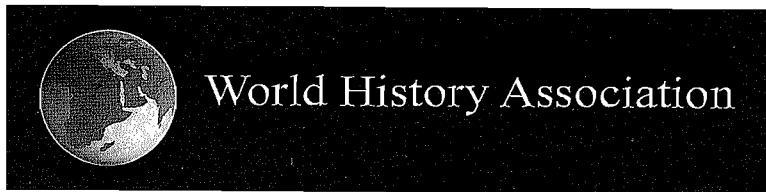


# *World History Bulletin*

Fall 2009



World History Association

Vol. XXV No. 2

**H. Micheal Tarver**  
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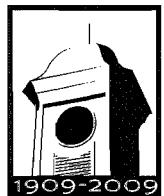
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November 2009

# Editor's Note

## Please Include the World History Association in your Planned Giving

Dear WHA Member,

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 continue to have a continuing impact on world history education and research.

We currently rely on your help to sustain the WHA through memberships 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.

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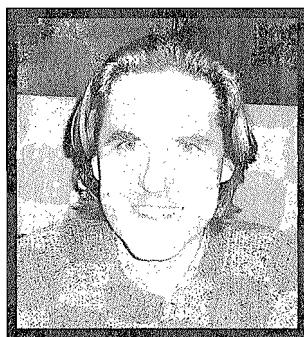
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When you do put us in your planned giving, kindly notify us of your intentions for our confidential records, and include our full legal name and address in your documents, which is: World History Association, a 501 (c)3 non-profit organization, headquartered 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 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.



## Note from the Executive Director

Dear WHA Members,

As the year approaches its end, I'd like to thank you for your continued support and involvement in the WHA. It has been gratifying to see so many individuals come together in the support of this great organization and its mission.

We had a terrific conference in Salem with about 475 people in attendance! Our hosts at Salem State College were fantastic. The presenters, panelists, keynote speakers, and exhibitors made for a lively and interesting time. The town itself was a charming, perfect venue for the conference and its themes. We will build on Salem's successes in San Diego, where we will hold our 2010 conference—another great venue sure to be full of great speakers, presenters, panels, sights, and social activities. We have secured the San Diego Marriott Mission Valley which offers an ideal place for the conference, with more than ample meeting space, great low rates, and a convenient location on the trolley line. More information on the conference is available in this Bulletin and on our website. It is not too early to be thinking about the 2011 conference in Beijing or the symposium in Istanbul in October of 2010—also sure to be terrific events in fantastic cities.

This year we will institute "smart" online submissions for the San Diego conference, allowing for easier submissions, changes, panel programming selections, and conference planning. Another upgrade for our membership will be the move online with secure, 24/7 access for members to update personal information, check on membership status, register for conferences, and much more.

Here at the HQ, we sadly said farewell to Jeff Davis, who moved on to the San Francisco Symphony after the Salem conference, but are delighted to announce that Jacqueline Wah has joined us as the new Administrative Assistant. Jackie brings a wealth of experience to the WHA as well as a terrific personality full of grace, wit and charm. Our goal at the headquarters is to provide you with excellent service and exceed your expectations. Please let us know how we are doing—we love to hear from you.

Have a wonderful holiday season and thank you again for your support of the WHA.

Winston Welch  
Executive Director

### Call for Papers: World History Bulletin

#### SPECIAL ISSUE: France/Francophone World in World History

The *World History Bulletin* is seeking submissions for its Spring 2010 issue focusing on France and the Francophone world in World History. The guest editors of this special issue will be Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall (California State University, San Marcos) and Michael G. Vann (California State University, Sacramento).

The *Bulletin* is read by university specialists in comparative/transnational world history as well as by K-12 teachers of world history. French history has often been underrepresented in world history narratives; this special issue aims to highlight examples from French and French colonial history that can be used effectively (especially in the classroom) by world historians.

\*Submissions may consider all aspects of historical scholarship including pedagogy, research, or theory. Topics may include the medieval, early modern, modern, and contemporary periods. Articles can include model syllabi or assignments, if applicable.

The guest editors are particularly interested in:

\*The ways in which French national history can be integrated into the World historical narrative as well as methods and tactics to bring World history into French national history narratives.

\*Examples drawn from the history of French colonialism and imperialism.

\*French alternatives to traditionally Anglocentric examples of major themes or processes in World History (such as the slave or opium trades).

\*France's historical role in global trade.

\*France's global political impact.

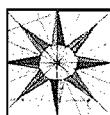
\*French history and the construction of race.

\*Any other themes from French history which can be used paradigmatically or comparatively in the world history classroom (such as gender, immigration, science/medicine, or aspects of postcoloniality).

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.

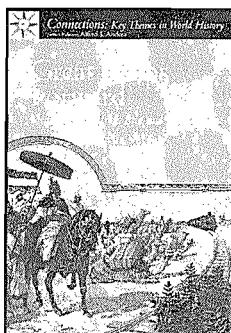
Authors should send articles, classroom lessons, and/or mini-essays to Micheal Tarver at either [mtarver@atu.edu](mailto:mtarver@atu.edu) or [bulletin@thewha.org](mailto:bulletin@thewha.org). The *World History Bulletin* publishes articles of varying lengths; though submissions between 500 and 5000 words will be accepted, we are especially interested in short articles of 1000 – 1500 words. The style sheet may be found at <http://www.atu.edu/history/WHB.pdf>. Queries regarding submissions and all other matters should be addressed to the guest editors, Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall ([sepinwall@csusm.edu](mailto:sepinwall@csusm.edu)) and Michael Vann ([mikevann@csusm.edu](mailto:mikevann@csusm.edu)). The deadline for submissions is February 1, 2010.

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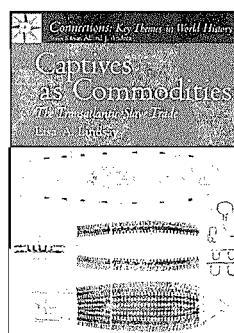
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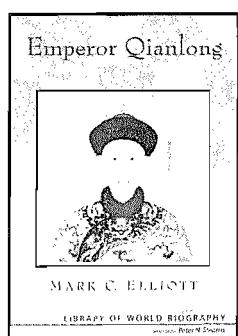
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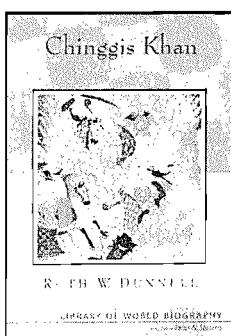
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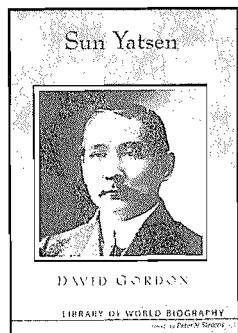
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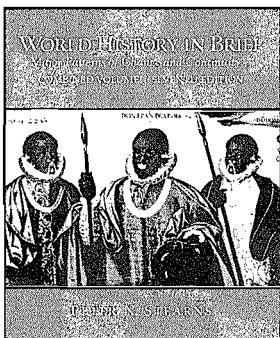
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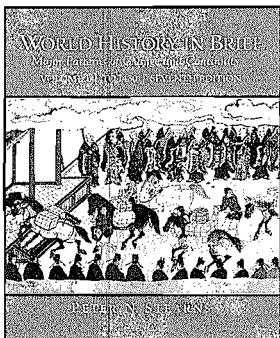
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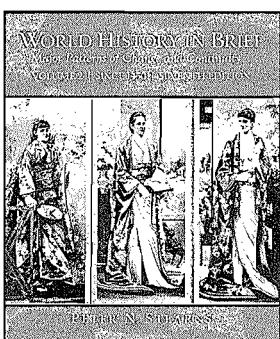
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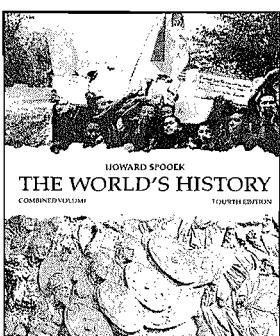
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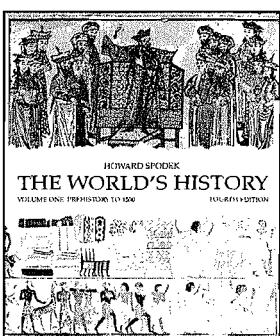
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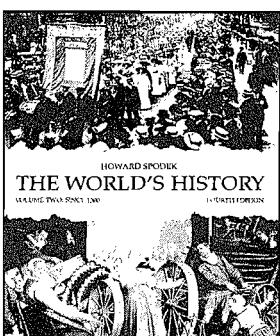
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**2009**  
**World History Association**

**Phi Alpha Theta Paper Prize**

**Author: Jonathan D. Garon**

**Level: Undergraduate**

**Affiliation: University of Rochester, Class of 2009**

***A Tainted Peace:  
The Failure of De-Nazification in  
Occupied Germany***

**Abstract:** On June 1, 1945, my grandfather, Denis A. Cooper, arrived in Frankfurt, Germany on the heels of the advancing Allied combat troops. A captain in the U.S. Armed Forces, this project explores the post-war U.S. occupation of Germany through his extensive personal correspondences with his wife back home. Backed up with a variety of secondary sources, his accounts focus specifically on his role in implementing the protocol of the U.S. de-Nazification program in Germany. Confusing and often convoluted, Cooper ultimately deemed the program an utter failure in regard to effective punishment of the Germans most responsible for the heinous crimes committed. As the iron curtain began to fall across much of Europe, the program only disintegrated quicker as punishment became a secondary priority, excused in favor of bolstering West Germany as a bulwark against communism and the Soviet Union. The project attempts to explore and shed light on some of the psychological and moral dilemmas surrounding the U.S. occupation, specifically the complex issue of collective punishment of the entire German people.

The collective American memory of the end of World War II in Europe has been under construction ever since the victorious Allied tanks rolled into Berlin, Germany. Most forget that as combat ended in Europe and the guns fell silent in the German capital, a new war was beginning: a war to eradicate Nazism, to punish those responsible, and to reeducate the young minds of Germany. It was a war that sought to do away with twelve long years of poisonous propaganda and to recreate an entire nation's collective psyche. The transition from war

to peace, from combat to occupation, was painstakingly planned years in advance by the Allied powers. Despite this meticulous planning, the Allies who occupied Germany from 1945 to 1949 faced insurmountable challenges, some they anticipated, and some they never expected. Occupation was more than just reconstruction and arrests. The psychology of punishment was wrought with moral dilemmas. For many Americans, a defeated Germany was an issue of collective guilt, meaning that every German, in one way or another, was responsible for the crimes of Nazism. But how does one collectively punish an entire people? Is every German truly guilty? These were the philosophical questions facing the Allies as combat drew to a close.

Over the course of occupation the Allies rebuilt the ruined cities of Germany and repatriated millions of displaced persons, but the overarching goal of the occupation – complete and total eradication of Nazism – never came to fruition. This failure is examined through the experience of one American G.I. The personal letters of my grandfather, Denis A. Cooper, a Romanian-American Jew and a Captain in the Manpower Division of the United States branch of the Allied Control Commission, reveal one soldier's impression that the de-Nazification program was an utter failure overall, and that many Germans neither suffered the reality of war nor received the punishment and reeducation the Allies planned for them. Initial U.S. political aims of a harsh occupation of Germany shifted in favor of countering the rising Soviet threat, thus allowing Germans to usurp the status of victims and profit from the American occupation. Though West Germany eventually became a democratic and economic success story, the core ideals of the occupation were sacrificed and abandoned, leaving some American troops bitter and disillusioned.

In order to better comprehend the enormity of the task of occupation, some background must be provided on the extensive planning that paved the way for the fall of Nazi Germany. On 12 February 1944, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe, received the order from the Anglo American

Combined Chiefs of Staff (CCS) to, "enter the continent of Europe and...undertake operations aimed at the heart of Germany and the destruction of her armed forces."<sup>1</sup> However, long before this famous order was given, the Allied forces had been meticulously planning the end of the war that had engulfed Europe. This order signified the launch of Operation Overlord, the first of two Allied campaigns waged to defeat Nazi Germany. Overlord was a military operation which began with the pre-dawn invasion of Normandy, France on 6 June 1944. Overlord's counterpart was Eclipse, the operation which directed every aspect of the eventual occupation of a defeated Germany and its peoples. With the chaotic end of the First World War still fresh in the American memory, the U.S. government wanted to be sure this time around to have a specific framework for the post-conflict period that was to smoothly bridge war and peace.<sup>2</sup> In reality, what was directed on paper did not translate to what occurred on the front lines.

Planners envisioned Overlord and Eclipse as sequential operations, meaning that as one finished, the other was to immediately begin. As it turned out, the two operations overlapped, exposing the difficulty of transitioning from war to peace. German surrender was not as efficient and all-encompassing as the Allies had hoped. Rather, while Hitler and his inner circle in Berlin preached a "fight to the bitter end" credo, pockets of German forces on the Western front were informally surrendering to the Allies as they plowed through the Ardennes and into Germany proper in April 1945. While some units put up white flags, others fought on, so that in some areas of Germany, Operation Eclipse was given a green light, while in others, Overlord was still very much underway.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the transition to peace was an uneven and often complicated one for Allied forces.

What exactly were the directives of Operation Eclipse? Much of it was based upon the Morgenthau Plan, the brain-child of the de-Nazification program, named for Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, who first proposed it. The Morgenthau Plan was later drafted into the JCS (Joint Chiefs of Staff Directive) 1067 of 11 May, 1945. Forceful in nature, the plan dictated the following: "Germany is not to be occupied for the purpose of liberation but as a defeated enemy nation."<sup>4</sup> The principal Allied objective was to:

...Prevent Germany from ever again becoming a threat to the peace of the world. Essential steps in the accomplishment of this objective are the elimination of Nazism and militarism in all their forms, the immediate apprehension of war criminals for punishment, the industrial disarmament and

demilitarization of Germany, with continuing control over Germany's capacity to make war, and the preparation for an eventual reconstruction of German political life on a democratic basis.<sup>5</sup>

In accordance with this protocol, American soldiers were forbidden to fraternize with Germans and were instructed to limit their distribution of food only to the level necessary to prevent disease and unrest. Conditions in Germany were to be no better than elsewhere in Europe.<sup>6</sup> The directive also aimed to divide Germany into four zones that would be occupied by the Allied forces (U.S., Britain, France, and Russia). Berlin, which lay in the Russian Zone, was divided in similar fashion, allowing each power access to the capital city.<sup>7</sup> Initial plans for eventual reparation payments to victims of Nazism originated as well in this directive. Finally, Germany was to be stripped of all industry and transformed into an agrarian society to make certain they would never again have the means to start another war.<sup>8</sup> The directive dripped with the deep-seated hatred and bitterness felt by policymakers towards all Germans, whom they held responsible for dragging the world into the present conflict. Though JCS 1067 was watered down over time, its central tenets were upheld, at least at first.

In April 1945, American troops breached the Siegfried Line, the last Western defenses of Hitler's empire, and crossed into German territory.<sup>9</sup> They were unprepared for what they encountered at Ohrdruf-Nord, a sub-camp of the larger Buchenwald concentration camp. After coming across stacks of human corpses, soldiers reported witnessing General Eisenhower and General Patton, seasoned veterans, vomiting by the side of the road. Eisenhower later said of the discovery: "I have never felt able to describe my emotional reaction when I first came face to face with indisputable evidence of Nazi brutality and ruthless disregard of every shred of decency."<sup>10</sup> Yet, compared to other camps, the conditions at Ohrdruf were above average. In the days and weeks that followed, U.S. troops uncovered the true nature of Nazi inhumanity and sadism as they liberated one concentration camp after another. American troops, disgusted and horrified with what they found, implemented their own versions of de-Nazification immediately. At the Nordhausen camp, they forced several hundred German civilians from the nearby town to bury the 3000 rotting corpses littering the grounds.<sup>11</sup> In Leipzig, under direct orders from Eisenhower, German civilians buried hundreds of corpses in the center of town and then attended the mass funeral for them, many weeping uncontrollably. Asked whether they knew of the thousands of Jews

being murdered just outside of their city limits, the citizens of Dachau answered, "*Was koennten wir tun?*" (What could we do?).<sup>12</sup> The apparent acquiescence to Nazi crimes by ordinary Germans incensed the Allied forces, and the soldiers made a conscious effort to force every German to understand the repercussions of the atrocities committed under their watch. This sort of *de facto* shock treatment and enforcement of collective guilt defined the early months of occupation.

Immediately following the American combat troops into Germany was a wide array of Allied administrative officials. Their aim was to set up provisional governments free of Nazis and to begin implementing other de-Nazification protocol. On 2 June 1945, Lieutenant Denis A. Cooper, of the Manpower Division of the U.S. Allied Control Commission, arrived in Frankfurt am-Main, Germany by way of air transport from Versailles, France. En route through the city to the massive I.G. Farbenindustrie Complex, the new SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force) in Frankfurt, Cooper had immediate impressions of the prevailing attitude among German citizens: "The people don't seem very concerned. You see them walking the streets, cycling, standing in bunches, watching 100's of American cars of all kinds pass by, in one word – they look normal and – well dressed. Surprisingly well-dressed."<sup>13</sup> Absent in Frankfurt was the widespread devastation in Berlin, which Cooper, on his first visit to the city on 8 August 1945, deemed, "unimaginable."<sup>14</sup> Rather, in Frankfurt, he found that:

These people lived in comfort and ease which is given to a small percentage of Americans. And they seem to be just the lower middle class...They are all well dressed – no wooden shoes as in France – silk stockings, the girls pretty and husky and well proportioned, riding bicycles for fun...We seem to have come in to turn the gas on again, restore the railroads, repair the roads and bridges, and, generally, to bring a ray of sunshine into the drab life of war. Our arrival means to them a normal life again after the past few months of war in their country.<sup>15</sup>

The cocky, complacent nature of the Germans he encountered only served to fuel Cooper's ardent adherence to de-Nazification protocol. He was determined to make them understand the pain of war. Many Germans, it seemed, refused to accept that they were on the losing end. On 9 June he wrote, "They will have to learn, little by little, that we won the war and not they...they have no conception as yet that

Germany lost the war."<sup>16</sup>

Aside from their arrogance, Germans that Cooper encountered in Frankfurt also seemed to have a sheltered sort of ignorance of world events, "...though they come from so-called 'good families.' They don't know that Germany declared war on the US. They still believe that Poland and Czechoslovakia killed the Germans and that Hitler had to go to their rescue, they still don't believe the concentration camp stories, they still believe we are going to fight the Russians next, and so on, and so on."<sup>17</sup> This denial extended to their culpability for the atrocities committed against European Jews. In one letter from Frankfurt, Cooper explains that, "I...found that out of 35000 Jewish inhabitants of Frankfurt only about 140 are left. They don't even apply for reinstatement into their positions, rights, etc. Nobody knows where they are."<sup>18</sup> In Earl Ziemke's account of the occupation he confirms the finding:

Of the 35,000 Jews who inhabited Frankfurt, one of the oldest Jewish communities in Germany, military government officers found 140. They had been employed under the Nazis in cemeteries and at cleaning toilets. Living in segregated houses, one family to a room, they had in the past three years not received any egg, meat, milk, white flour, wine, tobacco, or clothing rations. Military government requisitioned houses and a hospital for them.<sup>19</sup>

It was not the active role that ordinary Germans played in aiding Nazis that so enraged the Allied forces. Rather, it was their passivity. They had only to turn away from the atrocities being committed to retain their self-proclaimed "innocence." Many Americans, especially Jewish-Americans like Cooper, did not see it in the same light.

Cooper responded to the apparent denial of so many Germans by doing everything in his power to make them feel the pain of a lost war and realize, "...that it doesn't pay to die for the Führer, or Fatherland, or anything else."<sup>20</sup> In his eventual capacity as Acting Chief of the Social Insurance Branch, he was able to best carry this out through arrest and expulsion of top Nazis from their administrative posts. However, expulsion was a divisive issue among the Allied powers since V-E Day. In the confusing days after Hitler's apparent suicide and Germany's surrender, there was fierce debate whether to recognize the new German government under Karl Dönitz. Dönitz, commander of the *Kriegsmarine* (German Navy) during the second half of the war, had been appointed Hitler's successor before Hitler took his life in the bunker below Berlin on 30 April. In the weeks following surrender on 8 May, Dönitz and his staff, in an attempt to save themselves from arrest, tried to convince the

Allied powers to allow them to remain a central German authority so as to make the transition to peace smoother for the Allies in Germany.<sup>21</sup> To some Allied officials, Dönitz and his staff seemed indispensable. Many did not understand the validity of replacing seasoned and efficient veterans of German civil affairs with a bunch of inexperienced G.I.'s, most of whom did not even speak the language.

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Britain, favored leaving some Germans in their respective positions so as to maintain basic order in Germany. In a speech in Parliament he explained that, "In general it is our aim that Germans should administer this country in obedience to Allied directions. We have no intention of undertaking the burden of Germany ourselves...Do you want to have a handle with which to manipulate this conquered people, or just have to thrust your hands into an agitated anthill?"<sup>22</sup> However, Churchill's minority opinion was in direct contradiction of the February 1945 decision at Yalta, which aimed to, "wipe out the Nazi party...remove all Nazi and militarist influence from public office."<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, under JCS 1067 order, "All members of the Nazi Party who have been more than nominal participants in its activities, all active supporters of Nazism or militarism and all other persons hostile to Allied purposes will be removed and excluded from public office and from positions of importance in quasi-public and private enterprises..."<sup>24</sup> Finally, majority Allied opinion won over and, "On 23 May Dönitz and his military and civilian collaborators were arrested under humiliating conditions by the infantry of the 11<sup>th</sup> armoured division."<sup>25</sup> Despite Dönitz's eventual arrest, the fact that the Allies bickered for two weeks before carrying out the decision had far-reaching repercussions. The initial reluctance to clean the house of German officials led to the belief among many troops that it was acceptable to leave top Nazis in office in the name of efficiency and ease. The misstep of the Allies in their postponed arrest of Dönitz represented the first crack in the de-Nazification program. It quickly spread.

Captain Cooper, who opposed the views of officials like Churchill, took the JSC orders very literally and vehemently opposed leaving top Nazis in office. As he rose in the ranks of German social security, he took every opportunity to expel top Nazis from office. In a letter written on 13 June 1945, he wrote:

I had to go out to the *Landesarbeitsamt* to question some German official. The official I talked to is a Dr. Seibrecht, a former SA-man who thinks he is going to stay in office. He talks about democracy and freedom as if he were running for Congress.

That son of a bitch is going to go out the window as soon as we have all the information we want.<sup>26</sup>

While some Americans chose to leave Nazis in office to maintain efficiency, Cooper sought to interrogate them, divulge every available piece of information (often making them think they were to stay in office), and then arrest them. He had little sympathy for "the poor bastards." In requisitioning the property of one high-ranking Nazi, Cooper recounted:

He begged me to release the 4000 RM [Reichsmarks]. But you know how much the request of a 1933 Nazi could move me. Even the sweet eyes of his 2 very beautiful daughters couldn't change the situation. He doesn't know that nothing he might do for me will prevent me from having him arrested. A paper to this effect has left my office today. He is a dangerous individual despite his present obedience and suaveness and he'll be put away.<sup>27</sup>

For Cooper, there was to be no compromise on the matter. In his eyes every Nazi – no matter how closely associated with the Party – was guilty, and he sought to punish each. He made frequent forays to cities all over the American occupation zone: Wiesbaden, Wurzburg, Heidelberg, Munich, Stuttgart, München, Rothenburg, Bad Mergentheim, Bad Kissingen, Bad Nauheim – in order to arrest the Nazis still in office. One letter recounted, "I worked there until 3 o'clock at night with the result of arresting about 15 to Nazis and firing about 45. I cleaned out a whole office with files and books and records and a library. The files and records will lead to the arrest of plenty of other guys. I returned Tuesday morning to Mergentheim where I got a hold of another bunch of dangerous Nazis, arrested 6 and fired about 10 or so." Cooper remarked on a Nazi woman who witnessed the purge: "She was foaming with fury when she saw what I did and how I treated the Nazis, polite, but without pity. She said: 'Now I see what power you wield.'<sup>28</sup> Here it appears that Nazi expulsion served as instant gratification for him not only on an official level, but on a personal one as well.

Aside from simple arrest orders, Cooper took pride in the other aspects of JCS 1067 that he was able to carry out. In a letter dated 15 August 1945, he summed up his accomplishments thus far: "1) I have deprived all Nazis, dependents and survivors of army personnel of their war pensions. If they are hungry let them starve or be charity cases. 2) I have arrested a considerable number of big shot Germans, and have a list of another number whom I'm after and I know where

they are hiding. 3) I have provided for legislation to the effect that all disabled Nazi victims shall get life-long pensions from the German authorities. 4) I am in the process of cleaning out all Nazis from all German social insurance agencies. So far the job is progressing nicely and I'm satisfied."<sup>29</sup> Sometimes, however, the protocol he carried out presented moral dilemmas that he did not initially anticipate. Cooper cited a specific example from a night in Berlin:

I was stopped 2 evenings ago by a street-walker. She looked like a very nice woman, fairly young (about 30) and not like a street-walker at all. I was with another officer and we talked to her. She told us that she had to take to this profession because her husband died in action and she has 2 children whom she must support. As you know we have stopped all war pensions (I take the blame or credit for that). Hence, she has no other means of support now. Thus, I left her with the feeling that I was not so smart after all for having stopped the war pensions. Because who is suffering? The poor war widow. The rich ones don't depend on war pensions anyway. And so one is faced by problems every day and one doesn't know any more what is right or wrong.<sup>30</sup>

In this instance, Cooper saw how his decisions affected all Germans, especially the poor. De-Nazification policy proved ineffective on those it most sought to disenfranchise and overly effective on those Germans who had already suffered enough. Aside from the disparity in its range of effect, the inadvertent human cost of the policy revealed itself in this instance. Thus, he began to understand the moral and ethical difficulties that accompanied the attempt to "get even" with an entire people. The issue of collective punishment was no longer black and white.

Despite Cooper's initial success with de-Nazification, the program began to slow down from the moment it hit the ground. The sheer inexperience of many American G.I.'s forced them to seek help from Nazi officials. Speaking on this consistently occurring problem, Cooper recounted:

This arrogance is provoked by our lenient attitude which is still increased by the fact that every officer wants to do a good job in his field and many, unfortunately too many, need the help of the Germans. Hence, too many who ought to be thrown out on their....are being left in office...I must confess that I, too, am to a great extent guilty of this... I asked

for his personnel file and found that he was a Party member since July 1937. Nevertheless, I asked for his help, not as a favor, naturally, as an order, but I did ask for it, and am using him. Thus, we are all guilty. Some more and some less. I am, however, firmly decided to clean house wherever I can...I only regret that the orders concerning Germans are not carried out in practice. At least not yet and not yet fully. But, it will come, I hope. There is so much to do and we are so short of personnel.<sup>31</sup>

In many situations, seeking help from Nazis, even top officials under mandatory arrest orders, was simply unavoidable. A State Department report published in 1947 confirms this fact, saying, "A number of Nazis were retained temporarily because of the urgent need for their technical proficiency."<sup>32</sup> However, as the months passed, the strict protocol was intentionally diluted as troops tired of doing "the right thing" in favor of doing the easy thing. Contributing to this was the breakdown of the moratorium on fraternization with Germans. In the beginning months of occupation, troops had been warned against fraternizing of any sort as a direct violation of their directive. Propaganda added to this ban. *Stars and Stripes*, the newspaper for the American troops, warned that "In heart, body, and spirit every German is Hitler."<sup>33</sup> Despite this campaign, relations between G.I.'s and Germans quickly took hold, the majority of them sexual. On 14 July 1945, Eisenhower announced, "In view of the rapid progress which has been made in carrying out Allied de-Nazification policies...it is believed desirable and timely to permit personnel of my command to engage in conversation with adult Germans on the streets and in public places."<sup>34</sup> The sheer demographics also contributed to widespread fraternization with the female enemy. Cooper recounted, "There are 69% more women than men in Germany and with morals loosened after a war and lost war, you can fancy what goes on."<sup>35</sup> If not yet officially abolished, the fraternization ban was effectively nullified on the ground. Relations quickly warmed between German civilians and American G.I.'s. Subsequently, enforcing de-Nazification protocol became for many not only unnecessary, but undesirable.

As winter approached, relations between G.I.'s and German women spiked. This was not by any means a coincidence. Hunger in Germany was rampant. One Russian noted that, "People are eating grass and bark from the trees."<sup>36</sup> Even before the winter arrived Cooper wrote home explaining that, "You can't buy bread here. It was the same in France. Only in England was

bread unrationed and on free sale."<sup>37</sup> The dire hunger in post-war Germany led to widespread prostitution motivated by necessity. On 10 September 1945, Cooper wrote that, "The women here can be had for a pack of cigarettes or for a meal. And this is literally so...They are hungry and hunger is a hard master. And they are scared of winter like hell. And rightly so...Such is life in Berlin now. Thank God for being an American and having won the war. A lost war is awful."<sup>38</sup> On 14 October he wrote, "German women and Allied army personnel are drinking and dancing and making love freely. Women selling themselves for a meal and a warm bed."<sup>39</sup> Widespread hunger was just one aspect of the humanitarian crisis facing Germans in the winter of 1945-1946. German infrastructure was devastated as well. Forty percent of all housing was destroyed or damaged beyond repair. Electricity and water supplies were intermittent at best. Four million men had died fighting and twelve million were prisoners, leaving women and children to fend for themselves.<sup>40</sup> For many Germans, their punishment had already arrived.

In part due to the absolute chaos of the humanitarian crisis, de-Nazification as a program continued to erode. At this point it became not only low-level privates who were disregarding orders; high ranking Allied commanders were also beginning to tire of enforcing the JCS 1067 guidelines. In a letter to Eisenhower written on 11 August 1945, General Patton suggested to Eisenhower that troops should go more slowly on de-Nazification because too many trained people were being removed and too many inexperienced or inefficient ones brought in.<sup>41</sup> Though Eisenhower rebuffed his suggestion, Patton's letter only reflected the true nature of what was going on in German cities and towns all over the American zone. Cooper's reports on the progress of de-Nazification from the ground grew increasingly bitter, confirming this fact:

I am disgusted with all that happens here. We are importing food and feeding the bastards. The de-Nazification is proceeding slowly and a lot of people are against it. They find Germany couldn't be run effectively without them. As if we had fought and won the war so that Germany may be run efficiently...The Nazis and those who sympathized with them and those who were well to do before are still well to do...They have fine homes, nice women, and can make life comfortable. Hence, our people fall for it. Others are driven by an urge for efficiency and can not see any efficiency with new personnel. Hence, they leave the Nazis in.<sup>42</sup>

Cooper continued to address the failing faith in de-Nazification that he was witnessing amongst his fellow comrades. The hypocrisy of the situation in Germany enraged him:

What gripes me most is that I have to fight off soft policies at every turn even those people now who used to be advocates of a harsh policy. The long and repeated whining of the Germans is beginning to have its effect upon the people. It is hard to carry out those policies for which we, allegedly, went to war. This is going to be one reason why I'll be happy when I leave this country.<sup>43</sup>

German complaints coupled with a lack of desire to enforce protocol worked to soften the strict application of de-Nazification and some soldiers like Cooper felt that Allied priorities of feeding the population and maintaining efficiency were violations of the true reasons for going to war – namely, to liberate the people of Europe and destroy Nazi Germany forever.

By early 1946, Cooper appeared completely disillusioned with de-Nazification and the U.S. mission in Germany:

There just is nothing to write except that I am eating my heart out. The Nazis are cocky and fresh and insolent and do whatever they please and we stay here to protect them from the rightful wrath of the Russians. We are pampering them and using the American taxpayer's money to feed them while French children are starving. The people back home are not told the truth about what we are doing. There is no justification for our stay here if we are doing what we are doing. We are giving back all the privileges to the great majority of Nazis and are doing little or nothing for those who resisted them and suffered throughout the years. It is disgraceful and I just can't get on. As long as I was the chief of my branch I could at least prevent things from getting worse. Now I can do nothing in this direction.- I am coming home as soon as I can.- I signed a statement yesterday to the effect that I want to be released at the earliest opportunity.<sup>44</sup>

This letter is the first and only instance in which Cooper professes his view that the success of the de-Nazification program was distorted for the American public. His disgust for this new betrayal of policy and his ranking inability to change it seemed to be the last straw. Viewing de-Nazification and

the punishment of Germany a total failure, Cooper sought to be released from duty as soon as possible.

Aside from the perceived need for efficiency, de-Nazification crumbled in the American zone partially due to Russian influence. Russian leader Joseph Stalin was particularly lax in his operational application of de-Nazification, preferring instead to focus on “anti-fascist democratic reconstruction.” In effect, the Soviets were using the lessons of defeat to transform East Germany into a strategic and ideological bastion of communism. A series of dramatic seizures of power by the Communists in eastern and south-eastern Europe pushed re-education of the Germans off the agenda for the Western powers.<sup>45</sup> Some Allied officials had seen this split in ideology as early as May 1945. After the arrest of Dönitz, one British official predicted, “We are now face to face with the choice, which has for some time been open to us between either agreeing and putting into effect a joint policy of controlling Germany to our mutual interest, or of building up against the Russians as much of Germany as will follow our lead.”<sup>46</sup> The American zone now became part of an Anglo-American bulwark against the rising power of the Russians. Meanwhile, before and after the Potsdam conference of mid-July to early August, a total of 12 million people moved from the German east, the Sudetenland, and south-east Germany into West Germany compared to just 4.4 million going the other way.<sup>47</sup> And many did so against their will. In repatriating official displaced persons, “the Allies traded 2,064,000 Soviet ‘citizens’ for some 260,000 to 360,000 Western prisoners of war. Most of these ‘citizens’ were sent to Soviet gulags, or executed immediately in order to eliminate any kind of political opposition to Stalin’s regime.”<sup>48</sup> As the East became increasingly difficult to enter, American opinion began to turn against the Soviets and the problem of de-Nazification was largely moved to the back of the Allied mind.

For Cooper, originally a Romanian, Russia’s sealing of the East was personally threatening. Despite his aim to return home as soon as possible, he had unresolved issues there. His Jewish-Romanian family, having survived the fascist anti-Semitic regime under Ion Antonescu in that country, was now seemingly stuck in their hometown of Chernovitsy. Cooper made repeated requests for Russian permission to go into Romania and see his family. He was consistently denied. He spoke openly of his increasing anger and desperation dealing with Russian authorities:

I am desolate and don’t know what to do. I have hopes to be able to see my people and you know that on this premise were built many of my plans. This seems to be gone now. I

am beginning to believe more and more that there is no great difference between the Nazis and the Russians. None of them had any concern for human lives. I am afraid they forced my family to go to Romania and how in the world am I going to find them. If they don’t get in touch with us, I don’t know how I am going to find them. I shall still attempt to go to Cernauti [Chernovitsy] and from there start a search for my people. It is heartbreaking what the Russians have done with these people after years of suffering from the Germans. I have no words. And I am afraid that this war, too, was in vain. A new menace to humanity seems to have been reborn... I am disappointed in life and humanity. I am working with no idea what for. Were it not for you and my son – well I don’t know what life would be worth to me.<sup>49</sup>

Increasingly he noticed these feelings prevailed in other Allied troops: “I don’t like the Russians. And that is that. And this feeling is daily shared by more and more Americans and God help us in the future.”<sup>50</sup> Cooper perceived the coming freeze of relations and the growing enmity between Russian and American forces and ideology. Finally, in February of 1946, he was able to obtain official American military orders, which the Russians were unable to block, to head to Romania for 60 days. In June of 1946, he found his family and brought them under D.P.(displaced person) status to Berlin, via Vienna, Austria, and after that, into Western Europe.

To fully understand the impact, or lack thereof, of the de-Nazification program, the judicial statistics must be examined. The Nuremberg trials of 1946 captured the world’s attention, but bringing an entire nation to justice was an impossible task. Allied forces, therefore, attempted to focus on bringing the leaders and mid-level officials to tribunals. Those under arrest had to answer a questionnaire covering 131 points and the tribunals worked off of that, but it soon became troublesome due to the chaos of post-war Germany. Gradually the practice of dealing with the easier cases first was adopted, and many upper-level Nazis managed to take advantage of the confusion and escape to South America or just fade into obscurity in West Germany or elsewhere in Europe.<sup>51</sup> This was matched with a relatively lenient Allied judicial system. The 1947 State Department report confirmed that, “Courts throughout the zone were found to have been unduly lenient in their findings, often reversing earlier military government verdicts relating to major offenders.”<sup>52</sup> Of

those who were prosecuted, the results were fairly abysmal. Of the over three and a half million people eligible for prosecution, only 887,252 were ever brought to court. The courts dismissed 298,418 of these cases. 463,645 cases received a fine of less than 1,000 Reichsmark, 75,390 received a fine of 1,000 Reichsmark or more, 7,981 were given up to 5 years in jail, and only 404 were given the maximum sentence of 5-10 year prison terms. This totaled to only 547,420 Germans being sentenced to any form of punishment.<sup>53</sup> Most Germans buried their own demons and attempted to move on with their lives.

The difficulties of the occupation period stretched far beyond the logistical nightmares of moving Germans in or out of office. De-Nazification was probably the most energetically pursued objective of early occupation, but by mid-1946 it had become the least satisfactory, proving to be impractical to many when carried out on the massive scale attempted. Perhaps less would have done more. The concept of collective punishment was difficult to carry out. There were varying attitudes among the Allies as to this question. The British view on collective guilt was hard-line at first but relaxed into something of a doctrine of forgiveness and reinvention of democracy in Germany. As for the French, they mostly demanded humiliating displays of respect for their authority in an attempt to blot out the painful memory of the decisive German victory in June 1940. The Soviets opted to erase the memory of fascism, putting all efforts towards transforming the East into a bastion of communism. The Americans, on the other hand, had a special zeal for confronting the Germans with their supposed collective guilt through shock treatment – namely, forcing Germans to visit concentration camps and dig graves to bring to them a brutal realization of their own culpability. In practice, this actually had an opposite effect.

In 1946, anti-Nazi activist Eugen Kogon wrote that it was not the force of the German conscience that was being awakened, “...but the strength of rejection of the accusation that they had wholesale responsibility for the iniquitous deeds of the National Socialists.”<sup>54</sup> Though they supported the Nazi party, many Germans refused to accept responsibility for atrocities they had not physically committed. As the Cold War freeze set in, Germans turned their backs on Nazism, but also on their own culpability, preferring to simply ignore the past entirely.<sup>55</sup> This mindset prevailed in both East and West Germany. In a letter dated 6 July 1945, Cooper described his perception of Germany:

To my mind, and I have talked to many Germans since I am in Germany, this generation is a lost generation. They will never be able

to return to decent thoughts and feeling which they never harbored anyway. If there is any hope – it might lie with the children now 5-6 years old. However, only few people see or are willing to see the realities of life.<sup>56</sup>

Cooper accurately foreshadowed the experience that was to come for many second generation Germans, born during or immediately following the war. Germans indeed struggled for many years with historical memory and their own culpability in the crimes of the Nazi regime. Only since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1991 have many of these issues been addressed openly in German literature and society. Today, however, only sixty years after occupation, Germany is one of the most prosperous first-world countries in Europe. The Allied occupation is remembered as a widespread success and in many ways it was. Germany was reformed into a fair and democratic society, millions of refugees were repatriated, and modern Europe was able to rise from the ruins of the most devastating war the world had ever known. However, the majority of Nazis and complacent Germans escaped any form of punishment and lived out their lives in relative comfort. Americans like Cooper were forced to live with this knowledge. Looking through the eyes of one soldier it can be understood that while the goals of reconstruction and restoration were achieved, for many, the ultimate goal of justice was never realized.

**Editor's Note:** Original paper had map included, which is located at <http://history.ameddb.army.mil/booksdocs/wii/vetservicewwii/chapter12map10.jpg>

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Directive to the Supreme Commander, Allied Expeditionary Force from Combined Chiefs of Staff, 12 February 1944, as quoted in Kenneth O. McCready, "Planning the Peace: Operation Eclipse and the Occupation of Germany," *The Journal of Military History* 65, no.3 (July 2001): 713.

<sup>2</sup> McCready, "Planning the Peace," 716.

<sup>3</sup> McCready, "Planning the Peace," 728.

<sup>4</sup> Friedemann Bedurftig, "A People Without a State: Post V-E Day Germany," *History Today* 45, no.5 (May 1995): 47.

<sup>5</sup> Beate R. Von Oppen, *Documents on Germany under Occupation 1945-1954* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 16.

<sup>6</sup> McCready, "Planning the Peace," 734.

<sup>7</sup> See appendix, Figure 1.

<sup>8</sup> McCready, "Planning the Peace," 723.

<sup>9</sup> See appendix, Figure 1.

<sup>10</sup> Earl Ziemke, *The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946* (Washington: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1975), 231.

<sup>11</sup> Ziemke, *The U.S. Army*, 234.

<sup>12</sup> Ziemke, *The U.S. Army*, 245-253.

<sup>13</sup> Denis A. Cooper, personal letter to Henrietta Cooper, Frankfurt am-Main, Germany, 2 June 1945.

<sup>14</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Berlin, Germany, 9 August 1945.

- <sup>15</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Frankfurt, Germany, 4 June 1945.
- <sup>16</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Frankfurt, Germany, 9 June 1945.
- <sup>17</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Frankfurt, Germany, 23 July 1945.
- <sup>18</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Frankfurt, Germany, 6 June 1945.
- <sup>19</sup> Ziemke, *The U.S. Army*, 227.
- <sup>20</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Frankfurt, Germany, 7 June 1945.
- <sup>21</sup> Marlis G. Steinert, "The Allied Decision to Arrest the Dönitz Government," *The Historical Journal* 31, no.3 (Sep. 1988): 657.
- <sup>22</sup> Steinert, "The Dönitz Government," 656.
- <sup>23</sup> Von Oppen, "Report on the Crimea (Yalta) Conference, 4-11 February, 1945," *Documents*, 5.
- <sup>24</sup> Von Oppen, "JCS 1067, April 1945," *Documents*, 17.
- <sup>25</sup> Steinert, "The Dönitz Government," 661.
- <sup>26</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Berlin, Germany, 13 June 1945.
- <sup>27</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Frankfurt, Germany, 25 June 1945.
- <sup>28</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Frankfurt, Germany, 19 July 1945.
- <sup>29</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Frankfurt, Germany, 15 August 1945.
- <sup>30</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Berlin, Germany, 31 August 1945.
- <sup>31</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Frankfurt, Germany, 8 June 1945.
- <sup>32</sup> United States Department of State. *Occupation of Germany: Policy and Progress, 1945-1946*. (Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1947), 17-18.
- <sup>33</sup> Friedemann Bedurftig, "A People Without a State: Post V-E Day Germany," *History Today* 45, no.5 (1995): 51.
- <sup>34</sup> Dwight D. Eisenhower, as cited in Ziemke, *The U.S. Army*, 325.
- <sup>35</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Berlin, Germany, 1 September 1945.
- <sup>36</sup> Bedurftig, "A People Without a State," 51.
- <sup>37</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Frankfurt, Germany, 16 June 1945.
- <sup>38</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Frankfurt, Germany, 10 September 1945.
- <sup>39</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Berlin, Germany, 14 October 1945.
- <sup>40</sup> Bedurftig, "A People Without a State," 47-51.
- <sup>41</sup> Ziemke, *The U.S. Army*, 384.
- <sup>42</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Berlin, Germany, 8, 19 September 1945.
- <sup>43</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Berlin, Germany, 9 October 1945.
- <sup>44</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Berlin, Germany, 15 January 1946.
- <sup>45</sup> Bedurftig, "A People Without a State," 51.
- <sup>46</sup> Steinert, "The Dönitz Government," 662.
- <sup>47</sup> Bedurftig, "A People Without a State," 50.
- <sup>48</sup> Vincent E. Slatt, "Nowhere to Go: Displaced Persons in Post-V-E-Day Germany," *The Historian* 64, no.2 (Winter 2002): 279-80.
- <sup>49</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Berlin, Germany, 18 September 1945.
- <sup>50</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Berlin, Germany, 16 October 1945.
- <sup>51</sup> Bedurftig, "A People Without a State," 51.
- <sup>52</sup> United States Department of State. *Occupation*, 20.
- <sup>53</sup> Ziemke, *The U.S. Army*, 446.
- <sup>54</sup> Eugen Kogon, as cited in Bedurftig, "A People Without a State," 52.
- <sup>55</sup> Norman Naimark, "Germans as Victims: Recovering from the Third Reich," *The Weekly Standard*, 12 Nov 2007: 38.
- <sup>56</sup> Cooper, personal letter, Frankfurt, Germany, 6 July 1945.

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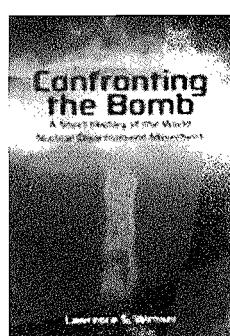
**Songs of Bilitis.** Southwestern University (Georgetown, Texas), with support from The Mellon Foundation, will perform all three of Debussy's compositional engagements with Pierre Louÿs' poetic fabrications ascribed to a sixth-century BCE member of the circle of Sappho: the 3 *Chansons de Bilitis* for mezzo-soprano and piano (1897); the 12 *Chansons de Bilitis* for recitation, mime, and chamber ensemble (1901); and the 6 *Epigraphes antiques* for piano duet (1914). One set of performances will include a reconstruction of the historic salon performance given with *tableaux vivants* and mime in Paris on 7 February 1901, as well as the 1897 and 1914 compositions; another will use the same music but feature modern artistic revisitations of the thematic content of Louÿs' poems and Debussy's music. Both sets of performances will feature brief interspersed commentaries by scholars from various disciplines to which the *Chansons de Bilitis* are of interest. All performances will occur in January-February 2010. The whole is produced by John Michael Cooper and directed by Kathleen Juhl. For more information, see:  
[www.southwestern.edu/sarofim/bilitis/](http://www.southwestern.edu/sarofim/bilitis/)

## WHA CHANGES 2010 CONFERENCE HOTEL VENUE

Due to various potential issues at our previously chosen venue, we are pleased to announce that the WHA has entered into a contract with the San Diego Marriott Mission Valley, where it will hold its annual conference, 24-27 June 2010.

This change in venue brings with it a number of advantages. First, the San Diego Marriott Mission Valley is convenient to the airport and adjacent to the trolley line, just a few stops from the San Diego State University campus, where a keynote address and reception will be held. Moreover, many of the wonderful sights of San Diego are located along the trolley line, which leads to downtown, the Gaslamp District, and Historic Old Town. It even runs to the border with Mexico. Second, the Marriott provides significantly larger and more coherent panel, exhibition, and reception space for conference activities. Third, the Marriott is offering conferees deeply discounted room rates, as well as several additional discounts. The WHA has negotiated a significantly reduced rate of \$135 for singles, doubles, triples, or quads, plus tax. Four persons on a limited budget could, therefore, share a room and pay somewhere in the vicinity of \$35 per person per night. Not bad for a luxury hotel. Additionally, conferees staying at the hotel will receive free high-speed wireless internet access, free local calls, have parking at only \$6 per day, and if they wish, also enjoy a 20 percent discount on breakfast. The hotel has reserved 125 rooms at this rate for the night of 6/24, and 200 rooms for the nights of 6/25 and 6/26. To allow conferees who wish to enjoy San Diego for longer, this rate will be offered conferees for three nights preceding 6/24 and three nights following 6/27, as long as rooms are available. Given that 475 conferees attended the 2009 conference in Salem, and a like number is expected in San Diego, prudence dictates that reservations are made early to ensure securing a room at this favorable rate. Reservations must be made before May 24, 2010. These rates will not be available after that date, except on a case-by-case basis. The WHA will provide registered conferees a link on our website at [www.thewha.org](http://www.thewha.org) for a special code for registering on-line at [www.marriott.com](http://www.marriott.com), or persons can register by calling 1-800-842-5329 and requesting the WHA Conference rate.

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**The Book of Secrets: Alchemy and the Laboratory Manual from Al-Razi to Libavius, 920-1597 C.E.**

**Introduction**

Today, when alchemy evokes visions of wizards and crystal balls, it may seem strange to refer to a book of procedures on the transmutation of ordinary metals into gold as a practical laboratory manual, free of mysticism. Yet it was alchemy, the most ancient form of chemistry, which first brought the book and the laboratory together. Demonstrating this centrality, *The Alchemist* (c. 1645), painted in oil by Mattheus van Helmont, highlights the books in the front left of the scene, upstaging the apparatus in the background of a working laboratory (Figure 1). A massive volume lies open on the table, while scattered books remain unheeded on the floor. These books may invoke the authority of the ancients or convey academic legitimacy, but the most important book for the working chemist simply provides unequivocal instructions.

Over a thousand years ago, the Persian physician and chemist Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakarīyā al-Rāzī (c. 865 - 923)<sup>1</sup> wrote such a laboratory manual, the first to reach us in its entirety. He called it the *Kitāb al-Asrār* or *Book of Secrets*. The most valuable “secrets” in the *Kitāb al-Asrār* were organized procedures and written specifications for proportions, temperature, timing, and endpoints, the same strategies for achieving reproducibility that laboratories use today. This paper will show that there was a continuum of laboratory manuals from al-Rāzī’s *Kitāb al-Asrār* in 920 C.E. to Andreas Libavius’s *Alchemia* published in 1597 C.E., which some historians refer to as the first chemistry textbook.<sup>2</sup>

energetic defenses of the controversial practice of alchemy.<sup>3</sup> In tenth-century Persia, *al-kīmiyā*<sup>4</sup> or alchemy, the science of changing the state of metals under laboratory conditions, was already controversial. Observation of mixed ores in the mines seemed to support Aristotle’s postulate that metals evolve to a higher state when subjected to conditions found within the earth.<sup>5</sup> The crux of the debate was whether alchemists could duplicate and accelerate this metamorphosis under artificial conditions.<sup>6</sup>

They understood how to transform the appearance and color of matter by using controlled heat to carry out processes such as sublimation, the conversion of a solid to a vapor, and calcination, the conversion of a solid to a powder. This human fascination with the transformation of metals brought the first application of theoretical chemistry – the use of the workspace to recreate natural processes in an artificial environment and transform the substance of matter itself.

Although al-Rāzī defended alchemy in other works,<sup>7</sup> the *Kitāb al-Asrār*, written in c. 920, yields no space to theory. The result is a book that is concise and systematic, giving it a modern resonance that contrasts with theoretical medieval texts, such as the *De*

Al-Rāzī, as his name indicates, was from the city of Rayy, a thriving trade center in tenth century Persia. He wrote massive volumes on medicine, philosophy, and astronomy, and engaged in

*Mineralibus* of Albertus Magnus (c.1193–1280), or allegorical texts, such as the *Compound of Alchemy* by George Ripley (c.1415-1490).<sup>8</sup> In fact, the structure of al-Rāzī’s tenth-century book closely resembles that of *Alchemia*, Libavius’s chemistry text written in Germany in 1597. During the seven hundred years that separate these two works, other practical alchemical texts shared elements of this structure including *The New Pearl of Great Price* (c. 1330) by Petrus Bonus and the thirteenth-century *Summa Perfectionis* of Pseudo-Geber.<sup>9</sup> This paper will analyze the organization and procedures of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* and compare it to medieval European texts in order to trace the structure of the laboratory manual up to the publication of *Alchemia*.

The first historian to analyze al-Rāzī’s *Kitāb al-Asrār* as a groundbreaking chemical work was Henry E. Stapleton in 1927 in his book *Chemistry in Iraq and Persia in the Tenth Century A.D.*<sup>10</sup> In 1937, historian and linguist Julius Ruska (1867-1949) published a German translation of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* based on three Arabic manuscripts.<sup>11</sup> In order to study this work, I translated Ruska’s

German text into English and evaluated its contents based on my own laboratory career. Ruska gave al-Rāzī credit for bringing “alchemy to a strictly scientific format for the first time.”<sup>12</sup> Mid-twentieth-century writers such as E. J. Holmyard, author of *Alchemy* in 1957, and Robert P. Multhauf, who wrote *The Origins of Chemistry* in 1966,<sup>13</sup> took note of al-Rāzī’s systematic methodology and his classification of chemical substances. “Razi,” stated Holmyard, “in fact brought

about a revolution in alchemy by reversing the relative importance of experiment and speculation.”<sup>14</sup> In fact, al-Rāzī’s achievement is even more significant. Analysis of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* reveals that its organizational structure and methods of reproducibility are comparable to laboratory manuals today, and therefore that it takes the concept of the laboratory itself back at least as far as the tenth century.

In 1975, Owen Hannaway brought needed attention to laboratory science and its texts in *The Chemists and the Word: The Didactic Origins of Chemistry* in which he characterized the monumental *Alchemia*



*Fig. 1. Book in the right hand, flask in the left, the master views his results. The Alchemist, Mattheus van Helmont, Antwerp 1623-after 1679 Brussels. (Courtesy of the Chemical Heritage Foundation Collections. Photo by Will Brown, 00.01.277)*

written by the German physician Andreas Libavius in 1597 as a deliberate academic attempt to separate chemistry from alchemy.<sup>15</sup> More recently, William Newman and Lawrence Principe in *Alchemy Tried in the Fire* (2002) shifted the emphasis back to a continuity of alchemy and chemistry, but, like Hannaway, they focused on seventeenth-century laboratory texts.<sup>16</sup> However, the antecedents of modern laboratory manuals extend much further back. It is time to take a fresh look at the *Kitāb al-Asrār*.

### I. A Practical Laboratory Manual

What does it mean to claim that the *Kitāb al-Asrār* resembles a modern laboratory manual? The modern laboratory, inextricably integrated into today's economy, is an expensive space that uses specialized equipment for repetitive testing. Whether its purpose is medical diagnosis, stem-cell research, or crime scene investigation, mistakes can be costly and randomness has no place. The written manual of today addresses equipment, materials, safety, quality, and testing processes, in conformance with a structural framework defined by the institution and often subject to regulatory oversight. This degree of public credibility and demand for accountability depends on reproducible results<sup>17</sup> based on written standard operating procedures. William Tillstone, director of a large forensic laboratory, addresses modern standards of quality assurance in these words: "Once you have a manual you must follow it... If it turns out that there is a better way to do something than detailed in the manual, change the manual."<sup>18</sup> The written word dictates laboratory procedures, but the laboratory in turn dictates the written word.

The *Kitāb al-Asrār* suggests a modern manual because it provides exactly what is needed free from theory, speculation, and digressions. When al-Rāzī wrote the *Kitāb al-Asrār*, his goal was to extract the essentials from his prior works and compile "one compact concise book on this subject."<sup>19</sup> He produced a practical manual with a systematic structure, interrelated procedures, and specific instructions.

The *Kitāb al-Asrār* is organized into four parts with an introduction, required materials, equipment, and procedures. The outline of the book in the appendix of this paper illustrates this structure. The user can see at once how to select the proper materials, instruments, ovens, and containers with-

out having to look at each procedure, interpret allegory, or wade through pages of theory. The book has no conclusion, consistent with modern manuals, which usually begin formally with a statement of purpose, but end abruptly with the last procedure.<sup>20</sup> Al-Rāzī does however clearly label the last chapter, which in the days of manuscripts served to tell the reader that he had the complete document at hand.<sup>21</sup> With this assurance and the necessary materials, the user was ready to continue to the procedures, which constitute the main body of the book.

Table 1 shows that the 389 procedures in the *Kitāb al-Asrār* can be divided into four basic types: primary, intermediate, reagent, and preparation methods. The 175 procedures which I have termed primary are procedures which directly produce an agent that changes metals into gold or silver. They

additional information, especially for reagents which are needed in more than one procedure. These internal citations show that Al-Rāzī anticipated what the alchemist would need to know and designed the manual as an integrated whole.

Not only are the procedures arranged logically in respect to one another, but within each procedure is specific information required to perform it. For example, the procedure for the sublimation of quicksilver specifies the required materials, the quantities, their preparation, containers, ovens, timing, and tests for the desired endpoint. Details such as instructions to allow the hot container to cool before collecting the residue on the sides protect the worker as well as facilitate a larger yield of the final product. In order for any laboratory procedure to be repeatable and to avoid waste, the

**Table 1. A Classification of the Procedures in the *Kitāb al-Asrār*.**

Type of Procedure	Purpose	Count	Percent	Example
Primary	Produces a substance that transforms metals into gold or silver	175	45	Sublimation of mercury
Intermediate	Prepares materials required for primary procedures	127	33	Calcination of silver through burning
Reagent	Produces a chemical used in other procedures	51	13	Liquids that dissolve or color
Preparation	Instructions for a method used in other procedures	36	9	Mixing through pulverizing and roasting
Total		389	100 %	

are supported by 127 preparatory procedures (softening, calcination), which in turn refer to 51 reagent preparations (solvents, tinctures), and 36 instructions for commonly needed processes such as mixing or dissolving. The arrangement of the procedures in the *Kitāb al-Asrār* follows a preconceived plan. Al-Rāzī groups procedures by type of process (sublimation, calcination, softening) and major substances (quicksilver, sulfur, metals, stones) and then arranges the procedures sequentially in the order needed. When this is not possible, they are cross-referenced. For example, the instructions for calcination of tin require the addition of the sublimated quicksilver already prepared in a prior procedure. However, when the last step of the tin procedure requires "crushing water," a strong solvent, the text refers the user to the chapter on dissolving, where the information for making that solvent is found.<sup>22</sup> This cross-referencing avoids repetition and anticipates the user's need for

practitioner should not have to guess the amounts, the timing, or whether the process is complete. Alchemic procedures were often vague, but Al-Rāzī's manual anticipated the user's need for specific information.

The *Kitāb al-Asrār* is not only practical and systematic, but it also appears to introduce a new approach to laboratory science. Henry E. Stapleton and Julius Ruska, the historians who closely analyzed al-Rāzī's work in the 1920s and 30s, found that at least some of al-Rāzī's chemistry stems from a tenth-century body of alchemical texts written under the name of the eighth-century alchemist Jabir. However both Stapleton and Ruska were convinced that al-Rāzī's style was entirely new.<sup>23</sup> According to Ruska, "the gulf between the endless variety of forms of the Jabir manuscripts and the realistic matter-of-fact style of Rāzī's work is so great, that one can hardly notice any further relationship other than a common foundation."<sup>24</sup> Modern historians, as discussed in the intro-

duction, have not challenged this claim. Yet if Ruska is correct in characterizing al-Rāzī's book as something entirely new, it suggests that the concept of a laboratory manual, and therefore the concept of the function of the laboratory itself, began in the tenth century.

The overall arrangement of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* into introduction, materials, equipment, and procedures sounds obvious, even intuitive. Yet there were alternatives. During the Middle Ages in Europe a variety of alchemical texts proliferated with a multitude of styles. Over the centuries, however, the simple functional approach never entirely disappeared. Al-Rāzī's laboratory manual was designed to last, supported by the enduring name recognition of its author.

## II. Also Known as Rhazes

Laboratory manuals are hardly best-seller material, but al-Rāzī possessed definite name recognition that may have helped to sustain the *Kitāb al-Asrār*. Al-Rāzī was best known in Europe not as an alchemist, but as the author of authoritative medical books. One list of his works names 89 on medicine, 21 on alchemy, and 74 on astronomy, philosophy, and other sciences.<sup>25</sup> Although most of his works were lost, a few became exceedingly well-known under his Latinized name Rhazes.<sup>26</sup> The prominence of his medical works from the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries in the universities of Europe reinforced his credibility among physicians and the public as well as alchemists.

Physicians became familiar with al-Rāzī in medical school where two of his works became standard texts: the ninth volume of the *Kitāb al-Mansūrī*, called *Nonus Almansoris*, and the twenty-five volume *al-Hāwī*, known as *Continens*, a compilation of Greek and Hindu medical texts accompanied by his own commentary.<sup>27</sup> *Continens* was "the most valuable of the nine volumes" in the University of Paris medical library in 1395.<sup>28</sup> Medical historian Donald Campbell lists Latin publications of *Continens* in 1486, 1500, 1506, 1509, and 1542.<sup>29</sup> The *Nonus Almansoris*, translated into Latin in 1481 and many times thereafter, was included in the medical curriculum of the new University of Tübingen in 1481, the medical school in Vienna in 1520, and was still required at the University of Frankfurt (Oder) after 1588.<sup>30</sup> Medical schools in Holland continued to require Al-Rāzī's medical books into the seventeenth century.<sup>31</sup>

Alchemy was not a university subject in the Middle Ages, but al-Rāzī's prestige as a learned physician, may have increased his credibility across his areas of expertise, especially since many alchemists were physicians and clerics.

References to al-Rāzī in popular culture show that he required no introduction to the public. *The Romance of the Rose*, a thirteenth-century poem by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, enjoyed in both France and England for 300 years, names him as a medical authority: "And we have not seen any of the physicians themselves escape from her [Death], not Hippocrates or Galen, no matter how good physicians they were. Rhases, Constantine, and Avicenna have left her their skins."<sup>32</sup> The English poet Geoffrey Chaucer (c.1340-1400) attested to the learning of the physician in *The Canterbury Tales*, when he wrote, "Wel knew he th'olde Esculapius, And Deiscorides and eek Rufus, Old Ypocras, and Haly, and Galien; Serapion, Razes, and Avicen . . ."<sup>33</sup> Al-Rāzī, carved in stone and holding a book, joins Galen and Hippocrates again in an early seventeenth-century stone frieze of ten renowned medical authorities commissioned to celebrate the first pharmacy in the German county of Lippe. These examples show that the public associated al-Rāzī with historical figures of medicine. Both poems were popular works, full of humor and human interest, written to entertain, not to educate. The authors seem to have expected their public to understand the reference without an explanation.

Al-Rāzī was familiar to alchemists as well, and many mention him by name to give authority to their works either in connection with specific procedures or as one of a list of known authorities. Abuhalah, an eleventh-century alchemist from Sicily whose procedures are reminiscent of the *Kitāb al-Asrār*, starts one process with: "A distinguished combinatory operation, tested by Rusis . . ."<sup>34</sup> Similarly, the *Libellus de Alchemia*, ascribed to Albertus Magnus (c. 1193-1280), begins a procedure, "A better way to sublime mercury is given by Rhases. . ."<sup>35</sup> "Rhasis, in his *Seventy Precepts*, affirms that mercury is the root of all things," states Petrus Bonus in *The New Pearl of Great Price*, written in c. 1330.<sup>36</sup> Al-Rāzī is quoted as a giver of sound advice in the *Speculum Alchymiae: The True Glass of Alchemy*, attributed to Roger Bacon (c.

1220-1292) and in Nicolas Flamel's fifteenth-century quest, *Écrits Alchemiques*.<sup>37</sup> Thomas Norton (c.1433-c. 1513), in *The Ordinall of Alchemy*, portrays Al-Rāzī as a master alchemist in an illustration and includes him in a list of named authorities, as do other alchemists.<sup>38</sup> The validity of their citations is not relevant here. These authors had no way of knowing whether al-Rāzī wrote all the texts ascribed to him. Nevertheless,

throughout the Middle Ages, alchemists who wrote books recognized al-Rāzī as an authority in their chosen field.

From the first Latin translations of his books in the twelfth century until the seventeenth century, al-Rāzī's fame was divided between the worlds of alchemy and medicine. Historians have also viewed him that way. In his tenth-century compilation of books, *The Fihrist*, al-Nadīm places al-Rāzī's medical works in one section and his alchemical works in another, as does science historian George Sarton in 1927 in his *Introduction to the History of Science*.<sup>39</sup> Medical historian Donald Campbell looks at his medical works; science historian E. J. Holmyard analyzes his systematic chemistry.<sup>40</sup> Yet when one surveys al-Rāzī's career and body of work as a whole, the clear, organized methodology of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* is no longer an anomaly among alchemic texts, but the natural outcome of an analytic mind. Science historian Yvon Houdas states that as medical director in Baghdad, "he was equally an organizer . . . organizing external consultations, home health care, and medical assistance for the needy."<sup>41</sup> Chapters from his classic medical work, *Continens*, include divisions on "the potentialities of drugs and nutriments," "compounded drugs," and "weights and measures."<sup>42</sup> Viewed in its entirety, al Rāzī's work anticipates European physicians whose writings incorporated both alchemy and laboratory medicine, such as Paracelsus (1493-1541) and Andreas Libavius (c. 1555-1616).<sup>43</sup>

This study has explored what it means to say that the *Kitāb al-Asrār* was a straightforward laboratory manual and shown that its author was widely recognized as a credible authority by both physicians and alchemists. However, this raises the question of whether the *Kitāb al-Asrār* itself was widely read enough to justify the broad claim that it influenced later laboratory texts

and perhaps even the concept of the laboratory itself. There is no easy answer. The study of medieval alchemical manuscripts is more an art than a science. Authors commonly incorporated the works of others into their texts, and since alchemical texts were often ascribed to a prestigious authority, later writers could not have known with certainty whose words they were borrowing. Yet there is evidence that the contents of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* were widely known and imitated.

### III. A Well-Known Secret

al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-Asrār* or *Book of Secrets* had three major avenues of influence expanding its accessibility to European alchemists. First, the text itself was copied and translated multiple times. Second, its style and concepts were distributed in *De Aluminibus et Salibus (Alums and Salts)* a popular twelfth-century text attributed to al-Rāzī. Third, William Newman, professor of history at the University of Indiana, has traced the impact of Latin translations of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* on the thirteenth-century text *Summa Perfectionis*, "arguably the most influential alchemical text of the middle ages."<sup>44</sup> Through these direct and indirect routes, the contents, style, and structure of al-Rāzī's book reached a wide audience. The first route to consider is how much direct access to the text was available through its manuscripts.

Julius Ruska (1867-1949), director of the Research Center for the History of Natural Sciences in Berlin,<sup>45</sup> based his German translation of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* primarily on an Arabic manuscript, dated 1561, which had been brought from Libya to the University of Göttingen library. In the translation he also referred to less complete Arabic manuscripts in Leipzig (1710), the Escorial (Spain), and one in Lucknow (India) which was discovered by historian H. E. Stapleton.<sup>46</sup> Ruska also referred to two Latin translations: the *Liber Ebu bacchar et Raisy* and the *Liber Secretorum de voce Bubacaris* housed in the Paris National Library in a collection of manuscripts from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries.<sup>47</sup> British archivist Dorothea Singer cited copies of the *Liber Secretorum* at Oxford in the fourteenth century and at Cambridge in the fifteenth century.<sup>48</sup> Historian Raphael Patai, noting the popularity of al-Rāzī's work among Jewish alchemists, described a partial Hebrew translation in "a Yemenite Judeo-Arabic manuscript" now in Jerusalem

as well as in Book Thirteen of the Gaster Manuscript, "a major seventeenth-century Hebrew alchemical manuscript."<sup>49</sup> The fact that the *Kitāb al-Asrār* was copied, recopied, translated, and archived in so many places at different times, on three continents, and in at least three languages shows that it had a wide appeal in a variety of cultures and was accessible enough to influence the work of medieval alchemists.

In addition to copies and translations, two of the most widely-read alchemical texts in the Middle Ages owe much to the *Kitāb al-Asrār*. They are the twelfth-century chemical treatise *De Aluminibus et Salibus (Alums and Salts)* attributed to al-Rāzī and the longer,

more theoretic  
thirteenth-  
century  
*Summā*

*Perfectionis* attributed to Geber. These texts are examples of pseudoecclesiasticism, the practice, not uncommon among medieval alchemical writers, of attributing their text to an author with an established reputation. Ruska surmises that the Arabic original of the *De Aluminibus et Salibus* was written by an alchemist in Spain in the eleventh or twelfth century and points out that it is cited by both the Dominican encyclopedist Vincent de Beauvais (c. 1190-c. 1264) and Franciscan scholar Roger Bacon (c. 1214-92).<sup>50</sup> Its translation by Gerard of Cremona (d. 1187) made it accessible to the earliest European alchemists. Historian Robert Steele, who published the Latin text in 1927, states, "It purports to be, and no doubt is in substance, the work of . . . al-Rāzī."<sup>51</sup> Both he and Robert Multhauf describe the influence of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* on the *De Aluminibus et Salibus* which shares its concise matter-of-fact style.<sup>52</sup> The facts that the *De Aluminibus et Salibus* bore al-Rāzī's name, had content similar to the *Kitāb al-Asrār*, and was influential in the thirteenth century give this work, at the very least, a strong role in the spread of al-Rāzī's reputation and style. If it was actually adapted from the *Kitāb al-Asrār*, then it is the earliest example of this work's influence through its adaptations. However, there is an even stronger example.

Historian William R. Newman has recently documented a direct line of descent from the *Kitāb al-Asrār* to the *Summa Perfectionis* of Pseudo-Geber, a very influential late thirteenth-century text. Although the author of the *Summa* originally attributed

it to the eighth-century Islamic alchemist Jabir, westernized "Geber," scholars failed to find an Arabic text and suspected that it had its origins in Europe.<sup>53</sup> In a 1935 article, Ruska, after a textual comparison, suggested that the *Summa Perfectionis* and the *Liber Secretorum de voce Bubacaris*, the previously mentioned Latin version of the *Kitāb al-Asrār*, were products of one author, but that only a "patient investigation of the sources" would prove or disprove it.<sup>54</sup> Half a century later, Newman took Ruska's challenge and identified this hypothetical single author with Paul of Taranto, an Italian teacher and alchemist of the late thirteenth-century.<sup>55</sup> Newman's work is documented in his book,

*The Compound of Alchemy written by George Ripley in 1470-71 is a good example of an alchemical poem that incorporates religious symbolism into the purification process . . .*

*The "Summa Perfectionis" of Pseudo-Geber: A Critical Translation and Study*

which includes a chart tracing the *Summa*'s evolution from the *Kitāb al-Asrār*.<sup>56</sup> The *Summa Perfectionis*, in turn, influenced major fourteenth-century alchemical works, including *Rosarium* attributed to Arnald of Villanova, *Libellus de Alchemia* attributed to Albertus Magnus, *The New Pearl of Great Price* by Petrus Bonus, and *The Testamentum* attributed to Ramon Lull.<sup>57</sup> These are distinguished connections indeed for the *Kitāb al-Asrār*.

The studies of the *De Aluminibus et Salibus* and *The Summa Perfectionis* showcase some of the difficulties of medieval manuscripts, and at the same time confirm how fortunate Ruska was to work with a complete Arabic manuscript of a tenth-century alchemical text with well-documented authorship.<sup>58</sup> In his review of Newman's book, David Pingree points out that although Newman "identified sixty-three manuscripts of the *Summa*, complete and fragmentary," representing copies from the thirteenth through the seventeenth century, he actually examined less than a third of them.<sup>59</sup> This must have been a monumental task indeed. Chemistry historian Robert Multhauf compared some of the *Summa* versions himself, concluding that, "It seems clear that further scholarly reference to this treatise should be based on this [Newman's] version."<sup>60</sup> Newman himself points out that the *Kitāb al-Asrār* was not the only source that influenced the *Summa* and its alchemical descendants.<sup>61</sup> Clearly there are enormous challenges in working with texts before the days of fixed titles, copyrights and footnotes, which can only be met with meticulous

analysis and comparison of the texts themselves.

The *Kitāb al-Asrār* was widely distributed both in Arabic manuscripts and in translation, bearing witness to the interest in this practical and almost simple manual of procedures. Moreover it has ties to two later texts, *De Aluminibus et Salibus*, influential in the thirteenth century, and *The Summa Perfectionis*, whose influence blossomed in the fourteenth century and beyond. Thus, the contents of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* appealed to alchemic writers who copied it, translated it, reworked it, and, knowingly or unknowingly, incorporated parts of it into their writings.

#### IV. An Old Book : A New Style

The first section of this paper has looked at the structure of al-Rāzī's laboratory manual and procedures, the second has established that he was a well-known authority, and the third section has shown how his book inspired adaptations and imitations. The final section will look at the *Kitāb al-Asrār* next to other alchemical texts in order to demonstrate alternative approaches and to show what it might mean to say that one text influences another. This is far from a meticulous text analysis, but simply a comparison of style that will serve to illustrate the similarities and differences between the practical procedural approach of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* and the styles of other alchemical texts.

Abufalah, an eleventh-century Islamic alchemist in Sicily, wrote a practical alchemic text which was partially incorporated into the thirteenth-century work *The Gate of Heaven* by Gershon ben Shlomo of Arles.<sup>62</sup> A procedure to convert copper into silver reads: "Take of good green arsenic one weight, and grind it well with strong and good vinegar many times, and sublimate it until all of it becomes white . . ."<sup>63</sup> This is comparable in style to a procedure from al-Rāzī's book which reads: "Take whichever of the two you will [sulfur or arsenic], then grind it with wine vinegar which contains a fourth of qali salt, and roast it one night over a gentle fire for sulfur or a medium fire for arsenic. . ."<sup>64</sup> Today this kind of "recipe" instruction seems unremarkable except for the fact that the literature does not show straightforward laboratory procedures like this prior to al-Rāzī. The late thirteenth-century text, *Summa Perfectionis*, begins an explanation of the sublimation<sup>65</sup> of mercury: "But now we will determine the entire goal of quicksilver's sublimation. The complete

totality of that is the cleansing of its earthiness and removal of its wateriness."<sup>66</sup> Similarly, the *Kitāb al-Asrār* states: "Concerning the sublimation of quicksilver, there are two methods. One takes place in order to remove its moisture (wateriness), and the other serves to generate its dryness, so that it will become completely dry."<sup>67</sup> These texts are very clear in explaining the goal of the procedure to follow. However, many alchemical texts take a very different approach.

Continuing with the preparation of mercury as an example, Paracelsus (1493-1541), uses a descriptive non-quantitative style:

The mortification of Mercury, in order that it may be sublimated, is brought about by vitriol and salt. When it is mixed with these two and then sublimated it becomes as hard as crystal and as white as snow. In order that Mercury may be reduced to a precipitate, nothing more need be done than calcine it in the best aqua fortis; then let the granulated aqua fortis be extracted from it five times, more or less, until the precipitate acquires a beautiful red colour.<sup>68</sup>

The *Compound of Alchemy* written by George Ripley in 1470-71 is a good example of an alchemical poem that incorporates religious symbolism into the purification process:

But when these to Sublymacyon  
continuall  
Be laboryd so, wyth hete both  
moyst and temperate,  
That all is Whyte and purely made  
spirituall;  
Than Hevyn uppon Erth must be  
reiterate,  
Unto the Sowle wyth the Body be  
reincorporate:  
That Erth becom all that afore was  
Hevyn,  
Whych wyll be done in  
Sublymacyons sevyn.<sup>69</sup>

Petrus Bonus, in *The New Pearl of Great Price* (c. 1330) even gives al-Rāzī credit for an allegorical procedure: "The red slave, says Rhasis, has wedded a white spouse."<sup>70</sup> In alchemical literature, red represents sulfur, a masculine element, sometimes portrayed as a red king, which imparts its properties to mercury, the white queen.<sup>71</sup> The *Kitāb al-Asrār*, on the other hand, is all business:

You take one ratl of quicksilver that

has been solidified by covering it with sulfur (for redness) and an equal amount of vitriol, and half as much yellow sulfur as vitriol, grind it with the best wine vinegar a good hour, add an amount of roasted salt equal to the vitriol on it and, after its moisture is driven away, let it rise seven times.<sup>72</sup>

That is the voice of a laboratory manual.

In 1597 and again in 1606, German physician Andreas Libavius published the laboratory text, *Alchemia*, a scholarly work in academic Latin that expanded the processes of chemistry to include medicines, oils, and dyes, as well as the transmutation of metals.<sup>73</sup> In the first few pages, he lists al-Rāzī among his many sources, probably one of the last chemists to do so.<sup>74</sup> *Alchemia* contrasts with the *Kitāb al-Asrār* in many ways. It is rambling, pedagogic, and its encyclopedic procedures range from transmuting metals to brewing honey-wine, and distilling a medicinal oil from forty frogs.<sup>75</sup> Yet the two books share a fundamental structure. In his book *Chemists and the Word: The Didactic Origins of Chemistry*, Owen Hannaway characterizes the structure of the chemistry textbooks that began to proliferate in the seventeenth century: "But all have a common form of organization: the definition of the art, a description of its instruments, a discussion of operations, followed by preparations – that is, the basic structure of *Alchemia*."<sup>76</sup> He is absolutely right. However, this structure goes back to 920 C.E. It is the structure of the *Kitāb al-Asrār*.

Chemistry historians have analyzed and praised al-Rāzī's chemical knowledge, clas-

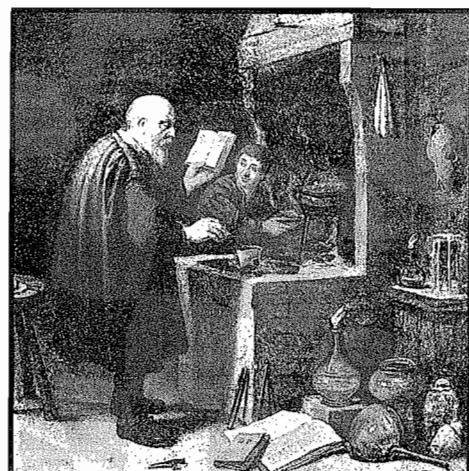


Fig. 2. *Book in Hand, the Alchemist Stirs the Crucible*. Detail from The Bald-Headed Alchemist, after David Teniers II. Fisher Collection. (Courtesy of the Chemical Heritage Foundation Collections. Photo by Will Brown. 00.01.258.)

sifications, and his organization of processes such as distillation, sublimation, and calcination. What they seem to take for granted is the functionality that now seems so natural in a laboratory manual, the book that the working chemist props open on the laboratory bench or holds in one hand (Figure 2). Many medieval alchemists saw their work in spiritual, allegorical, or theoretical terms. However, it was the simple direct book of instructions that proved durable in the laboratory, providing a tool for producing predictable, repeatable results, which is the entire basis for laboratory operations.

## Conclusion

Hands-on alchemy was a book-based endeavor. Al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-Asrār*, the *Book of Secrets*, introduced a systematic structure that endured through the centuries of alchemy into the seventeenth century. Patterns and pieces of this structure can be traced from the eleventh-century alchemical text of Abulfalah through the fourteenth-century *New Pearl of Great Price* by Petrus Bonus to Libavius' *Alchemia* at the dawn of the seventeenth century. Although the *Kitāb al-Asrār* has often been praised by historians for its logical classifications and organization, its scope of influence extended much further, to the formation of a distinct style of laboratory writing and the concept of the laboratory itself.

The historical evidence for this contention encompasses the structure of the *Kitāb al-Asrār*, al-Rāzī's distinguished reputation, the wide distribution of the *Kitāb al-Asrār*, and the extent of its influence on other widely read alchemic texts. The *Kitāb al-Asrār* shared a fundamental structure with *Alchemia*, the first comprehensive chemistry manual of the early seventeenth century. *Alchemia* expanded the realm of chemistry, conceptualizing a discipline that studies the interaction of matter in all its states and applies this knowledge to medicine, metallurgy, dyes, fermentation, and other activities that require altering, combining, or purifying substances, much the way we think of chemistry today. The many chemistry books that followed embraced this wider scope. From a historical perspective, the *Kitāb al-Asrār* had an enduring presence throughout the Middle Ages and then retired to the manuscript libraries. Its scope was limited, its goals outdated. Yet its structure introduces a characteristic pattern that makes it read like a laboratory manual even today.

After *Alchemia*, chemistry writers continued to borrow freely from each other. In 1610, just four years after *Alchemia*'s second edition, Jean Beguin published *Tyrcinum Chymicum* the seminal French chemical text, which had numerous editions and translations, and, according to historian William Brock, "plagiarized a good deal from Libavius' *Alchemia*."<sup>77</sup> It would be interesting to follow up on how laboratory manuals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries evolved in conjunction with changes in society, the professionalization of chemistry, and the development of specialties. Another area for exploration is to look at al-Rāzī's larger body of work, comparing his medical, philosophical, and alchemic works in order to arrive at a holistic view of the chemical concepts of his time and see how the areas such as pharmacy and metallurgy which we see now under the umbrella of chemistry may have been connected. Also a much closer view of the medieval alchemical texts connected with the *Kitāb al-Asrār* would help to track this book's influence more definitively through the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries.

It seems, in the end, remarkable that this book from so long ago has any connection with the sophisticated computerized laboratories of today. Nevertheless, alchemy asks the historian to look beyond

the immediate goals and theories of science, which are, with apologies to Kurt Vonnegut, stuck in time,<sup>78</sup> and see that the book supports the very reason for the laboratory's existence – to deliver reproducible results. Leafing through the laboratory procedures from a modern medical diagnostic laboratory, I see repeated on every page the headings: "Reagents," "Equipment," "Procedures."<sup>79</sup> In *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Thomas Kuhn points out that when the boundaries of research shift and the efforts of previous investigations are abandoned, "part of that achievement always proves to be permanent." The lasting achievement of the transmutation of metals may be the concept of the laboratory itself, embodied in a book.<sup>80</sup>

## APPENDIX KITĀB AL-ASRĀR: OUTLINE OF CONTENTS

### Introduction and Dedication

### One: What One Must Know about Substances

- Part One: Substances Required for the Chemical Art
- Part Two: About Distinguishing the Good and Bad Varieties

### Section Two: What One Must Know about Equipment

- Part One: About Equipment for Smelting Metals
- Part Two: The Equipment for Handling Nonmetals

### Section Three: About the Parts of the Procedures

- Part One: Handling Spirits and the Chapters on Calcination
  - A. Procedures for Spirits
  - B. Calcination of Metals
  - C. Calcination of Stones

### Part Two: The Chapter on Softening

- A. Softening of Spirits
- B. Softening of Metals
- C. Softening of Stones

### Part Three: Dissolving Spirits and Softened Calx and Borax and Salt

- A. Dissolving with Sharp Waters
- B. Description of Dissolving with Dung
- C. Description of Dissolving with Moisture
- D. Description of Dissolving with a Dann
- E. Description of Dissolving with a Kettle
- F. Description of Dissolving with a Blind Alembic
- G. Description of Dissolving with Karafs and Sirdab
- H. Description of Dissolving by Distilling

### Part Four: The Chapter on Mixing

- A. Mixing by Grinding and Roasting
- B. Mixing by Grinding and Softening
- C. Mixing by Dissolving

### Part Five: The Chapter on Solidification

- A. Solidifying by Roasting
- B. Solidifying with the Flask and Kettle
- C. Solidifying by Burying
- D. Solidifying with a Blind Alembic

### Part Six: The Chapter on Sublimation

- A. Sublimation of Metals
- B. Sublimation of Stones

### Part Seven:

- A. The Procedures of Water
- B. The Procedures of Vegetable Matter
- C. The Chapter of Animal Matter

### Appendix I: The Chapter of Rarities

### Appendix II: Fragments from al-Rāzī's Book of Safekeeping (From the Escorial Manuscript folio 84 ff.)

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Abū Raihān Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Bīrūnī (973-1048), "Al-Biruni als Quelle für das Leben und die Schriften al-Rāzīs," trans. and ed. Julius Ruska, *Isis* 5 (1923): 32.

<sup>2</sup> References to *Alchemia* as the first chemistry textbook include: Bruce T. Moran, *Andreas Libavius and the Transformation of Alchemy: Separating Chemical Cultures with Polemical Fire* (Washington Publishing Company: Sagamore Beach, MA, 2007), 34. J. R. Partington, *A History of Chemistry* vol. 2 (London: MacMillan & Co., 1961), 253. Owen Hannaway, *The Chemists and the Word: The Didactic Origins of Chemistry* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 81, 89.

<sup>3</sup> Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariyā al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Asrār*, in *Al-Rāzī's Buch Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin, Band 6, trans. and ed. Julius Ruska (Berlin: Verlag von Julius Springer, 1937), 9, 83.

<sup>4</sup> *Kīmyā* can be translated as either *chemistry* or *alchemy*. A *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 3rd ed., s. v. *kīmyā*.

<sup>5</sup> Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), *Meteorology*, vol. 1 of *Great Books of the Western World*, ed. Robert Maynard Hutchins (Chicago: William Benton, 1952), 445, 482. This idea is not as farfetched as it might seem, when one considers how the progression of elements is created in the stars – from hydrogen to helium to carbon all the way to magnesium, zinc, and iron, "through previously undiscovered displays of the virtuousness of stellar alchemy." Timothy Ferris, *Coming of Age in the Milky Way* (New York: William Morrow, 1988; reprint, New York: Perennial, 2003), 272, 279.

<sup>6</sup> Avicenna (980-1037 C.E.), "On the Formation of Minerals and Metals and the Impossibility of Alchemy," trans. and ed. E. J. Holmyard and D. C. Mandeville, in *A Sourcebook in Medieval Science*, ed. Edward Grant (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), 569-70. Earlier Islamic scholars questioned alchemy, but Avicenna's emphatic refutation of it was the basis for continuing debate in medieval Europe.

<sup>7</sup> Al-Rāzī, 9, 83.

<sup>8</sup> Albertus Magnus (1193-1280), *Albertus Magnus Book of Minerals*, trans. Dorothy Wyckoff (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), xiii. George Ripley (c.1415-90), *George Ripley's Compound of Alchemy* (1591), ed. Stanton J. Linden (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2001), vii-viii.

<sup>9</sup> Petrus Bonus, *The New Pearl of Great Price: A Treatise concerning the Treasure and most Precious Stone of the Philosophers*, ed. Arthur Edward Waite (London: James Elliott & Co., 1894; reprint, London: Vincent Stuart Ltd, 1963), viii. Written in c. 1330. William R. Newman, trans. and ed., *The "Summa Perfectionis" of Pseudo-Geber: A Critical Edition, Translation and Study*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991). According to Newman, the *Summa Perfectionis* was probably written in the late thirteenth century by Paul of Taranto.

<sup>10</sup> Henry E. Stapleton, R. F. Azo, and M. Hidayat Husain, "Chemistry in Iraq and Persia in the Tenth Century A.D.," *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 8 (1927): 317.

<sup>11</sup> This translation was published in: Julius Ruska, *Al-Rāzī's Buch Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin, Band 6, trans. and ed. Julius Ruska (Berlin: Verlag von Julius Springer, 1937).

<sup>12</sup> "Dann aber bleibt auf alle Fälle für Rāzī das Verdienst, die Alchemie zum ersten Mal in eine streng wissenschaftliche Form gebracht zu haben." Julius Ruska, trans. and ed., *Al-Rāzī's Buch Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, 13. (Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own.)

<sup>13</sup> E. John Holmyard, *Alchemy* (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1957; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1990), 88. Robert P. Multhauf, *The Origins of Chemistry* (London: Oldbourne, 1966), 130.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 88-89.

<sup>15</sup> Owen Hannaway, 143.

<sup>16</sup> William R. Newman and Lawrence M. Principe, *Alchemy Tried in the Fire: Starkey, Boyle, and the Fate of Helmontian Chemistry* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 37-38.

<sup>17</sup> Theodore M. Porter, *Trust in Numbers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 15.

<sup>18</sup> William Tilstone, "Quality in the Crime Laboratory," in *The Forensic Laboratory Handbook: Procedures and Practice*,

ed. Ashraf Mozayani and Carla Noziglia (Totowa, New Jersey: Humana Press, 2006), 217.

<sup>19</sup> " . . . [ich] habe ihm ein kurzegefaßtes [sic], feines Buch über diesen Gegenstand zugeeignet." al-Rāzī, 83.

<sup>20</sup> For example, the *Chemistry Assay Procedure Manual*, a laboratory manual currently in use in a modern medical diagnostic laboratory, simply ends with the procedure for a xylose tolerance test. A chemistry textbook might have a conclusion, but a procedure manual would not. "Xylose Tolerance Test," procedure 760.0900 in *Chemistry Assay Procedure Manual*, vol.2, Mission Hospital, Mission Viejo, CA.

<sup>21</sup> " . . . und das ist das letzte Kapitel in diesem unserem Buch." Al-Rāzī, 220.

<sup>22</sup> " . . . tränke es mit dem zermalmenden Wasser. Wir werden dieses erwähnen bei den scharfen Wässern in den Kapiteln des Lösens." The instructions referred to are located in that chapter on page 182. Al-Rāzī, 123, 182.

<sup>23</sup> Stapleton, Azo, and Husain, 343. Ruska, 12.

<sup>24</sup> "Der Abstand zwischen der unendlich vielgestaltigen Darstellung der Gäbir-Schriften und der nüchtern sachlichen Form von Rāzī's Arbeiten ist so groß, daß man über die Feststellung einer gemeinsamen Basis hinaus kaum noch weitere Beziehungen wahrscheinlich machen kann." Ruska, 12-13.

<sup>25</sup> al-Bīrūnī (973-1048), 34-48.

<sup>26</sup> Donald Campbell, *Arabian Medicine and its Influence on the Middle Ages*, vol. 1 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1926; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1973), 66-68.

<sup>27</sup> George Sarton, *From Rabbi ben Ezra to Roger Bacon*, vol. 2 of *Introduction to the History of Science* (Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1931; reprint, 1953), 609.

<sup>28</sup> Edward Theodore Withington, *Medical History from the Earliest Times: A Popular History of the Healing Art* (London: The Scientific Press, 1894), 146.

<sup>29</sup> Campbell, 69.

<sup>30</sup> Stapleton, Azo, and Husain, 609. Campbell, 201-02.

<sup>31</sup> Multhauf, 130.

<sup>32</sup> Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Charles Dahlberg, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Princeton: New Jersey, 1995), 1, 271.

<sup>33</sup> Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1340-1400), *Troilus and Cressida and the Canterbury Tales*, vol. 22 of *Great Books of the Western World*, ed. Robert Maynard Hutchins (Chicago: William Benton, 1952), 166.

<sup>34</sup> Abu'l-fa'lal, *The Book of Em haMelekh*, in *The Jewish Alchemists: A History and Source Book*, trans. and ed. Raphael Patai (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 110.

<sup>35</sup> Albertus Magnus, "A Description of Alchemical Operations, Procedures, and Materials," in *A Sourcebook in Medieval Science*, trans. Sister Virginia Heines, ed. Edward Grant (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), 599.

<sup>36</sup> Petrus Bonus, 229. This edition of *The New Pearl of Great Price* cites al-Rāzī at least thirteen times by my count, on pages 6, 80, 109, 112-13, 115, 229, 259 (twice), 279, 362, 365, 375, 382. The book was originally written in c. 1330 as *Pretiosa Margarita Novella*.

<sup>37</sup> Roger Bacon (c. 1220-92), *Speculum Alchymie: The True Glass of Alchemy*, in *Collectanea Chymica: A Collection of ten several treatises in chymistry, concerning the liquor alkahesi, the mercury of philosophers and other curiosities worthy the perusal* (London: Pelican, 1684; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1963), 130. Nicolas Flamel (1330-1418), *Écrits Alchémiques*, ed. Didier Kahn (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1993), 39, 43.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas Norton, *Ordinal of Alchemy* in *Theatricum Chemicum Britannicum*, eds. Elias Ashmole and Allen G. Debus (London: n.p., 1652; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1967), 8.

<sup>39</sup> Muhammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm, *The Fihrist: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture* vol. 2, trans. and ed. Bayard Dodge (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 703-09, 863. George Sarton, *From Homer to Omar Khayyam* vol. 1 of *Introduction to the History of Science* (Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1927; reprint, 1953), 609.

<sup>40</sup> Campbell, 65-72. Holmyard, 86-92.

<sup>41</sup> "C'est également un organisateur . . . en organisant des consultations externes, des soins à domicile, une aide médicale aux nécessiteux." Yvon Houdas, *La Médecine Arabe aux Siècles*

*d'Or : VIIIème – XIXème Siècles* (Paris : L'Harmattan, 2003), 81.

<sup>42</sup> Al-Nadīm, 704.

<sup>43</sup> Paracelsus, *Hermetic Chemistry*, vol. 1 of *The Hermetic and Alchemical Writings of Aureolus Philippus Theophrastus Bombast, of Hohenheim, called Paracelsus the Great*, trans. and ed. Arthur Edward Waite (London: James Elliott, 1894; reprint, Boulder, Colo.: Shambhala, 1976), i. Bruce T. Moran, 8.

<sup>44</sup> Newman and Principe, 43.

<sup>45</sup> Julius Ruska: Orientalist und Naturwissenschaftler, Kurzbiographie von Dr. med. Helmut Ruska [online]; accessed 10 April 2008; available from <http://julius.ruska.de>.

<sup>46</sup> Ruska, *Al-Rāzī's Buch Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, 14-

<sup>24</sup> In a letter dated Dec. 1936, Stapleton also refers to three copies of al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-Sirr al-asrār* in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta. This title, which means *The Book of the Secret of Secrets*, refers to an abbreviated supplement to the *Kitāb al-Asrār*, and the two names can be a source of confusion. Both Ruska's translation and this paper are concerned with the longer work, the *Kitāb al-Asrār*, which is better known and more widely distributed. For Stapleton's letter, see: H. E. Stapleton, "Further Notes on the Arabic Alchemical Manuscripts in the Libraries of India," *Isis* 26 (1936): 128. There are three manuscripts of the *Kitāb al-Sirr al-asrār* in Iran, one in Tashkent (Uzbekistan), and one (thought to be 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century) at the National Library of Medicine in Bethesda, Maryland. See the web site of the National Library of Medicine, at <http://www.nlm.nih.gov/hmd/arabic/alchemy45.html>, accessed 10 April 2008.

<sup>47</sup> Julius Ruska, "Übersetzung und Bearbeitungen von al-Rāzīs Buch Geheimnis der Geheimnisse," Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin 3 (Berlin, 1935), 159, 162. The translator and exact date for the Latin translation are unknown according to historian Moritz Steinschneider. Moritz Steinschneider, *Die Europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen bis Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck- und Verlaganstalt, 1956), 48.

<sup>48</sup> Dorothea Waley Singer, *Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Alchemical Manuscripts in Great Britain and Ireland Dating from before the XVI Century*, vol. 1 (Brussels: Maurice Lamartin, 1928), 107.

<sup>49</sup> Raphael Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists: A History and Source Book* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 420-22, 583.

<sup>50</sup> Julius Ruska, "Pseudepigraphe Rasis-Schriften," *Osiris* 7 (1939): 40. The dates and descriptions for Bacon and de Beauvais are from: Holmyard, 113 and 118-19. Newman and Principe characterize the author of *De Aluminibus et Salibus* as "written by a much later follower [of al-Rāzī]," Newman and Principe, 39.

<sup>51</sup> Robert Steele, "Practical Chemistry in the Twelfth Century: *Rasis de aluminibus et salibus*," trans. Gerard of Cremona, *Isis* 12 (1929): 10.

<sup>52</sup> Steele, 13. Multhauf, 160-61.

<sup>53</sup> Paul Kraus, who did extensive studies of Jābir's work, points out that as early as 1893 chemistry historian Marcellin Berthelot was convinced of the *Summa*'s European origin: "But, on the other hand, he [Berthelot] proclaimed with great emphasis that the *Summa Perfectionis magisterii*, upon which the whole European development of experimental alchemy was based, were spurious writings which originated in the 14th century." Paul Kraus, "Julius Ruska," *Osiris* 5 (1938): 16.

<sup>54</sup> "Auf einem anderen Weg als dem der geduldigen Quellenforschung wird sie nicht gefunden werden können." Ruska, "Übersetzung und Bearbeitungen von al-Rāzīs Buch Geheimnis der Geheimnisse," 87.

<sup>55</sup> William R. Newman, trans. and ed., *The Summa Perfectionis of Pseudo-Geber: A Critical Edition, Translation and Study* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), 26.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 58, 193-4, 199.

<sup>58</sup> Of the Arabic texts, science historian Sarton points out, "Those bearing al-Rāzī's name have not yet been seriously challenged. . ." George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, vol. 2, 31.

<sup>59</sup> David Pingree, review of *The Summa Perfectionis of Pseudo-Geber: A Critical Edition, Translation, and Study*, by William R. Newman, *Isis* 84 (1993): 790.

<sup>60</sup> Robert P. Multhauf, review of *The Summa Perfectionis of Pseudo-Geber: A Critical Edition, Translation, and Study*, by William R. Newman, *Speculum* 69 (1994): 540.

<sup>61</sup> Newman, 65.

<sup>62</sup> Patai, 98.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>64</sup> "Nimm von welchem der beiden du willst [G34] [sic], dann pulvere es mit Weissig, worin ein Viertel Qalisalz [sic], und röste es eine Nacht in gelindem Feuer, wenn es Schwefel ist, und wenn es Zarnich ist, an einem mittleren Feuer." Al-Rāzi, 120.

<sup>65</sup> Sublimation, which was used as a purification process, consisted of heating a substance to a vapor and then cooling it to recondense it back into a solid. Holmyard, 46, 56. It is only one of the alchemical processes, but it furnishes a common thread for purposes of illustration.

<sup>66</sup> Newman, 691.

<sup>67</sup> "Was die Hochtreibung des Quecksilbers anlangt, so gibt es davon zwei Arten. Die eine findet statt zur Wegnahme seiner Nässe (Wässerigkeit), die andere dient zur Erzeugung seiner Trockenheit, damit es ganz trocken wird." Al-Rāzi, 102.

<sup>68</sup> Paracelsus, 142.

<sup>69</sup> Holmyard, 187. George Ripley, *The Compound of Alchemy* in *Theatricum Chemicum Britannicum*, ed. Elias Ashmole and Allen G. Debus (London: n.p., 1652; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1967), 172.

<sup>70</sup> Petrus Bonus, 259.

<sup>71</sup> John Read, *Prelude to Chemistry: An Outline of Alchemy, Its Literature and Relationships* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1936; reprint, Cambridge, Mass., The M. I. T. Press, 1966), 92, 102. Compare Thomas Norton's *Ordinal of Alchemy*: "Then is the White Woman Married to the Ruddy Man." Thomas Norton, *Theatricum Chemicum Britannicum*, 90.

<sup>72</sup> "Du nimmst vom Quecksilber, das durch Aufstreuen von Schwefel (zur Röte) verfestigt ist, ein Rati [sic], und vom Vitriol ebensoviel, und vom gelben Schwefel so viel wie die Hälfte des Vitriols, pulverst es mit bestem Weissig eine gute Stunde, wirfst dann ebensoviel geröstetes Salz als Vitriol daruf und läßt es, nachdem seine Nässe weggenommen ist, siebenmal aufsteigen." Al-Rāzi, 107. When used as a unit of solid weight a *rati* is equal to 360 grams. Ruska, *Al-Rāzi's Buch Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, 63-4.

<sup>73</sup> Hannaway, 81.

<sup>74</sup> Andrea Libavius, *Die Alchemie des Andreas Libavius: ein Lehrbuch der Chemie aus dem Jahre 1597: zum ersten mal in deutscher Übersetzung mit einem Bild- und Kommentarteile*, trans. Max-Planck-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften, Gmelin-Institut für anorganischen Chemie und Grenzgebiete und Gesellschaft Deutscher Chemiker (Weinheim: Verlag Chemie, 1964), xxx.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 426.

<sup>76</sup> Hannaway, 155.

<sup>77</sup> William H. Brock, *The Chemical Tree: A History of Chemistry* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992), 47.

<sup>78</sup> Kurt Vonnegut, *Slaughterhouse Five or The Children's Crusade: A Duty-Dance with Death* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1969. The story begins: "Listen: Billy Pilgrim has become unstuck in time."

<sup>79</sup> *Chemistry Assay Procedure Manual*, Clinical Laboratory, Mission Hospital, Mission Viejo, CA, 2007.

<sup>80</sup> Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 25.

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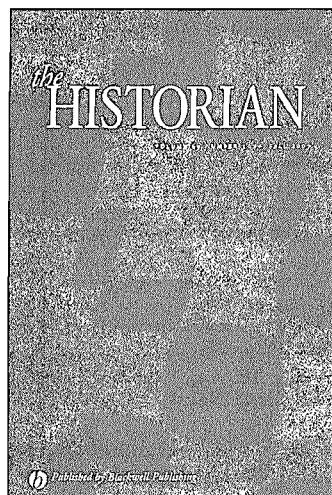
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Carolyn Neel, Treasurer  
Winston Welch, Executive Director

**Executive Council Members:**

Joel Tishken  
Laura Wangerin (acting secretary)  
Jonathan Reynolds  
Craig Lockhard  
Heather Streets (arr. 2:25)  
Jerry Bentley, ex officio (arr. 2:50)  
David Kalivas, ex officio  
Marc Gilbert, ex officio (arr. 2:25)

**Guests:**

Hayrettin Yucesoy  
Nurullah Ardiç  
Dane Morrison  
Nancy Jorcak

**ABSENT** – Craig Benjamin, Marnie Hughes-Warrington, Kerry Ward, Bill Ziegler, Ane Lintvedt (Secretary), Micheal Tarver

Meeting called to order at 2:05 PM.

**Reports:**

**Conferences Committee** (Alfred Andrea):

Al began by stating, “This is the largest and potentially best and most complex conference ever in 18 years of these WHA International Conferences – and it was only possible because of Dane Morrison, Chris Mauriello, and the entire history dept here at Salem State College and the warm support and welcome of the entire community (such as Morris Rossabi’s well-attended lecture at the Salem Athenaeum on Wednesday). This will be the standard by which all others are judged going forward.”

NB: These motions were introduced and unanimously passed at the Business Meeting; Al forgot to introduce them at the EC meeting

**MOTION:** Be it moved that the WHA expresses its gratitude to President Patricia Maguire Meservey, the faculty, staff, and student volunteers of Salem State College, and especially Dr. Dane Morrison, Dr. Chris Mauriello, and the Salem State College Alumni Association. Without the support and often heroic efforts of all of the people at Salem State College who gave so generously of their time, talents, and resources, the 18<sup>th</sup> Annual WHA Conference would not have been possible.

Be it moved that the WHA express its gratitude to the Honorable Kimberley Driscoll, mayor of Salem, Massachusetts, and her staff, as well as the many other members of Salem’s numerous civic, cultural, and historical associations who have given so generously of their time and efforts to ensure the success of our conference. The

long list of Salem-based patrons and friends in the conference program is testament to the outpouring of assistance that was offered the WHA.

Be it moved that the WHA express its gratitude to the National Park Service, especially Dr. Emily Murphy, to Dr. Margherita M. Desy, and the Naval Historical Center Detachment, Boston, the Silkroad Foundation of Saratoga, California, and all other public and private national organizations that have contributed so generously to the conference’s enrichment.

**MOTIONS CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY.**

**Conferences Committee** (Alfred Andrea) For the first time we are having not only an annual conference in San Diego next year (2010), but also a symposium in Istanbul on Ottoman and Byzantine matters (Oct 2010).

Professors Hayrettin Yucesoy of St. Louis University and Nurullah Ardiç, a representative of Istanbul Sehir University, briefly gave an overview of the conference in Oct 2010. The Istanbul Sehir University is a new, private university founded last year (2008), and social sciences and liberal arts intensive; there will be a heavy focus on world history in their curriculum. The foundation that owns the university had given a lot of emphasis to teaching, with 1200 students taking classes through the foundation, so the university was founded to expand on this base. The foundation hosted conferences in 2004 & 2006, both dealing with world history and each having about 90 presenters. The plan for the 2010 conference, to be co-hosted by the Istanbul Sehir University and the WHA, is to have 30 individual papers plus plenary sessions, with papers in English and Turkish. This will be the first international conference for the university. If this is successful, they will be willing to host the WHA annual conference in the future. Istanbul also was named the European Cultural Capital for 2010; this will likely tie in as part of that celebration. The conference is titled “Byzantine and Ottoman Civilizations in World History” and will be held Oct 21-24, 2010.

Al also gave an update on 2014, mentioning that Rick Warner has provided contacts for a possible conference in Mexico. Would this be a good possibility based on this year’s news regarding Mexico? After general discussion, most felt it would not be a bad thing, and that Al should continue to pursue this opportunity. A question was also asked about going to Havana – other non-US organizations have held conferences there and there are advantages based on proximity. This was not pursued in discussion.

**Affiliates Committee Reports**

Northwest Regional World History Association (NWWHA) (Heather Streets) – Their 6<sup>th</sup> year anniversary is coming up, Seattle Lakeside will be hosting the next conference, and Joel Tishken is now in charge of future conferences. The keynote address will focus on communism in world history. They do have a problem with a limited number of venues, but Vancouver (2011) and Boise (2012) are lined up for future conferences.

World History Association of Hawaii (Marc Gilbert) – This affiliate is looking to have its own conference by next year, but right now is focusing on building up quality membership among high school teachers. This is laying the foundation for a big expansion next year, and overall they are pleased with their progress. The Hawaii affiliate has been working with the Hawaii Council for the Humanities and they have been able to have two workshops; there is

a possibility for more.

World History Association of Texas (WHAT) (Patricia Perry not present) Anand Yang commented that the WHAT had a meeting in Austin this year, and is planning another one, though Dr. Yang doesn't know the location. There was some discussion of the challenges WHAT faces, such as a problem of distance based on the size of the state. It was mentioned that it would be nice to see WHAT have a bigger presence.

World History Network (Patrick Manning not present) David Kalivas mentioned it is going well.

NERWHA (Northeast Regional WHA) – Alfred Andrea commented that things for this affiliate have been temporarily on hold while its president finished his PhD.

**Conferences Program Committee** (Carolyn Neel): The report submitted shows a steady increase in the number of panels and presentations from 2007 to 2008 (45%) and then again from 2008-2009 (36%). The only problem that this caused this year is that we underestimated the number of panels and caused some craziness for our hosts. We are growing! We need to maintain the momentum. If you look at all of this in conjunction with the treasurers report and see that income is still going right down, there is cause for concern. Interest is growing but membership is dropping – we need to equalize that somehow. Dr. Neel proposed a more-bang-for-the-buck approach, maybe offer a mentorship program? Invest in H-World? We have \$50K in war chest.

David Kalivas pointed out that H-World only exists because of H-Net, which is struggling financially. Support is needed on two levels, for H-Net and H-World, and if there were assistance for H-Net that would benefit H-World. In the past H-World has organized Author's Forums, which were utilized and beneficial, and the dream is of doing two per year – perhaps one on a text and one on a work/monograph/article coming up on WHConnected, etc. There are 1800 active H-World users (only 1000 or so of these are WHA members). It takes about an hour a day to manage all of the postings. This can become cumbersome. Prof. Kalivas suggested that a course release with two editors might be a possibility to relieve the burden; he wants to expand H-World, but realistically can't based on real-world time limitations.

Dr. Yang stated the need to discuss membership and H-World as separate issues.

Dr. Neel added that if we do push for membership and higher visibility, H-World could be a great voice for the WHA, and suggested using some of the \$50K of reserves to help out H-World.

Prof. Kalivas reported 30K hits month on WHConnected, and Marc Gilbert added that the WHA gets front page exposure on WHC.

Dr. Yang pointed out that memberships in all organizations are shrinking right now. Our conferences are growing despite this trend. But ultimately we need to get people to the annual meeting.

Dr. Neel recommended that the WHA form a committee to strengthen all three (H-Net, WHC, H-World), and shore up H-World in the interim (proposed committee members Jerry Bently, Marc Gilbert, David Kalivas)

General discussion about online access to Journal for members, as this is the biggest draw for non-US members to the WHA. Al has been talking to the publishers, and it is possible to send the Bulletin and the Journal to members in PDF format. It was mentioned that the Journal is currently available both on JSTOR and Project Muse, but

there is a time lag.

General discussion about membership, which Craig Benjamin will be taking on. It was mentioned that while a WHA membership table is somewhat successful at AP readings, it doesn't reach all world history teachers.

Further discussion of the feasibility of financially helping H-World. Dr. Yang insisted that an annual encumbrance is untenable. Discussion revealed that a one-time lump sum would not really solve the problems Prof. Kalivas, who has been managing H-World for a decade with Eric Martin (H-World co-editor for the past 6 years) feels that passing it all on is not the best option. To date he has done it all without support, and its value lies in that it is the only place where the entire world history community communicates on a weekly basis. General discussion ensued, during which the need for people to find institutional support was emphasized and the WHA's inability to finance all of the media it wishes it could (H-World, H-Net, WHConnected, *Bulletin of World History, Journal*) was lamented. The one-time past subsidy to one of these groups was pointed out as a bad precedent, and something that probably should never have happened. Further discussion centered around Heather Streets' suggestion that we investigate the possibility of having a grant competition contingent on funds available, which led to the idea of subsidizing travel costs for the people who run these adjunct organizations instead. Prof. Kalivas restated that what he needs (and is not getting from his institution) is time, and that travel funds, however well intended, don't help him. Jerry Bentley stated that we should look into the idea of travel funds before we make a motion, to determine proper dollar amounts, etc. A committee was formed by Dr. Yang to investigate the possibilities (David Kalivas, Marc Gilbert, Alfred Andrea). This item will be tabled until San Diego (2010).

**Endowment Report** (Carter Findley not present): Anand Yang asked if there were questions regarding the endowment report, there were none.

It was noted that Salem State College has been astonishing in its generosity for this conference.

[10 minute break in proceedings]

**Fundraising Committee** (Alfred Andrea): Prof. Andrea stated that there was little to report – the world scholar travel fund receives next to nothing, despite continuing pleas for money. There has been discussion of the idea of asking for people to donate airline miles, but it is really much more complicated than just a donation, so this will probably not go anywhere. C.E. & S. Foundation of Louisville was approached to see if it would give the WHA a second chance (it had given a \$15K 18-month challenge grant in 2002 which the WHA forfeited), now that the WHA had new leadership. There was no interest in doing so. The fundraising committee also recommended adding two new membership categories —contributing and sustaining memberships— which would give members who can afford to an opportunity to give a bit more to the WHA.

Discussion followed, it appears that the WHA last raised membership fees in two annual stages: \$45 effective 2001; \$60 effective 2002, but not since.

The big thing would be to change membership form to add “contributing member” and “sustaining member” categories.

Andrea also announced that he is stepping down as chair of the

fundraising committee. Heather Streets is now also on the fundraising committee.

**Membership Committee** (Nancy Jorcak): This year Ms. Jorcak was not at the AP reading, but it had a good membership drive this year. Everything keeps coming back to membership. The big issue is, do we increase the dues? Discussion ensued. Membership will be another item to take up at a proposed retreat in October 2009.

After further discussion it was decided to make an announcement at the business meeting to people to "lock in" current rates of membership by renewing early, because dues will increase. They have not been raised in 10 years.

**PAT-WHA Paper Prize Committee** (Laura Wangerin): Laura Wangerin commented that getting submissions still is the biggest challenge this committee faces, but that papers are coming in for this year and it looks like there will be a good field.

**The Very Good-Looking Website Committee Report** (Jonathan Reynolds); Jonathan Reynolds stated that he had nothing to report, all is fine. Alfred Andrea would like to see additional items on the website – pull-down volunteer forms, faces of WHA (not exec council), etc. Anand Yang asked if it would be feasible to investigate an intern for Winston Welch. In response to a query, Carolyn Neel reported that since January 1, 2009 the Amazon fund has generated \$656.

**World Scholar Travel Fund Report** (Carolyn Neel): Laura Wangerin reiterated what had been mentioned during the fund-raising report, that this fund continues to receive very little support from members. This year there were requests for more than \$38K in aid, and we had less than \$5K to distribute. In the end, we were able to make four awards to recipients from Israel, Tunisia, and India (2). For next year, the committee is discussing the possibility of capping the amount given to any one person, as well as advertising both that cap and available funds, as most requests for aid exceeded the total amount available to give. The committee also suggested one way of ensuring a base-line budget that would guarantee one or two grants (with additional ones subsidized by donations) and that would be to take a small portion of each membership fee paid for this account (\$5 was suggested). This idea will be discussed further in conjunction with membership.

**Executive Director's Report** (Winston Welch): Winston Welch gave a summary of his first months in the Executive Director's position, which was provided as well in his report. He would like to see added to WHA website an online database for members to update their info, renew, etc. He also would like to have a real presence for WHA on Facebook, myspace, linkedin, etc.

Alfred Andrea reiterated the possibility of an intern.

Mr. Welch also pointed out that the Executive Council members may have their own WHA e-mail if any of us were to want one. He would also like to see better support for affiliates. Maryanne Rhett from Monmouth University (she was recently a grad student at WSU but is now employed) has agreed to moderate the Facebook page. Discussion followed of the general benefits of this.

## NEW BUSINESS

Anand Yang – Book Prize Committee - announced a tie for the

WHA book prize – German scholar Radchow Cambridge University Press and another one – Mccuen(?) Both authors will be at the business meeting. Names will be posted on WHA website.

Jerry Bently– *JWH* – there are more book reviews in the *Journal* than there have been, and they have a new book review editor. "Gobs of reviews in pipeline," should have a dozen or so in each issue going forward.

Alfred Andrea – Fall 2009 Retreat – continue discussion of receiving things electronically, of corporate memberships, esp. for foreign memberships.

Re: ACLS – nothing will happen until May. Highly likely we will be accepted.

5:00 PM ADJOURNED

## THE WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION Business Meeting – June 27, 2009 8:00 AM Salem State College

Meeting called to order by Anand Yang at 8:05 AM.

### General Business:

Anand Yang announced the increase in participation in conferences each year since 2007, coupled with a membership plea. He also encouraged people to renew NOW, as membership dues had not been increased in nearly a decade and would be raised in the near (but unspecified) future.

Laura Wangerin made an announcement about the student paper prizes, asking professors whose students had done excellent work in world history to encourage them to submit, and reminding that although this year's deadline was June 30, to keep the prize in mind for their classes at the beginning of the school year, too.

Alfred Andrea publicly read aloud the motion carried from the executive council meeting expressing gratitude to the people of Salem State College, the city of Salem, and the other organizations that made this conference a success, the text of which is in the Executive Council Meeting Minutes, above.

The recipients of the book prizes were announced and will be posted on the WHA website.

Meeting adjourned at 8:30 AM.

Respectfully Submitted,

Laura Wangerin

# Teaching the Axial Age Through a Biographical Comic Book of Buddha's Life

## 2009 WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION TEACHING PRIZE

Daniel Greenstone

Oak Park and River Forest High School (Oak Park, IL)

### INTRODUCTION

Too often in World History there is no narrative connecting the world's great religions. Often the approach presented to students is a sort of 'flavor of the month' (if it's September, it must be Taoism). This need not be so. By employing the concepts of Axial and Perennial religion, first introduced by Karl Jaspers, but recently expanded upon and updated in the scholarship of Karen Armstrong—*Buddha* (2001) and *The Great Transformation* (2007)—students will have a powerful lens at their disposal by which to view change over time in religious thought and practice.

The philosopher Karl Jaspers coined the term "Axial Period" to describe the seminal era in world history (roughly 800-200 BCE) that saw the nearly simultaneous development of universal; ethical; individualistic; and largely monotheistic religions in China; the Middle East; Greece; and India. Jaspers observed that these new religions (notably Taoism; Mohism; Confucianism; prophetic Judaism; Greek rationalism; Jainism; and Buddhism) were, collectively, a marked departure from "Perennial" religions that emphasized ritual, sacrifice, and collective punishment and reward.

In studying the concepts of Axial and Perennial religion, my students and I build on an earlier unit, based on Jared Diamond's powerful thesis from *Guns, Germs and Steel*, which argues that the special geographic features of Eurasia explain that continent's dominance in world history. Diamond's insights dovetail with Armstrong's account of the dawn of the Axial Age, and, in particular, with her insistence that the catalyst for the Axial religions was Iron Age technologies, which produced new modes of human existence, in dense, urban settings. The varied and jangling rhythms of life, which arose in these new Eurasian cities, were a stark departure from the settled, traditional existence found in agricultural villages. To those engaged in the turbulent marketplaces and urban centers of India's Gangetic plain, the caste system, sacrifices and ritual fires (all of which are manifestations of the Perennial worldview) began to lose meaning.

The point of entry to help students grasp these challenging concepts is the biography of Siddhartha Gautama (the Buddha). Per Karen Armstrong, I treat the story of the prophecy, and the preference of Suddhodana (Siddhartha's father) that his son be a great king rather than a religious sage as an illustration of the chasm that existed between Axial and Perennial ideas. For Suddhodana, who clings to the Perennial worldview, his son's unhappiness with palace life and his decision to "go forth," thus forsaking his wife and son for a life of poverty and a quest for spiritual enlightenment, is simply inexplicable. But for Siddhartha, the luxury at the palace is a thin mask that fails to conceal the purposeless, hollow existence of those who are under the sway of Perennial religion. Ultimately, beneath the veneer of luxury, Siddhartha concludes, there is only sorrow. Determined to break the cycle of suffering, Siddhartha, like other Axial sages, teaches that sacrifice and ritual must be replaced with morality.

This lesson is designed for honors level 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> graders and could easily be adapted for World History AP.

### LESSON OBJECTIVES

1. Students will learn the biographical story of the Buddha (including the prophecy, the "going forth" and the attainment of enlightenment) and will learn about the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path.
2. Students will be able to categorize religions as either Axial or Perennial, and will be able to explain the connection between technological/economic developments and the birth of Axial religions.
3. Students will learn to recognize and employ Buddhist artistic motifs.

## **PROCEDURES FOR IMPLEMENTATION**

**Day 1:** We begin by introducing the concepts of Axial and Perennial religion (which are explained concisely in the chart I have made, which can be found in Appendix A).

Then the students apply these concepts to two primary documents from Vedic India (Appendix B has web addresses for these documents). These documents consist of elaborate instructions for Brahmins on how to conduct sacrifices and rituals and are of illustrative of the Perennial nature of religion in Vedic India. These kinds of rituals and ceremonies would have been very familiar to young Siddhartha.

For homework we read the first chapter of Karen Armstrong's *Buddha*, which explains the concepts of Axial and Perennial religion in detail and gives helpful context on the turbulent religious landscape of India in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

**Day 2:** We read an excerpt from *The Life of Gotama the Buddha* by Earl H. Brewster. This is a widely available reading—I found my copy in Kevin Reilly's *Worlds of History: A Comparative Reader* (Volume 1), and it is also available on the Web. This narrative tells the life story of the Buddha including the prophecy, the “going forth” and the attainment of enlightenment.

For homework the students read the Buddha's First Sermon, which outlines the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path.

**Day 3:** After introducing the comic project (the assignment sheet and a detailed rubric are included in Appendix C) We go to the library/media center to research the artistic motifs of Buddhist art, including mudras, and symbolic colors. Students are expected to accurately employ these motifs in their comic book.

Homework is to complete the comic book. The comic book is labor intensive and I give my students approximately a week to finish

### **Conclusion**

In the past I was reluctant to assign a comic book as a major project, because so many students feel that they draw poorly. However, because of the advent of free and easy to use imaging and drawing technologies, all students with access to a computer can now produce high-quality comic books. Some students manipulated images from the web, including this especially useful site <http://www.religionfacts.com/buddhism/symbols.htm>

Many students used a very helpful comic book making program called Comic Life, which is available for both Windows and Mac, and offers a free trial period. Ultimately, I was very satisfied with this project because it demanded that students master important and challenging historical and religious concepts, required them to familiarize themselves with one of the world's great artistic traditions, and gave them a chance to create something that they could be proud of. An example of an especially successful project can be found on my website at this address: <http://greenstone.wikispaces.com/>

## APPENDIX A:

### CHARACTERISTICS OF PERENNIAL AND AXIAL RELIGION

PERENNIAL	AXIAL
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Special class of priests or shamans who control access to the esoteric, sacred knowledge</li><li>• Conservative, unchanging and unquestioning view of the universe</li><li>• Gods are not omnipotent or omniscient but are instead human-like and governed by the same laws that govern people, also gods may reside in the same world as humans</li><li>• Sacrifice, spells and ritual are crucial parts of Perennial religion, often designed to secure some material reward</li><li>• Group rewards and punishments are common</li><li>• Not especially concerned with right and wrong or the meaning of life</li><li>• Deeply concerned with nature</li><li>• Animistic, polytheistic</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Religious knowledge is publicized and shared with all</li><li>• Emphasizes more equal treatment of human beings</li><li>• Gods are omnipotent and omniscient and reside on a different plane of existence than human beings</li><li>• Deeply interested in the meaning of life, concepts of right and wrong, and what happens in the next life</li><li>• More concerned with inner peace than material rewards</li><li>• Rewards and punishments are based on individual, not group, behavior</li><li>• Concerned with some absolute reality that does not exist in the normal physical plane</li><li>• Often, but not always, monotheistic</li></ul>

## APPENDIX B: READINGS

*Buddha*, By Karen Armstrong. Penguin 2004. We read Chapter 1.

Excerpt from *The Life of Gotama the Buddha* by Earl H. Brewster.

“The Buddha’s First Sermon” can be found in Kevin Reilly’s, *Worlds of History: A Comparative Reader* (Volume 1), and is also available on the web.

Vedic Primary Documents

RG VEDA 10.90 which can be found at this web address:

<http://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/rigveda/rvi10.htm>

SATAPATHA-BRÂHMANA. THIRD KÂNDA. which can be found at this web address: <http://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/sbr/sbe26/index.htm#contents>

## APPENDIX C: PROJECT ASSIGNMENT SHEET

# BUDDHIST COMIC BOOK PROJECT



This week you will produce a comic book about the life of the Buddha. Your cartoon will be a creative synthesis of the history and religious ideas we have studied in this unit. Your cartoon story must be an accurate interpretation of the real story of the Buddha. See the rubric on the back before beginning your project. This story will have three essential components:

**Ideas** -- The comic book should accurately and comprehensively explain all 3 of the following:

- 1) The Buddha's life story: You should include the prophecy, Siddhartha's "discovery," his "going forth," and his attainment of Buddhahood.
- 2) Buddhist religious ideas: You should explain the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold path.
- 3) Axial and Perennial interpretations of Buddha's life and ideas: In order to explain these ideas properly, you will have to have multiple points of view represented in your comic book. For example, you might have the Axial viewpoint represented by Siddhartha and the Perennial represented by Siddhartha's wife or father. You will want to give special attention to Buddha's "going forth" and to his religious ideas.

**Artwork** -- You may draw your pictures or manipulate images from the internet, or some combination of both. While you need not be a great artist to do well, presentation counts. Stick figures are the sign of insufficient preparation. Be sure to leave room in your presentation for narration boxes and speech balloons.

The key to your artwork grade is how faithfully you adhere to the rules of Buddhist art and imaging. We will learn about Buddhist art in class, and you will be given a packet of materials explaining Buddhist symbolism. You may be wondering how many panels or boxes your comic book should contain. While there is no one answer (it depends on your story, and on how much narration and dialogue you include in each box), it is probably safe to say that it is hard to imagine an A project with fewer than a dozen panels.

**Annotation** -- Since you won't want to clutter your artwork with detailed explanations of the ideas (see above), on a separate piece of paper, you will annotate each panel of your comic book. What is annotation? Annotation is an explanation in the form of notes, which appear apart from the main text. These notes can be endnotes, which appear on a separate page, or they can be footnotes which appear on the same page as the comic book panel they refer to. Your annotation will explain and amplify the drawings, speech, and narration in your text. Be sure your annotation sheds light on each of the following:

- 1) The Buddha's life story.
- 2) Buddhist religious ideas.
- 3) Axial and Perennial interpretations of Buddha's life and ideas.
- 4) How your drawings adhere to the rules of Buddhist artwork.

## Rubric for Comic Book History Project

	<b>Excellent</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Satisfactory</b>	<b>Needs Improvement</b>
<b>Ideas (50%)</b>	The comic book accurately and comprehensively explains all 3 of the following: 1) the Buddha's life story 2) Buddhist religious ideas 3) Axial and Perennial interpretations of Buddha's life and ideas; Ideas arise organically from the story—in other words, ideas are “shown” to the reader, rather than didactically explained.	The comic book explains all 3 of the following: 1) the Buddha's life story 2) Buddhist religious ideas 3) Axial and Perennial interpretations of Buddha's life and ideas; most ideas arise organically from the story—in other words, most ideas are “shown” to the reader, rather than didactically explained.	The comic book explains some of the following: 1) the Buddha's life story 2) Buddhist religious ideas 3) Axial and Perennial interpretations of Buddha's life and ideas; ideas tend to be “told” to the reader didactically rather than “shown” to the reader organically	The comic book fails to explain the following: 1) the Buddha's life story 2) Buddhist religious ideas 3) Axial and Perennial interpretations of Buddha's life and ideas; if ideas are present, they are “told” didactically rather than shown to the reader
<b>Artwork (30%)</b>	Visual representations for all concepts; visuals are well integrated with the text; Visuals are a pleasure to look at; visuals accurately reflect Buddhist artistic motifs and styles	Visuals for nearly all concepts; visuals are connected to the text; most visuals accurately reflect Buddhist artistic motifs and styles.	Too few visuals; visuals have little connection to the text; visuals are only loosely connected to Buddhist artistic styles	Has very few visuals; visuals have nothing to do with the text; visuals have no connection to Buddhist artistic styles
<b>Annotation (20%)</b>	Annotation is comprehensive; annotation is very helpful in explaining the Buddha's story and the concepts of Axial and Perennial religion; Buddhist concepts are explained fully; annotation is accurate	Annotation is present for most ideas and concepts; annotation is somewhat helpful in helping in explaining the Buddha's story and the concepts of Axial and Perennial religion; Buddhist concepts are partially explained; annotation is mostly accurate	Annotation is lacking for important ideas; annotation adds little to the understanding of either the Buddha's story or the understanding of Axial and Perennial religions; Buddhist concepts are only partially explained; annotation has serious errors	Little or no annotation

# Book Reviews

Peter Dykema

*Book Review Coordinator*

## Introduction

Peter Dykema

The world history movement has celebrated many milestones: the founding of the World History Association; the establishment of the *Journal of World History*, *World History Bulletin*, and *World History Connected*; graduate fields in world history offered by many universities; the continued and growing success of the undergraduate world history survey and the high-school world history AP exams. Indeed, as has been said more than once, world history has “come of age.” Yet another, more recent sign of the influence and maturation of our field is the proliferation of book series devoted to thematic issues in world history.

Some of these series have contributed to our knowledge already for years. Cambridge’s Studies in Comparative World History and the AHA’s pamphlet series, Essays on Global and Comparative History, both began in the 1980s, while Westview Press published Essays in World History throughout the 1990s. Some series, such as the California World History Library, Hawaii’s Perspectives on the Global Past, and the Cambridge and Westview series mentioned above, were and are targeted towards scholars, as they are made up of monographs and collections of essays presenting original research. The cause for this editorial, however, is the growing number of series providing smaller volumes intended for undergraduate students, to serve in complement to—or in place of—a standard world history textbook. Taking their lead, perhaps, from the AHA pamphlet series, the first of this new breed to appear was Routledge’s Themes in World History. Since 2000, eighteen books have appeared in this series, several written by the series editor, Peter Stearns. Titles include *Disease and Medicine in World History*, *Warfare in World History*, and *Sexuality in World History*. Just in the past four years, publishers have rolled out a number of similar series: Connections: Key

Themes in World History (Pearson / Prentice Hall), Explorations in World History (McGraw-Hill), The New Oxford World History (Oxford), and, most recently, Exploring World History (Rowman & Littlefield). Still more are probably on the drawing board.

In seeking to provide up-to-date world history scholarship in a format accessible to college students, these series intend to bridge the gap between research and teaching, between scholars and students. Two other characteristics present in all of the entries in these new collections are their emphasis on comparative and thematic approaches. Alfred Andrea, the editor of the Connections series, is quite explicit in his claim that “students master world history most easily if allowed to focus on specific themes and issues.” The argument continues that a theme can be studied in broad cross-cultural comparison, thus enabling students to recognize “the overall patterns and meaning of our shared global past” (from the series’ foreword). Examples of the topics addressed in these volumes are universal religions, empires, gender relations, revolutions, oceans, and the silk roads.

Surely many instructors will find these short, thematic volumes much to their liking. I have assigned three of them in the past two years: one for an honors survey, one in an upper-level course, and one as an easy-to-read example of the “new world history” for a graduate seminar on historiography! As review coordinator for the *Bulletin*, I increasing see volumes from these series cross my desk. This issue alone contains five reviews of books drawn from four separate world history series. We hope you will find these reviews helpful as well as the other reviews presented in this issue.

**Peter Gran.** *The Rise of the Rich: A New View of Modern World History*. Syracuse University Press, 2009. xxx + 269 pp.

Craig Patton

*Alabama A & M University*

Despite its slim size, Peter Gran’s *The Rise of the Rich* is a very ambitious and important book. The author, a professor of history at Temple University in Philadelphia, sets out not only to systematically critique the Rise of the West, which he claims is still the dominant paradigm in modern world history, but also to develop an alternative model; one he believes will provide a more balanced and accurate explanation of modern history (vi). He labels his new paradigm “the Rise of the Rich” to emphasize what he sees as one of the most important global trends over the last five hundred years, namely “the development of a set of troubled but intimate relations of national ruling classes and hegemonic elements around the world, groups whose shared class interests led them toward promoting market development but whose interrelationships were otherwise fraught with many problems” (xiii).

One of the book’s strong points is an excellent organizational scheme which enables readers, even those with only a cursory knowledge of the theory and practice of world history (which would include most college undergraduates and a large part of the general public) to follow his overall ideas and arguments relatively easily. For example, in the introduction, Gran provides an outstanding overview of his main points and each chapter has its own short introduction and conclusion to help the reader follow his line of argumentation and see how his various points fit together into a coherent whole.

In the introduction, and repeatedly throughout the book, Gran asserts that the Rise of the West is fundamentally flawed because it creates a false dichotomy between an ostensibly rising West, a largely stagnant



Orient, and large numbers of people in Africa and the Americas without history. While he acknowledges some of the most egregious forms of Euro-centrism have been addressed in recent historical works, he claims most scholars “invariably” treat non-European elites as allies, accommodators or unequal partners to the West rather than as “coproducers of the modern world order … [who] are collaborators with Western ruling classes in the oppression both of the Third World mass population and of its Western counterpart” (xiv).

His goal, of course, is to rectify this situation and to do this he organizes the book into three overlapping parts. The first part consists of two chapters that outline what he sees as the weaknesses of Neo-liberal and Marxist historiography which he claims provide the “underpinning” for the Rise of the West paradigm today. The second part consists of two chapters which attempt to show how early modern and modern history can be explained through the Rise of the Rich paradigm, while the third part shows how the paradigm can illuminate developments in the contemporary United States.

The first two chapters are devoted to Neo-liberal and Marxist historiography and focus on modern world economic and political history respectively. In each chapter Gran selects certain ideas or themes which he sees as crucial to both approaches and then proceeds to dissect them. For example, in chapter 1 he devotes much of his time discussing New Liberalism’s emphasis on transnationalism and how this creates difficulties for the traditional Rise of the West paradigm. He notes that authors have sought to overcome these problems in a variety of ways, but with only limited success. He also points out how some world historians, most notably Jerry Bentley, have sought to create a global periodization based on transnationalism and trade. While Gran credits Bentley with some important insights, he criticizes him for creating what he sees as a Hegelian schema, one in which each stage of history or civilization logically follows an earlier one (16-17). He claims this is a problem common to virtually all liberal and Marxist models.

Gran’s discussion of Bentley is noteworthy because it is one of the few times he actually discusses the writings of a historian. Most of the writers Gran discusses are political scientists, sociologists, and journalists and while there is nothing wrong with these disciplines, one wonders at the way they are

continually cited to prove the prevalence of the Rise of the West paradigm in historical writing, especially when he notes himself that these authors are often not concerned with the past. Indeed, at times one wonders if Gran is not guilty of setting up something of a “straw man.” Given the small number of examples offered from historians it is open to question as to exactly how pervasive, and therefore in need of refutation, the Rise of the West paradigm actually is in contemporary historical writing.

This is even more problematic in chapter 2 in which Gran criticizes New Liberal writings on politics, such as the idea of the Risk Society, Fourth World Social Movements, and the Fallacy of Westphalianism. For example, he questions the New Liberals’ arguments about culture and identity as the best way to understand the Fourth World (which is held to be the opposite of the Risk Society of the West) and the New Social Movements that have arisen there. He does this through an extended discussion of the Zapatista movement in Mexico in which he demonstrates how the focus on the politics of cultural identity, along with the transnational developments, obscures the historical roots of the Zapatistas both within Mexican society and in the global market system (34-38). In a similar fashion Gran also challenges the New Liberals’ Fallacy of Westphalianism, which argues that the best way to understand both the contemporary world and the political order in history is to focus on empires and imperial hierarchies. He also argues that orthodox Marxist responses to such approaches are excessively narrow and positivist (52-54). In general, Gran’s critiques on these points are sound and convincing, but the question remains as to how relevant they are to recent historical work in these fields.

While Gran is critical of both Neo-Liberalism and Marxism in these chapters, it is the Neo-Liberals who receive both the greatest attention and harshest criticism. Even as he rebukes Marxist authors for their work so far, he suggests that Marxism could possibly provide an alternative if it relied on what he terms “a wider materialism” such as that developed by Antonio Gramsci in the early twentieth century (21). In fact, that is what Gran himself seems to be doing throughout the succeeding chapters of the book. In chapter 2 he utilizes Gramsci’s ideas on hegemony to develop a model of different forms of hegemony, e.g. Anglo-

American, Russian Road, Italian Road, bourgeois-democratic, and tribal-ethnic, that he believes offers a method to illustrate the distribution and use of power among “the Rich” (55-58).

In chapters 3 and 4 Gran surveys the early modern period (1550-1850) and the modern era (1850-Present) respectively through the prism of the Rise of the Rich. In chapter 3 he focuses particularly on the processes of accumulation and proletarianization and argues that both of them have been defined too narrowly. In keeping with his advocacy of a “wider materialism,” Gran asserts these processes are shaped by political and social considerations as well as economic factors. He devotes special attention to the process of accumulation, arguing that its importance to the development of capitalism and global markets, not only in the early modern era but the modern one as well, has been underestimated. Gran also argues that this process was greatly aided by the efforts of “New Men.” While drawn from different backgrounds and regions, the ultimate result of their efforts was “to solidify political and economic relations among dominant elements of the world, weaving their way past the constraints posed by civilizational boundaries, hegemonic logic, and class struggle to create a patchwork of bilateral relations” (64).

In fact, Gran argues the early modern era was an “age of bilateralism” because of the growing number of treaties concluded between rulers and states around the world at the time. Moreover, he says the treaties concluded in these centuries were different because “they reflected the desire of the weaker ruling class as well as the stronger ruling class to ensure that market forces, consumerism, and even plunder continued to function smoothly. What had gone before lacked the level of shared concern for trade and market conditions …” (87). He notes that these bilateral relations were not always smooth or peaceful and argues that this was because of domestic conditions. In this context, he returns to the model of different forms of hegemony developed earlier and offers examples of how different types of states approached international negotiations. He offers a number of examples to support these arguments, and although they are not always as thorough or comparative as one might wish, they provide a relatively sound empirical basis for his theoretical speculations (93-97).

In chapter 4, Gran carries his discussion

of the Rise of the Rich from the mid-nineteenth century to the present, describing it as the era in which bilateralism evolved into multilateralism, which is characterized by the “banding together of a growing number of the world’s dominant elements in an increasing interdependency as they seek to promote market capitalism” (100). As before, he sees this reflected in the increasing number of treaties signed among the rulers along with new systems of consultation among the great powers and interstate arbitration such as the League of Nations and the United Nations. During this era ideas about the rule of international law also became more important and widespread. To illustrate these processes and the complex relations between them, he discusses the Mandate System and the Palestinian Question (106-11). Gran suggests that one reason for the evolution of these new concepts and institutions was the increasing dispersion of power among the Rich and Third World rulers acquiring greater importance and influence within the system. In exchange for their participation in and enforcement of the global capitalist market, these rulers were able to extract more concessions from the West (114-15).

Gran states that while multilateralism hinges on the cooperation of the world’s dominant classes, it is not the result of some preconceived plan but evolved step by step through improvised response to particular crises. However, he asserts that since the 1970s multilateralism has entered a phase of systemic crisis and the response has been rule by emergency decree in individual countries and the reliance on a “world policeman,” namely the United States, to maintain global order (128-30). Gran also argues that accumulation continued to be crucial to the expansion of the world market in the multilateral era and that, as before, New Men continued to be at the heart of the process. He illustrates this point with a number of examples, mostly drawn from the period since the Second World War.

As noted above, Gran acknowledges that relations between dominant elites in different countries involve competition as well as cooperation, but he gives relatively little attention to such conflicts. In light of the frequency and intensity of armed conflicts around the globe during the last century and half, this appears to be a significant omission. The explosive potential of both radically nationalist and Marxist movements and their impact on global economic and politi-

cal developments in the twentieth century (such as World War II, the Russian and Chinese revolutions, and the Cold War) are barely mentioned and one wonders if this is perhaps because they are hard to fit into the Rise of the Rich paradigm. Moreover, as in the previous chapter, Gran implies that such conflicts were linked to the need of elites to maintain hegemony in their respective states. Here one suspects that despite his neo-Gramscian approach, Gran’s desire to demonstrate the shared class interests of the Rich may lead him to minimize what may well be very real and deep differences between members of the dominant classes, not only between those in different nations but within individual states.

Chapter 5 examines contemporary U.S. history as part of the Rise of the Rich. Here Gran returns to his claim that the traditional Rise of the West model largely ignores the role played by the Third World ruling class in shaping modern world history and that it, therefore, cannot adequately explain many major developments, even those most closely tied to Western history. Gran asserts that, in fact, during the age of multilateralism non-Western elites have gained the capacity to exert influence on the countries at the core of the world market and thus affect the daily life of ordinary Westerners (147-48). In the case of the United States, this influence was exercised through the rise of foreign lobbyists in the American power structure. According to Gran, “The foreign lobbyist is the New Man who made it and who is now legal; corruption and primitive accumulation are now more concealed” (149).

He then goes on to argue that many recent developments such as relocation of American industry first to the South and West and then overseas, the concomitant rise of the Rust Belt in the Northeast and Midwest, the increasing transfer of American technology abroad, and the dramatic growth of migration from Latin America in general and Mexico in particular, are due in large part to the activities of foreign lobbyists (150, 164, 171-72). In his view, most of these processes were aided and abetted by the neo-conservative elements in the Republican Party, who saw them as a means to help them achieve their own hegemonic domestic goals. Thus, recent American developments are explained through the same “wider materialism” as global trends in general since 1500, namely the result of social and political choices made by the ruling classes (173).

The disputes between the American and Mexican governments over migration are an example of collaboration and struggle between different ruling classes similar to those in earlier eras (177).

Throughout his book, Gran relies heavily on what he calls “structural inference” and “middle-level inferential reasoning,” both of which he claims are important for any wider materialistic approach (xiii-xx, 56). Gran acknowledges this approach is not likely to satisfy historians who rely on detailed empirical evidence to create more traditional narratives. While he generally employs these methods cautiously and convincingly in the first few chapters, in chapter 5 Gran tends to free himself from the “chaos of particulars” more frequently and readily than is desirable. For example, in his discussion of migration policies, he suggests the translation and republication of books on emigrant remittances “could very well be taken as evidence that … there was an interest in Mexico in the role of the migrants’ remittances in the home economy; perhaps the government had an undeclared policy even at that point” (176). In a similar manner, he argues “the bureaucrats running contemporary immigration policy have started … what appears to be a renewed use of the racial and exclusionist one [policy.] If this is in fact what is occurring, then today would mark the second attempt to use the unassimilability strategy” (184). The frequent use of the conditional tense reveals how Gran’s “structural inferences” frequently lead to assumptions about what *might* be the motive of policy makers with little if any concrete evidence to show causal relationships. He thus appears to slip into the type of conspiracy theory approach which he discounts at the outset. Although there might indeed be some type of connection in these situations, it is hardly proven.

A number of other points in Gran’s book invite debate and controversy as well, but that is not necessarily a bad thing. In fact, in the introduction Gran describes *Rise of the Rich* as an “agenda book,” which is meant to serve as a point of departure for debating and re-evaluating approaches to world history. And in this sense Gran’s book is a success. He presents a wealth of insights and ideas in a very succinct and lively form, staking out often controversial positions on a wide range of topics. Whether one agrees or disagrees with his new paradigm, or with the methods and sources he uses to develop it, one is virtually compelled to respond. Very few read-

ers will remain unmoved. Gran has indeed set an agenda for those who engage in world history, and we are sure to be debating his thesis for years to come. The book, or at least sections of it, is almost certainly destined to become required reading in world history courses at both the college and advanced high school level: or at least it should be in order to expose our students to the dynamic nature of historical discourse. More than most books, *The Rise of the Rich* shows how the study of history can be exciting, timely, and important.



**Azar Gat.** *War in Human Civilization*. Oxford University Press, 2006. Paperback edition 2008. 822 pages. \$29.95.

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*War in Human Civilization* is an interdisciplinary world history, a claim made for few books and rarely executed with such sweep and detail. It is actually a human history stressing the evolution of human warfare and associated political systems, divided into three sections. The first section rests on a synthesis of evolutionary theory, archaeology, anthropology and paleontology which examine human prehistory and the hunter-gatherer societies which Gat points out makes up some 99.5% of our species' history. Following hints and studies from the few remaining hunter-gatherer societies, Gat points out that war is an innate human behavior which has existed since the first few humans met and argued over land, water, game, and women. Human warfare has always been present throughout our history as a species, and is heavily dependent on bushwhacking, loot, rapine, and slaughter. Since war and political organization are innately connected, Gat also surveys pre-human and hunter-gatherers' political structures and culture.

The foundation of Gat's entire survey of war rests on this section, and the identification of human evolutionary drives and desires. The theory of evolution is not the question here, so much as the current status of evolutionary theory in how evolution

actually plays out in nature, including animal and human societies. Evolutionary theory, at least in Gat's descriptions, is rather behaviorist in its drives. More importantly, Gat's entire thesis rests on the current state of evolutionary theory, archaeology, anthropology and paleontology being correct in the future for all these fields. Since all are, in fact, young in their development of theory and supporting data, current literature on the subject is unlikely to exist without serious modification in the future. Accurate information on pre-historical hunter-gatherer society is unlikely to be gathered in any detail until the invention of a time machine. Modern day hunter-gatherer societies are also studied, but this reviewer has noticed that often members of those societies claimed to have had no contact with the modern world, stroll into camera range wearing Wal-Mart style flip-flops. These societies are not in an untouched state of nature. Undoubtedly contesting for the means of survival in food, water, and shelter shaped these societies. It is interesting that while statistics are given on the death rates of males, there is no comparable set of statistics on the death or capture rates of women, a hotly sought after commodity according to Gat's review of evolutionary theory. Women have apparently whiled away the last two and a half million years trying to make the best of a bad situation in choices between rape, abduction, forcible marriage, and unending pregnancy.

The second section of *War in Human Civilization*, and the most massive, is a survey of the earliest historical periods of the agricultural revolution up until the modern period of roughly 1600. Gat traces military organizations and fighting tactics which are always closely allied with the current level of society, technology, and political organization. In an unusual, but instructive, leap Gat abandons chronological time and instead compares political unit/military organizations in relative developmental time. The reader may find himself considering several ancient Mesopotamian states, early Maya states, African states, and the Roman Republic covering several thousand years in the course of two pages. The device of comparing state/military structures in developmental structural time, rather than in strict chronological time, is the key to grasping the scope and sweep of Gat's work. He traces the development of infantry and the all-important horse, first used with chariots and then as a mount, and the various reasons

for the rise and fall of infantry versus the horse-mounted warrior through many political structures.

Gat points out, accurately, that expanding resources with the development of agricultural states and cultures did bring population growth, but also that most of the rather scant excess resources were gathered into the hands of a governing elite which was often military. It is the evolution of these governing/military elites which Gat traces. Given the scant amount of excess resources produced by early agriculture, it was war and the possibility of loot and tribute which drove successful states. This was the only way to become even richer in resources in that particular type of economy. Most of this excess was kept in the hands of the ruling aristocracy/military elite, but enough did sink down into the lower echelons of the society to make the risks of war worth the average young peasant's involvement. Security, accumulated wealth and urbanism would then develop, making these states targets for the hungrier nomadic states on their periphery.

The last third of the book concerns the modern period, with industrialization, liberalism, population growth and, eventually, plenty. Gat's study of nineteenth and twentieth century war rests on a statistical study attempting to prove that the expenses and death rates of these wars consumed no more of the available proportion of wealth and manpower than did pre-modern wars. The section on the rise of European imperialism in the late nineteenth century covers current theories on the Scramble for Africa and the European explosion of power, yet in the next chapter this imperial drive is contradicted by Gat's statements about the basic nature of affluent democracies' cultures and politics which militate against formal empire. Gat also details the decline in major wars since the nineteenth century, pointing out that affluence and broadly spread wealth has simply blunted the evolutionary drive of human beings for resources. Possession of stuff has apparently blunted the appeal of war. In this latter section Gat covers the recent theories on declining warfare from the field of international relations. This does not apply to colonial wars and the ideological third-world wars of the post-World War II period in which the western democracies have not fared well. Gat points to a developmental stutter step in human history between modern affluent western democracies and what is usually referred to as the developing

world or the third world. The third world is still traditional with more in common with historically older agricultural societies than with modern Europe or the United States. The spread of affluent democracy may be as time-intensive as the earlier spread of agriculture.

Terrorism, in its modern form, along with the spread of weapons of mass destruction leaves an unsettled terrain for the future. Will modern affluence and western-style democratic government continue to spread and develop over the world? Or will other forms of government and war-making based on anti-western affluent-resistant, traditional, and pre-modern societies develop? Gat's last sentence is simply, "Nobody knows."

Gat's work is an immense study compacting all human history relating to war and its associated politics and culture into an evolutionary framework. By its very nature such a work rests on sweeping generalizations, many of which may not hold under examination. *War in Human Civilization* is not at all suited for freshmen, or even senior level classes. It covers a scope of history and disciplines for which the average undergraduate simply does not have the background or even the impulse to grasp. Many professionals do not have this breadth of knowledge. The book may be more useful in some interdisciplinary graduate classes. Given its physical size and scope it would be a project for which one semester would hardly be adequate. It is certainly a valuable tool for professionals to stretch, broaden, and gain new insights into military, political, economic, and social structures over human history.

The scope and sweep of Gat's work is certainly unmatched in modern world history writings. Based on the question of the human fondness for war and how that fondness has developed throughout human existence, Gat's work will be a springboard for debate, refutation, support and development for some time to come.

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**Ian Tattersall. *The World from Beginnings to 4000 BCE. The New Oxford World History.* Oxford University Press, 2008. 145 pp. \$19.95.**

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In *The World from Beginnings to 4000 BCE*, the first volume of Oxford's new world history series, Ian Tattersall attempts the herculean task of condensing into a mere 124 pages of text the entire history of human evolution from its beginnings 6.5 million years ago through the development of the agricultural societies of 6000 years ago. Those who are familiar with other works of Tattersall will recognize the clear prose that makes his writing accessible to a wide audience, and there are many aspects of this book that will appeal to teachers of anthropology, evolution, and history, as well as to the armchair archaeologist. High-school teachers looking for a good, concise overview in preparation for teaching human evolution would also find this book a valuable resource.

Tattersall starts with a chapter on evolutionary processes, and then moves through sections dealing with the fossil record, hominid evolution, early humans, and the development of the first agricultural societies. Tattersall combines history and hominid archaeology with a clear and easy-to-follow comparative anatomy of the various hominids, explaining the significance of the anatomical variations between species, and outlining how each new species has modified our picture of the past. The importance of changes in environment and behaviors are also discussed. He carefully emphasizes the unique attributes of each species while simultaneously exploring what it means to be human. Looking at such criteria as bipedalism, tool-making, and symbolic thought, Tattersall leads the reader through a philosophical as well as a paleoanthropological journey.

It becomes clear early in the first chapter that this book is not going to be just an overview of current theory, but is rather about how we have arrived at the conclusions that we have and what gaps still exist in our knowledge. Indeed, one of the more delightful aspects of the book is the stories and anecdotes about the formulators of evolutionary theories, their often mistaken conclusions as they tried to piece together the

hominid record, and the discoverers and discoveries that led researchers to the point we are at today in understanding our past. Tattersall is also careful to point out where scientific theories today diverge, and which positions are more or less accepted and why. This history of theory and practice, presented in tandem with the evolutionary history of hominids and humans, presents in a concise package a good overview that could serve well in a variety of undergraduate history or anthropology courses, whether as the first unit in a broad survey course or as a general introduction prior to more in-depth study.

This book is also about technological innovation, and how tool using and tool shaping emerged among hominids. Tattersall discusses not only how tools were shaped and by whom, but also the possibilities of how tool users' behaviors were influenced by those tools. By the time we reach the end of the last chapter on Neolithic societies, the impact of tool users as shapers of their environment becomes clear.

Importantly, a continuous theme stressed throughout the volume is the danger of imposing modern preconceptions of behaviors, motives, or thought patterns upon our human ancestors. This is a tendency which (as Tattersall concedes) is often hard to resist, and is perhaps one of the hardest things for students to grasp. The closing exhortation, cautioning the reader against seeing humans as independent agents of their history and reinforcing the role that socioeconomic pressures can play, is apt as well. It is these ideas, integrated with commentary and history about the field as well as the subject, that makes this book an ideal starting point for undergraduate students. Its compact size belies the amount and quality of material packed into it.



World History Association

**John Aberth. *The First Horseman: Disease in Human History. Connections: Key Themes in World History.* Pearson / Prentice Hall, 2007. xii + 177 pp.**

**Peter Dykema**  
*Arkansas Tech University*

Ever since the work of William McNeill and Alfred Crosby, the study of diseases has

been a major component of world history research. The topic continues to be relevant and popular today. Disease studies are as current as “elbow sneezing” and Purell. The subject screams out for an interdisciplinary approach: medicine, the environment, demographic impact, cultural reaction. And for world historians, the study of disease also provides a perfect opportunity to apply cross-cultural and comparative approaches. In this work, John Aberth, the author of two books on the plague and its impact in late medieval Europe, begins by introducing his readers to necessary biological and medical concepts and then moves to a discussion of the evidence and approaches taken by historians to study disease, both as a biological phenomenon affecting humans as well as a cultural phenomenon shaped or constructed by humans. Following this introduction, Aberth addresses four case studies of epidemics in human history, each clearly chosen to demonstrate the broad chronological and geographic scope of disease: the Black Death in Europe and the Middle East, 1347-1350; smallpox in the Americas, 1518-1670; the plague again, but now in India and China at the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century; and the recent epidemic of AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa. In each of the chapters, Aberth follows a similar pattern: he addresses epidemiological issues (cause, transmission, symptoms, mortality); then moves to demographic, social, and political impact; followed by a discussion of cultural reaction, whether manifested in art, funerary rites, or the social construction of diseased persons as “unclean” or “perverse” or in some other way targets of exclusion. Each chapter concludes with a modest collection of primary sources, with commentary and discussion questions provided by Aberth.

In chapter one, on the Black Death, Aberth broadens the still-dominant Eurocentric focus to include the impact of the disease in Muslim societies, although this extended range is far more obvious in the Sources section than in Aberth’s narrative analysis. When discussing the Black Death in Europe, Aberth speaks from expertise while discussing the most infectious questions in current scholarship: Was the disease really plague? Probably, with DNA studies on the dental pulp of excavated victims providing the crucial evidence. How many Europeans died? About half, up from the estimates of one-fourth to one-third provided by previous generations of historians. Was the plague a “turning point in European

history”? Yes. Europeans adapted to the tragic epidemic by changing reproduction patterns (smaller families), developing new technologies and more efficient agricultural practices, and taking advantage of social mobility (those who survived, thrived), with the result that the plague helped to usher in early modern European society. Late medieval Europe was not a passive, “wasted society” but an adaptive culture whose “rebirth was forged in the crucible of its terrible yet transcendent ordeal with the Black Death” (25). Because the primary sources provided all date from the first plague outbreak (1347-52), they are more suited to reveal the trauma and fear experienced by Europeans than to serve as evidence for any long-term adaptive response.

Smallpox in the Americas is the subject of the second case study. Here too, Aberth raises the questions which have dominated scholarly debate. What was the population of the Americas in 1491? How sharp was the demographic collapse of the indigenous population and did disease play the dominant role or merely a contributing role, alongside European brutality? Were the disease outbreaks and resulting deaths a form of genocide or only the unintended consequences of the Columbian encounter? Aberth concludes that no matter the motives of the Europeans regarding smallpox, the combined impact of disease and harsh colonial policies did result in an “American Holocaust” (the title of the chapter) which, in contrast to Europe’s adaptive encounter with the plague, “doomed indigenous populations to demographic marginalization or, at worst, oblivion” (57). In the Sources section, Aberth provides eyewitness accounts of the devastation of disease in sixteenth-century Mexico as well as seventeenth-century Massachusetts and Quebec.

Chapter three focuses on plague outbreaks in India and China between 1896 and 1921 and the role these played in the birth of modern medicine and modern public-health policies. During these epidemics scientists conclusively identified the bacterial agent, vectors, and carriers of bubonic plague (*Y. pestis*, fleas, and rats) while government officials sought to impose regimes of hygiene and separation/quarantine to stop the disease’s transmission, often encountering strong resistance from the afflicted communities based on traditional customs and religious beliefs. Whether in the case of the British in India or the Chinese in Manchuria, effective measures required both a sound

basis in science and the acquiescence of the afflicted.

The closing case-study investigates the spread and impact of AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa. The clear link between sexual behavior and the transmission of the disease (worldwide, 75-85% of all HIV infections can be accounted for by sexual transmission), leads Aberth to discuss AIDS both as an infectious disease and as a “social construct,” whereby colonial legacies, poverty, traditional practices, and patriarchal prejudices all conspire to hinder effective disease prevention and have led to debates about AIDS as a “socioeconomic disease” and controversies, especially in South Africa, over the role that “Western” science should play in treating the disease. The obvious conclusion is that epidemics can be politicized as easily as they can be fatal.

Aberth’s topic, disease in human history, guarantees an interdisciplinary approach. The choices Aberth made in selecting his case studies guarantee global coverage and chronological breadth. His narrative addresses current issues in scholarship as well as popular concerns about pandemics in today’s world, while his sources present dramatic eyewitness accounts of tragedy and the search for explanations amidst such trauma. The target audience for this volume is college students and, perhaps, high-school students taking AP classes. I have no doubt that Aberth’s book would be embraced by these groups, whether its use were to be part of a thematic block in a world history survey or as an introduction to more detailed studies on the history of disease. The only potential weakness I can point to is that his introductions to the primary sources are so extensive and detailed that they may indeed stifle student analysis. Issues that would unfold in the students’ mind as they pondered the source have already been addressed in Aberth’s introductions. Aside from this point of critique, Aberth has provided a lucid, engaging, and up-to-date introduction to a major theme of interest within the discipline of world history.

**WHA Mission Statement:** *The WHA supports teaching and scholarship within a trans-national, trans-regional, and trans-cultural perspective. Through the teachers, researchers, and authors who are its members, the WHA fosters historical analysis undertaken not from the viewpoint of nation-states, discrete regions, or particular cultures, but from that of the human community. To this end, the WHA provides forums for the discussion of changing approaches to the study and teaching of world history at all levels and works with other organizations to encourage public support for world history.*

**Rainer F. Buschmann.** *Oceans in World History. Explorations in World History*. McGraw-Hill, 2007. xv + 138 pp.

**Peter Dykema**  
Arkansas Tech University

Two of the goals set forth by the editors of the *Explorations in World History* series are to present the “many and intersecting journeys of humankind, framed in global terms” and to bring to college students the findings of recent research in world history (xi). In this slim volume, intended as a complementary text for an introductory world history course, Rainer Buschmann accomplishes both goals. He successfully summarizes recent work on not only the “new thalassology” and littoral societies, but also the Columbian Exchange, Atlantic World and Big History paradigms. His overarching thesis is that, more often than not, “the oceans’ waters united rather than divided people” (xiii). This central recognition serves as the foundation for his narrative detailing how oceans have served as networks of cross-cultural and transregional interaction.

In an introductory chapter, Buschmann introduces the concepts of Big History and Braudel’s *longue durée* as they apply to oceans. The origins of the oceans, via comet collisions and volcanic activity, as well as the shaping of the oceans, via plate tectonics, are discussed quickly, then Buschmann turns to the role oceans play in changing and regulating the earth’s climates through the interaction of currents and winds. Once humans identified these currents and winds, oceans could become highways for trade, migration, conquest, and the spread of ideas and diseases. Buschmann closes his introduction by briefly pointing out several *longue durée* themes (to be detailed in later chapters), such as the development of Muslim trade routes on the Indian Ocean between 700 and 1500 CE, and the slow but steady migration of the Austronesian peoples out into the islands of the Pacific.

The title of chapter one provides its thesis: “The Indian Ocean: A First Maritime Crossroads.” The concept of crossroads is quickly reinforced as Buschmann uses the following terms in the first nine lines of his prose: zone of interaction, cosmopolitan culture, exchange, sharing, and integration (12). The “decoding of the monsoon wind patterns” (13) in the first millennium BCE led

to migration, trade, and eventually the diffusion of Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism, and Islam throughout parts of the Indian Ocean basin. Another result of Indian Ocean interaction was the creation of additional links between the Indian Ocean and other, still more far flung commercial networks, such as the Silk Roads, South China Sea trade routes, Mediterranean ports (via the Red Sea), and finally, western European ports with the arrival of the Portuguese. While this linking of one commercial web to other networks is both obvious and nuanced (after all, where does one web end and others begin?), a result can be a loss of focus. As Romans, Greeks, Phoenicians, Xiongnu, Mongols, Chinese, and all their associated histories briefly appeared in this chapter, this reader began to question the degrees of separation from the Indian Ocean itself. In his defense, Buschmann need only point again to the title of the chapter: the Indian Ocean was a complex crossroads used by a multitude of Eurasian, African, and Indo/Austronesian peoples.

The title of chapter two also summarizes Buschmann’s emphases: “Cultural and Biological Exchanges in the Atlantic Ocean.” Here Buschmann presents recent research on the Columbian Exchange and the Atlantic World by discussing the movement of flora, fauna, and pathogens across the ocean with the dual results of a positive effect on global nutrition and a devastating impact on native American populations; the establishment of European empires in the Americas and the involuntary migration of Africans to the New World via the slave trade, with political ramifications for Africa as well as the creation of mestizo societies in the Americas. Finally, the author discusses revolutions on both sides of the Atlantic World as he compares the upheavals in a well-known group of thirteen British colonies to the uprisings in France, Haiti, and Spain’s American empire. That the paradigms of “Columbian Exchange” and “Atlantic World” dominate Buschmann’s presentation is made even more clear by the minimal attention given to Columbus and the total absence of the likes of Cabot, Vespucci, de Soto, or Cartier. The “Age of Exploration and Discovery” has been left far behind.

And yet it is exactly that phrase that could apply to the next chapter, devoted to the Pacific Ocean. After an excellent summary of the Austronesian migrations and continued regional connections within the

various Pacific archipelagoes, the author proceeds with a fairly traditional presentation of sailors and navigators, ports and trading posts: Balboa, Magellan, Urdaneta and Cook all make their appearances, along with Melaka, Macao, Batavia and Nagasaki. The Manila galleons provide a fascinating tale, linking Spanish silver and Chinese silk across thousands of watery miles, but Buschmann’s overall perspective in this chapter left this reviewer to wonder whether historians of the Pacific have constructed a meta-narrative for their ocean that could be compared to the Atlantic’s Columbian Exchange or Atlantic World (and indeed, whether they really need to!). The chapter closes out with a discussion on the scientific contributions of Pacific exploration and two case studies of encounters: European fascination with the “noble” and exotic “savages” of Tahiti, and the impact of the Jesuit missions in China on the subsequent Enlightenment.

The final chapter addresses the modern era (1800-2000) and, taking an interdisciplinary perspective, focuses on five themes: technology, trade, tourism, trans-oceanic identities, and the environment. Buschmann’s analysis succeeds on several levels. Steamships, gun boats, aircraft carriers, ocean liners, and oil tankers have all changed dramatically how people, products, and power are distributed around the world. Offshore drilling, oil spills, and over fishing have sparked and sustained environmental movements. Buschmann presents these topics well. But I found unconvincing his discussion of trans-oceanic identities. I have no doubt that the women’s movement developed on both sides of the Atlantic, that the Marxist Workers’ Internationals had an impact on many shores, and that Pan-Africanism has indeed united persons of African ancestry (the three examples presented). But whereas Buschmann calls these movements “trans-oceanic,” I would prefer to stress that modern advances in transportation and communication allow like-minded people to form networks of agreement and alliances across not only oceans but also across degrees of latitude, longitude, elevation, religion, race, gender, and class. I disagree that “oceans” are the determining (or even a relevant) factor in the creation of such identities.

Overall, Buschmann provides a solid introduction to world historical research on oceans, ocean basins, and the networks forged within and between them. His narra-

tive successfully stresses cross-cultural interaction and comparison. His book could be very useful in an introductory world history survey. It is brief, its primary theses and secondary points are set forth clearly, the organization of the book is helpful with timelines, outlines, “getting started” questions to orient the reader at the outset of each chapter, and strong suggested readings concluding each chapter. While professional historians might feel that Buschmann is over-reaching at certain points, students will appreciate his straight-forward narrative and his clear conclusion that the world’s oceans are not “vast empty liquid spaces” (2) but already long ago were highways for human interaction.



**Glenn J. Ames. *The Globe Encompassed: The Age of European Discovery, 1500-1700. Connections: Key Themes in World History*. Pearson / Prentice Hall, 2008. xvii + 190 pp.**

**Peter Dykema**  
*Arkansas Tech University*

The title of this volume, intended for undergraduate readers, may imply to some a traditional summary of the Age of Exploration. However, what Glenn Ames, an expert on the Portuguese and French in the Indian Ocean, provides is a comparative analysis of both exploration and empire-building carried out by five European societies (the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English, and French) in the Americas and in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Each of the four main chapters follows a similar pattern. First, the stories of exploration are told: captains crossing dangerous seas promoting God, hoping for glory, and searching for gold. Initial encounters between explorers and native peoples are sketched out next, whereby trade relations were established, sometimes welcomed by both sides, sometimes enforced through violence. The author then proceeds to discuss how the Europeans constructed and maintained their trade and territorial empires, whether through conquest, centralizing authority, religious conversion, commercial monopolies, or through conflict with other Europeans. Another way to describe this recurring thematic pattern

would be that Ames presents the means (maps, ships, financial investment, religious zeal, routes, ports, weapons, and diseases) as well as the models for European conquest and rule. A few relevant primary sources, tending to fall into two categories (what I’ll call “first impressions” and “competitive strategies”) complete each chapter.

In his comparative analysis, Ames calls into question the traditional view that, as competition heated up after 1600, “the monarchical monopolism of the Portuguese and Spanish was no match for the capitalism of the Protestant Dutch and English” (21). To test this, Ames raises two issues: Did the Iberian empires truly decline during the seventeenth century or did they prove to be quite resilient? And were the models employed by the Dutch and English really all that different from those used by the Spanish and Portuguese? Throughout the book, Ames provides nuanced answers to these questions. In the epilogue, where his expertise and emphasis on the Indian Ocean is most clear, the author forcefully concludes that in Asia, the Portuguese and the Dutch made similar choices and the same mistakes: their lust for trade monopolies and territorial expansion led to costly conflicts, such that “the Dutch system became a virtual mirror image of the [Portuguese model] more than a capitalist rejection of it. Proto-capitalism had been abandoned for what might be called ‘vulturine’ mercantilism” (175).

Ames presents the expansionist motivations of Europeans as well as their cartographic and ship-building knowledge in the introduction. Here, too, he summarizes the “Iberian century 1490-1600,” and the conflicts of the seventeenth century resulting from the entrance of the Dutch, English, and French into the competition for overseas trade and empire. Chapter one addresses the Portuguese in Asia and Brazil. The familiar stories of Prince Henry, Vasco da Gama, the spice trade, and the establishment of Brazilian sugarcane plantations worked by slaves are all presented in detail. Special attention is given to the *Estado da India*, the fortified-port trading empire stretching from Mozambique to Macao. Ames details its rise to prominence in the sixteenth century, its decline in the first half of the seventeenth (due to Spanish negligence in the years of the Iberian Union and to increasing competition), and its relative rehabilitation in the years 1650-1700.

Chapter two tells of the Spanish in the New World. Ames breaks up the narrative

into three time periods: an “age of explorers” up to about 1520; an “age of conquistadors” between 1520 and 1540 during which men like Cortés and Pizarro acted as private adventurers, setting up neo-feudal aristocratic hierarchies over native peoples. This second stage provides evidence that the Spanish crown did not always promote monarchical monopolies. As the contemporary historian Oviedo noted, “almost never do Their Majesties put their income and cash into these new discoveries” (77). However, that changed in the third time period, 1540-1700, when the crown sought to establish centralized, absolutist, imperial control over all lands held by Spain. While often limited in practice, this theory of empire was pushed by the monarchs and their viceroys and supported by the growing mestizo population, who had a vested interest in a strong empire (87).

The Dutch take center stage in chapter three. Closed out of the intra-European carrying trade as a result of their revolt against Spain, the Dutch sought to enter the spice trade directly. Thus Dutch overseas trade grew out of a revolt against monarchy, one point in clear contrast to the Iberian model. However, Ames stresses that as soon as the VOC (the United East India Company) was founded as a national monopoly in 1602, the Dutch found themselves pursuing policies drawn from both capitalism and mercantilism. Welcomed by local spice producers as competitors against the disliked Portuguese, the Dutch met with quick success. However, over time, the VOC policy was to establish coercive monopolies throughout the Indian Ocean and seek territorial expansion, especially in Indonesia. The result was endless conflict with the Portuguese, local rulers, and later, the French as well. Similar successes and troubles occurred in Brazil.

The final chapter focuses on the English and the French in both the New World and in Asia. The English, alleged capitalists, also engaged in royal and private monopolies. The Virginia Company was dissolved already in 1624, and Virginia became a colony under crown rule. The EIC (East India Company) was founded on the last day of the sixteenth century as a monopoly. The English gradually gained market share in the Indian Ocean due to diversified trade (tea, textiles, and spices), an excellent port at Bombay, and the granting of religious freedom there. The French started late in the Indian Ocean and had to settle for scraps, but in North America, Cardinal Richelieu

encouraged settlement with the introduction of land grants to nobles. Later on, absolutist minister Colbert brought to end to such neo-feudal systems of rule by placing New France under direct crown control in 1663 and gaining control of Caribbean plantation wealth by bringing Martinique and Saint-Domingue into the royal monopoly.

I assigned this book as my primary text for a four-week block on European expansion in an upper-level college course. Both the students and I found Ames' theses to be clear and we were able to discuss them based on the included primary sources that presented the competitive strategies of the various European powers (the descriptions of the Dutch by Josiah Childs and Jean-Baptiste Colbert were especially helpful). Both the students and I also found daunting the sheer number of unfamiliar personal and place names. Most of the maps provided are global in scale, whereas more detailed maps of specific regions would have been more helpful. For these reasons, I doubt that this book would be welcomed by freshmen as a complementary text in a world history survey. However, as a thesis-driven analysis that raises questions about traditional scholarship, provides the results of more recent comparative studies, and explains how Europeans built global empires in the early-modern period, *The Globe Encompassed* succeeds admirably.



World History Association

**Jeremy Prestholdt. *Domesticating the World: African Consumerism and the Genealogies of Globalization*. California World History Library. University of California Press, 2008. xiv + 273 pp. \$25.**

**Jessica Lynn Achberger**  
University of Texas Austin

An addition to the California World History Library, Jeremy Prestholdt's *Domesticating the World* examines East Africa's relations with the world up to colonization. The book is organized as a series of related essays, all tying into the broader theme of the significance of pre-colonial globalization. Prestholdt's volume fits into the growing literature on the history of globalization and challenges some key assumptions concerning issues of globality, which contrasts with

early studies of globalization that originally focused on the modern "phenomenon" of the late twentieth century.

In his book, Prestholdt examines a variety of case studies within the East African experience. In the first chapter, he explores the ideas of "self-representation" and "similitude" in Mutsamudu, on Nzwani Island. The relationship between the Nzwani and the British Empire is expressed through the desire for consumer goods, with the Nzwani's aspirations for British cultural symbols expressed prior to, and separate from, colonization. Material goods as symbols of social relations are next described using the example of consumers' needs in Mombasa. Here, Prestholdt uses the Swahili terms of desire – moyo (heart), nia (conscience), and roho (soul) – to explain how those in pre-colonial Mombasa expressed their desires, in particular their need for social acceptance and status enrichment through the possession of certain goods.

The third chapter looks at consumer exchange from a different angle: how East African consumerism affected global trade and industrialization. This chapter is perhaps the most compelling in the manuscript as it paints a different picture of pre-colonial Africa than is normally seen. Here, Prestholdt highlights African influence, in particular how the demand for exports was able to influence production in places as far away as Salem, Massachusetts. In the final chapters, Prestholdt moves forward chronologically, examining how European colonial interests changed consumerism in East Africa overall, and in Zanzibar in particular. He explains that while consumers in East Africa were able to control how they presented themselves, still placing influence on cosmopolitanism and consumer desire, they "had little control over how outsiders perceived them" (146).

Throughout the chapters, Prestholdt uses a variety of social and economic evidence, as well as linguistic evidence, too often ignored in historical analysis. However, most compelling is the emphasis Prestholdt places on the role of objects in historical interpretation, showing that the objects desired by a group say much about the culture of that group. The interdisciplinary nature of the book is also evident in the notes and extended bibliography, both of which provide a useful starting point for more extensive research by scholars of both East Africa specifically and world history more generally.

It is this broader use that is the book's strength, and the questions it raises concerning globality are crucial when looking at the future of historical studies. Prestholdt importantly criticizes previous studies of globalization, both popular and academic, arguing that nineteenth century globalization cannot be directly compared to contemporary globalization and that it is incorrect to assume that contemporary globality has precedent over its equally influential historical counterpart. This complicating of the study of globalization in both a historical and a contemporary sense is the overarching strength of the manuscript. While the particular case studies may not be of interest to scholars outside of East African history, everyone can benefit from the broader points that Prestholdt makes through these examples. *Domesticating the World* comes at an important moment in the development of globalization studies, and is an important contribution to that literature.



World History Association

**Enrico Dal Lago and Constantina Katsari, eds. *Slave Systems: Ancient and Modern*. Cambridge University Press, 2008. xiii + 375 pp. \$99.00.**

**Patrick Albano**  
Pierpont Community and  
Technical College

*Slave Systems: Ancient and Modern* is a comprehensive analysis of slavery and slave systems in both ancient and modern epochs. It integrates journal articles by scholars in a comparative approach.

The book is divided into five sections each representing a central theme. In the first section, the editors, Enrico Dal Lago and Constantina Katsari, along with Joseph Miller, establish a framework for slave systems, continuing with general overviews of Greece, the ancient Mediterranean and the Atlantic world. They employ a framework for comparative analysis by studying slavery in the pre-modern world within the larger World History context. Acclaimed scholar Orlando Patterson (*Slavery and Social Death*) presents a cross-cultural analysis of this topic inside the greater comparative approach to global slavery.

In part II, Walter Scheidel, Tracey Rihil and Michael Zeushe examine economies and

technologies of ancient and modern slave systems. Returning to contributions of the editors, part III investigates comparative ideologies of slave management in the Roman world as well as more modern trends in Meso-American culture. The final two sections conclude with Oliver Grenouilleau, Stanley Engerman and Stephen Hodkinson surveying the process of exiting slave systems, emancipation, and themes in helotage and comparative perspectives.

This book targets a select audience of specialist and sub-specialist within the field of slavery and slave systems. Given its dense prose and specific focus, it would have some degree of usage in graduate courses. At best, certain chapters could be introduced into seminars on comparative world slavery as separate discussion topics or readings for interpretation. Although this book is inappropriate for undergraduate coursework, several intended themes are not. One theme is an understanding of how historians interpret and examine the past in relation to slavery and how attitudes or events can change over time. Put another way, undergraduate students can assess in several of these essays, how economics factored into slave issues in history and not just as racial issues. Thus, an understanding of these essays as paradigms and how much the modern world inherited from the ancient world with regard to ideology and the practice of slavery is important.

One area of criticism is in the book's opening statement in which the editors argue: "Historical studies of slavery are by definition, both global and comparative." This follows with: "Slavery in fact is an institution whose practices have covered most of the documented history of the world ..." and concludes "... [that] few societies have remained untouched by it" (3). Despite this claim, there is no consideration of Asian slave systems which existed. Additionally, the book's subtitle: Ancient and Modern is a bit unclear as it does not involve other individuals in the twentieth century who have examined slavery's topical issues. Whereas this book concludes its study of slavery in the nineteenth century, other researchers continue on to the present day. Sociologist Kevin Bales probes modern slavery in the twentieth century. In his web-site ([www.freetheslaves.net](http://www.freetheslaves.net)) and his book *Disposable People*, he exams all aspects of modern slavery.

Finally, the book's graphs, prolific charts and statistical addendum, while

important in analyzing the subject, appear at times convoluted and difficult to comprehend. Among all of the supportive documentation, no photographs, drawings or maps exist that could lend greater support to the basic themes articulated. The bibliography is extensive and accrues approximately forty pages, although there is no distinction as to what separates primary materials from secondary sources.

Despite these minor flaws, this book is scholarly erudition in every aspect. Its themes run concurrent with attempts to analyze trends and themes in World History in a comparative approach and the editors and their respective contributors have done a commendable job. This is a well researched book in which many of the arguments shaped by the respective scholars could very well become manuscript titles on their own in the future.



**Frank Trentmann. *Free Trade Nation: Commerce, Consumption, and Civil Society in Modern Britain*. Oxford University Press, 2008. 450 pp., cloth. \$29.95.**

**Carolyn Neel**

*Arkansas Tech University*

Frank Trentmann writes that the idea of free trade was critical to the development of the British nation during the nineteenth century. He suggests that the intensity of the debates, both pro and con, was central to establishing a democratic culture and forming a British national identity. The book takes on a special relevance today as we begin – once more – reconsidering the need of a state to regulate its economic activities. In a very engaging and readable manner, Trentmann tells the story of an idea and a society's turmoil as its members struggle to reconcile that idea with the political and economic realities of their age. Passions ran high as the British grappled with the social and cultural disruptions of industrialization. National economic decisions took on a theological patina. Many supporters of economic liberalism believed free trade to be a part of God's plan, analogous to the circulation of blood. Free trade became associated with moral, fiscal, and physical health.

Trentmann organized the book into two sections detailing the ascendance and collapse of the free trade movement. The first section, "Building a Free Trade Nation," discusses popular support for unrestricted international trade. "Free trade" became a mantra in nineteenth-century Britain largely as a reaction against the duties on the foreign food grains, known as the Corn Laws, imposed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century and enduring until 1846. The purpose of the laws was to protect the prices of domestic production. The lower the price on foreign imports, the higher the duty imposed. After the Napoleonic wars ended in 1816, Parliament supported high domestic prices by completely prohibiting the importation of foreign grain. Resentment about the artificially high cost of food underscored class divides. The resulting drive to eliminate duties and tariffs occurred in Britain at the very time international trade protectionism was rising in the other industrializing countries. Economic liberals joined consumer groups in their effort to institute and protect the laissez faire international economic policies. Women's groups, plays, posters, and broadsides kept attention centered on the movement. The message was consistent: cheap bread, well-fed children, productive workers, and the safety of the nation, all depended on self-regulating markets.

In the second section, "Unraveling," Trentmann focuses on opposition to the free trade movement and its eventual decline during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some, of course, had never been convinced. Members of the new Labor Party remembered free trade advocates opposing factory reforms and attacking the Chartist movement. Often a dedication to free trade accompanied a conviction that legalizing (or even recognizing) labor movements was contrary to free market principles. Why should those who sell their labor be privileged over those who sell their grain? As international trade competition heated up and more states instituted protective tariffs, British observers realized that tariffs could be an effective tool in international dealings, diplomatic as well as economic. Answers were not clear-cut or simple. The debate over trade policy was multifaceted, including positions on ethical responsibility, economic self-interest, social organization, and national wellbeing. In the end, the First World War and the Great Depression combined to defeat the free trade

advocates.

One cannot avoid the impression that Trentmann does indeed have a dog in this fight. In the epilogue, he writes, "Free trade has eased the misery of the many," although admitting, "not everyone has shared equally in its benefits." Some observers, and I am one of them, would also argue that nascent industries often need the protections that duties on imports provide. It is in fact possible to make a case that the early participation in world markets seriously impeded economic development in parts of Latin America and Africa. One does not find support today for the notion that a divine power so ordered the world that every area is suited to produce the specialized goods that would assure its population prosperity. So long as there is a variance in the skill and erudition of participants, there is a danger of victimization. The potential hazards increase as the international marketplace becomes increasingly complex. Bond markets, insurance, and banking are now a solid part of the global trade networks. With the current economic crises due largely to laissez faire policies – the absence of effective regulation – one could argue that the less sophisticated among us need protection from the Ken Lays and Bernie Madoffs of the world. Nevertheless, despite a disagreement with his personal conclusions, I recommend this book to anyone interested in a better understanding of the cultural aspects of national economics. The work is well done, entertaining, and fairly presented.

Alfred Crosby and Jared Diamond that have examined nature's role in shaping civilizations. Radkau, now professor emeritus of the History of Technology and Environmental History at the University of Bielefeld, acknowledges the role that environment has played in shaping some cultures but also argues that the desire by humans to shape nature has solidified power for some people.

Radkau divides *Nature and Power* into six sections, beginning with an analysis of the state of environmental history. He then considers humans' earliest attempts to shape their environment; the intersection of power and civilizations' engineering of water and forests; colonialism and environmental history; the "limits of nature"; and globalization. Radkau's epilogue, "How to Argue with Environmental History in Politics," suggests that, despite his own pessimism as he discusses globalism, historians should view the history of the environment not necessarily as a narrative of declension but rather as mutable, just as the environment is.

Radkau's use of themes acknowledges that broad movements—such as industrialization—took place in different parts of the world at different times. He takes the reader on a globe trot through time and space, from ancient American civilizations to Ghengis Khan's Mongol Empire to twenty-first century political debates, linking them with frequent references to the ideas of Max Weber. (Indeed, Weber and his ideas appear more times in the text than almost any other topic.) For any teacher of world history who seeks a cohesive theme for organizing a course, Radkau provides that theme. He does not, however, provide teachers with an easily integrated structure, since his organization does not follow either the chronological or the regional configuration that most world history classes employ. Regardless, even though *Nature and Power* is probably not destined to become a widely used classroom text, its argument is worthy of consideration by all teachers of world history, and its eloquent yet casual writing make it an engaging book in translation.

Thomas Dunlap translated *Nature and Power* for this English edition, and his translation is virtually flawless, providing exquisite prose that never reveals that the ideas originated in a different language. The only weakness of the translation is one of timeliness. Radkau's critique of trends in environmental history, particularly with regard to environmental historians' emphasis on wilderness, is no longer as valid as it was in

2002, when the German edition was published.



World History Association

**S. J. Connolly.** *Contested Island: Ireland 1460-1630*. Oxford University Press, 2007. Cloth, xii + 426 pp. \$70. *Divided Kingdom: Ireland 1630-1800*. Oxford University Press, 2008. Cloth, xiii + 519 pp. \$70.

**Kenneth Shonk, Jr.**  
Marquette University

In the introduction to *Contested Island*, Sean Connolly—Professor of Irish History at Queen's University, Belfast—decries the propensity of the modern historian to view primary sources as texts as opposed to their more traditional role as windows to the past. In an unveiled attack on the methodologies of postmodernists, Connolly notes "That a text can be read in more than one way does not mean that one can invest it with any meaning one chooses" (*Contested*, 2). It is in this historiographical framework that Connolly operates, querying if it is possible "for a book that presents a single, structured account of three and a half centuries of history, even the history of a small island, to represent anything more than the last belching of a dinosaur in its swamp? Many may conclude that it is not" (2-3). Although such an effort to pen a narrative history after the so-called "linguistic turn" might be seen as regressive to the discipline, the books are hardly regressive, and are certainly no less vital because of this approach. Further, Connolly rejects the teleology that is common to works that focus solely on one nation. Such is often the case of works in the field of Irish history, where it would seem as if all aspects of Irish history climaxed in either the Easter Rebellion of 1916 or the "Troubles" of Northern Ireland in the last half of the twentieth century. This is not to say, however, that Connolly neither makes inferences to future events nor challenges previous works—instead Connolly seeks to revisit and reassess many of the key events of early modern Ireland. Much like Paul Bew's *Ireland, The Politics of Enmity, 1789-2006* and Diarmid Ferriter's *The Transformation of Ireland*, Connolly's work is one of a series of new works that analyzes myriad people and events in their context



World History Association

**Joachim Radkau.** *Nature and Power: A Global History of the Environment*. Publications of the German Historical Institute. Cambridge University Press, 2008. 448 pp.

**Kim Little**  
University of Central Arkansas

Joachim Radkau's *Nature and Power* originally appeared in German, published by C. H. Beck in 2002. Environmental historians have eagerly anticipated this English translation, but it is commendable to all teachers of world history as well. Radkau has crafted a book of extraordinary scope by building on regional environmental histories as well as earlier world histories such as those by

free from the trappings of any teleological argument. Lest one think that the two works are indeed dinosaurs, one need only read one or both of the books to realize that they are successful examples of the importance of this type of historical inquiry in the post-modern age.

The sheer breadth of information and attention to detail are among the greatest strengths and most rewarding characteristics of Connolly's books. Each chapter is clearly defined through the construction of general historical questions that are explored in great depth using such myriad sources as contemporary histories, memoirs, correspondence, as well as literary sources including poetry and fiction. Although one might be tempted to critique both works due to the apparent lack of attention given to elements of social and cultural history, especially in *Contested Island*, where interregional conflicts draw the most attention. Indeed, great effort is put into an exploration of the political machinations that shaped Ireland, yet cultural and social histories are woven throughout the narrative. As such, these books can be of great value to scholars, for Connolly's reconsideration of Irish historical paradigms offers Irish historians a renewed set of narrative frameworks within which to work.

Rather than being driven by a singular argumentative thread, both books adhere to a narrative strand that makes it difficult to analyze the books as such. There are so many argumentative strands supported by a breadth of supporting data, that it would be nearly impossible to do them justice in such a brief article. However, one can garner a general sense of the books by using each title as a starting point. In *Contested Ireland*, Connolly examines the intercultural struggles between the native Gaelic Irish, the Irish-born English, and the English-born to attain and retain control over land in Ireland. Whereas postcolonial historiography tends to characterize the incursion of the English into Ireland as the beginnings of a Manichean oppressor/oppressed divide, Connolly is careful to note that these divisions were not so clearly delineated. In the period between 1460 and 1630 divisions between Gael and Briton were largely the result of circumstance and convenience, and if not for the religious and linguistic divergences, Gaelic culture might have completely acquiesced to that of England. The fluid dynamic of the intercultural relations between the various classes and cultures makes it impossible to attribute any particu-

lar set of characteristics to any group, whether it was the English settlers born in Ireland, the ex-soldiers and adventurers who settled in the Plantations of Munster and Ulster, or the Gaelic-speaking Irish. In other words, cultural identity served as the foundational point of divergence between the competing factions. As such, the Ireland of this particular time period was shaped by the interactions—both peaceful and violent—between these particular groups marked in large part by the general struggle for identity.

In the opening pages of *Divided Kingdom*, Connolly notes that in the seventeenth century, “language and culture were becoming less significant as markers of identity” (6). The following century witnessed religious identities displace language and ethnicity as the points of contention within Ireland. At the same time that Ireland was on track to become enveloped into the United Kingdom under the Act of Union, the increased awareness of the differences between Irish, Anglo-Irish, and English—fuelled in large part by the political-religious fervor of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—led to the growing divide in both England and Ireland. Such divisions were central to the growing sense of Irish identity, which culminated into two distinct, yet important movements: the establishment of the Protestant Orange Order in 1790, and the failed rebellion of the United Irishmen in 1798. Connolly notes that the formation of these two groups occurred within the intersection of the early modern and modern periods, as “historians have offered radically different assessments” (492). For the modern historian of Ireland, the formation of the United Irishmen marks the beginning of the Irish Republican movement, while the establishment of the Orange Order represents the beginnings of the Troubles—indeed both can rightly be claimed as such. However, Connolly reminds us that both movements were the culmination of an England and Ireland divided by a heritage of cultural, political, and religious divisions.

Despite the fact that the books are largely centered on Irish history, they still contain much material valuable to the field of world history. Generally speaking, the Irish tend to be included in the global narrative as itinerant people travelling across the Atlantic to escape famine in poverty. In essence, they are included as examples of the great human migrations of the early modern and modern eras. While Connolly does not explicitly add

to this notion, elements of the books do indeed add greater depth to the involvement of the Irish in the development and spread of the socio-economic constructs of the Atlantic World. In *Contested Island*, Connolly dismisses the notion that Ireland served as a testing ground for the formation and expansion of English colonialism. As shown above, one of the great strengths of the books is Connolly’s willingness to add greater nuance to the works of previous historians. One such example comes from Connolly’s challenge to the assertion that English attitudes toward the civility of the Gaelic Irish informed those toward Native Americans and vice versa, in turn resulting in greater violence that resulted in a more definitive conquered and conqueror attitude from the English. By placing Ireland within the larger Euro-American perspective, Connolly is able to discern that the treatment of the Gaelic Irish by the British—and in turn, Native Americans—has origins in a hierarchy of civility that dated to the twelfth century, not to mention a greater trend toward violence witnessed in such events as the St. Bartholomew’s day massacre (*Contested*, 264–7).

In *Divided Kingdom*, Connolly gives greater attention to Ireland’s role in the Atlantic World devoting an entire chapter to the changing nature of the global economy. Entitled “Atlantic Island,” the chapter includes a greater discussion on how the Atlantic trade transformed Ireland’s socio-economic constructs during the eighteenth century. If one were to follow the argument that England purposefully pillaged Ireland’s industries as part of a larger colonial thrust, one need only look at Connolly’s usage of Jonathan Swift’s 1729 fantastic pamphlet entitled *A Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of Poor People from being a Burthen to their Parents or Country (Divided*, 345). In this rather famous pamphlet, Swift “argues” that many problems could be solved if the poor of Ireland were to rear its children as food for the rich. Clearly a critique of England’s mistreatment and dismissive attitude toward the “uncivilized” Irish, Swift also is fairly implicit in his sense that the Gaelic Irish were complicit because of their passivity in regard to English oppression. Connolly uses this example to demonstrate that both the English and Irish were complicit in the ebbs and flows of the Irish economy, at the same time challenging the long-held belief that England was the sole cause of Ireland’s economic hardships.

However, by placing Ireland within the larger global context—as well as distancing the narrative from the Anglo-Irish colonial dialectic—Connolly is able to shed new light on Ireland’s role in the Atlantic world. During the latter half of the eighteenth century Ireland’s economy expanded greatly due to growth of trans-Atlantic trade, which led to a growth in demand for Irish linens, grains, and dairy—Connolly refers to Ireland as the “larder” of the Caribbean (354). The inclusion of Ireland into the Atlantic system resulted in a general improvement in the standard of living for the Irish, yet the increased specialization on grazing and grain production turned Ireland into a place where the gap between rich and poor became much more perilous. While English demand for Irish grains helped the landed classes, poor tillage farmers could no longer afford to purchase grains and were then forced to rely on the potato. Connolly notes that when the “benign circle” of Ireland’s new economic framework “was broken, first with a further change in the market forces after 1815, then, from 1845, with the collapse of the potato crop, the consequences were to be disastrous” (361). In addition to Ireland’s role in the Atlantic world, Connolly does give brief attention at the end of the chapter to pre-Famine diasporas which did much to populate colonial America and the West Indies.

In regard to the teaching uses of *Contested Island* and *Divided Kingdom*, it is difficult to envision their use among students below the level of an upper-division undergraduate seminar or graduate readings course. For such students either book would serve well as an introduction to each particular era, for the richness of detail and breadth of analysis could provide students valuable support for more specific readings on any given topic or a starting point for further research. Connolly’s books are perhaps most valuable to historians of the period, for his reassessments and rereading of movements and events could certainly foster a renewed dialogue on the general nature of early modern Ireland.



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**Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith, eds.** *Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600–c. 1100*, vol. 3 of *The Cambridge History of Christianity*. Cambridge University Press, 2008. xxix + 846 pp., hardback, \$195.00.  
**Miri Rubin and Walter Simons, eds.** *Christianity in Western Europe, c. 1100–c. 1500*, vol. 4 of *The Cambridge History of Christianity*. Cambridge University Press, 2009. xxi + 577 pp., hardback, \$165.00.

**Peter Dykema**  
Arkansas Tech University

These two volumes complete *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, a nine-volume reference work written by nearly 300 scholars, totaling over 6500 pages, and published between 2006 and 2009. While few individuals will be able to afford more than a volume or two, world historians will gladly welcome this new reference work with its significant emphasis on global Christianity. Volumes one and two, focusing on the first 600 years of the religion, address Christianity both within and beyond the Roman Empire, to include all Christian groups in Asia, Africa, and Europe. While reference works of a generation ago would have concluded with volumes on “modern Christianity,” volumes eight and nine of this collection are titled *World Christianities, 1815–1914* and *1914–2000*, and the editors of each take seriously the title with true global coverage. Volume five, *Eastern Christianity*, describes the Orthodox churches during the second millennium CE as well as the various other African and Asian Christian groups. Volumes four, six, and seven, while focusing on European Christianity between 1100 and 1800, all contain articles about Christians in the Americas, Africa, and Asia and about relations between Christians and persons of other faiths.

Moving from *The Cambridge History* in its entirety to volumes three and four, a few observations may be made. As its title states, volume four is limited in scope to Western Europe, but individual chapters do address relations between Christians and Jews, Christians and Muslims, and the Crusades. Both volumes reflect the interest of scholars over the course of the past forty years on popular Christianity, parish Christianity, and

practiced Christianity. The unity as well as the diversity of the religion is stressed, as are cultural topics such as ritual, gender, the body, and the life-cycle, alongside more traditional themes of theology, monasticism, and the institutions of the papacy.

*Early Medieval Christianities* is the thickest volume in the series. At 875 total pages, its girth reflects the creativity and vitality of recent scholarship in the fields of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. The volume promises to present “Christianity’s many cultural manifestations and lived experiences, everywhere from Iceland to Afghanistan” and delivers this in part one which is essentially a tour of the entire Christian world between 600 and 1100. In the opening chapter alone, “Christendom, c. 600,” Peter Brown writes extensively on Christians in Sasanian Persia, the Sudan, northwest Africa, central Asia, Axum (Ethiopia), Himyar (Yemen), as well as in Europe. Part two addresses encounters and conflicts between Christians and Jews, Muslims, northern pagans, and among different Christian groups. Parts three and five present more traditional themes: the church as a developing institution, asceticism, reform, orthodoxy, the Bible, and the cult of the saints. Part four analyzes Christianity as lived experience: the life cycle, penance, healing, the body, gift-giving, and the liturgy as ritual performance.

*The Cambridge History of Christianity* claims to offer a global perspective, to address relations between Christians and adherents of the other major faiths, to cover both formal and non-formal expressions of Christian faith, and to “treat the sociology of Christian formation, worship, and devotion in a broad cultural context” (iii). It succeeds on all counts. The editors and contributors are top scholars in their fields. This multi-volume collection is sure to serve as a major reference work for years to come.

### 2009 WHA Book Prize Winners

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# *Non-Becoming and Non-Unbecoming in Greek and Hindu Thought: A Single Idea with Multiple Consequences\**

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*Abstract: While ancient Greeks and Hindus spoke related languages and may once have been in close contact, they developed civilizations with sharply dissimilar features. Those differences were important, for they respectively drew the Mediterranean basin and Southeast Asia into their orbits and imbued them with unique characteristics. This paper examines the impact of a specific idea—that something cannot arise from nothing or go into nothingness—individually put forward by Parmenides of Elea in a long poem, “The Way of Truth,” and in the “Bhagavad Gita,” attributed to Vyasa. Because of the special circumstances surrounding its formulation in the Greek world and in India, that idea developed in drastically different directions. For Greeks, it inaugurated a tradition of rational argumentation; for Hindus, its importance was profoundly religious. The focus of the paper is on how different applications of an identical idea contributed significantly to the social, cultural, and religious divergence of two previously similar groups and the creation of distinctive “Eastern” and “Western” civilizations.*

**The Emergence of the Idea:** Sometime during the first part of the Fifth Century BCE (plausible dates are between 480 and 470 BCE), the pre-Socratic Greek philosopher Parmenides of Elea wrote a long poem, *On the Natural World*.<sup>1</sup> In a crucial surviving fragment known as “The Way of Truth,” he asserted that all things have eternal existence, for they could not have arisen from nothingness and cannot vanish into nothingness. Perhaps two and a half centuries later, that identical idea resurfaced in the “Bhagavad Gita,” a key section of the great Hindu epic, the *Mahabharata*.<sup>2</sup>

While we lack conclusive evidence that

either of these works influenced the other,<sup>3</sup> the framework of their discussions was quite similar. In “The Way of Truth,” Parmenides was taken from the House of Night in a chariot led by two immortal charioteers, the Daughters of the Sun. Leading him “far from the beaten track” along a route that “carries everywhere unscathed the man who knows,” his guides brought him across the threshold that divides night from day. There an unnamed goddess

revealed the “steadfast heart of persuasive truth,”<sup>4</sup> based on the idea that “never shall this prevail, that things that are not are,”<sup>5</sup> and its corollary that it “must either be completely or not at all.”<sup>6</sup>

The “Bhagavad Gita” provided an analogous setting. There, the main character, Arjuna, was in a war chariot about to engage his own relatives in combat. When he hesitated to attack family members, his charioteer, the god Krishna, banished his scruples by assuring him that there are no killers or killed; “there is no becoming of what did not already exist, there is no unbecoming of what does exist.”<sup>7</sup> Presented as ancient knowledge that “over a long span of time...had been lost on earth,”<sup>8</sup> a full understanding of its implications allowed the initiate to awaken “in what [otherwise] is night for all creatures.”<sup>9</sup> The enlightened mind then “finds the greatest peace” while the “ignorant and unbelieving man who is riven with doubts perishes.”<sup>10</sup>

The commonalities are remarkable. In both cases the initiates were conveyed in chariots, guided by non-mortal charioteers through unfrequented paths toward knowledge, and provided with identical information by deities. Led to understanding by divine revelation, they were brought out of darkness into light and promised safe harbor.

These parallels are followed by others, for both Parmenides and the unknown authors of the “Bhagavad Gita” drew similar implications from the central idea of changelessness. To Parmenides, the eternal existent was changeless and motionless, “remaining the same and in the same, [it] lies by itself and remains thus firmly in place.” It was also complete, continuous and indivisible.<sup>11</sup> The “Bhagavad Gita” was more succinct: the essential being was “eternal, ubiquitous, stable, unmoving, and forever...unmanifest, beyond thought [and] beyond transformation.”<sup>12</sup> In the “Bhagavad Gita,” apparent

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changes were traced to cold and heat; it was the contact of the senses with their objects that yielded those impressions.<sup>13</sup> Parmenides also considered heat and cold (in the guise of fire and darkness) to be illusory principles. Placed in a section of his poem called “The Way of Opinion,” he deliberately contrasted them to the revelations of the goddess and may have linked them with popular conceptions of being and non-being.<sup>14</sup>

In both cases, the ultimate conclusion was the same: the senses are unreliable, and the discerning person recognizes a higher order of reality.

While advocating new positions on the nature of reality, both Parmenides and the authors of the “Bhagavad Gita” placed them in archaic, legitimizing contexts. With its topics, turns of phrase, and use of outdated hexameters, *On the Natural World* looked back to the vanished Heroic Age (1100-800 BCE) and its even more remote predecessor, the Mycenaean period (1450-1200 BCE), and invited comparisons with Homer and Hesiod. Moreover, the image of a threshold dividing night and day paralleled Hesiod’s description of the gods’ habitations,<sup>15</sup> and its theme echoed one of his most memorable passages, in which the muses assert: “We can say much false that resembles the real; but, if we desire, we can also proclaim truth.”<sup>16</sup> In their search for credibility, the authors of the “Bhagavad Gita” outdid Parmenides. The “Bhagavad Gita” did not simply point toward a venerated past; by insinuating itself into the older body of the *Mahabharata*, it fused itself with that epic and became its own warrant.

The paths of those pasts crossed, for they both reached back to an age of war chariots and bronze weaponry, of relatively small tribal units dominated by hierarchically minded priestly and warrior elites ruling over farmers and herders. For the Greek Parmenides and the Hindu authors of the “Bhagavad Gita,” legitimacy was bolstered by an appeal to the ancestors. And in each case, those ancestors were the early Indo-Europeans.

So an identical idea, expressed in very similar ways and carrying similar warrants, appeared, apparently independently, among two groups that shared common political, cultural, economic, linguistic, and, quite possibly, ethnic roots. But despite the

remarkable parallels and meeting points, their applications of that idea differed dramatically. This paper examines how and why an idea possessing so many commonalities had such divergent consequences. It is a case study of how a base stock subjected to differing conditions adapted in dissimilar ways.

### The Idea in Western Thought:

Parmenides' assertion that things could neither be created nor destroyed appeared during an ongoing debate on the nature of the physical universe. He joined the ranks of earlier monists, such as Thales of Miletus and Anaximander of Miletus, who claimed that all things were composed of a single substance,<sup>17</sup> and stood in opposition to later pluralists, such as Empedocles of Acragas (492-432 BCE) and Anaxagoras of Clazomenae (500-428 BCE), who posited the existence of multiple substances.<sup>18</sup>

Actually, it is quite likely that Parmenides, the

Black Sea, took centuries, but by about 550 BCE the “staring hunger”<sup>19</sup> of Hesiod's time was finally banished.

The effectiveness of that network was enhanced by another major development, the definitive establishment of the polis as the nucleus of Greek political, economic and social life. By the early 500s BCE, its legal structure was clearly worked out, and it stood as the standard form of self-rule throughout the Hellenic world. Additionally, the polis provided the scattered Greek settlements with familiar cultural, political, and linguistic touchstones on a pan-Mediterranean scale and served both as a connecting link and a fertilizing medium among Greeks themselves and between Greek and non-Greek cultures. We should remind ourselves that the conventional distinction between the Hellenic and Hellenistic periods, first put forward in the

19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>20</sup> is somewhat strained. International trade and intercultural com-

munication had a centuries-old history before the conquests of Alexander III of Macedonia (356-323 BCE), and those long-standing interconnections triggered much of Hellenic Greece's dynamism and creativity.

They also lay behind the Persian invasions of 490 and 480 BCE, the twin crises that had threatened to eliminate, but ended up validating, the Greek way of life. The background and course of the Persian wars is well known, and this is not the place to retell the story of Athenian support of Ionic uprisings in Anatolia, Persian plans for retaliation, and the repelling of two massive Persian invasions. But it is important to remember that the unexpected victories over the forces of Darius I and Xerxes I occurred during Parmenides' lifetime, and that the appearance of his work coincided with a surge of self-confidence and assertiveness throughout the Hellenic world.<sup>21</sup> Parmenides' notion of changelessness entered a society that temporarily lacked vexing problems. Since it was neither born of ideological necessity nor immediately pressed into the service of threatened vested interests, it benefited from both an immaculate conception and a virgin birth.

The subject of change was central to Parmenides' work, so it is not surprising to find that an examination of its mechanisms dominated later discourse. We have already

seen the Pluralist response in natural science. But by the end of the 5th century BCE, the destabilizing Second Peloponnesian War (431-404 BCE) brought that issue into the religious, ethical, and political spheres. The result was a rare outburst of philosophical activity which, stretching from Socrates (470-399 BCE) to Plato (c.428-c.347 BCE) and Aristotle (384-322 BCE), deeply impressed itself on Western Civilization. In each of these figures, Parmenides' distinction between appearance and reality—as they put it, the separation of truth from falsehood—was a major preoccupation.

Plato's approach to the problem of change became the touchstone for later efforts, partly because his reflections cannot be disentangled from those of Socrates, and partly because Aristotle's discussions of the matter were clearly derivative. But above all, Plato's views excited the imaginations of subsequent generations because he offered an elegant resolution to the Parmenidian issue of changelessness. His theory divided reality into two parts: the eternal archetypes, or forms, which existed in the abstract, and the imperfect particulars that found expression in physical space. Change, confined to the defective “world of particulars,” was the result of material attempts to embody the higher reality of unchanging archetypes. Thus “defective” became a substitute term for “illusory,” and apparent change was equated with a sequence of isolated, hastily glimpsed aspects of an actually unchanging eternal.<sup>22</sup>

Plato's solution to the problem of changelessness, concisely presented in his Parable of the Cave, had an enduring impact on the course of Western civilization. While a detailed examination of Plato's impact is beyond the scope of this paper, his Parmenidean-inspired theory was so pervasive and long-lived that even a cursory survey illustrates the point. Platonic dualism went immediately into Aristotle's cosmology, which divided the universe into the perfect, eternal celestial and the imperfect, temporary terrestrial spheres. The Aristotelian cosmos won such complete acceptance that for almost two thousand years it was the standard explanation for observed phenomena.

Platonic dualism also entered early Christianity—timidly at first with St. Paul (c. 1 BCE - 67 CE) accepting Plato's division of reality and positing the earthly Christ as an emanation of the divine form,<sup>23</sup> and then with more assurance in Christian adap-

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ultimate monist, ended the monist tradition. Since later natural philosophers found his view of the natural world unpalatable without being able to counter it on his terms, they postulated the perpetual existence of more than one element and claimed that change resulted from continual processes of union and dissolution.

While Parmenides' role in pre-Socratic natural philosophy is well understood, the crucial question of *function* has not been properly addressed. That is, why did his conception of changelessness first appear in disputes concerning natural history when it lent itself so readily to religious, philosophical, economic, social, or political applications? This is an important question, for later ages employed his ideas in such diverse settings precisely because he first inserted them into a value-free controversy.

That was possible because Parmenides lived and worked during a unique time in Hellenic history. In the 470s BCE, the Greeks possessed an unusually dynamic and far-flung civilization, and their list of accomplishments was truly impressive. The vital trade networks shattered during the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization (1650-1100 BCE) had been laboriously reconstructed. The process, which required the gradual spread of interconnected colonies throughout the Mediterranean basin and the

tations of the Egyptian Neo-Platonic philosopher Plotinus (204-270 CE), who expanded Plato's notion of emanations and Aristotle's related scale of nature into a universal Great Chain of Being.<sup>24</sup> However, Plato's impact on Christianity was greatest from late antiquity to the middle ages. St. Augustine's (354-430 CE) *City of God*, which detailed the characteristics, past activities, and future prospects of the rival earthly and heavenly cities, provided the devout with a baptized version of Plato's dualism. And medieval Christian cosmology, which placed the earth at the center of the universe (because man was at the center of God's concern) and God's throne in the imperishable heavens, was a similarly baptized version of Aristotle's modification of Plato's dualism.

Platonic dualism also eased the transition from a primarily religious to a primarily scientific worldview. The neo-platonic revival inspired by the Italian Renaissance scholar Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499 CE), which imagined a mathematically manipulative universe composed of an interactive hierarchical sequence of forms, encouraged greater interest in mathematics and astronomy. The Frenchman René Descartes (1596-1650 CE), in trying to establish a space where scientific inquiry could freely operate, worked within the same tradition. His division of the universe into "thinking substance," which was subject to religious constraints, and "extended substance," which could be examined without reference to religious concerns, directly copied Platonic dualism.<sup>25</sup>

Plato's influence on science was not limited to physics and astronomy; it infused biology until the supplanting of the theory of intelligent design by Darwinian evolutionism. The notion of archetypes and particulars partly guided the work of highly productive comparative anatomists like the Frenchmen Georges Cuvier (1769-1832 CE) and Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire (1772-1844 CE). It also provided the basic orientation of the German *naturphilosophers*, whose investigative approach reinforced belief in intelligent design by trying to correlate information provided by the senses with a deeper reality that gave meaning to sensible objects. In fact, one deep-seated source of resistance to Darwin's theory was the very pervasiveness of Plato's ideas. To many people accustomed to thinking in Platonic terms, a change in degree could not possibly result in a change in kind. For

example, an individual fish could evolve into a higher kind of fish but could never jump categories and become an amphibian.

However, that generalization did not hold true for Georg Wilhelm Friederich Hegel (1770-1831 CE), perhaps the most influential philosopher of the nineteenth century. Hegel's version of Platonism could jump categories. Guided by the current state of human consciousness (the world spirit), history evolved from lower to higher stages. The mechanism of progress was the dialectic, a series of clashes, reconciliations, and new clashes as contending ideas were tested, refined, and re-tested within concrete material circumstances.<sup>26</sup>

Hegel placed his theory of change in the service of German unification; the system of his great successor, Karl Marx (1818-83 CE), reflected a much broader political, social, and economic agenda. It may seem strange to connect the materialism of Marx with the idealism of Hegel and Plato, for they represent starkly contrasting streams of thought. But Marx adopted Plato's dualism and Hegel's dialectic—he simply reversed their direction and the source of their energy, maintaining that ideas were emanations of matter and that the dialectic was driven by material conditions rather than by consciousness. In this formal sense, he worked within the same tradition as his idealistic opponents.

As this general survey shows, Platonic idealism played a crucial role in the evolution of Western philosophy, religion, politics, economics, and social theory. That influence was so pervasive that, in a well-known overstatement, the British philosopher and mathematician Alfred North Whitehead (1861-1947 CE) called all of Western Philosophy a series of footnotes on Plato. But when we consider that Plato accepted the basic premises of the "Way of Truth" and that his dualism was a direct response to the idea of changelessness, it would be more appropriate to say that all of Plato is a series of footnotes on Parmenides.<sup>27</sup>

Parmenides' method of proof was as significant as his startling conclusions. *On The Natural World* introduced rigorous deductive reasoning into natural philosophy, and its unique qualities hit the Greek world like a thunderclap. Essential elements of formal logic such as premises, necessary

conclusions, contradictions, and the excluded middle were present in his work. The power of his method was undeniable, and it has been suggested that the Greeks viewed exact reasoning as having a numinous aspect somehow analogous to divine revelation.<sup>28</sup> In the next century, Plato explored its implications and, in his dialogues, developed a full-fledged system of deductive reasoning.<sup>29</sup> Shortly afterwards, in an inspired variant, Aristotle introduced his own system that contained both deductive and inductive elements.<sup>30</sup>

The influence of Parmenides' logic spread through the subsequent course of Western civilization in much the same way as his attack on the validity of sensory evidence. It buttressed the authority of mathematics and gave it unifying principles; while Euclid's (325-265 BCE) *The Elements* relied heavily on previous geometrical knowledge, it is difficult to imagine its organization and elucidation without prior exposure to Parmenidean deductive reasoning. St. Thomas Aquinas' (1225-1274 CE) theological writings, which dominated both medieval Western Christianity and modern Roman Catholicism, relied heavily on both inductive and deductive logic. The role of deduction and induction (often called inducto-deductive reasoning because the two were

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used alternately within the same investigation) in the

scientific revolution was crucial. While key theoreticians of the scientific method like Descartes and the English scholar Sir Francis Bacon (1561-1626 CE) criticized Thomistic scholasticism, their methodologies actually stretched back to St. Thomas Aquinas and, through him, to Aristotle, Plato, and, ultimately, Parmenides. And Sir Isaac Newton's (1642-1727 CE) completion of the Copernican Revolution relied exclusively on the deductive demonstrations provided by the calculus that he co-invented.

Parmenides' influence can be briefly summarized. His assertion that the apprehending mind is superior to sensory experience and his focus on the issue of change bore enormous fruit in the fields of science, religion, and philosophy. And in developing the fundamentals of deductive reasoning, he inaugurated a test for truth that still carries great weight in Western civilization.

**The Idea in Hindu Thought:** The idea of changelessness addressed a completely different set of problems in India than it did in Greece, was introduced in a rhetorically different fashion, and was applied in a much more limited way. This occurred because the “*Bhagavad Gita*,” unlike *On The Natural World*, was a strongly ideological document written during conditions of acute political, social, and religious crisis.

These crises had developed across almost two centuries. Between 521 and 519 BCE, the forces of the Achaemenian Emperor Darius I seized the Indus valley, occupying the original heartland of the ancient Harappan civilization. While the Persians did not push deeper into India, their efficient, centralized empire offered a startling contrast to the fragmented, loosely-controlled Aryan states that bordered them. In retrospect, the Persians can be seen more as harbingers than agents of change; they did not directly inspire indigenous imitators, but they did show thoughtful observers that great political forces were at work in the world.

The real impact of foreign invasion began in 327 BCE, when Alexander the Great, fresh from his victories over Darius II, crossed the Indus river and pushed an additional 500 kilometers into the Northeast. Alexander, his Seleucid successors, and the flood of Hellenistic culture that swept into Northern India in their wake, did what the Achaemenians had not done—inspire imitators that had absorbed and could apply both Greek and Persian lessons of statecraft.

The result was the appearance of the Mauryan Dynasty (321-184 BCE), which generated India's first real empire. Established by Chandragupta Maurya and extended by his son Bindusara and grandson Asoka, the Mauryan state expelled the Seleucids from the Indus valley and expanded deep into South India. Chandragupta had an enormous political impact on India, and the *Arthashastra*, a shrewd instruction manual for rulers, is a surviving artifact of that tumultuous period. Often compared to Machiavelli's *The Prince*,<sup>31</sup> it was produced during the collapse of traditional Aryan kingdoms before the military and organizational might of the Mauryans.

Political crisis was accompanied by religious and social crises. By the third century BCE, the traditional, historically entrenched Vedic religion was under heavy pressure from protest movements like Buddhism and Jainism. These splinter groups cannot be

clearly tracked during their beginnings, when they still labored in relative obscurity; in this respect, they resemble early Christianity, which afforded only the barest outlines of its initial theological and institutional evolution before the 300s CE. But after centuries of development they, like Christianity, suddenly emerged as formidable opponents of the *status quo*.

From the point of view of established interests, Buddhism offered the more dangerous challenge. By raising the possibility of enlightenment in a single lifetime and providing an easily understandable method for achieving it, Buddhists simultaneously voided a need for the caste system and its Vedic priesthood. Around 262 BCE, the powerful Mauryan Emperor Asoka converted to Buddhism and provided immense personal and institutional support for its expansion.

With Asoka's conversion, the gradually escalating social and religious crises that threatened to undermine traditional Indian values fused with a much more recent, but extremely acute, political crisis. The idea of changelessness was instantly applied to that set of problems. Unlike Parmenides, the authors of the “*Bhagavad Gita*” did not have the luxury of addressing a value-free issue. They had pressing challenges to meet and methodically spoke to them.

As could be expected, politics immediately came to the fore. The “*Bhagavad Gita*” recounted the tale of a battle between rival claimants to a traditional Aryan kingdom, in which Arjuna's immediate family was wronged by his relatives. That, in itself, was not noteworthy. However, the way in which a powerful deity intervened certainly was, for the god Krishna wholeheartedly approved of Arjuna's traditional claims and urged him into battle. The timing and setting of the “*Bhagavad Gita*” can be interpreted as a direct criticism of the expansionist Mauryan Dynasty and a defense of pre-Mauryan political fragmentation. And if the allied notions of tradition and underlying reality are conflated, Krishna's assertion of changelessness offered an assurance that deviations from tradition could not last. Read this way, Krishna became a political subversive working under the cover of religion.

While its criticism of empire-building was probably ineffective,<sup>32</sup> the “*Bhagavad Gita*” did develop strong arguments against key Buddhist tenets. For example, it placed changelessness in the service of the caste

system. Consider how Krishna dispelled Arjuna's concerns about harming his uncle. Do your caste duty, he was told.<sup>33</sup> “The wise are not sorry for either the living or the dead. There is no becoming of what did not already exist, there is no unbecoming of what does exist...know that that on which all this world is strung is imperishable.”<sup>34</sup> Caste duty was also yoked to changelessness in a normative sense; Krishna declared that he was the ultimate eternal unmanifest through which all manifestations emerge, and he established the four social classes in fulfillment of that primordial role.<sup>35</sup>

The eternal existent also contradicted the Buddhist doctrine of soullessness. Early Buddhists declared it to be heresy,<sup>36</sup> for the idea that somethingness cannot be converted into nothingness conflicted with their notion of nirvana as the extinction of the self.

Nothing betrayed the ideological origins of Hindu changelessness more than the way in which it was presented. Parmenidian deduction was completely absent. Non-becoming and non-unbecoming were offered as divinely revealed religious doctrine, flatly asserted, and presumed to be unquestionable. Subsidiary issues were subject to a species of argumentation; for example, Krishna carefully explained the consequences if Arjuna refused to fight, such as loss of respect and the presumption that he lacked courage.<sup>37</sup> But those were pragmatic observations that could not produce a system of logic. While Indian civilization did develop an elaborate system of logical analysis (Nyaya), it had to turn elsewhere for inspiration. Neither deductive nor inductive logic could spring from the “*Bhagavad Gita*’s” presentation of changelessness.

So within Indian civilization, the notion of non-becoming and non-unbecoming remained largely a captive of its original format. Initially framed in religious terms, its future lay with the future of Hinduism and it consistently served the needs of Hinduism. This is not to deny that it left a rich legacy; it promoted a sophisticated Hindu apologetics, validated the concept of disinterested action by introducing ethical solutions similar to those of Stoicism,<sup>38</sup> and, like neo-Platonism in the West, operated as a platform for later theological systems. For example, we can easily visualize a connection between the changelessness promoted in the “*Bhagavad Gita*” and the clear line drawn by the South Indian Brahman Shankara (780-820 CE) between ultimate reality (Brahman) and the illusions of the

physical world (maya).<sup>39</sup>

Precisely because the Hindu conception of changelessness was identified with partisan controversy and unaccompanied by logical argumentation, its development had prescribed limits. By using exclusively religious authority to intercede in controversial issues of great momentum, it plowed a deep but easily identifiable channel in the course of Indian history. That has its advantages, for it has long been a cultural icon to South Asians; it is hard to imagine an educated Indian who would be unfamiliar with the "Bhagavad Gita" or its parent body, the *Mahabharata*.

Its Western twin was neither bound by these constraints nor tied to the same destiny. Initially disconnected from special interests and presented in a rigorously logical manner, it became the common inheritance of an entire civilization and was applied in numerous directions. The Western world explored Parmenidean changelessness in so many ways that as an independent entity it practically vanished from sight. Very few educated Westerners know much about Parmenides as such. They may be familiar with Plato, but are not aware of the Parmenides within him; and the same could be said of Aristotle, St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, Newton, Descartes, Hegel, and a host of other thinkers. To South Asians, the "Bhagavad Gita" is a concrete manifestation. In the Western tradition, Parmenides has become invisible, yet omnipresent and foundational—much like his idea of the eternal existent.

\* A version of this article was presented at the conference of the Society of Indian Philosophy and Religion, Calcutta, India, January, 2004

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> A good discussion on dates can be found in Richard D. McKirahan, Jr., *Philosophy Before Socrates: An Introduction with Texts and Commentary* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 1994), p. 157. Specific information about Parmenides' poem is provided in Diogenes Laertius VIII.55 and I.16. Look in Loeb Classical Library and H.S. Long in Oxford Classical Texts (Oxford, 1964).

<sup>2</sup> The texts used in this paper are drawn from Parmenides of Elea, *Fragments: A Text and Translation with an Introduction by David Gallop* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1987), and J. A. B. van Buitenen, ed. and tr., *The Bhagavadgita in the Mahabharata: A Bilingual Edition* (Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

<sup>3</sup> Outside attribution would be speculative, for there is no proof that the specific idea of non-becoming was transferred from one tradition to the other. Of course, this could have occurred. Persia's Achaemenid rulers conquered part of India in the 500s BCE and soon after subdued the Greek colonies on the coast of Asia Minor. Ideas, then, could have traveled back and forth between India and the Greek world through networks established by the Persian Empire. A much stronger connection existed after Alexander of Macedonia's conquest of Persia and

part of India in the late Fourth Century BCE. A substantial Greek presence remained there well into the next century, during which time Greek-Hindu cultural interaction was frequent and multi-layered. A recent overview can be found in John Keay, *India: A History* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2000).

<sup>4</sup> Parmenides, I.2-1.29.

<sup>5</sup> Parmenides, 7.1

<sup>6</sup> Parmenides, 8.11

<sup>7</sup> Buitenen, p. 75.

<sup>8</sup> Buitenen, p. 85.

<sup>9</sup> Buitenen, p. 81

<sup>10</sup> Buitenen, p. 89.

<sup>11</sup> Parmenides, 8.3-4; 8.21-30. In a geometrical sense, that-which-is has limits, for its boundaries must be equidistant from its center. See Parmenides, 8.42-49. This latter conclusion is contested by Melissus, who maintained that 'that-which-is' is unlimited. See Aristotle, *The Pocket Aristotle* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1961), p. 121.

<sup>12</sup> Buitenen, p. 77.

<sup>13</sup> Buitenen, p. 75.

<sup>14</sup> Parmenides, 8.55-59; Aristotle, pp. 14, 116.

<sup>15</sup> Hesiod, *The Works and Days; Theogony: The Shield of Herakles*, tr. Richard Lattimore (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1991), p.748 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Hesiod, 27ff.

<sup>17</sup> Thales proposed that water was the basic substance comprising the universe, and his argument was based largely on the observation that water could be found in all three known states of matter. Empedocles asserted that the fundamental element was the *apeiron*, usually translated as the "boundless thing." A good discussion of this can be found in McKirahan, *Philosophy before Socrates*, pp. 23-47.

<sup>18</sup> Empedocles argued that the universe was composed of earth, air, fire, and water; Anaxagoras claimed that things were composites of numerous kinds of seeds, or ingredients.

<sup>19</sup> Hesiod, p. 61.

<sup>20</sup> The distinction was first made in *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, a three volume work by Johann Gustav Von Droysen that appeared between 1833 and 1843.

<sup>21</sup> The Greek historian Herodotus, who was born between the first and second Persian invasions, provides numerous instances of the rising confidence of Hellenes at this time. For examples, see *Herodotus*, Harvard Univ. Press, 1922, III, p. 87 and p. 269.

<sup>22</sup> The best single source for Plato's theory of forms is found in his dialogue, *The Parmenides*. For a good bilingual edition, see Plato, *Cratylus, Parmenides, Greater Hippocrate, Lesser Hippocrate*, tr. H. N. Fowler, IV (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1977).

<sup>23</sup> For example, see "The Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians," 3:17-18, 4:18.

<sup>24</sup> Some important early Christian Platonists were Synesius, the bishop of Ptolemais, Nemesius, and Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite. Platonism also entered Islam through Sufist thought, which employed its theory and imagery to explain the ways in which the soul makes contact with God.

<sup>25</sup> There is irony here. In his *Discourse on Method* Descartes criticized scholasticism in general and the deductive method in particular. Yet both of these were anchored in Plato and in Aristotelian adaptations of Plato.

<sup>26</sup> An accessible source is G. W. F. Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit*, tr. A. V. Miller and J. N. Findlay (Oxford Univ. Press, 1979).

<sup>27</sup> A similar argument is advanced by David Gallop in Parmenides of Elea, *Fragments: A Text and Translation with an Introduction by David Gallop* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> McKirahan, *Philosophy Before Socrates*, p. 159.

<sup>29</sup> Plato's *The Parmenides* provides a particularly good example of this.

<sup>30</sup> Prime examples are Aristotle's *Logic* and *Rhetoric*. For a good discussion of this, see George Boas, *Rationalism in Greek Philosophy* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins Press, 1961), pp. 189 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Attributed to Chandragupta's close advisor Kautilya.

<sup>32</sup> However, the Mauryan Empire collapsed within two decades of the appearance of the "Bhagavad Gita."

<sup>33</sup> Buitenen, p. 77.

<sup>34</sup> Buitenen, p. 75.

<sup>35</sup> Buitenen, pp. 87, 103.

<sup>36</sup> See Pratap Chandra, "Was Early Buddhism Influenced by the Upanisads? *Philosophy East and West* (July 1971), 21:3, 320-321.

<sup>37</sup> Buitenen, p. 77

<sup>38</sup> For example, see Buitenen, p. 87

<sup>39</sup> For a concise exposition of Shankara's influence, see Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India*, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1993), p. 98.



Lisa McFadden and Winston Welch Amid the Remains of the Day in Salem.

## Call for Papers

2nd Conference on Cambodia and World History / World History and Cambodia, Pannasastra University, Phnom Penh, January 3-4, 2010. This conference, timed to permit travel from Phnom Penh to San Diego in time for the AHA meeting, is structured as a pre-seminar. Research will be shared rather than formally read, though a publication may result thereafter. Proposal title, brief abstract and short vita welcomed by November 6. Late proposals will be considered. Papers already accepted address topics as diverse as ancient and early modern trade networks, historical memory in Diasporas, transnational business ethics, border disputes in world history, the production of history in post-conflict states, and Western art movements in Cambodia. For further details, including inexpensive local housing, no registration fee, and sponsorship by Teachers Across Borders, Inc., please contact the Program Chair: Prof. Marc Jason Gilbert, NEH Endowed Chair in World History, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Hawai'i Pacific University, 1188 Fort Street, Honolulu, Hawai'i 96813. E-mail mgilbert@HPU.edu.

# The WHA Teaching Prize

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

**THE SOURCES:** Current historical research most frequently found in books and 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 *World History Bulletin*. The designer of the winning lesson will receive a \$750.00 cash award sponsored by Pearson-Prentice Hall and recognition at the WHA Annual Meeting in June. Educators may have a letter announcing the award sent to their supervisors and local press.

**DEADLINE:** Send one copy by MAY 1, 2010 to each of the committee members listed below. Submissions from all grade levels are welcome.

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.

1. 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?

2. 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?"

3. 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, 2010:

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## *Using World History to Encourage Complex and Critical Self-Awareness*

Dennis A. Frey Jr.  
Lasell College

In 1988, as a second-semester freshman at Carnegie Mellon University I sat in awe of Peter Stearns as he taught 79-104, our survey course in World History. His interactive lectures with nearly 200 undergraduates were simply amazing, and as such they remain vivid in my memory. His course inspired me to change my major from psychology to history, but little did I know at that time that I would participate in the *World History Association's Annual Conference* in Salem this past summer, specifically chatting about the difficult task of teaching history to frequently misinformed, sometimes disinterested, and occasionally hostile undergraduates. To be sure, once in a while the gods smile upon us and we get a student who is both engaged and well positioned to study our discipline, but for the most part—at least at Lasell—we tend to deal with students from the “mushy middle” of middling high schools, whose experiences have led them to view history as simply a collection of names, dates, and events.<sup>1</sup> In other words, their high school education has left them very much in tune with Henry Ford’s old assessment of history: “History is more or less bunk. It’s tradition. We don’t want tradition. We want to live in the present and the only history that is worth a tinker’s damn is the history we make today.”<sup>2</sup>

So, the task is complicated. Not only are we asked by our administrations to teach historical perspective to young adults who are much more focused on the latest developments in cell-phone technology and web-based social networking, but we also have to compete with mass media presentations that are, as the chair of my panel—Joe Aieta—suggested, designed to oversimplify the complexity of human interaction. Indeed, in his delightful work, *History: A Very Short Introduction*, John Arnold notes that “the idea of a single true story—of History, with a capital H—remains tremendously attractive, and hence tremendously dangerous. Newspapers talk daily of how ‘History’ will

judge politicians or events; politicians argue for foreign policy on the basis of ‘what History shows us’; warring factions across the globe justify their killing on the basis of ‘their History’.”<sup>3</sup> For Arnold, the tragedy in all this is that it leaves people out of the picture, and it presents History with a capital H as Truth and “independent of human interaction and agency.”<sup>4</sup> Arnold goes on to make the case that “If we can accept that ‘truth’ does not require a capital ‘T’, does not happen outside human lives and actions, we can try to present truth—or rather truths—in their contingent complexity.”<sup>5</sup>

This, for me, is the overarching connection I emphasize in my World History courses. And, that is why, regardless of whether I am teaching the first half or the second half of world history, I begin the semester with having the students read, discuss, and write about Arnold’s book. For some, this short book is a real challenge, because in only 123 pages Arnold covers both the historiography and philosophy of Western history from the Ancients to the present. I find, however, that providing the students with plenty of opportunity to discuss and write about Arnold’s work helps them come to appreciate his sophisticated arguments. And, since we as a department decided to make the Arnold book required reading for all 100-level history courses, some students actually run across it again when they opt to take the other half of World history or any of the American history courses we offer.

From this firm foundation in the practice and philosophy of history, we then turn to investigating the broad outlines of world history, which is arguably an impossible task even for professional historians but certainly for novices like my students. When I first began teaching World history, I tended to rely on the typical panoply of a survey textbook, a monograph or two, and a collection of primary sources. The textbook served as the main focus of my lectures, with in-class discussions focused on either the primary sources or the monographs. About three years ago, with the help of a wise colleague, I abandoned this approach for a different one. While I still assign a survey textbook, I tell the students from the outset that it should be used more as a roadmap and background reading for our discussions and not at all as the central focus of our work. And, while I continue to use primary sources in class for

discussions, I haven’t used a primary source-book in years. Instead, I rely on so-called big or global histories, especially Michael Cook’s *A Brief History of the Human Race* and J.R. and William H. McNeill’s *The Human Web: A Bird’s Eye View of World History*. These get the students thinking about cultural dynamism, cultural diversity, and cultural interaction, to name just a few of the broader forces at work in human history. In addition to these, I also assign microstudies, like for instance Robert

*So, the task is complicated. Not only are we asked by our administrations to teach historical perspective to young adults who are much more focused on the latest developments in cell-phone technology and web-based social networking, but we also have to compete with mass media presentations that are . . . designed to oversimplify the complexity of human interaction.*

Harms’s *The Diligent*, that highlight human agency and the complex nexus that binds individuals and societies.

Here, I find that introducing students first to the macrocosm of history and then to the microcosm forces them to confront and reconsider our human and societal tendencies to oversimplify. While I never refer to his work explicitly, I do implicitly rely on Pierre Bourdieu’s notion that human behavior and motivation is both consciously and unconsciously connected to the cultural, societal, and economic habitus in which we exist. Fortunately for me, these methodological underpinnings gel nicely with most of the macro and microstudies that I have used so far. For example, Cook’s *A Brief History of the Human Race* focuses primarily on the innate human desire to engage in cultural dynamism, regardless of location and time. While challenging reading for many of my students, Cook’s book nonetheless introduces most of them to a very different approach to history, and although they may not appreciate the complexity of his arguments, many of them do come to appreciate his focus on cultural dynamism. Indeed, when—or perhaps more accurately for Lasell’s student body, if—they read about the intricate and complicated marriage patterns found among the aborigines in Australia, most of them come away perplexed and fascinated. From that point on, it is not too much of a stretch for me to get the students thinking critically about the “contingent complexity” of human beings, their societies, and the past.

With a broad, sweeping overview, such as Cook’s, in place, we then turn to the microcosm to delve deeper. Here, Harms’s

finely detailed work on the eighteenth-century, French slave-trading vessel, *The Diligent*, suits the course perfectly.<sup>6</sup> It presents such a nuanced treatment of this one particular instance of the Atlantic slave trade that many students cannot help but develop a deeper and richer appreciation for how complicated ordinary lives were, even in the supposedly unsophisticated, pre-modern past that lacked micro-laptops, wifi, and avatars. From Europe to Africa to the Caribbean and back again, the students journey with the *Diligent*, its relatively ordinary crew, and its ill-fated, human cargo. Along the way, Harms keeps reminding the reader that these are human lives lived, bound together in a most complicated nexus that simultaneously reflected and influenced the societies, cultures, politics, and economies of the day. To be sure, American high schools have done a solid and commendable job teaching most of the students that arrive on our doorstep about the economic and imperialistic motives of the people who participated in this global enterprise, but more often than not those same students view this history as overly simplified: The folks engaged in it were motivated by one or two causes, either the desire to make money or become powerful or both. Harms's book works well, in combination with Cook's, to disabuse the students of this reductionist approach to human history. By employing thick descriptions and other good fundaments of microhistory, Harms reveals the complex interactions of that nexus that binds human beings to one another. Perhaps more important than that, the students seem to enjoy the "true stories"<sup>7</sup> that Harms tells, and implicitly many of them come to understand the conscious and unconscious forces at work on humans as they try to navigate that nexus.

Indeed, we must keep in mind that our students are themselves trying to navigate this nexus. And, in my case at Lasell

College, nearly all of them are majoring in fields that are far flung from history or the humanities. Thus, they will most likely take just one or two history courses, which is simply not enough contact time to develop bona fide historical perspective and methodology among them. It is, however, enough time to nudge them, if ever so slightly, toward the realization that, in the words of Peter Stearns, "facts are vital for inculcating the skills necessary to analyze cultures and societies, but they are tools, not goals in and of themselves. Facts are not long retained if they lack meaning, and they are not worth retaining if they do not further understanding."<sup>8</sup> And, with those tools and skills in place, I hope my students realize that human interaction is complex and that they, like all humans, have a tendency to reduce things to oversimplifications. If I have succeeded, then my students come away from World History with an appreciation for how complex their own daily experiences are and perhaps even view those complexities within the context of socioeconomic, cultural, and intellectual forces that have long, complex histories, too. Lastly, they have become, I hope, more consciously and critically self-aware of their own agency.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> This term is borrowed from David Brooks, who used it in a slightly different fashion on the Nov. 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2004, episode of PBS's *NewsHour* ([http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/political\\_wrap/july-dec04/sb\\_11-03.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/political_wrap/july-dec04/sb_11-03.html)).

<sup>2</sup> Henry Ford, quoted in the May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1916, edition of the *Chicago Tribune*.

<sup>3</sup> John Arnold, *History: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>6</sup> See Robert Harms, *The Diligent: A Voyage through the Worlds of the Slave Trade* (Basic Books, 2002)

<sup>7</sup> See Arnold's *History* for more about his concept of "true stories."

<sup>8</sup> Peter Stearns, *Meaning over Memory: Recasting the Teaching of Culture and History* (University of North Carolina Press, 1994), p. 131.

**Brookdale Community College** located in Lincroft, NJ invites applications for an Instructor, History. This is a full-time, tenure-track position entry level position beginning September 2010.

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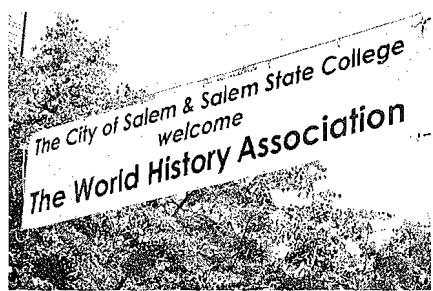
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# *Eighteenth Annual Conference in Salem, Massachusetts: A Model for Future Conferences*

*A. J. Andrea*



The 18<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference, hosted on campus by Salem State College (SSC), Salem, MA, 25-28 June 2009, was a success by any metric one chooses. A record number of conferees—475—representing over 30 nations attended the conference, along with 23 exhibitors, whose tables filled to overflowing the exhibition space and adjoining hallway. In addition to a record-setting attendance, conferees offered well over 250 papers and presentations in more than 90 panels—itself a double record.

In honor of Salem's rich history, conference organizers chose as the meeting's dual theme "Merchants and Missionaries: Trade and Religion in World History," and most of the panels and roundtables dealt with one or both of these issues. As might be expected, the Jesuits figured prominently in several sessions, causing one wag to observe that rather than working "ad majorem Dei gloriam," (for the greater glory of God), as the Jesuits claim in their motto, they might be seen to be working "ad majorem historiae mundi gloriam" (for the greater glory of world history).

The conference established a fair number of precedents. Cosponsored by the Silkroad Foundation of Saratoga, California, the WHA, and Salem State College, conference organizers offered an all-day Silk Road Workshop for Teachers on Wednesday, 24 June, led by Professor Morris Rossabi of Columbia University and assisted by A. J. Andrea. This was followed by Professor Rossabi's evening public lecture, "The Silk Road: An Ancient Avenue of Merchants and Missionaries," held at the Salem Athenaeum. A standing-room-only, highly appreciative audience of well over 150 persons, most of them from the Greater Salem area, filled the Athenaeum. Both the workshop, which attracted 10 area teachers and two graduate students from China, and the lecture were offered free of charge. It was a small way for the WHA to say

"thank you" to its warm and generous hosts.

Thanks to the generosity of the SSC Alumni Association, Thursday began with a free tour, by bus, to the Charlestown Navy Yard in the shadow of Bunker Hill and a private tour of the *USS Constitution* led by Margherita Desy, the ship's historian, who also presented the lecture "Old Ironside's Role in World History." For those who did not want to get up early to catch the bus to historic Charlestown, Dr. Emily Murphy of the National Park Service offered mid-morning and mid-afternoon tours of Salem's sites of world historical significance. Later that afternoon, ABC-Clio sponsored a "meet and greet" reception for conferees who were picking up their registration materials. Other than having to choose among the large amounts of appetizing appetizers and drink, both alcoholic and soft, offered by the SSC catering services, registrants were asked by Jeff Davis, the WHA's administrative assistant, to choose "red, blue, or green" Heavy-duty conference tote bags, provided by Pearson Publishing, came in three colors. The tote bags have already become a collector's item.

Thanks to Christopher Mauriello, chair of SSC's Department of History, the conference also offered a two-day local documentary film festival, with each film followed by a panel discussion. Thursday's evening's film, *Traces of the Trade: A Story from the Deep North*, concerned a contemporary Rhode Island family's encounter

with the role played by its ancestors in the trans-Atlantic slave trade.



*Preparing the Registration Desk*

Conferees, who resided in four "official" conference hotels and residences, as well as elsewhere throughout Salem and Essex County, were encouraged to visit the many local sites of historical and cultural interest and to try out the numerous eating establishments in this small city. One of their favorite restaurants was the nearby Salem Diner, a 1950s aluminum dining car, where Johnny Pesky, a Red Sox immortal from the 40s, holds forth almost daily in Pesky's Corner. Friday morning saw legions of conferees, in an almost unending stream, mingling with locals in the cramped and friendly confines of this diner, where if everyone did not know your name, they soon learned it. And who said New Englanders are reserved? Of course, a large continental breakfast was offered to all conferees on site, but many could not resist the ambience, omelets, and home fries at the Salem Diner.

At Friday's Opening Ceremony, Mayor Kimberly Driscoll, Dr. Patricia Maguire Meservey, president of Salem State College, and Anand Yang, president of the WHA, welcomed conferees and acknowledged the hard work of the local arrangements committee, and especially the dedication of Dane Morrison and Chris Mauriello of SSC. Following the brief ceremony, Dane Morrison offered the first keynote address, "Citizens of the World? Salem's Early Expatriate Communities," thereby demonstrating that, indeed, a specialist in early US history, and local history at that, can rightly be a world historian. The local and the global are complementary not antithetical.

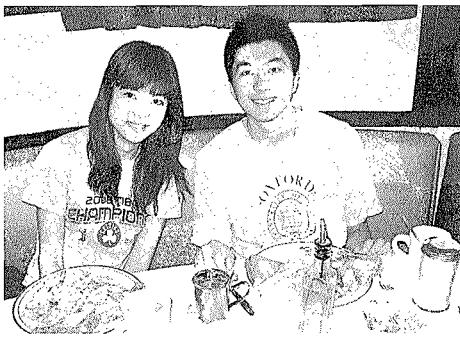
Three of Friday's sessions dealing with the China Trade and chinoiserie in American art were held downtown, amid the export-trade treasures of Salem's Peabody Essex Museum (PEM), the finest and largest museum in the world dedicated to maritime world history.

Friday evening witnessed another "first," a second public lecture, this time by William H. McNeill, who informed a packed audience of conferees and locals of his personal odyssey in "Leaving Western Civ Behind." Known as the "The Berkshire Publishing Group Public Lecture in World History" in honor of its patron, this, the first named public lecture in WHA history, will, one hopes, become another conference tradition. Held in the National Park Service Visitor Center, the talk was followed by a reception for conferees sponsored by College Board. Despite sumptuous amounts of great food and drink consumed at the reception, large numbers of conferees filled the many downtown restaurants. One group of about 15 was seen reveling in *A Passage to India*, a first-rate Indian restaurant.

Saturday began with two more "firsts." Alfred W. Crosby and William H. McNeill were presented with plaques recognizing them as "Pioneers of World History." We all hope that this establishes a precedent, whereby annually the WHA recognizes several of its distinguished members. Following this brief ceremony, the second keynote address was offered—the first ever given by an art historian at a WHA conference and only the second on a medieval topic. Lauren Arnold, of the University of San Francisco's Ricci Institute, delivered the warmly received (and profusely illustrated) talk, "The Emperor Rejoiced with Joy": Franciscan Missionaries and a Papal Gift to the Yuan Court in 1342."



*An ever-smiling Jeff Davis with Conference Badges*



Huang Shuo (Jessie) and Gao Hao, Graduate Students from Peking University, at the Salem Diner

Setting." The featured speaker was James L. A. Webb, who addressed them on "Malaria in World History." For those not attending the luncheon, there was live entertainment in the recital hall. Jim and Maggie Dalton of the Institute for Music, History, and Cultural Traditions offered "Songs of the Soul, Tunes of the Trade": Music for Merchants and Missionaries."

After a full day of panels and papers, activities were capped off by two events. A plenary roundtable on "World History: Past, Present, and Future" was presided over by Jerry H. Bentley and featured Alfred W. Crosby,

Kenneth Curtis, Candice Goucher, and William H. McNeill. For those hungering for yet more, the second documentary film, *The Letter*, which explores tensions between Somali immigrants and the local population of Lewiston, Maine was offered after dinner. Participating in the panel discussion that followed late into the

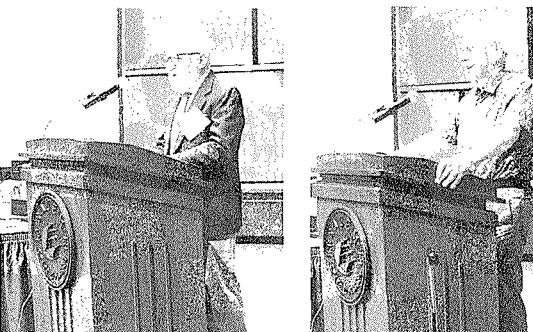
Thanking Our Two SSC Local Arrangements Chairs,  
Dane Morrison and Chris Mauriello

night was the film's director, Ziad Hamzeh.

One might expect Sunday to have been an anticlimax. It was not. Panels were packed, and for those souls who could not tear themselves away from beautiful Salem, a mid-afternoon free tour of "Oceania in Salem" was offered with curator-guided viewing of relevant documents and artifacts in Phillips House (the archival library of the Peabody Essex Museum) and the museum itself. Others, who had not yet taken advantage of PEM's free admission for anyone showing a conference badge or who wanted one last visit, could be seen wandering the museum's many exhibition halls on their own.

Late that afternoon, when just about everyone else had left campus, Lisa McFadden, SSC's associate director for Events and Donor Relations, who had been a one-woman dynamo before and throughout the conference, could be seen checking out by herself the conference site in the Central

Campus Building, just to make sure nothing remained undone or left behind. Trust me, nothing was left undone at this conference.



Crosby and McNeill reflect on their careers as world historians

## **CALL FOR PAPERS NINETEENTH ANNUAL WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE**

**San Diego Marriott Mission Valley, San Diego, California  
24-27 June 2010**

**Themes:**

**Gender in World History  
and  
The Pacific in World History**

The Nineteenth Annual World History Association Conference begins with registration and a reception on June 24. Panel sessions and other conference-related activities commence June 25 and continue to midday on the 27th.

Information regarding accommodations, registration, the keynote speakers, and related issues will be updated on this website as information becomes available.

The World History Association invites proposals from scholars and teachers around the world for panels (up to 3 panelists, one chair, and one discussant), single papers, and roundtables (between 4 to 5 participants) on topics related to the scholarly and/or pedagogical aspects of the conference's themes, "Gender in World History" and "The Pacific in World History." The Program Committee encourages mixed panels composed of K-12 teachers, university professors, and independent scholars in which cutting-edge scholarship is presented and then discussed as to how it might be introduced into the classroom, as well as panels devoted to research in progress and sessions dealing with the current scholarship of "big issues" in world history and how these issues might be brought to the classroom. The committee also invites proposals for sessions in which all papers and commentary have been posted on the WHA website in advance and the entire session is devoted to open discussion of the issues raised.

Priority will be given to full panel submissions, but individual papers will be considered, and if accepted will be placed into panels put together by the Program Committee. Papers and proposed panels that do not fit into the conference themes will be considered and might be accepted, as space allows.

Each proposal should include: a 250-word abstract of each paper, a curriculum vitae for each participant, and a statement noting how each paper makes an original contribution to scholarship or pedagogy. Audio-visual support is exceedingly costly. **Please make A/V requests only if absolutely necessary.** This will also help prevent the inevitable mechanical problems. As always, handouts are welcome. Proposals must be submitted online with the link available on the WHA homepage at <http://www.thewha.org>.

**Guidelines for panel organizers, paper presenters, commentators, and chairs are posted at <http://www.thewha.org> and should be read with care and followed.** Please note the strict 20-minute time limit for paper presentations.

**DEADLINE FOR PROPOSALS: 15 January 2010.** Due to the need for early notification and travel planning, no proposal will be accepted after the deadline. **Presenters must register for the conference by 1 May 2010 to be included in the program.**



World History Association

## 19th ANNUAL WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE

San Diego Marriott Mission Valley, San Diego, California

June 24 - 27, 2010

### ACCOMMODATION INFORMATION

THE WHA IS PLEASED TO RECOMMEND TWO CONFERENCE HOUSING OPTIONS. PLEASE MAKE NOTE OF THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:

- ALL CONFEREES ARE REQUIRED TO MAKE THEIR OWN ACCOMMODATIONS RESERVATIONS.
- BE SURE TO MENTION THE WHA FOR SPECIAL CONFERENCE RATES.
- SPECIAL-RATE ROOMS ARE OFFERED ON A FIRST-COME, FIRST-SERVED BASIS.
- MORE DETAILS ON BOTH HOUSING OPTIONS WILL BE AVAILABLE BY DECEMBER ON THE WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION WEBSITE.

<b>OPTION 1</b>  San Diego Marriott Mission Valley 8757 Rio San Diego Drive San Diego, California 92108  800-842-5329  Special rates for WHA conferees will be offered for three nights preceding 6/24 and three nights following 6/27, as long as rooms are available.	Rate: \$135 + tax/night for single, double, triple, and quads.  <b>Registration deadline: MAY 24, 2010</b>  • Easy access to San Diego State University as well as downtown San Diego. • Free high-speed wireless internet access • Free local calls • 20 percent discount on breakfast • Self-parking available for \$6 per day for conferees staying at the hotel.
<b>OPTION 2</b>  San Diego State University 5150 East Campus Drive San Diego, California 92115  619-594-2622  Comfortable single and double rooms and suites available. The campus is conveniently located to the conference site, just 6 stops by trolley.	Rate for a 3-night stay (based on 2009 rates, rates will be secured by December):  Standard singles from \$160, with full meal plan \$238. Doubles and apartment style rooms also available.  Each residence hall includes a lounge, recreation room with television, bathroom facilities, vending machines, laundry facilities, and swimming pool access. Some suites have a full-size refrigerator and microwave.

### Questions?

Contact the World History Association

Phone: 808-956-7688 / Fax: 808-956-9600

Email: [thewha@hawaii.edu](mailto:thewha@hawaii.edu)

[www.thewha.org](http://www.thewha.org)



World History Association

## 19th ANNUAL WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE

San Diego Marriott Mission Valley, San Diego, California

June 24 - 27, 2010

Please register online at [www.thewha.org](http://www.thewha.org)

REGISTRATION FEES		EARLY REGISTRATION (Postmarked by May 1, 2010)	REGULAR REGISTRATION (Postmarked after May 1, 2010)	AMOUNT
WHA MEMBER		\$110	\$135	
NON MEMBER*		\$200	\$225	
RETIRED / UNEMPLOYED		\$60	\$85	
STUDENT		\$50	\$60	
<b>GUEST PASS</b> (Must be accompanied by a registered conferee. Pass for social functions only.)		\$30	\$40	
<b>ONE-DAY PASS</b> CIRCLE: FRI / SAT (Sunday - gratis for Day Pass holders.)		MEMBER: \$60 NON MEMBER: \$90 STUDENT: \$30	MEMBER: \$70 NON MEMBER: \$100 STUDENT: \$40	
<b>*JOIN THE WHA TO RECEIVE SUBSTANTIAL SAVINGS ON CONFERENCE RATES</b>				
WHA MEMBERSHIP RATES EFFECTIVE 1/01/10 (Circle the membership level)		ONE YEAR: \$75 TWO YEARS: \$145 THREE YEARS: \$210 STUDENT: \$40	UNEMPLOYED: \$40 NEW PROFESSIONAL (In the first 3 years of paid professional work): \$60	
			<b>SUB TOTAL</b>	\$
				\$
			<b>TOTAL DUE</b>	\$

**WORLD SCHOLAR TRAVEL FUND**  
Please consider a gift to the World Scholar Travel Fund, which assists scholars, teachers, and students 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). Enter donation in box to right.

REGISTRATION FEE, WHA MEMBERSHIP, WORLD SCHOLAR TRAVEL FUND DONATION

**TOTAL DUE**

### REGISTRATION / BADGE INFORMATION

Please print as neatly as possible.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Affiliation \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State/Province \_\_\_\_\_

Postal Code \_\_\_\_\_ Country \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Email \_\_\_\_\_

Return form & payment to: **World History Association**  
**University of Hawaii at Manoa**  
**2530 Dole St., SAK A-203**  
**Honolulu, HI 96822 USA**

Phone: 808-956-7688 Fax: 808-956-9600 Email: [thewha@hawaii.edu](mailto:thewha@hawaii.edu)

To register online: [www.thewha.org](http://www.thewha.org)

NOTE: The last day for a Conference Fee refund (less a \$30 handling fee) is April 30, 2010. Requests must be made in writing or via email to [thewha@hawaii.edu](mailto:thewha@hawaii.edu).

### PAYMENT INFORMATION

Check \$ \_\_\_\_\_ Money Order \$ \_\_\_\_\_

(Payable in US\$ to the World History Association. Note: returned checks will be assessed a \$25 fee.)

Circle: Visa / MasterCard / Amex / Discover

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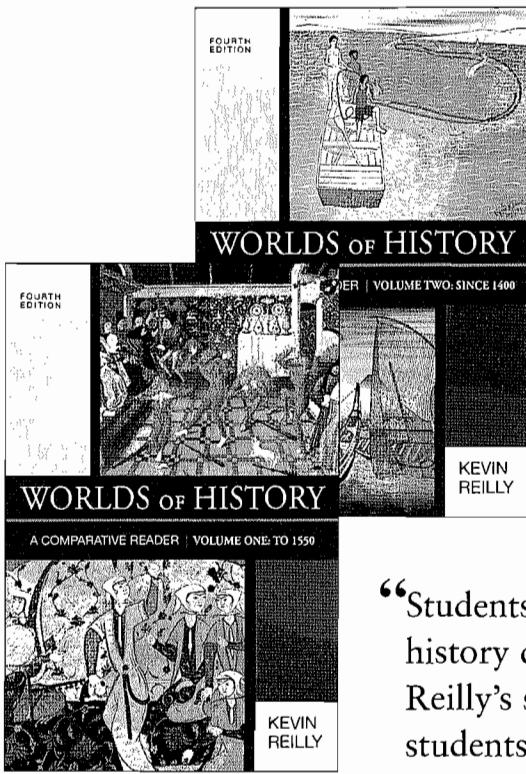
Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Conference registrants outside of the U.S. are encouraged to pay via credit card using our online payment system. However, we will also accept international money orders.

\* CID or CVV is a 3-digit number located on the back of MC and Visa cards to the right of the signature line. For Amex, it is the 4-digit number printed above account number.



## Worlds to Explore



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**Worlds of History**  
**A Comparative Reader**  
Fourth Edition

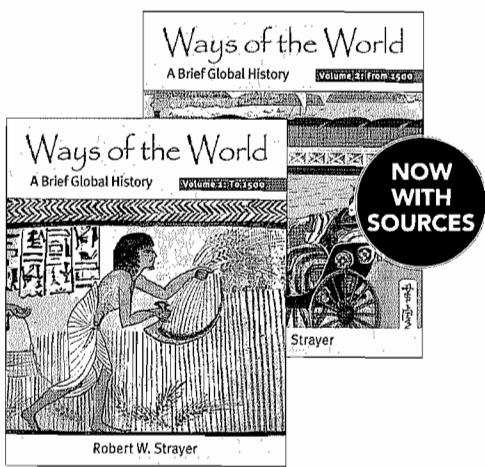
**Kevin Reilly**, Raritan Valley College

Compiled by a widely respected world historian and community college teacher, *Worlds of History* fosters historical thinking through thematic comparisons of primary and secondary sources from around the world. Its comparative and thematic approach, together with a host of useful analytical tools, allows students to develop critical thinking skills and engage with documents as historians do. The latest edition offers a broader range of sources with an even more global perspective.

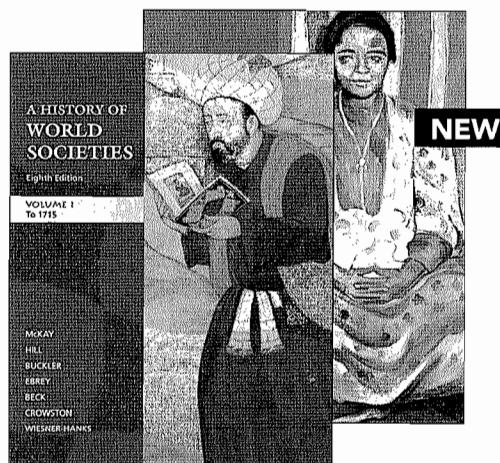
“Students find the comparative approach to history dynamic, mind opening, and fun. Reilly’s selection of documents exposes students to some of the major scholarship in the field of world history and challenges them to analyze direct evidence from the past to make historical conclusions of their own.”

— Eric Martin, Lewis-Clark State College

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Membership in the World History Association can be achieved by mailing your name, address, and institutional affiliation, along with the applicable membership amount listed below. The WHA accepts Visa, MasterCard, and Discover (please include the type of card and expiration date) or check payable to the WHA.

Regular Membership	\$60 per year
Two-Year Membership	\$110
Three-Year Membership	\$155
Students/Independent Scholars	\$30 per year
New Professionals	\$45 per year
Life Membership	\$1200

Mail to: The World History Association, Sakamaki Hall A203, 2530 Dole Street, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI 96822 U.S.A. Email: [thewha@hawaii.edu](mailto:thewha@hawaii.edu)

WHA dues are payable on a yearly basis. During each year, members will receive four issues of the *Journal of World History* and two issues of the *World History Bulletin*. Memberships run on a calendar year. Applications received before October 1 will receive that current year's publications. Applications received after October 1 will begin membership the following January unless otherwise requested. If your address has changed since the last issue of the *World History Bulletin*, please send notification to the WHA Headquarters.

The *World History Bulletin* appears in April and November.