

10 Stanislaw Kot, *Conversations with the Kremlin and Dispatches from Russia*. Translated and arranged by H. C. Stevens (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 15.

11 *Ibid.*, 33. Kot, in exasperation, told Vyshinsky that the missing Polish officers "are not like steam. They cannot evaporate," quote from Paul, *Katyn*, 170.

12 *Ibid.*, 51-52.

13 Kot, *Conversations*, 111-12.

14 *Ibid.*, 112.

15 *Ibid.*, 142-43.

16 Teresa Kaczorowska, *Children of the Katyn Massacre: Accounts of Life After the 1940 Soviet Murder of Polish POWs*. Translated from the Polish by Frank Kujawinski and Foreword by Wesley Adamczyk (Jefferson, N. C.: McFarland and Co., Inc., 2006), 37.

17 *Ibid.*, 68.

18 Kaczorowska, *Children*, 81.

19 *Ibid.*, 191.

20 Kaczorowska, *Children*, 122-23.

21 *Ibid.*, 123.

22 *Ibid.*, 150.

23 *Ibid.*, 36-38.

24 Kaczorowska, 43.

25 Lech Walsea to President Boris Yeltsin, 15 October 1992: "Poles have always attached great importance to the Katyn question. Katyn became a symbol of truth, a test of sincerity between our two nations. The lie about the Katyn Forest served to enslave my fatherland," from Cienciala, *Katyn*, 347. Also from Kaczorowska, *Children*, 49: "In my opinion this yet unadjudicated and inadequately researched crime has made it difficult for us as a nation to undergo rebirth. Poland would today be a different country for us a nation if the Soviets together with the Germans had not deprived it of its most enlightened citizens. Their extermination resulted in the next generation being taught and raised by opportunists, traitors, and betrayers. The liquidation of Poland's elite is permanent and irreversible. Murder, fear, and terror are inscribed to this day in the fates of Poles. These have made us unable to rise from our knees."

26 Kristi S. Evans, "The Argument of Images: Historical Representation in Solidarity Underground Postage, 1981-87" *American Ethnologist* 19, No. 4 (Nov., 1992), 750.

27 *Ibid.*, 754. In 1981, Polish police removed a Solidarity memorial with the inscription "Katyn, 1940."

28 Harold Nicolson, *The War Years 1939-1945, Volume II of Diaries and Letters*. Edited by Nigel Nicolson. (New York: Atheneum, 1967), 291.

29 Sanford, *Katyn*, 173.

30 *Churchill and Roosevelt, The Complete Correspondence: Volume II: Alliance Forged, November 1942-February 1944*. Edited with Commentary by Warren F. Kimball (Princeton University Press, 1984), 389.

31 *Ibid.*, 392.

32 *Ibid.*, 395.

33 *Churchill and Roosevelt*, 397-98.

34 *Ibid.*, 397-98.

35 Victor Zaslavsky, *Class Cleaning: The Katyn Massacre*. Translated by Kizer Walker (New York: Telos Press Publishing, 2008), 60.

36 For a detailed analysis of this diplomatic dance, see Fraser J. Harbutt, *Yalta 1945: Europe and America at the*

*Crossroads* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

37 Sanford, *Katyn*, 161. For similar consequences in the United Kingdom, see P. M. H. Bell, *John bull and the Bear: British Public Opinion, Foreign Policy and the Soviet Union, 1941-1945* (London: Edward Arnold, 1990), 119

38 *Ibid.*, 161-62.

39 Benjamin B. Fischer, "The Katyn Controversy: Stalin's Killing Field," *CIA Center for the Study of Intelligence*. June 2008. 15 April 2010 <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for->

[the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/winter99-00/art6.html](https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/winter99-00/art6.html) Similarly, a Russian historian referred to Katyn as a "crime against humanity," thus further diluting a specific Polish tragedy into one with a wider and more vague context (6).

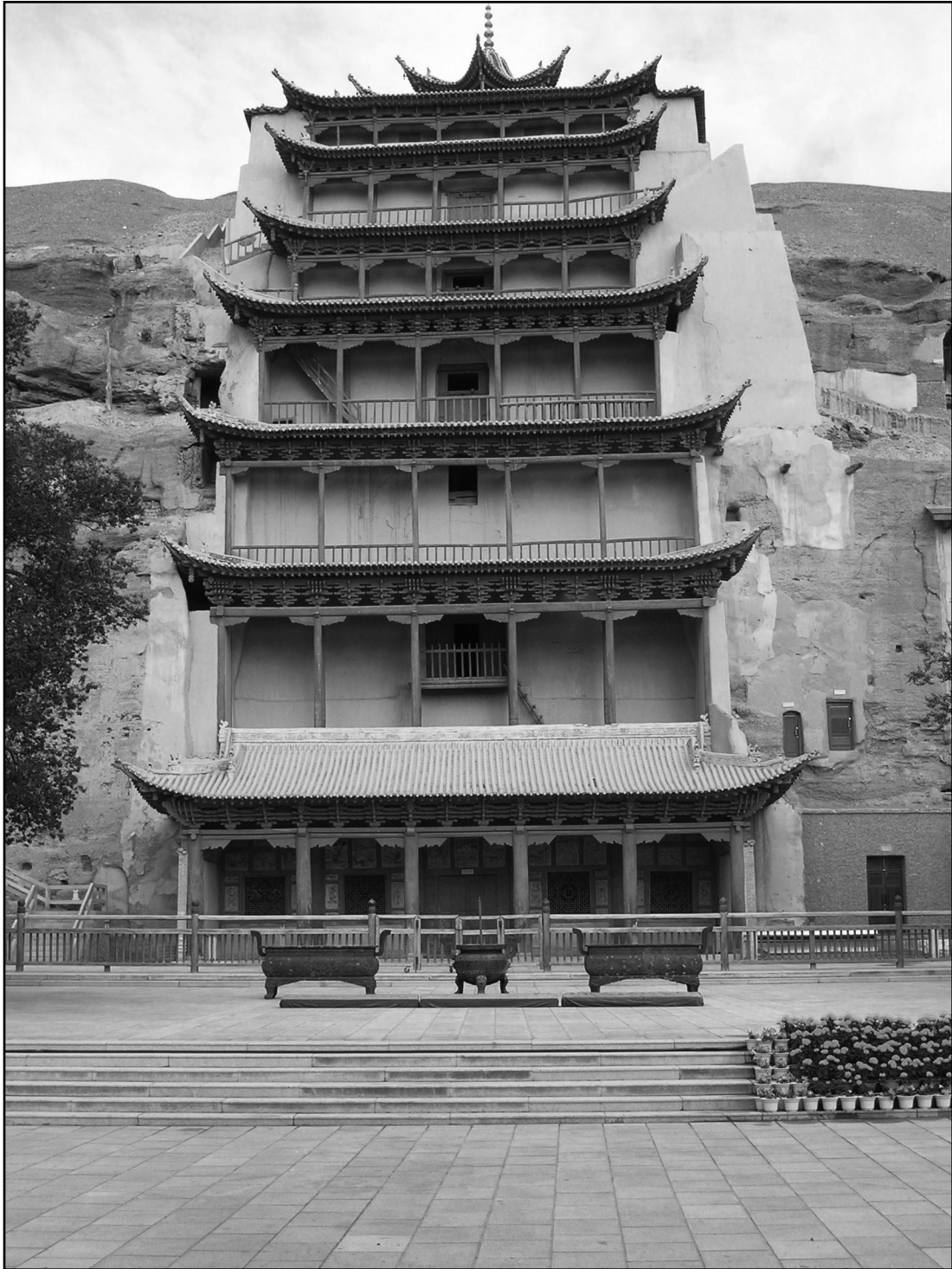
40 Mark Levene, "Why Is the Twentieth Century the Century of Genocide?" *Journal of World History*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Fall, 2000): 317.

41 Levene, 319.

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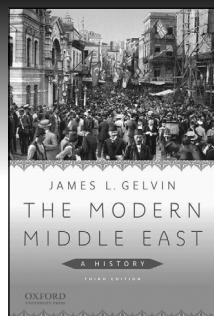






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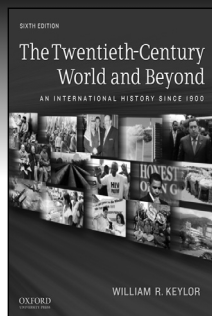
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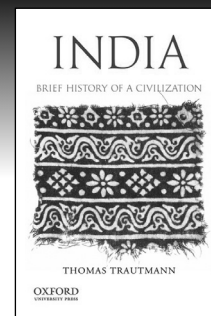
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