[Global Histories]

A student journal

2015 – Volume I, Issue 1

Impressum

Global Histories: A Student Journal Issue 1, volume 1 (2015)
ISSN 2366-780X

Editors and editorial board members
Editor: Alexandra Holmes
Editorial Board:
Oscar Broughton
Leonhard Link
Thomas Lindner
Willem Van Geel
Philipp Kandler
Barbara Uchdorf
Marius Oesterheld
Maximilian Laun
Yorim Dominique Spoelder
Beninio McDonough Tranza
Elisabeth Köller
Iris Shahar

Publisher information
Founded in 2015 by students of the MA program 'Global History' at the Freie Universität and the Humboldt Univeristät in Berlin, the 'Global Histories' journal is a Berlin based bi-annual journal published in association with the Freie Universität Berlin.

Freie Universität Berlin
Global Histories: a student journal
Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut
Koserstr. 20
14195 Berlin

Sponsors
This journal project is realized with generous support from Free University Berlin, specifically from the Global History Section of the Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut, the OJS e-publishing project at CEDIS, and the ZEDAT hostmaster team.

Scope and purpose

In response to the increasing interest in the 'global' as a field of inquiry, a perspective, and an approach, 'Global Histories: a student journal' aims to offer a platform for debate, discussion and intellectual exchange for a new generation of scholars with diverse research interests. Global history can provide an opportunity to move beyond disciplinary boundaries and methodological centrisms, both in time and space. As students of global history at Freie Universität Berlin and Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, our interest lies not in prescribing what global history is and what it is not, but to encourage collaboration, cooperation, and discourse among students seeking to explore new intellectual frontiers.

Publication frequency

The journal is published twice yearly in June and December. Please see the website for further details.

Copyright and publication dates

All material is published under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International copyright licence.

First published December 2015.

Peer review status and ethics

This journal provides immediate open access to its content on the principle that making research freely available to the public supports a greater global exchange of knowledge.

All articles which appear in this issue, with the exception of editorial content, were subject to peer review.

Contact information

For librarians to submit information or questions about the bibliographic history and publication title, please contact the Editor at: admin@globalhistories.com

For more information please consult our website www.globalhistories.com or email admin@globalhistories.de

Contents

Editorial Note

Dear Reader,

The Global Histories Student Journal was born from our first Global History Student Conference which was held in April 2015. This conference was organised by a small group of dedicated students from the Humboldt-Universität and Freie Universität in Berlin who together were able to prepare and host a two-day conference which featured a diverse array of topics, presented by forty participants from across the world, on the theme of global history. The success of this event has provided the impetus for this project: a student journal dedicated to inquiry into the burgeoning field of global history. As with the conference, strong emphasis is placed on this journal being a project organised by and for students. It provides a space within which young scholars can exhibit and explore their work in dialogue with others. It aims to highlight the possibilities of student authorship and editorial skill, and develop a network for further collaboration.

This first volume of the journal is conceived as a direct response to the conference in April 2015 as its principal theme. It presents a number of papers delivered by students at the conference in Berlin in order to exhibit their talent and underscore the diversity of overlapping themes which characterised the conference. Alongside these are summaries of its ten panels, which capture the discursive atmosphere and cross section of ideas which occurred. Also included is a summary of the final discussion from the conference, which featured all of the participants and focused on evaluating the state of global history and its frontiers. In an effort to reinforce these themes, this edition also contains three book reviews and three conference/summer school reports.

Although this journal arose from the efforts of the conference team, it is not merely meant to be an extension of the annual conference. Although the two projects will remain linked, this journal is intended to provide a platform for further discussion and presentation of research from students across the globe, and not merely as a showcase for those able to attend a single weekend of the year. To that end, the next issue will be published in June 2016 and we encourage students to consider submitting their research. If you are interested, please keep your eye on our website (http://www.globalhistories.com) which will advertise the next call for papers, along with the theme for the summer edition, in January.

Thank you for taking the time to read our efforts,
The Editorial Team

Acknowledgements

Many of the people involved in this project overlap between groups. Although they are only mentioned once for the sake of brevity, we are grateful for their participation in all their different roles.

Immense thanks go to Professor Sebastian Conrad for his support from the beginning of the conference group, and without whom there would be neither conference nor journal, as well as to the Research Area "Global History" at Freie Universität Berlin, particularly Michael Goebel who provided so much support and assistance towards the creation of the conference and for delivering its opening keynote address. Credit must also be given to the Department of History at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and the Max Planck Institute for Human Development, especially Benno Gammerl who provided so much early advice and enthusiasm towards our ideas.

We furthermore want to acknowledge the efforts of those students of Global History who contributed so much time and effort towards this journal, and are responsible for this project: Alexandra Holmes, Willem Van Geel, Barbara Uchdorf, Iris Shahar, Leonhard Link, Beninio McDonough Tranza, Frederik Schröer, Yorim Spoelder and Wolfgang Thiele. Specifically those have to be mentioned who had already been involved in organizing the Global History Student Conference, who formed the basis for this project and performed incredible feats of coordination, and dedication towards seeing the project to completion: Oscar Broughton, Jan Deeg, Philipp Kandler, Elisabeth Köller, Björn Holm, Thomas Lindner, Marius Oesterheld and Maximilian Laun. A special thanks goes to Julius Redzinski for his help during the conference. We also want to thank all the participants, who presented their work as part of the conference, without whom the conference would have been impossible and who filled it with such lively themes for discussion: Josh Mentanko, Sébastien Tremblay, Nailya Shamgunova, Martin Wagner, Andreas Oberdorf, Natalia Pashkeeva, Sean Phillips, Tobit Vandamme, Julian A. Theseira, Tim Rudnicki, Julian zur Lage, Scott Schorr, Charlotte Piepenbrock, Elisabeth Gheorghe, Mahmoud Baballah, Damilola A. Adebayo, Paromita Das Gupta, Tatjana Poletajew, Eman Abdeen, Julia Mariko Jacoby, Thilo Neidhöfer, Zoltán Gyimesi, Malavika Binny, Judith Mansilla, Richard Herzog, Meera G. Muralidharan, Philipp Meller, Christiane Borchert, Radu Dipratu, Joe Kelly, Peter H. Bent, Jonas Söderqvist, Gabriel Schimmeroth, Ester Pink, Nari Shelekpayev and Andreas Greiner.

Special thanks goes to Online Journal System staff at the Freie Universität Centre for Digital Systems, especially Christina Riesenweber and Bozana Bokan for their encouragement and support with setting up the journal online, and to the ZEDAT hostmaster team, particularly to Heiko Schlichting for his technical support in setting up the web domain. We furthermore want to express our gratitude towards Heike Kubisch who helped us to overcome so many issues and problems, and who contributed so much time to tying up all of the loose ends. Special men-

tion, finally, must also go to Jamie Beeching and Joel Grossman their help, support and versatility in times of great crisis, and to Vyacheslav S. Arsenovich for providing technical assistance with website-building.

Conference Articles

Plants, Power and Knowledge: An Exploration of the Imperial Networks and the Circuits of Botanical Knowledge and Medical Systems on the Western Coast of India Against the backdrop of European Expansionism

MALAVIKA BINNY

Malavika Binny was an Erasmus Mundus Fellow at the Leiden University when she attended the Global Histories Conference and submitted her article, but has since returned to India. Now at the Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, she is conducting a PhD on the topic of Bodies, Power and Space in Premodern Kerala. Her research interests include the history of knowledge transfers, histories of science, gender, spaces, identities, environmental history and subaltern studies.

The confluence of multiple branches of history in recent times, mainly owing to a revival of interest in histories of science and environmental history, has revealed the presence of a network of knowledge, which has been in existence from the Renaissance and in some fields even prior to it. Interwoven into the global web of knowledge transfers are the histories of botanical science and medical systems, which this article intends to analyse in the context of the Indo-Portuguese-Dutch engagements on the south-western coast of India. The Malabar Coast, in particular, plays a unique role in the history of Indian Ocean trade and it offers a fertile arena to investigate the multi-layered interplay between diverse knowledge systems both at a global and local level. The encounters between the European and the local knowledge systems occured more in terms of social-cultural exchange and the production of hybrid systems of knowledge rather that of cultural conflict. An in-depth analysis of Garcia Da Orta's *Colóquios dos simples e drogas he cousas medicinais da Índia* (Conversations on the Simples, Drugs and Materia Medica of India) and Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede tot Drakenstein's *Hortus Malabaricus* along with the Sanskrit and vernacular 'Ayurvedic' texts (such as *Susruta Samhitā* and *Caraka Samhitā*), will be used to explore the multiple lineages of what we understand today as science and medicine and the mechanisms through which indigenous knowledge was collected, documented and transferred into European botanical and scientific networks and the interplay between the diverse healing/botanical traditions.

It is only recently that the histories of science and the historiographies of European expansionism (or the contraction of the world as some historians call it) have found a common platform of convergence. This confluence of multiple branches of history has revealed the presence of a network of knowledge which has been in existence from the pre-Renaissance period. Interwoven into the global web of knowledge transfers are the histories of botanical science and medical systems, which this paper will be analysing in the context of the Indo-Portuguese-Dutch

engagements on the Western coast of India.[1] The relevance of botanical transfers in empire building has been a topic of recent historical interest with the role of agents, actors, micro and macro networks, and the analysis of the emergence of botanical gardens and botanic departments in European universities in the late medieval and early modern period, being some of the major themes on the historical radar.[2] Whilst Richard Drayton has brilliantly analysed the history of the Royal Botanical Garden of Kew and the networks of botanical transfers[3] Londa Schiebinger's seminal work, *Plants and Empire*, meticulously brings out the vivid facets of bioprospecting in the Atlantic world.[4] Drayton examines the rise of botanical gardens in Europe through the spectrum of information flows with a keen eye for the agents and the institutions involved alongside exploring the inter-linkages between the botanical endeavour, the interests of the empire and its larger ramifications on 'science' in general. Londa Schiebinger gives a representation to many voices involved in the collection of knowledge with an extreme sensitivity to the diverse epistemes at play in the process and the development of botany as 'big science' and 'big business' for carrying out the interests of the empire. She follows not only the directions of the movement and the mixing of different knowledge systems, but also the extinction and domination of some types of knowledge along the course. Both of these works have served as the starting point of this article as it seeks to engage with both actors and agents involved in the networks as well as the encounters between the diverse epistemes of the local and global systems. Alan Lester has argued that a 'networked' approach, placing actors in the contexts of their networks, might be the most effective method to look at natural exchanges in the pre-modern and early modern context.[5] I have tried to incorporate this approach in probing da Orta's and Van Rheede's works on the flora of the Malabar Coast.

1 For detailed analyses on the theme of imperial knowledge networks, see Kapil Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650-1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Richard H. Drayton, *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain and the 'Improvement' of the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Ray McLeod, *Nature and Empire: Science and the Colonial Enterprise* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

2 Richard Grove, *Green Imperialism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Drayton, *Nature's Government*; Londa Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); Joseph S Alter, *Asian Medicine and Globalization,* ed., (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); Siegfried Huigen, Jan L.de Jong and Elmer Kolfin, eds., *The Dutch Trading Companies as Knowledge Networks*, (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Vinita Damodaran, Anna Winterbottom and Alan Lester, eds., *The East India Company and the Natural World*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Ines G. Županov and Ângela Barreto Xavier, "Quest for Permanence in the Tropics: Portuguese Bio prospecting in Asia (16th-18th Centuries)", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 57 (2014):511-48, among several others.

3 Richard Drayton, *Nature's Government.*

4 Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire*.

5 Alan Lester, introduction to *The East India Company and The Natural World*, eds. Vinita Damodaran, Anna Winterbottom and Alan Lester, (New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

The founding conflict of the eighteenth century that shaped the history of the discipline was that of the ancient and modern. This European contest between the ancient and the modern reappears in the history of science of the non-Western world as a dichotomy that distinguishes tradition and modernity.[6] Historians who have internalised this distinction have more often than not assumed a static view of both culture and knowledge – wherein the traditional is typically depicted as unchanging, threatened by, and fighting against a modernity that would like to see it buried.[7] This image is true not only for the history of science, but also for the history of medicine and knowledge transfers and it is only recently that the approach has been criticised and challenged by stressing the multi-vocality and fluidity of both knowledge systems.

One of the main aims of this article is to argue that while we do have evidence of a dynamic European and local exchange of knowledge from the south-western coast of India from the fifteenth century onwards in plentitude, the knowledge that was extracted and transferred from south-west India to Europe was stripped of its cultural attachments and divorced from the local epistemological framework and reformulated according to European interests and 'scientific' traditions. The article will also question the idea of Ayurveda as a crystallised form of knowledge associated only with Hinduism with an aim to show that even those traditions of medicine and science which existed prior to the arrival of the European mercantilism to the coasts of South India were not homogenous and were the results of the inter-mixing and convergence of multiple knowledge/thought systems, whose roots can be traced to widely divergent backgrounds including those of Buddhism and tribal medicine. Also, through a comparative analysis of Garcia da Orta's *Colóquios dos simples e drogas he cousas medicinais da Índia* (Conversations on the Simples, Drugs and Materia Medica of India) and Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede tot Drakenstein's *Hortus Malabaricus* along with the Sanskrit and vernacular Ayurvedic texts (in particular the *Susruta Samhitā*, *Caraka Samhitā* and *Amarakōśā*), the article seeks to arrive at a comprehensive analysis of the modalities of global knowledge production in the early modern period and its subsequent diffusion.

The Malabar Coast plays a unique role in the history of Indian Ocean trade and cultural intercourse.[8] The coast, where Vasco Da Gama's ships arrived in 1498

6 S.Irfan Habib and Dhruv Raina,"Reinventing Traditional Medicine: Method; Institutional Change and the Manufacture of Drugs and Medication in Late Colonial India" in *Asian Medicine and Globalization*, ed. Joseph S. Alter, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 67.

7 Ibid.

8 Various historians have argued on the significance of the Malabar Coast in Indian Ocean trade and cultural contacts including Asin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade; 1740-1800*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); M. N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Pius Malekandethil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*,1500-1663, (New Delhi: Manohar, 1991) and Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

C.E., offers a fertile arena to investigate the multi-layered interplay between diverse knowledge systems. While 'bio-prospecting'[9] on the South Indian coast in the medieval and early modern period has caught the fancy of historians and anthropologists in recent times,[10] little work has been done on the pre-existing knowledge forms and transfers, something which has been a major lacuna in understanding the nuanced nature of these networks in the medieval and pre-modern context. It also disregards the polyphonic nature of the knowledge that was transferred in the first place crediting only the collection of the knowledge and dissemination of it in the Occident, which was mostly a European endeavour. Even recent attempts which argue that the knowledge (compiled, categorised and codified in the premodern period) may have had non-European and non-elite episteme,[11] is based on the analysis of European texts without the inclusion of any South Asian work.

Richard Grove has suggested that the existence of European printing, botanic gardens, global networks of information and *material medical* transfer, and the increasing professionalization of natural history seem actually to have facilitated the diffusion and dominance of an Ayurvedic and Ezhava epistemological hegemony alongside the erosion of older European and Arabic systems.[12] While the recognition given to the Ayurvedic and Ezhava traditions is indeed a welcome change, the focus remains Van Rheede's *Hortus Malabaricus* and its relevance in the history of knowledge production. Furthermore, the knowledge which was collected from the Malabar Coast for the production of *Hortus Malabaricus* was distilled and reformulated in such way that the final product was bereft of any epistemic semblance of either Ayurvedic or Ezhava knowledge.

9 Bio prospecting in the context of this paper is understood as the process of collecting and compiling information on biological knowledge especially that of medico-botanical knowledge from those regions under European colonial hegemony in the late medieval and early modern period to serve European colonial and imperial interests.

10 Richard Grove, "Indigenous Knowledge and the Significance of South-West India for Portuguese and Dutch Constructions of Tropical Nature", *Modern Asian Studies*, 30-1 (Feb., 1996).

11 The usage of episteme in this chapter is a slight modification of Michel's Foucault's use of the term in *The Order of Things*. While Foucault uses it as an *a priori* condition which facilitates the possibility of the production of particular forms of knowledge, this articles uses it as not only conditionality but also a structuring device which goes beyond a facilitating device, but becomes a structuring device in the production of the particular knowledge. The approach adopted by Foucault is extremely useful in understanding the many layered process of knowledge production and the need to excavate the specific epistemes involved and their interaction.

12 See, for instance, Ines G. Županov, and Ângela Barreto Xavier, "Quest for Permanence in the Tropics: Portuguese Bio- prospecting in Asia (16th-18th Centuries)," *JESHO* 57, (2014). Also Richard Grove, "Indigenous Knowledge and the Significance of South-West India for Portuguese and Dutch Constructions of Tropical Nature," *Modern Asian Studies*, 30-1 (Feb., 1996).

The Lure of the Pepper Coast and its Many Seekers

Both economic historians and historians of science have pointed towards a quest for indigenous knowledge of Asia, the Americas and Africa during the initial period of European expansionism. The collection of botanical knowledge which formed a huge part of the colonial or proto-colonial endeavour had a two pronged motive. One was to understand and explore the commercial possibilities of botanical products. The other intention was to address the issue of the availability and access to potent drugs for medical treatment, not only of the personnel employed either by the European companies or the empire (who worked in non-European regions), but also to cater to a growing demand for medicine from the East and the New World back in Europe. The drugs procured from the New World and Asia were highly priced in the apothecary network in Europe and the respective European governments were seeking ways and means to procure them cheaply. Methods to cultivate these plants in Europe commercially were also being explored. Mercantilism flourished through the fecund coupling of naval prowess to natural history. Eighteenth century botanical exploration followed trade routes, as naturalists of all stripes found passage on trading-company, merchant-marine, and naval vessels headed for European territories abroad.[13]

The south-western coast of India known as the Malabar Coast, which was already familiar to the Europeans, was one of the regions subject to the process of intense botanical transfers under successive European powers such as the Portuguese and the Dutch. The small geographical space of modern day Kerala, which was referred to in European sources as Malabar or *Keraladesa*, has been of both historical as well as academic interest for about two millennia. The trade connections between Malabar Coast and Europe have been effectively traced to Greco-Roman antiquity by historians on both sides of the Indian Ocean. The modalities of the trade involved the exchange of materials, ideas and ideologies both ways across the ocean. The mechanism that enabled the socio-economic intercourse up to the fifteenth century was facilitated and mediated by middle-men from the north-eastern coast of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula.

The source of interest which brought ships from Europe, Africa, Arabia and East Asia to the verdant coast was its fame as a garden of spices prompting some authors to call it 'the pepper coast'; the land was equally famous as a treasure trove of potent medical herbs. Some of the most notable attempts at the collection of 'indigenous' botanical and medical knowledge were those by Garcia Da Orta, Christobal Acosta, L'Empereur and Van Rheede;[14] the first and the last being

13 Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire*, 8.

14 *Le Jardin de Lorixa* or *Jardin de Lorixa* (The Garden of Orissa) is a French manuscript by a French physician called Nicolas L'Empereur. There is no evidence of it having been published, though the effort itself shows the interest in the floral wealth of South Asia.Christobal Acosta's *Tractado de las drogas y medicinas de la Indias Orientales* which was published in

the major focus of our discussion. The cause for the Malabar coast being chosen for the collection of botanical knowledge might have been owing to the relative familiarity of the coast to Europeans and also because of the presence of fairly well developed healing systems which dealt with a vast array of botanical herbs on the south-western coast of the Indian subcontinent. The visitors and traders might have brought news back to Europe about the potency of indigenous herbs, especially since medicines brought from Europe used to lose their efficacy under the tropical climate. Van Rheede mentions that during his many trips in his official capacity as the Captain and later Commander and Governor of VOC in Malabar, he learnt about the prowess of the people of the Malabar Coast in identifying and administering botanical herbs as medicine and was convinced that the Malabar Coast was the ideal place for a botanical endeavour.[15]

Indigenous Knowledge, European Authors and the Production of Medico-Botanical Texts

Historians have correctly focused on the explosion of knowledge associated with the scientific revolution and global expansion, and the frantic transfer of trade goods and plants between Europe and its colonies.[16] Historians of science and historians of medicine have waxed eloquent about the influx of botanical knowledge from the East and from the Atlantic coast as well as the movement of medical knowledge from Europe to the rest of the world as part of Christian and civilizing missions. Until the last couple of decades, most of the works dealt with the theme as 'the march of progress against barbarism' or 'triumph of modern medicine against savage diseases' whose origins were traced back to the colonies. It is only recently that such a framework has been intensively questioned and dismantled by interlinking the influx of botanical knowledge with the growth of modern medicine, thus contextualising the role of the indigenous knowledge in the growth of science and medicine in Europe.[17]

A resilient and long-standing narrative in the history of science has envisioned the flowering of modern botany as the rise of taxonomy, nomenclature, and pure

1578 in Spanish was heavily drawn from Garcia da Orta's *Colóquios dos simples e drogas he cousas medicinais da Índia* and gained more popularity than da Orta's original work.

15 Hendrik Adriaan Van Rheede, Preface to the Third Volume of *Hortus Malabaricus*, trans. K S Manilal, Malayalam Edition, (Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala University, 2008), xi-xii.

16 Some of the exemplary works on the theme include Harold Cook, *Matters of Exchange* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007); Siegfried Huigen, Jan L. de Jong and Elmer Kolfin, eds. *The Dutch Trading Companies as Knowledge Networks*, (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Vinita Damodaran, Anna Winterbottom and Alan Lester, eds. *The East India Company and the Natural World*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

17 For example, Harold Cook in his '*Matters of Exchange*' has drawn out the networks of the Dutch East India company (VOC), the apothecary network, the role of individual physicians, chemists and doctors in the transfer of both materia medica as well as matters of commerce and science in the early modern period and its subsequent impact on the intellectual history of the Netherlands in particular and Europe in general.

systems of classification.[18] Botany in this period was "big science" and "big business", an essential part of the projection of military might into the resource-rich East and West Indies.[19] Injury and disease were a more serious, constant and certain threat than any rival nation's military challenge; no other factor constituted a greater drain on resources. Hence, expanding medical capacities – the quest for useful healing techniques and remedies, assumed a central if unsung place in the strategic planning of every imperial and commercial enterprise. There were other reasons for the pursuit of botany that included an interest in procuring exotic commodities and the honour, prestige and social mobility which could be accessed by publishing 'authoritative' books on science and travel. Cook has also suggested that this was owing to a shift away from armchair science to a science more embedded in experience.[20] But there were also more practical reasons at work in the search for tropical herbs that included the inefficacy of western medicine under tropical climates, the perishability of drugs in warmer and sunnier terrains and, in some cases, the contact with new types of diseases.

The Malabar Coast, as mentioned earlier seems to have been the ideal space for, the same as it has been famed for, its physicians and medicine for centuries. The first attempt at what can be vaguely termed as 'bio-prospecting' specifically in the realm of medicine was by Garcia da Orta who has been referred to as a pioneer of tropical medicine, especially with regard to the *materia medica* of the tropics. His work, the *Colóquios dos Simples e Drogas da India,* in many ways, influenced later works such as that of Carolus Clusius, Van Rheede, Nicolas Monardes, Herman Boerhaave and Jocobus Bontius, and played a crucial role in expanding the horizons of multiple disciplines such as botany, medicine, pharmacology and what we understand today as ethnology.[21]

The path-breaking nature of da Orta's work is exemplified in its citations and acknowledgement in later works and it is he who has to be thanked for the dissemination of detailed and nuanced knowledge on tropical *materia medica* among the European botanical circles. The significance of the work can also be inferred from the fact that his book on medicine in general, and tropical drugs in particular, was the second book to be published in Goa under the Portuguese. The work written in Portuguese was first published by a certain João de Endem at the Saint Paul's College at Goa in 1563. It contains 59 colloquios in the form of conversations between the author and other characters, some historical and some fictional. In it, he discusses in detail 75 botanical and non- botanical drugs and 200 other floral and faunal elements. Even though the primary agenda of the work is to pres-

18 Londa Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire*, 5.
19 Ibid.
20 See Harold Cook, *Matters of Exchange*, Chapter.10, "Refusal to Speculate", 378-409
21 For a detailed analyses of the geographical spread of the impact of da Orta's work, see Palmira Fontes da Costa, "Geographical expansion and the reconfiguration of medical authority: Garcia de Orta's Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India (1563)", *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, 43, (2012).

ent Indian *materia medica* to European medical and botanical circles, da Orta also takes refreshing diversions and discusses other matters such as the local politics, the Indo-European trade, certain aspects of contact with China, local practices and rituals and so on.

In spite of frequent digressions and the innumerable typographical errors that disfigure the book, da Orta corrected many erroneous notions about Indian plants and described several important plants and their uses for the first time.[22] Although the importance of the *Colloquies* in the sixteenth-century natural history and medicine has been generally acknowledged in the international historiography, there are still relatively few recent and detailed studies of the work and its influence in other texts on the subject.[23]

Having inherited the best of Renaissance teaching from Iberian universities, da Orta was extremely familiar with the Greco-Roman traditions of medicine. He constantly refers to Galen and Hippocrates, and his work is interspersed with quotes from Dioscorides and Pliny. He is more respectful, nonetheless, of Persian and Arabic medical scholars such as Avicenna[24] and Mesué,[25] and on several occasions claim that they are more credible than the Greek texts with regard to tropical herbs. Suffice to say here that da Orta was a polyglot and maintained close contact with merchants from China, the Malay islands and the Malabar Coast, which helped him compare various types of the same herbs from different parts of the globe.*Colóquios dos Simples e Drogas da India* was translated into Latin by Carolus Clusius, who was by then an acclaimed botanist, under the title: *Aromatum et Simplicium Aliquot Medicamentorum apud Indios Nascentium.*[26] Christobal Acosta also borrowed heavily from Orta's *Colóquios* in his *Tractado de las drogas y medicinas de las Indias orientales* published in Spanish which became even more popular than da Orta's original work.

Whilst Orta was a physician - and his work an individual initiative pursued during the years he spent on the Indian peninsula collecting, analysing and studying indigenous herbs and healing practices - Van Rheede's *Hortus Malabaricus* was

22 Louis Pelner, "Garcia de Orta: Pioneer in Tropical Medicine and Botany", *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 197(1997):12.

23 Palmira Fontes Da Costa and Teresa Nobre De Carvalho, "Between East And West: Garcia de Orta's Colloquies and the Circulation of Medical Knowledge in the Sixteenth Century", *Asclepio: Revista de Historia de la Medicina y de la Ciencia,* 65.1(2013):008.

24 Avicenna is the Latinised version of Ibn Sïnā (980-1037 C.E.) who was a celebrated Persian thinker and polymath. He wrote about forty books on medicine, among which *Kitab Al Shifa* (The Book of Healing) and *al-Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb* (The Canon of Medicine) are the most celebrated. Avicenna's work was taught in several medieval universities and remained as the authoritative texts till 1650 C.E.

25 Mesué the younger is the Latinised name of the Syrian physician Masawaih al-Mardini who wrote the celebrated book on pharmacopeia called the *Antidotarium sive Grabadin medicamentorum*, which was the considered to be one of the fundamental texts in Western medicine.

26 Carolus Clusius, *Aromatum et Simplicium Aliquot Medicamentorum apud Indios Nascentium*, (Antwerp: Plantin, 1567)

in many ways an initiative pursued within the framework of the VOC apparatus, and his position as the Dutch Governor of Malabar greatly helped him in the endeavour. The work was published as a 12 volume series from 1678 to 1693 over fifteen years. It contained information on 725 plants and has 791 illustrations of the flora of Malabar. Van Rheede had the open support of the Cochin Maharaja and organised teams of local people to collect and compile botanical specimens on the Malabar Coast and beyond. He formed a panel of eminent physicians from diverse traditions (Brahmana and Ezhava vaidyas) who did most of the work for him and it can be suggested with some degree of certainty that his role was more of an organiser or a 'project head' in the production of the monumental work that is referred to as *Hortus Malabaricus.*[27] Heniger has argued that the publication of *Hortus Malabaricus* was not above the politics within the VOC and the considerable critiques its first volume received in Amsterdam was a result of a power-tiff between Rijklof van Goens, the commander of Ceylon and Van Rheede over the administration of the Dutch colonial government.[28] The scheme of the phenomenal work was first formulated by Matthew of St. Joseph, a Carmelite priest of Cochin and was later reworked under the advice of Paul Hermann, a doctor of medicine at the University of Leiden. Paul Hermann arrived in Cochin in 1674 C.E. and as the preface of the third volume of *Hortus Malabaricus* tells us, made several suggestions on the work which changed its format, even though some elements from Matthew's original scheme were preserved.[29]

Heniger's study of the work also argues that the work had a considerable impact on the subsequent works of Linneus and Hermann Boerhaave, especially in relation to botanical taxonomy and the development of the Linnean system of botanical classification. A variety of exhaustive accounts now enables us to chart the ideological and practical history of the compilation of the *Hortus Malabaricus,* the accounts by Heniger, Manilal and Fournier being the most significant,[30] and it can be effectively argued that *Hortus Malabaricus* was a first of its kind involving exclusively South Asian flora. The work as vouched for by Van Rheede himself was meticulously illustrated according to the contemporary scientific methods af-

27 Marian Fournier, "Hortus Malabaricus of Hendrik Adriaan Van Reede Tot Drakestein," in *Botany and History of Hortus Malabaricus*, ed. K..S.Manilal, (New Delhi: Oxford IBH, 1980),6-23.

28 J. Heniger, "Van Rheede's Preface to the Third Volume of Hortus Malabaricus and its Historical and Political Significance," in *Botany and History of Hortus Malabaricus*, ed. K..S.Manilal, (New Delhi: Oxford IBH, 1980).

29 Van Rheede, Preface to the Third Volume of *Hortus Malabaricus*, xii-xiv.

30 See J. Heniger, *Hendrik Adriaan Van Reede Tot Drakenstein (1636-1691) and Hortus Malabaricus; A Contribution to the History of Dutch Colonial Botany*, (Rotterdam: A.A Balkema, 1986); M. Fournier, "Hortus Malabaricus of Hendrik Van Rheede tot Drakenstein" in K S Manilal, ed. Manilal, *Botany and History of Hortus Malabaricus*, (New Delhi: Oxford IBH, 1980); K S Manilal *Hortus Malabaricus and Itti Achuden*, (Calicut: Menrar Books,) and K S Manilal, Preface in the *Hortus Malabaricus , Volume I,* (Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala University), 2008, xi-xviii.

ter being thoroughly inspected by the expert panel under the watchful eyes of the VOC governor and some of the observations it makes are gems of modern botany.

While the impact of both da Orta's and Van Rheede's works on the development of botany has been the subject of intense academic scrutiny with scholars more or less agreeing on their relevance to the perception of botany as 'big science' in the early modern period, the question as to the provenance of the indigenous knowledge still remains unanswered. Da Orta claims to have amassed the information from his many interactions with native physicians, including those of the court of Burdan Nizam Shah I of the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar (whom he was physician to) and other local healers and merchants.[31] On the other hand, Van Rheede clarifies his lack of botanical expertise in the preface to the third volume of *Hortus Malabaricus* and specifies that he had a team of local people who collected the specimens and an expert panel of physicians which included, an Ezhava physician (Itti Achuden), Gowda Saraswath Brahmins (Ranga, Vinayaka and Appu Bhatt) and a Carmelite priest (Father Matthew) among others.

While da Orta and Acosta after him are silent on the sources of information of the 'Gentoo' and 'heathen' physicians, Van Rheede mentions that his team of local experts debated with each other on the botanical specimens using verses from their ancient texts identifying plants and their features.[32] It can be inferred from the detailed passage in which Van Rheede mentions the interaction between the local scholars that the 'ancient texts' mentioned were in all probability those texts composed in Sanskrit, Manipravalam and Malayalam which are now referred to as Ayurvedic texts. Van Rheede's mentions of the practice of a meticulous system of retention by memory and the identification of the full verse by its first word are all practices associated with Sanskritic learning.

Additionally, Van Rheede very specifically mentions the involvement of 'high caste' Brahmins in the debate and the use of Brahmin language as the functional language, in which most ancient texts used by Brahmins were composed; it can be quite safely argued that no texts other than 'Ayurvedic texts' could be the source of their information. The certificate given by Itti Achuden in Malayalam language written in kōlezhethu script also points towards a Malayali (or an Ezhava) component at work. The certificates provided in the text by Ranga, Vinayaka and Appu Bhatt also mention that they have used the information from their ancient text titled Manhaningattnam. At this point, it is important for us to look at Ayurveda and its knowledge structure to understand the flow of information from the indigenous to the global context. Some of the issues we deal with in this section involve the epistemic structure of Ayurveda and its various trajectories and the evolution

31 Garcia Da Orta, *Colloquyies on the Simples and Drugs of India*, trans. Clement Markham, London: Henry Sotheran & Co., 1913. See for instance Thirty-Seventh Colloquy on Mirabolanos where Orta seeks advice from Arabic and Gentoo, Bengali physicians or the Forty Sixth Colloquy on pepper among many others.

32 Van Rheede, Preface to the Third Volume of the *Hortus Malabaricus*, xvi.

of Ayurveda as the prominent system of knowledge that the European networks tapped into. One of the major objectives of the section is also to prove that the Ayurvedic system of medicine is not only a 'Hindu/Brahmanic' form of medicine as it has been projected in recent times, but a system of healing drawing its roots from multiple traditions. So the movement of information flows between knowledge systems were not merely contingent on the European exercise of knowledge collection, but go back to a much earlier time, the European enterprise being the relatively recent and most organized one.

The Polyphonic Healing Traditions of the Malabar Coast

The tradition of Ayurveda which is often quoted as the "Indian system of medicine",[33] is said to have been prevalent on the coast of Kerala from the eleventh century with the establishment of the Brahmin settlements along the riparian belts.[34] Ayurveda has often been thought of as a monolithic system of medicine and since it has the suffix of *veda* attached to it, it is often thought to have been preserved timelessly without any change. In addition, the idea of permanence is also reinforced by the overarching influence of texts such as that of *Caraka samhitā* and *Susruta samhitā* which have been taken to be the seminal texts of Ayurveda throughout the Indian subcontinent.

The meticulous reference system followed by the authors of later Ayurvedic texts attaches a notion of fixity to the branch of medicine. It is also from this myth of permanence that Ayurveda, in a sense, derives its legitimacy. But as any other branch of science, no knowledge remains unquestioned and rigid, it moves ahead through multifarious trajectories being invented and reinvented The presence of multiple recensions of the texts themselves and the variations in the way that Ayurveda is practiced in various parts of India prove that in the pre-modern period this branch of medicine was never considered to be a single unified strait-jacketed system. It continued to converse and engage with other streams of medicine and kept including within its fold new practices and materia medica while modifying its own internal epistemes.

33 AYUSH, the flagship programme of the Indian Ministry for Health and medicine identifies Ayurveda as the Indian tradition of medicine and is an actor in actively promoting it to be the same both within the country and overseas, often at the cost of other traditional healing systems such as *Siddha Vaidyam*, tribal and *unani* medicine.

34 Kerala, throughout the paper will be used to refer to the geographical and cultural space in which Malayalam was spoken from the early period of the eleventh century of the Common Era on south-western coast of India; for a detailed analysis of the emergence of the Brahmins as a prominent community in Malabar and their settlements at various places along the Malabar Coast mainly done on the basis of meticulous epigraphical probing, see Kesavan Veluthat, *Brahmin Settlements in Kerala: Historical Studies*, (Calicut: Sandhya Publications, 1978). Also Kesavan Veluthat, *The Early Medieval in South India,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2010.

For the purpose of this study, we shall try to understand the development of the Ayurvedic discourse over three stages. The first stage deals with the composition of the foundational texts of *Caraka samhitā* and *Susruta samhitā*, from which the theorization on general principles of the body, health and disease began and which later on became the fundamental principles of the discipline. The second stage which saw the production of texts such as *Ashtāngasamgraha*, *Ashtāngahrdaya, Mādavanidanam and Siddhayogam* can be identified as one which saw the emergence of regional variations. This stage witnessed a profusion of commentaries on the early texts as well as the production of new texts which summarized, edited and elaborated on many principles of the foundational texts according to the region and the period. The third stage witnessed a further regionalization with texts such as *Yogasamgraham*, *Yogasaram, Yogachintamani*, *Vaidyakachikitsa samgraham.* It is also characterised by the inclusion of what can be clearly identified as regional practices. The texts of this phase and their commentaries also actively engaged in criticising, verifying and in some cases, accepting other medical discourses. By no means were these phases watertight and a precise chronological delineation of the phases is next to impossible. The diversity of the cultural landscape and the vastness of the geographical territory of India allow no possibility of uniform phases; there will have been overlaps and some phases might have existed in different parts of the region.

Conventional historical writing disregards the fact that Kerala had medical traditions which existed even prior to Ayurvedic tradition. This involved a considerable contribution from Buddhism which was a major force from the sixth century to about the eleventh century.[35] The evidence of Buddhist medical tradition can be gleaned mainly from two sources. The first one is from the historical evidence provided by the *Amarakōśa* of Amarasimha and the post Sangam Tamil epic *Maṇimekalai*, which was composed by the Buddhist monk-prince Ilango Adikal.[36] The second is the anthropological evidence of *Naga* worship and the presence of serpent groves (*kāvu*) and the associated *viśacikitsa* (medical treatment using snake venom as a major component) which is attributed as well to the Buddhist legacy in Kerala.[37]

Prominent among other traditions which also existed in Kerala (which were initially not part of Ayurveda), the evidence of which can be culled out from folklore as well as epigraphical evidence, is the *Ezhava vaidyam* practiced by the so called low caste Ezhavas. Yet other traditions such as *marmacikitsa*, *kalari vaidyam* and *kathakali vaidyam* – all of which involved medicine, a strict dietary regime as

35 Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History* (Kottayam: DC Books, 2007), 86-88.

36 *Amarakosham* also known as *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanam* was written by Amarasingha who is claimed to have lived in the seventh century of the Common Era. It makes reference to the Buddha as well as deities associated with Puranic Hinduism and has had great reception on the Malabar Coast.

37 Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, 87.

well as physical exercise as part of the treatment and dealt mostly with martial and performative art traditions. Simultaneously, they were also catering to the needs of society and in particular, the treatment of orthopedic injuries and arthritis were also prevalent in the region. While *maṛmacikitsa* laid a heavy emphasis on the diagnosis of disease and health by reading the nodal points of the body, *kalari-vaidyam* involves the practice of oil massages and a strict exercise regime.

Ezhava-vaidyam is the most controversial tradition in the historical streams of medicine. The practice of medicine by the Ezhavas has been recognised and accepted in historical debates partially owing to the fact that it is a living tradition. The reach of the tradition has been debated especially in the context of the monumental work *Hortus Malabaricus*; the caste of one of its authors Itti Achuden, re-discovered and celebrated in Kerala in present times (2004-2010), being a matter of a heated discussion. Tribal medicine, *lada vaidyam* (medicine practiced by travelling physicians called *lādans* belonging to lower caste or non-Hindu/ non Brahmanic communities), *Rasavaidya* (iatro-chemical medicine) and certain forms of *unani* medicine practiced by the *Moplah* Muslims also existed simultaneously with the above mentioned healing systems.

The prevalence of multiple forms of traditions within the same region can, with a fair degree of certainty, be attributed to the caste and *jati* (sub-caste) restrictions, which manifested themselves in a strict dietary restriction (the prohibitions on consumption of meat and certain types of plants, especially tubers), as well as bodily regulations such as 'untouchability' and 'unapproachability' practiced in South India from the medieval to the modern period. It is into this veritable cornucopia of healing traditions that the European dipped their hands during the early period of European expansionism.

Global Networks and the Appropriation of Local knowledge

It can be suggested that the evidence provided by texts such as that of Garcia de Orta and *Hortus Malabaricus* informs us of a period of a close interaction of divergent and often contradicting knowledge systems. Da Orta, in the case of most of the botanical herbs discussed in his *Colloquies,* mentions the Arabic, Portuguese, Greek/Roman, Malay, Canarese, and in some case Malayalam, Bengali, Gujarati and Sanskrit names for the same plant. For instance, in the case of the coconut, da Orta mentions that it is called *coco* in Portuguese, *jauzalindi'* in Arabic (as mentioned by Avicenna), *nihor* in Malay and is referred to as *narel* by the Persians and Arabs. *Narel* could be a corrupted version of *Narikela,* the Sanskrit term for coconut.[38] There is also a similar elaboration of the other products of the coconut tree such as the leaf, coconut milk, water, sugar and so on in various languages.

38 Garcia De Orta, *Colloquyies,* Sixteenth Colloquy, 138-140.

In the case of *Hortus Malabaricus*, it seems that that the work follows roughly the same template as that of the *Colloquies*, but presents the information in a much more organised and systematic way. Taking the same case of coconut tree, (the *Hortus* mentions the name of the tree and not just the major product as in da Orta), it mentions that it is called *tenga* in Latin, *mado* in the language of the Brahmanas, *tengu* in Malayalam and also mentions the name in Arabic. Da Orta presents whatever information he has at hand about the plant under study, so whichever titles of the plant he knows, he mentions them and leaves out the titles in the languages he does not have information on. But in the case of *Hortus Malabaricus,* it mentions the titles of all the plants in the 12 volumes in four specific languages – Latin, Malayalam, Arabic and 'brahmin language' (*lingua brahmana antiqua*) which can either be Sanskrit or Konkani.

Hortus Malabaricus closely follows the European practice of taxonomy, nomenclature, classification and typology of the seventeenth century botanical practices of Europe. The practice of obtaining botanical specimens and collecting samples of drugs and studying their seasonality as well as genuses and sub-genuses, which is characteristic of *Hortus Malabaricus,* is also a European practice which can be traced back to da Orta. It can also be argued that in many ways da Orta's work may have served as a template for Van Rheede's team, even though a direct use of it as a model is not suggested. Da Orta also describes the properties of the medicinal herbs and the stories and history which he found to be noteworthy about the plants.[39] This format is adopted and followed in the *Hortus Malabaricus* even though no stories or any other cultural aspects of the plants findings mention in it. While da Orta concentrates only on the medicinal properties of the plants under discussion, *Hortus Malabaricus,* quite contrary to its popular perception as a medical work, describes medicinal, non-medicinal and commercial uses of the plants. It also has interesting discussions on how the drug is used by the indigenous communities. Another point of difference is that da Orta tries to filter the information from the subcontinent through the ideas of medicine put forth by Greco-Roman authorities. For instance, in the discussion on betel leaves, he attempts to understand whether it is hot or cold in consonance with the humoral theory of disease and health as put forth by the Galenic system of medicine.[40] No such attempt to refract the botanical elements through Galenic or other European systems of medicine is seen in *Hortus Malabaricus*.

It can also be argued that da Orta and Van Rheede's works indicate the respective intentions of its authors and reflect the 'stages' of European expansionism on India's south western coast. In the *Colloquios*, the emphasis is on the procuring of

39 See for instance Garcia de Orta's detailed exposition on pepper which includes not only detailed discussion on the types of pepper available in regions such as Malabar, Bengal and Java but also a curious story of Orta's encounter with a druggist who did not know of the existence of two kinds of pepper, white and black in the Forty Sixth Colloquy.

40 Garcia Da Orta, *Colloquyies,* 479.

drugs and the discussion is on grading the efficacy of the same herbs/drugs from various places, hence it is clearly a book which narrates the story of mercantile and apothecary networks. Da Orta in his second colloquy, for instance, mentions the various regions in which aloe is cultivated and mentions that even though it grows in great abundance in Cambay and Bengal, the aloe from Socotra has the highest value.[41] On the other hand, *Hortus Malabaricus* not only describes the techniques of cultivation of the plants, but also ways and means to effectively 'commercialise' their products, indicating an urge towards territorial expansion and the coming up of European settlements marked by botanical gardens in the colonies. Using the same example of the coconut, it describes the plant in great detail and the various stages of the development of the fruit, the cultivation of the plant and the preparation of arrack from the fruit.[42]

It has been suggested that the *Hortus Malabaricus* represents a non-Brahmanic/ non-European indigenous epistemology,[43] but I would like to argue here that *Hortus Malabaricus*, even though it depicts the Malabar flora quite well and included the local expertise of at least two traditions, does not follow either an Ayurvedic or an Ezhava epistemology. It can also be argued, in this context, that the general pattern of collection and categorisation of knowledge from the local contexts and its subsequent entry into the global flows of knowledge through the mediation of European agents ensured that the local knowledge structure was completely dismantled and the 'new' knowledge thus produced was divorced from its indigenous epistemological frameworks.

The Ayurvedic texts, be it the early foundational texts such as *Susruta Samhitā*, *Caraka Samhitā* or *Aśtaṇgahṛdaya* or *Aśtaṇgasamhitā* of the Vagbhatta tradition or later medieval texts such as *Bela Samhitā, Śārangadara Samhitā* or *Yogaratnakara* do not deal with the description of the herb; rather the herb would be described in connection with its use-value in treating the disease. For instance, *Caraka samhita* in the second chapter of its first *kanda* begins with a typology of root herbs, but both the classification and the identification of the herbs are in connection with the diseases.[44] For instance, in the treatment of conjunctivitis of the eye, *Caraka Samhitā* advises to use breast milk, coconut water or a paste made of *halaga* and *neem* to be applied on the eye, but there is no description of either coconut or *neem* or *halaga*. The disease, its symptoms, its treatment, the herbs to be used, the diet to be followed during the period of treatment, exercise, contact and patent care are discussed in detail, but there is no description of the plant. As in the case of *Caraka Samhitā*, in none of the other Ayurvedic texts is there a description

41 Garcia Da Orta, *Colloquyies,*6.
42 Van Rheede, *Hortus Malabaricus*, Volume I, (Trees), 1-29.
43 Richard Grove, "Indigenous Knowledge and the Significance of South-West India for Portuguese and Dutch Constructions of Tropical Nature", 143.
44 *Caraka Samhitā*, Sutrastāna, Ch.2, Commentary and translation by Kashinath Sastri, (Varanasi: Chaukambha Sanskrit Academy), 1991.

of the plant in general or of its provenance. Hence finding an Ayurvedic episteme in *Hortus Malabaricus* can be clearly ruled out as the *Hortus* serves primarily as an illustrated index of South Indian plants.

Now to take a look at the Ezhava tradition; Ezhava folklore is replete with images of plants of various kinds with both medicinal and magical value, renowned and wandering physicians and their potions which brought both good and evil. Several of these can be seen in the *Vadakanpattukal* or bardic tradition that was in existence in Kerala during the medieval times and which is one of the oral traditions that is fairly well preserved and has been studied and recorded carefully in Kerala. The herbs described in the folklore, which is the only evidence of an Ezhava medical tradition, are heavily embedded in magico-ritual context. Many of the plants are deified and have a dimension of socio-religious significance attached to it. Many of the trees whose products are used for medical purposes, such as *neem, peepal* and *banyan* tree, are considered to be the abode of deities and the healing powers of their products are attributed to the power of the deities manifesting through them.

Whether a 'purely' medical tradition was distilled and practiced in a non-religio-cultural context is not discernable from the oral literature and it is highly improbable as the anthropological and ethnographical evidence of Ezhava tradition suggest that medicine was ever divorced from its religious context as in the case of Ayurveda. In the light of the above mentioned arguments, it can be argued that the knowledge of the indigenous plants preserved in the Ezhava tradition by the Ezhavas, who were traditionally a toddy tapping caste,[45] was exploited by the European endeavour as is suggested by the inclusion of Itti Achuden (who was an Ezhava physician) in the compilation of *Hortus Malabaricus*. It has to be mentioned here that the transfer of knowledge from the Ayurvedic and Ezhava traditions to the global channels did not mean that that the transfers followed or carried with them the local epistemes to the global networks, rather the European agents appropriated the medico-botanical knowledge of the indigenous system(s) and presented them in formats which were stripped of its socio-cultural appendages and was presented according to European traditions and formats.

An idea of a sort of collaborative approach among the local and global networks in knowledge production in the early modern period subsequent to the Scientific Revolution is another point to ponder over. The evidence discussed above is clearly suggestive of the same scenario; the important question that needs to be asked is that even though we have evidence of 'collaboration' or rather the inclusion of native expertise in the production of authoritative texts - any agency can be attrib-

45 Toddy tapping refers to the extraction of an intoxicating drink called toddy from the coconut fruit. It was done by the Ezhavas and was considered as the traditional profession of the Ezhava caste group in the context of early medieval and medieval South India. The close association with plants (especially trees) might be owing to the familiarity with flora which their profession required.

uted to the local level. What was happening on the ground was the dislocation and disembodiment of herbs from not only their natural but also their socio-cultural contexts and 'transplantation' to newer and imperial contexts under the aegis of European colonialism. Hence the history of plant transfers in the context of imperial networks, be it through the Dutch trading companies' knowledge networks or the Iberian imperial and Christian networks, remains a brilliant example of the human pursuit of knowledge albeit it also being a story of unequal exchange.

Conceptions of Time and History in New Spain: Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl's *Historia de la nación chichimeca* (~1625)

RICHARD HERZOG

Richard is originally from Berlin, and has lived in Ireland, France and Spain. He finished a Bachelor of education in History and English in Kiel, and studied in Salamanca. Now doing his M.A. 'Global History' in Heidelberg, his emphasis lies on Early Modern and South Asian history. His main research interests are in Colonial, Minority and Intellectual History and their intersections, as well as New Spanish and Indian history.

The historian Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl stood at the crossroads between two worlds in colonial Mexico: Owing to his Aztec and Spanish heritage and Franciscan education he was intimately familiar with both 'Old' and 'New World' histories, writing in Spanish but using Aztec sources. This article seeks to trace the upheavals in historiography emerging at the turn of the 17th century by means of Alva Ixtlilxochitl's chronicle *Historia de la nación chichimeca.* Pre-conquest temporal and historical traditions of the Aztecs and Castilians are sketched in order to trace back conceptions of time and history contained in the Historia. Furthermore, the emergence of a group of scholars of indigenous descent in the late 16th century serves as historical background to Fernando de Alva's ideas. Behind these intellectual developments lies the question of whether the Spanish conquest brought with it the substitution of traditional conceptions of time and history, or rather their transformation into new forms of knowledge production.

In colonial Mexico, the late 16th century was a time of exceptional intercultural and intellectual exchange. A learned native elite was being educated by mendicant friars in theology and Latin, but also in Mesoamerican languages. Spanish, indigenous and *mestizo* chroniclers turned to oral testimonies,[1] Aztec songs and pictographic codices in order to record the customs and histories of pre-conquest Mesoamerica. These upheavals in historiography raise the question of how traditional Aztec and Spanish conceptions of time and history were transformed by colonial contact. The necessity for native chroniclers to abandon traditional forms of transmitting history and adopt alphabetic writing and books in order to be heard

1 The term '*mestizo'* was used to denote descendants of Spaniards and native people in the Spanish *casta* system. In spite of its colonial background I will use it here because of its wide currency in research literature and a lack of alternative concepts. People of Spanish descent born in the overseas possessions were known as '*creoles*', Spanish-born people as *'peninsulares*'. The *casta* system was based on cultural rather than racial categories, in connection with the '*limpieza de sangre*' policy that distinguished between degrees of Spanish blood in the family, thus making it distinct from policies in later colonial empires focusing on skin color.

has been stressed in this context.[2] But how self-contained were the Aztec and Spanish views relayed through these newly adopted media, how easily were long-held beliefs relinquished as a consequence of Spanish hegemony? And to what extent was criticism of this hegemony possible by means of history writing? In order to investigate these issues, I will closely examine the work of one of the *mestizo* writers, Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl (ca. 1578-1650), of mixed Spanish and noble Aztec descent, focusing on his most accomplished work, the *Historia de la nación chichimeca*. So as to put his chronicle into a historical context, an overview of various Aztec and Spanish temporal and historical conceptions is given in the first part, followed in the second part by a closer look at indigenous and *mestizo* chroniclers.[3]

I. Aztec and Spanish Conceptions of Time and History

Anahúac[4]

The Aztec Triple Alliance was formed in 1428, and comprised the Acolhua of Tezcoco, the Tepanec of Tlacopán and the Mexica of Tenochtitlan, with the latter assuming a dominant position from the 1460's onwards: "Aztec culture was made up of numerous individual regionally based ethnic groups, each sharing a common language [Nahuatl] and fundamental social, religious, and political institutions".[5] This shared socio-cultural heritage was also evident in Aztec views and transmission of history.

The wise men of the Aztecs (*tlamatinime*) were concerned with astronomy, historical annals and codices, pursued philosophical questions and taught their notions of truth to their fellow men. Their communities saw the *tlamatinime* as a link to the past, but also as a path or guide to the future. They inquired rationally, and formulated truths in the form of poetry, which represented a higher form of intuitive knowledge.[6] According to Alva Ixtlilxochitl, the wise men also "had charge of recording all the sciences of which they had knowledge and of which they had achieved understanding, and of teaching from memory all the songs that

2 Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance – Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 127-29.

3 The categories 'Aztec' and 'Spanish' are not understood as two oppositional, monolithic civilizations here. Both include various population groups, with the Aztec Triple Alliance subsuming a host of city states as part of their empire, and the first 'Spanish' settlers coming from different Iberian and European regions. The focus lies rather on pre-conquest intellectual developments in Mexico and Spain pertinent to post-conquest *mestizo* chroniclers.

4 Pre-Hispanic designation for the modern-day Valley of Mexico.

5 Davíd Carrasco (Ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Cultures. The Civilizations of Mexico and Central America Vol 2* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 250, lines 87-91.

6 Miguel León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture. A Study of the Ancient Nahuatl Mind*, transl. by Jack Emory Davis (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 177-83.

FIGURE 1. THE AZTEC TRIPLE ALLIANCE AT THE TIME OF THE SPANISH CONQUEST.

preserved their sciences and history.[7] They preserved the records of the origins, successes and failures of their people, placing the historical events of each year in the order of occurrence, sorted by day, month and hour. Official historical codices were written in an annals style, recording notable events without explanation of causes. The events themselves such as coronations, conquests of cities and temple expansions were mostly related to political decision making, as benefited the royal sponsors of the writings. The codices were narrated, but this verbal transmission of history was based on numerical signs and paintings, and was only complete when performed both ritually and orally. This in turn led to an interpretative approach to history, so that the reading of certain historical information could change with each interpreter. Another central aspect of the Aztec historical consciousness was a deep respect for tradition. Here the ancient Toltecs had special importance as cultural originators, to whom the Nahuas traced back their central

7 "[*Y finalmente los filósofos y sabios que tenían entre ellos,*] *estaba á su cargo pintar todas las ciencias que sabían y alcanzaban, y enseñar de memoria todos los cantos que observaban sus ciencias é historias*", Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochtil, *Obras Históricas Vol. 2*, ed. Alfredo Chavero (México D.F.: Oficina tip. de la Secretaria de fomento, 1892), 18, lines 7-9, translation from León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought*, 16.

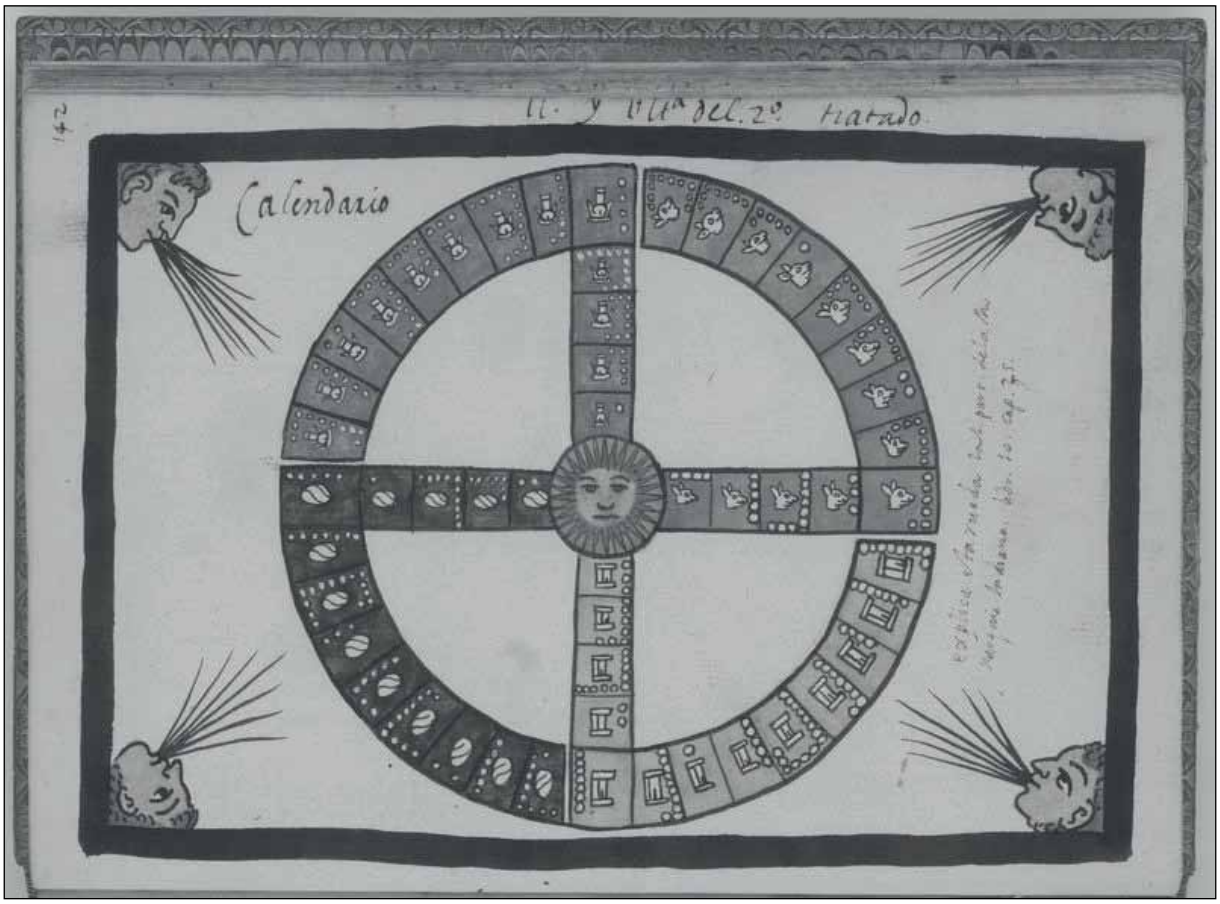

Figure 2. The Aztec Tonalpohualli Calendar, with the four cardinal directions, the sun, and signs for the 20 trecena (13-day periods).
From the Tovar Codex.

artistic, religious and ethical concepts,[8] and to whom they constantly referred in writings on history. It was of special importance to all Aztec population groups to derive their heritage from both the cultured Toltecs, originally settled in Anahúac, and from the martial Chichimecs, who had come South by way of various, distinct invasions. However, ideas of Toltec origin were not simply generally accepted, but formed the basis of intense religious and philosophical speculation.[9]

The wise men also maintained sacred almanacs of divination (*xiuhpohualli*) used to determine the fate of individuals according to specific dates as well as for recording events, and year-count calendars (*tonalpohualli*) that required complicated calculations. Time was said to move in four or five cycles (or 'Suns'), each

8 Used here for the Nahua-speaking people of Central Mexico, many of whom were united under the Triple Alliance empire in pre-colonial times and shared a common political system, religion and iconography.

9 León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought*, 79-80, 154-56; Ross Hassig, *Time, History, and Belief in Aztec and Colonial Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 111; Federico Navarrete, "Writing, Images, and Time-Space in Aztec Monuments and Books" in *Their Way of Writing. Scripts, Signs, and Pictographies in Pre-Columbian America*, ed. Elizabeth Hill Boone, Gary Urton (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2011), 190-91.

ending with natural catastrophes, and with the final cycle representing our current age.[10] As Hassig shows, the traditional notion portraying Aztec time as simply cyclical is problematic: The seemingly fixed calendar dates, among them dates of birth determining bad and good omens, could be and often were manipulated by individuals and rulers alike, leading to temporal elasticity. How and why calendars were set up was a political decision, and as such structured society under institutional influence. The Aztec empire practiced no active political integration or spreading of social practices and religious beliefs to tributary states, which explains why the spreading of calendars had important organizational and integrative functions. Furthermore, for Hassig the distinction between cyclical and linear time does not hold, as both concepts were used in different contexts. While time is inherently cyclical for religious purposes, Aztec political authorities emphasized linear time, in accordance with the more random character of political events and to allow each ruler to distinguish himself from his predecessors. A distinction between myth and history is evident in the description of occurrences after the beginning of the fifth cycle, where divine interaction is for the most part restricted to the dated but temporally unanchored ritual time, and not listed in the historical codices.[11] The various time-concepts taken together with the interpretative view of history make for a multitude of approaches, manifested by the Aztec wise-men under royal tutelage and tied to political decision making.

Castile

As in Mesoamerica, there was no single notion of time or history in medieval Castile. Nonetheless, regarding the conquest of the Americas the importance of ideals developed during the *reconquista* can be underlined,[12] together with an increasing religious dualism, starting with the conquest of the Emirate of Granada in 1491. Various Christian kingdoms campaigned against the Muslim rulers of Al-Andalus in medieval Iberia, with Castile gradually becoming the dominant force after the decisive victory at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, and especially through the personal union with Aragon under Ferdinand and Isabella in 1479 and the later incorporation of Granada. In order to legitimize the campaigns against Spanish Muslim rulers, the Visigoth kings' right to rule over Iberia was invoked by positing a lineage running from them to the later Castilian kings.[13] Special importance was given to the semi-mythical victory of the Visigoth founder of Asturias, king

10 León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought*, 21-22.
11 Hassig, *Time, History*, 36-37, 62, 72-80, 111-12.
12 Term applied retroactively to the centuries-long military campaigns leading to the end of Muslim rule on the Iberian Peninsula in the late 15th century.
13 The Crowns of Castile and Aragon were merged in dynastic union under Charles I of Spain, the Habsburg heir to Ferdinand and Isabella. The Indies, islands and mainland of the Ocean Sea formed part of the Crown of Castile upon Ferdinand's death. Furthermore, Charles I was King of Aragon, Majorca, Valencia and Sicily, Count of Barcelona, Roussillon and Cerdagne, extending the territories acquired under his parents.

Pelayo, over Muslims at Covadonga as early as 722. In this way, late medieval Castilian historians related events to the more distant past of pre-Roman, Roman and Visigoth times, as well as with the medieval Iberian kingdoms: Historical writing dealing with the present thus changed in relation to what could be learnt about the past, and at the same time both changed in light of new approaches to historical scholarship.[14] Castilian chroniclers used various chronologies that went back to Octavian gaining control over the Peninsula, the Incarnation or the Creation respectively. The Iberian kingdoms were connected to the first generation after the biblical flood, in this way dating back their political and cultural identities to the first age of human history, and adding legitimacy by referring above all to the Visigoth heritage. The past was understood as organically advancing through time, whereby human insight was enhanced and European societies became more 'civilised'. Castilian and Aragonese chronicles were mostly concerned with royals and nobles, reflecting the social reality of Christian medieval Iberia where royal rule was directly tied to noble support.[15]

At the same time, the conviction that the apocalypse was imminent was a dominant view in the early modern Spanish church as well as amongst mendicant orders, especially the Franciscans.[16] A providential view of history is evident in official chronicles such as the *Primera Crónica General* written under the tutelage of Alfonso X. There, the devil is said to have directly interfered as to end Visigoth rule, whereas the Christian kingdoms of the north had been spared so that Christianity's light would not disappear from the Peninsula.[17] Towards the late Middle Ages, Roman and humanistic historiographical traditions with their focus on written records were adopted on the Peninsula, amongst others by the humanist Antonio de Nebrija. He posited a parallel, teleological development of language and culture, with the summit of Castilian expansion taking place under Ferdinand and Isabella, whom he advised to expand militarily, but also linguistically by spreading the Castilian language.[18] Castile's rise towards dominance of the Peninsula and consequently of the Mediterranean was connected to an increasingly confident identity discourse, with both official Castilian and Roman Catholic views at times enhancing but also diverging from each other. It was based on a teleological con-

14 Sabine MacCormack, "History, Memory and Time in Golden Age Spain" in *History and Memory*, Vol. 4 No. 2 (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1992) 39, lines 11-15.
15 Ibid., 42-44, 49-51.
16 The Franciscan mendicant orders go back to the 13th century, adhering to the principles of St. Francis of Assisi (1181/2-1226) by seeking to return to a simpler life as declared by Christ. The Franciscans were the first mendicant order to arrive in New Spain, shortly after the conquest in 1523, and remained the most influential order there until the late 16th century, cf. Felix Hinz, "*Hispanisierung" in Neuspanien 1519-1568, vol. 2* (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovac, 2005), 266-68.
17 Ramón Menéndez Pidal (ed.), *Primera crónica general: Estoria de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289* (Madrid: Nueva biblioteca de autores españoles, 1906), fol.. 188 r. - 188 v., fol. 196 v.
18 Antonio de Nebrija, *Gramática castellana* (Salamanca, 1492), fol. 3 r.-3 v.; Mignolo, *Darker Side*, 38-39.

cept of time, according to which Castilian power would increase through divine favour, and in propagandistic portrayals of the *reconquista* and Iberia's Christian past. A thread common to these different views is the differentiation from Others, be it Muslims, Jews or 'barbarians', which would come to form a central tenet of the Spanish overseas empire.

The numerous, at least superficial parallels between both world views further complicate their disentanglement: Both in Castile and Anahúac historical writing was concerned with the deeds of rulers, set down by official chroniclers. The imminent end of the world provided a focal point for both Christian and Aztec views of possible futures. And in both cases, ancient and not-so-ancient pasts provided templates and legitimation to the royal lineages, for whom time and calendars constituted forms of political control.[19] Mythical origins played an important role in Aztec tradition, where the royal lineage of each city-state (*altepetl*) justified its right to rule by highlighting its descent from Chichimecs and Toltecs, as well as from their individual, arduous migrations into Anahúac. In a similar way, Castilian kings invoked the mythical past by highlighting the supposed dynastic connections running from pre-Roman, Roman and especially Visigoth rulers like Pelayo up to their present. However, the parallel existence of various conceptions of time and history in both medieval Spain and pre-Conquest Mexico undermines the claims of a supposed substitution of cyclical with linear time and of Aztec with Spanish history in New Spain. Medieval Spanish traditions of writing history were not only transferred, but also adapted to the 'New World': Non-official chroniclers started laying the focus on the *conquistadors* and natives, instead of on kings and nobles as was traditionally the case. Spanish colonial writers, some of them royally appointed as 'Cosmographer-Chronicler of the Council of the Indies', adapted indigenous perceptions of their conquest and pre-conquest pasts. What is more, the theocratic belief in God's will leading to salvation was translated to chronicles, in which Cortés' 'victory' was portrayed as a Christian triumph through divine intervention.[20] This providential reading of the conquest was also employed by *mestizo* chroniclers. As common in medieval writings, passages from other chronicles were incorporated, but also used in conjunction with indigenous sources, leading to different outcomes.

19 For the role of the royal counselor Tlacaélel in forming the Mexica's mystico-militaristic world-view by rewriting their history, see León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought*, 158-66.

20 Luis Weckman, *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico*, transl. by Frances M. López-Morillas (New York: Fordham Unviersity Press, 1992), 505-509; Carolyn Salomons, "Hybrid Historiography: Pre- and Post-conquest Latin America and Perceptions of the Past" in *Past Imperfect* Vol. 12, No. 1 (Edmonton, University of Albany: 2006), 4.

Figure 3. Paintings of Cortés' army and Motecuhzoma II., with writing in Spanish and Nahuatl.
From the Florentine Codex, created under Sahagún's supervision.

II. Indigenous and Mestizo Chroniclers: Knowledge Transformed

Since the beginning of the conquest indigenous forms of recording the past were supplanted by, but also adapted to their Spanish counterparts. This process is evident in the introduction of alphabetical script and books, as well as the Latin and Castilian tongues, which were seen by the Spanish as more advanced than indigenous languages, oral traditions and pictographic script. The identification of native codices with the devil also led to massive campaigns of destruction by the mendicant orders.[21] Simultaneously there were also points of intercultural exchange: The *crónicas de Indias* were an early and important product of intercultural contact, mashing annals, travelogues and ethnography into a new genre. In these, the traditional Aztec codices were combined with Latin script, written in Spanish and Nahuatl and incorporating European artistic traditions. Besides Spanish chroniclers, *mestizo* and indigenous scholars played an increasingly important role. These included indigenous chroniclers such as Fernando Alvarado Tezozómoc, who came from a royal Mexica family, and Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Cuauhtlehuanitzin, the only chronicler to write extensively in Nahuatl. *Mestizo* authors of Spanish and indigenous descent like Diego Muñoz Camargo from Tlaxcala started gaining prominence in connection with the stark indigenous population decline. The rise of a Christianised and educated local elite

21 Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico. The Incorporation of Indian Societies Into the Western World, 16th-18th Centuries*, transl. by Eileen Corrigan (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 1-3, 14-17, 38.

was directly tied to the mendicants: Primarily in the Franciscan 'Imperial Colegio de Santa Cruz Tlatelolco' in Mexico City where learned friars trained young indigenous noblemen to become priests from as early as 1536 onwards.[22] As the plans to form native priests did not come to fruition, *mestizos* were increasingly allowed to enter higher education towards the end of the 16th century as well, especially through the recently opened Jesuit schools. Among the faculty served such influential Franciscan scholars as Andrés de Olmos, Alonso de Molina and Bernardino de Sahagún. The curriculum's focus lay on humanist learning but also contained Nahuatl, and texts were translated to and from the Aztec language.[23]

Members of this new elite used their judicial and linguistic knowledge to defend their privileges and status – the majority of the chroniclers were related to the royal lineages of the Mexica, Acolhua and Tlaxcaltec. Many tried to create family trees legitimizing their lineage's claims to lands and properties, owing to the lack of a central (Mexica) authority that had enforced an official version of the past before the conquest. These writings were connected to the colonial practice of rewarding achievements with privileges through the *relaciones de méritos*, used by the colonial bureaucracy to award positions and determine their inheritability. While in theory every person who took or had taken part in the conquest, mission or administration was eligible, the legal procedure to attain privileges was so complicated that only a small minority was able follow the regulations successfully.[24] The secret confirmation of traditional values threatened by evangelisation was another motivation for writing chronicles. These attempts were hindered by the deaths of people who had witnessed pre-colonial times. The indigenous nobles acted in accordance with the ideal of the Spanish *hidalgo*, taking on their clothes and piety while at the same time secretly collecting Aztec chronicles. The Spanish attitude was ambiguous as well, as Spaniards feared Mesoamerican knowledge, but also tried to control and appropriate it to their advantage. Local indigenous

22 Serge Gruzinski, *Painting the Conquest. The Mexican Indians and the European Renaissance*, transl. by Deke Dusinberre (Paris: Flammarion, 1992), 103-18, 150-58; Germán Vázquez Chamorro, "Introducción" in Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Historia de la nación chichimeca* (Madrid: Dastin historia, 2000), 5-7.

23 "[…] *grammar, rhetorics, poetics, philosophy and medicine were taught. Pliny, Martial, Sallust, Juvenal, Livy, Cicero, Boetius, the Fathers of the Church, Nebrija, Erasmus, Luis Vivés, etc. were read. From the college of Santa Cruz emerged an indigenous group brilliantly initiated into the lettered culture of the Europeans"*, Gruzinski, *Conquest of Mexico*, 58, lines 29-34

24 The *relaciones de méritos* were supposedly autobiographical writings showcasing the achievements of the applicant or his forebears. A petition containing a list of witnesses had to be submitted to the royal *audiencias* (appellate courts), from where they were passed on to judges, the Council of the Indies, and the ultimate authority of the king. Robert Folger argues that the writing of these *relaciones* contained tactical elements, attempting to portray a complete narrative by writing over gaps in the source material, cf. Robert Folger, "Alonso Borregán Writes Himself: The Colonial Subject and the Writing of History in Relaciones de méritos y servicios" in Robert Folger, *Wulf Oesterreicher* (Ed.), *Talleres de la memoria – reivindicaciones y autoridad en la historiografía indiana de los siglos XVI y XVII* (LITVerlag: Münster, Hamburg, London, 2005), 267-73.

wills and land tenure titles called *Títulos primordiales* were even accepted by colonial courts as a way of authenticating a community's rights to its traditional territories.[25]

From 1570 onwards, the indigenous demographic crisis led to immense losses of privileges. The cumulative effects of epidemics, marriages with Spaniards, the continuing European immigration, and the collapse of the ancient dependencies accelerated the decline of the traditional elites, on whom the colonial authorities did not depend anymore. Developments such as the counter-reformation and the creation of the inquisition are emblematic of a less tolerant attitude of the Spanish Crown in the second half of the 16th century. Simultaneously, the *Colegio de Santa Cruz* lost importance, and was gradually replaced by the newly founded University of Mexico at the turn of the century. The university was mainly geared towards *creoles*[26] instead of students of indigenous descent, reflecting the social changes of the times.[27]

Against this background, native intellectuals used traditional knowledge to advance their goals under the difficult conditions of colonial rule, adapting new media, ideas and practices, and sometimes passing them on to local communities. Multiethnic networks were used for collaboration and production of knowledge. It is important to stress that there was not a single *mestizo* identity. Rather, in colonial society different adaptation strategies were applied independently of native ethnicity or position in the *casta* system. Knowledge exchange in administration, literature and everyday-life was constantly negotiated under hierarchical relations between colonizers and colonized, as shown by the fact that non-Spanish chronicles were only being printed from the late 19th century onwards.[28] Having considered the development of a literate indigenous and *mestizo* elite, we now turn to the works of one of their better-known members, Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, in order to examine the processes of negotiation between Aztec and Spanish traditions.

25 Gruzinski, *Painting the Conquest*, 103-18, 150-58; Idem, *Conquest of Mexico,* 61-62, 130; Vázquez Chamorro, ibid.

26 *Criollo* in the Spanish *casta* system referred to people of Spanish descent born in the overseas possessions.

27 Carrasco, *Oxford Encyclopedia*, 257-258; 260; Gruzinski, *Conquest of Mexico*, 64-68.

28 Gabriela Ramos, Yanna Yannakakis, "Introduction" in *Indigenous Intellectuals. Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes*, ed. idem (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2014), 1-17; Salvador Velazco, "Reconstrucciones historiográficas y etnicidades emergentes en el México colonial. Documento para ser leído en la Conferencia de la Asociación de Estudios Latinamericanos a celebrarse del 24 al 26 de septiembre de 1998 en el Palmer House Hilton Hotel en la ciudad de Chicago.", 17; Mignolo, *Darker Side*, 204.

III. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl: Christian Apologist or Mexican Patriot avant la lettre*?*

Fernando de Alva descended from the marriage of a Spaniard and a *mestiza*. On his mother's side he was directly related to the ruler Nezahualpili of the Acolhuas and to Cuitlahuac, the penultimate lord of the Mexica's capital Tenochtitlan. Because of his indigenous ancestry he was allowed to study at the *Colegio de Santa Cruz* where he consulted with Franciscan chroniclers. After his studies de Alva was employed as a governor in various native communities, and later worked as an interpreter at the 'General Court of the Indios' (*Juzgado General de Indios en la Nueva España*). He used his linguistic competences to defend his family's hereditary titles for the native community Teotihuacan before court, which where contested numerous times by the authorities.[29] As sources for his historical works he used mostly Aztec codices and traditional chants, and discussed their meanings with nobles who had lived before the conquest. Other important sources were works by Spanish and indigenous authors from different lineages.[30] Alva Ixtlilxochitl examined various colonial codices for the *Historia*, and out of those consulted for pre-Hispanic events the *Códice Xolotl* and the *mapas Tlotzin*, *Quinatzin* and *Tepechpan* have come down to us. Regarding the conquest he indicates Spanish sources (Cortés, Gómara, Herrera) as well as texts from Acolhua (Bautista Pomar), Mexica and Tlaxcaltec (Tadeo de Niza, Muñoz Camargo) chroniclers, thus considering positions of different population groups.[31]

Despite his mixed Spanish-Aztec heritage a self-identification with the Acolhua is evident in his working methods, combined with an identification by colonial authorities as an indigenous noble, given access to positions such as governor (*gobernador*[32]) and interpreter that were often held by non-Spanish people.[33] Ac-

29 Benton underlines that the family's possessions were not left to Fernando de Alva, but to his older brother Francisco de Navas, and that Fernando's son Juan de Alva Cortés went to court to gain these privileges. According to Benton, de Alva's side of the family laid claims only to Teotiuahacan, and after conquest had an outsider status in the pre-colonial former capital Tezcoco, cf. Bradley Benton, "The Outsider: Alva Ixtlilxochitl's Tenuous Ties to the City of Tetzcoco" in *Colonial Latin American Review*, Vol. 23 No. 1 (Routledge: London, 2003), 37-52.

30 Vázquez Chamorro, "Introducción", 23-24, 34-35; Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas Vol. 2*, ed. Edmundo O'Gorman (México D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1977), 525.

31 Vázquez Chamorro, "Introducción" 37; Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Historia chichimeca* (2000), 292.

32 While in other Spanish Mesoamerican overseas possessions the *gobernador* was the highest political authority, this position was assumed by the viceroy in New Spain. The Newspanish *gobernadores* held authority over a city or community. In order to ascertain better control over territories that were predominantly populated by native people, the colonial authorities tended to employ *gobernadores* (or *caciques*) of indigenous descent but foreign to these areas, who implemented Spanish instructions.

33 John Frederick Schwaller, "The Brothers Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl and Bartolomé de Alva. Two native Intellectuals of Seventeenth-Century Mexico" in Ramos, Yannakakis, *Indigenous Intellectuals*, 43-44.

cording to de Alva himself, he had exhibited a large interest in events of the 'New World' since his youth, which he saw as no less important than those of ancient Europe and Mesopotamia, of Greeks, Romans and Medes.[34] The *Historia* begins with the creation of the world and ends abruptly with Cortés' conquest of the Aztec empire, as the chronicle was either left unfinished or formed part of a larger work lost to us. Its main focus lies on the Acolhuas, their rulers and ascendancy as a major force in the Aztec Triple Alliance. In the following I will concentrate on temporal and historical aspects of the chronicle due to their centrality to de Alva's positions. The distinction made between 'history' and 'time' is analytical, and does not imply a division of both necessarily intertwined concepts.

Time: Calendar and Prophecy

The chronicles' external structure is reminiscent of European universal histories, which record events considered important from the world's beginning up until the author's own time. However, its internal structure follows native historiographical traditions, starting with the *Nahua* cosmogony: The story of the Four Suns is told, which take as their starting point "*Teotloquenahuaque Tlachihualcípal Nemoani Ilhuicahua Tlatcpaque,* […] universal god and creator of all things, according to whose will live all creatures, lord of heaven and hell."[35] This description brings to mind the Aztec supreme deity *In Tloque in Nahuaque*, according to León-Portilla the "Lord of the Close Vicinity", an active principle giving foundation to the universe at the beginning of each new age.[36] In contrast to Castilian chronicles like the *Primera Crónica* which begins with the Genesis,[37] Alva Ixtlilxochitl thus attributes the beginning of time to a *Nahua* deity. Furthermore, the present is directly connected to the legend of the Suns, as the fourth age (the Fire Sun) is said to be still in effect in current times.

This final age was inaugurated by the white and bearded ruler Quetzalcóatl,[38] who tried to establish good rules and doctrines and planted a cross. As his teachings met with limited success, he left "where he had come from, which was the

34 "[…] *desde mi adolescencia tuve siempre gran deseo de saber las cosas acaecidas en este Nuevo Mundo,que no fueren menos que las de los romanos, griegos, medos y otras repúblicas gentílicas que tuvieron fama en el Universo",* Alva Ixtlilchxochitl, *Obras Historicas Vol. 2* (1892)*,* 15, lines 1-3, all translations by the author, unless otherwise indicated.

35 "[...] *el dios universal de todas las cosas, creador de ellas y a cuyo voluntad viven todas las criaturas, señor del cielo y de la tierra."*, Fernando de Alva Ixtlilchxochitl, *Historia de la nación chichimeca* (Barcelona: Red ediciones, 2011), 19, lines 6-9.

36 Leisa Kauffmann, "Figures of Time and Tribute: The Trace of the Colonial Subaltern in Fernando de Alva Ixtlixochtitl's *Historia de la nación chichimeca*" in *The Global South*, Vol. 4 No. 1 (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010), 38-39; León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought*, 91-93.

37 Menéndez Pidal, *Primera Crónica*, fol. 4.

38 De Alva gives 'Huémac' as an alternative name for this early religious leader, thus distinguishing him from the major Aztec deity of the same name, as well as from the later Toltec ruler Ce Acatl Topiltzin.

Orient",[39] but not before foreseeing his return in the year *ce ácatl*, "when his doctrine would be received and his sons would be lords and possess the earth, and they and their descendants would instigate many calamities and persecutions."[40] Quetzalcóatl's description as well as Cortés' arrival in 1519 (or *ce ácatl* in the Aztec year count) connect both figures in a cyclical pattern, possibly making the conquest more intelligible to the *Nahua* world view. However, this passage should not be understood as portraying Cortés as an Aztec deity, because the Spaniards are not explicitly referred to as gods in the chronicle.[41] Rather, Quetzalcóatl stands at the start of a lineage of prophesies about the Aztec empire's or even the world's ultimate demise, that refer to a menacing future (known to the author) by drawing on native religious traditions. In other parts of the chronicle, the Acolhua ruler Nezahualcoyotl and his son Nezahualpiltzintli repeat similar warnings, amplified by phenomena such as a great glow of fire appearing from the Orient shortly before conquest.[42] Interestingly, in a rare case of inserting his own voice into the story de Alva comments that the increase in vices has been fulfilled completely "because what was considered supernatural and prodigious in those times is in our own time very obvious and ordinary, and is thus no cause for admiration."[43] Among the fulfilled predictions of Nezahualcoyotl we find that the rulers will disappear, the earth turn unprofitable, the youth turn to vices and sensualities from a young age and robbery of belongings proliferate. In this way, the chronicler inserts prophecies of the colonial future into the pre-Hispanic past, in order to hold a mirror to the evils of the 'innovations' brought by the Spaniards, which have first and foremost served to disrupt the relative harmony in place before their arrival.

Throughout the *Historia* Alva Ixtlilxochitl mentions incidents that took place at a similar moment in time but in different places, using Spanish and Aztec dating systems: For 959 are listed the Toltec empire's downfall, but also the papacy of John XII, the reigns of German emperor Otto I. and of Castilian ruler García,

39 "[...] *se volvió por la misma parte de donde había venido, que fue por la de Oriente*", Alva Ixtlilchxochitl, *Historia chichimeca* (2011)*,* 20, lines 21-22.

40 "*y entonces su doctrina sería recibida y sus hijos serían señores y poseerían la tierra, y que ellos y sus descendientes pasarían muchas calamidades y persecuciones",* Alva Ixtlilchxochitl, ibid, 20, lines 23-26.

41 The conquistadors are sometimes called 'sons of the sun' (*hijos del sol*) by de Alva, which does not necessarily imply divine qualities. A discussion between Motecuhzoma II and his advisers concludes in a similar vein, as the Mexica ruler decides on treating Cortés as the ambassador of a great ruler rather than as a deity, cf. Gabriel Miguel Pastrana Flores, *Historias de la Conquista: aspectos de la historiografía de tradición náhuatl* (México D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2004), 76-78, 111-12.

42 Alva Ixtlilchxochitl, *Historia chichimeca* (2011), 167; For descriptions of divination according to the Aztec's sacred texts see Bernardino de Sahagún, *The Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain*, 12 volumes , transl. By Arthur J. O. Anderson, Charles E. Dibble (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 2002), books 4 and 5.

43 *"*[*se han cumplido*] *a la letra, porque las que en aquellos tiempos se tenían por cosas sobrenaturales y prodigiosas, son en éste muy patentes y ordinarias, y así no causan admiración*"*,* Alva Ixtlilchxochitl, ibid, 128, line 34 – 129, line 2.

as well as the Aztec date *ce técpatl*.[44] Once more, there are precedents in Castilian chronicles, where the enthronement of a new king was often juxtaposed with the reigns of other European monarchs. Then again, for the beginning of 1500 are given the birth dates of both Ixtlilxochitl II, the chronicler's forebear who was converted to Christianity during the conquest, and of Charles V., both supposedly instruments for spreading the Catholic faith to the Americas. Although this parallelism is depicted as God's work, it brings to mind the importance of day and year dates in Aztec thought as well, whose localisation in the *xiuhpohualli* calendar had certain positive or negative consequences for the destinies of individuals.[45] Finally, this technique brings us back to de Alva's contrasting the histories of the 'Old' and 'New World' – for if Aztec culture is seen as no less important than that of ancient Europe and Mesopotamia, and if medieval rulers in Europe and Anahúac are treated as equals, then why should the indigenous and (above all) *mestizo* people of New Spain be treated as less than equal?

History: David in Anahúac

By bringing his distant ancestors the Chichimecas closer to the Toltec cultural heritage through the depiction of marriages between both groups, Alva Ixtlilxochitl tries to increase the formers' reputation.[46] The arrival of the Chichimec ruler Xolotl in the Valley of Mexico in 963 is depicted as initiating a peaceful conquest, taking possession of the former Toltec empire which was mostly depopulated at this point. What is more, Xolotl led "the greatest army that had existed in this New World",[47] consisting of one million warriors. In contrast, Dibble casts doubts on this huge number, taking into account the size of the region in question, as well as the sustained rather than sudden immigration of Chichimecas described in the Códice Xolotl, de Alva's main source for the pre-colonial period. Further discrepancies are highlighted by Davies, among them the exaggerated age of rulers like Xolotl, whose reign is described by the *mestizo* chronicler as having lasted 112 years. This can be seen in connection with the use of different year-count systems from various population groups on the one hand; on the other hand, extending the rule of various monarchs added greater antiquity and thus legitimacy to de

44 Alva Ixtlilchxochitl, *Historia chichimeca* (2011), 24.
45 Ibid, 161; Kauffmann, "Figures of Time", 161.
46 Similar to portrayals in codices like the Codex Xolotl, de Alva describes a process of acculturation of the nomadic Chichimeca, who adopt a sedentary lifestyle and the Nahuatl language by mixing with the Toltecs. Other Nahua population groups are shown to arrive later in the Valley of Mexica and are given lands by Xolotl, who is depicted as direct ancestor of the Acolhua rulers.
47 "[...] *pobló con las gentes de su ejército, que fue el mayor número que se halla en las historias haber tenido ningún príncipe de los más poderosos que hubo antes ni después en este nuevo mundo porque, según parece sin las mujeres y niños, era más de un millón*", Alva Ixtlilchxochitl, ibid, 25, lines 21-24.

Alva's ancestors.[48] From this perspective, the historian built on codices produced after the conquest, using methods of time-manipulation current among the Aztec political and religious leaders. Owing to the use of these techniques, the codices used were highly subjective taken by themselves. What is more, his narrative of the martial Chichimecs' adopting the higher civilisation and language (Nahuatl) of the Toltecs could have brought to mind a similar process on the ancient Iberian Peninsula involving Visigoth invaders and settled Romans, no doubt familiar to his contemporaries. Similar to Renaissance authors turning to new interpretations and translations of classical authors, Alva Ixtlilxochitl turned to a variety of American sources hailing the Toltec rather than the Roman example.[49]

This manipulation of the past continues in the portrayal of the 15th century Acolhua ruler Nezahualcoyotl, "the most powerful, courageous, wise and fortunate prince and leader there was in this new world",[50] according to de Alva. The extensive judicial and land reforms, as well as the construction projects undertaken by his ancestor are listed. This serves to present a highly developed indigenous civil society, not so different from its Spanish equivalent. Fernando de Alva goes on to describe in detail how Nezahualcoyotl abolished his subjects' tribute payments in times of crisis, which can once more be interpreted as implicit criticism of Spanish colonial authorities: The Nahua ruler's generosity stands in clear contrast to the exploitation and over-taxation imposed on native communities by their indigenous rulers who in turn had been appointed by the Viceregal administration, which contemporary readers from New Spain would have been familiar with. Furthermore, while the Mexica are portrayed as idolaters, the Acolhuas appear as 'monotheistic' proto-Christians who opposed human sacrifice, in order to further the author's position in colonial Mexico.[51] Above all, Nezahualcoyotl serves as a moral example, who "[h]ailed as false the gods worshipped by those of this land, saying that they were no more than statues of demons, enemies of humankind",[52] and asserting that there was only one true God, creator of heaven and earth, "with whom came to stay the souls of the virtuous after death, and those of the bad went to another place, the most abysmal of the earth, of horrible works and punishments."[53] As seen in the creation myth, the Aztecs traced their various

48 Charles E. Dibble (ed.), *Códice Xolotl Vol. 1* (México D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1980), 28-29; Nigel Davies, *The Toltec Heritage: From the Fall of Tula to the Rise of Tenochtitlan* (Norman OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980) 47-48, 122-24.

49 Thomas Ward, "Alva Ixtlilxochitl, Civilization, and the Quest for Coevalness" in *Studies in American Indian Literatures*, Vol. 23 No. 1 (Lincoln NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 110.

50 "[...] *el más poderoso, valeroso, sabio y venturoso príncipe y capitán que ha habido en este nuevo mundo*", Alva Ixtlilchxochitl, *Historia chichimeca* (2011), 131, lines 28-30.

51 Alva Ixtlilchxochitl, ibid, 110; Kauffmann, "Figures of Time", 42-45; Ward, ibid, 117-19.

52 "[*t*]*uvo por falsos a los dioses que adoraban los de esta tierra, diciendo que no eran sino estatuas de demonios enemigos del género humano",* Alva Ixtlilchxochitl, ibid, 132, lines 11-13.

53 "[...] *que con él iban a parar las almas de los virtuosos después de muertos, y que las de los malos iban a otro lugar, que era el más ínfimo de la tierra, de trabajos y penas horribles"*,

gods back to the central deity *In Tlaque in Nahuaque*, and their notions of the afterlife also share similarities with the Christian heaven and hell put forth in this passage. However, the Acolhuas' supposed monotheism as well as designations such as "God our Lord" foreground a connection to Christianity. Furthermore, Lesbre sees in the invocation of a single god a negation of the primordial duality *Omeyocan*, a central concept in Aztec thought.[54] This adoration of the Abrahamic God and his depiction as a warrior-poet king have led to the identification of Nezahualcoyotl with the biblical King David by contemporaries like Juan de Torquemada and by later researchers. Torquemada, who collaborated with de Alva, highlights both rulers' experiences of flight, eventual victory and romance, as well as the punishment of four of Nezahualcoyotl's sons for committing sins, supposedly reminiscent of David's treatment of his son Absalom.[55] By making de Alva's vision of his ancestors, above all Nezahualcoyotl, as a just, 'monotheistic' and cultured people explicit through Christian comparisons, Torquemada inserted an Acolhua bias into Mexican historiography. As the Spanish used the Roman and Visigoth Iberian pasts, and as the various Aztec tribes claimed Toltec ancestry, so Alva Ixtlilxochitl continued this process of turning to the past for legitimacy. Only that after 100 years of contact between colonisers and colonised there were more pasts to choose from and transform.

Writing between Two Worlds

Lockhart notes a high degree of similarity between the cultural systems of Europeans and Nahuas regarding social, political, financial and religious organization.[56] However, while on a micro level indigenous concepts that oftentimes survived the

Alva Ixtlilchxochitl, *Historia chichimeca* (2011), lines 20-22.

54 Patrick Lesbre, "Chants traditionnels en nahuatl et Relation de Tezcoco (Juan Bautista Pomar, 1582): la recherche d'une identité préhispanique" in ed. Jean-Paul Barbiche, *Des Amériques: Impressions et expressions* (Le Havre: L'Harmattan, 1999). The epiphet of "Creator of heaven and hell" also recalls Aztec views of the supreme principle as creator of all things, cf. Ibid, 37-38.

55 While the focus lies on both rulers just application of laws in their own family, this particular comparison is based on incestuous behaviour: Both Absalom and Nezahualcoyotl's sons committed adultery with their stepmothers, cf. Juan de Torquemada, *Monarchía Indiana. De los veinte y un libros rituales y monarquía indiana, con el origen y guerras de los indios occidentales, de sus poblazones, descubrimiento, conquista, conversión y otras cosas maravillosas de la mesma tierra* (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM): México D. F., 1975), 165.1*;* see also D. A. Brading, *The First America – The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State 1492-1867* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1991), 281.

56 "As a people with a sedentary life, intensive culture, dynastic rulers and tax systems, territorial polities, a well-developed religious apparaturs of pantheon, priesthood, and ritual calendar associated with those polities, and social distinctions between nobles, commoners, and intermediate groups, the Nahuas had reasonably close analogues of the concepts structuring nearly all facets of European life.", James Lockhart, "Sightings: Initial Nahua reactions to Spanish culture" in *Implicit Understandings. Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1994), 218, line 16 – 219, line 4.

conquest were far from identical with their closest Spanish analogies, Nahuas also adopted Spanish artefacts, practices or principles useful to them. Similarly, the *Historia* is full of descriptions that have ostensible precedents in both Aztec and Spanish culture, from the four ages or (in Christian thought) various world realms to apocalyptic prophecies. Whether or not de Alva was a practicing Christian is secondary – the external and self-identification with the Acolhuas does not necessarily exclude Catholic faith in his time. The concept of 'double coding' (*Doppelkodierung*) as used by Margit Kern for describing the transcultural processes leading to the production of new art forms in New Spain is helpful in this context. According to this theory, cultural elements were mostly transmitted successfully by the Spaniards when they had connection to older traditions, changing the original concepts in the process. The example of the Franciscans shows that Spanish groups were often aware of and used these parallel meanings to their advantage, in this case to advance evangelisation. At the same time, these processes were used to pass pre-colonial beliefs on as well, and were thus neither merely pre-Hispanic nor merely Spanish. De Alva, as a student of both the Franciscans and Aztec traditions, would have been aware of the usefulness of these 'double codings', and either consciously or unconsciously tried to employ them to impart Nahua concepts without falling victim to the Inquisition.[57]

Conclusion

Among the Nahua literary techniques used by the *mestizo* chronicler we find an interpretative approach to history, in conjunction with the manipulation of dates to fit his purpose: Prolonging the reigns of Chichimec rulers like Xolotl added legitimacy to his Acolhua ancestors' claims to power. On the other hand, the Acolhuas' supposedly benevolent rule and prophesies of a worse future are used to contrast life in the Aztec empire with the comparatively harsher colonial rule: The colonial authorities are directly and indirectly criticised using concepts unfamiliar to them. Above all, by giving the dates of contemporary European and Aztec rulers, and by implicitly invoking comparisons between Chichimecs and Visigoths as well as between Nezahualcoyotl and David, the deep respect for traditions shared by Spaniards and Aztecs is exploited to reach an equation of both historical traditions.

57 Margit Kern, *Transkulturelle Imaginationen des Opfers in der Frühen Neuzeit: Übersetzungsprozesse zwischen Mexiko und Europa* (Berlin, Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2013) 108, 130; For the exemplary case of de Alva's relative Don Carlos Ometochtzin Chichimecatecatl, who was charged with advocating indigenous self-determination and a return to native religion and subsequently condemned to death at the stake in 1539 by New Spain's first Catholic bishop, Juan de Zumárraga, see Eduardo J. Douglas, "Figures of Speech: Pictorial History in the 'Quinatzin Map' of about 1542'" in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 85 No. 2 (New York NY: College Art Association, 2003), 285.

The colonised elite's use of its dual linguistic and cultural heritage is evident in Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl's works and life. He shows exemplarily how *mestizo* chroniclers built their own Mesoamerican canon, incorporating a diverse array of sources from both cultural areas and thus continuing the work of Aztec *tlamatinime*, albeit in a transformed, transcultural manner. On a local level, this meant using his knowledge of languages and law to repeatedly defend his family's hereditary possessions and title as a *cacique*[58] successfully in court against Viceregal authorities. Not only did de Alva use Nahua narrative techniques, he also followed the structure of the colonial *relaciones de méritos* by highlighting his forebears' achievements, a prerequisite for obtaining privileges and higher positions in New Spanish society. On a more abstract level, de Alva's equal treatment of European and American history went against prevalent appraisals of the 'superior European civilisation' – albeit while using Castilian language and Christian terminology. What is more, by way of his writings and collection de Alva influenced a multitude of later New Spanish scholars, among them the *creole* polymath Sigüenza y Góngora and the historian Echeverría y Veytia.[59]

At the same time, modified knowledge could travel back from the 'New' to the 'Old World', as the example of the Franciscan chronicler Juan de Torquemada illustrates. He had collaborated with de Alva and adopted his Acolhua bias, which would in this way go on to exert considerable influence on later history writings on Mexico. Even at this early stage of colonialism, we can discern a global flow of ideas and concepts, between Spain and New Spain. This knowledge exchange was of course asymmetrical and hierarchical, and led to the (often forced) transformation of indigenous, but also of 'European', knowledge. Fernando de Alva appears as a cultural mediator between Spaniards and indigenous peoples, taking part in various traditions and networks of knowledge production through which he imparted his vision of the Mesoamerican past and his world view.

58 Title for leaders of indigenous groups, derived from the term for pre-Columbian Caribbean leaders. In colonial Mexico caciques often were considered part of the nobility, holding rights to estates.

59 Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World – Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 221-224.

"When we spoke at Versailles": Lou Tseng-Tsiang and the Chinese Delegation at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, A Frustrated Quest for Justice

JULIAN THESEIRA

Julian Theseira grew up in Malaysia and graduated Phi Beta Kappa with a B.A. with High Honors in the College of Social Studies, German Studies, and International Relations from Wesleyan University, Connecticut, USA. He is presently studying for a Master's in International History at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, Switzerland. He has previously received summer study and research grants from the DAAD and the Surdna Foundation. His research interests include 19th - 20th century Chinese, European and international history, intellectual history, and the history of religion.

This article will focus on the experiences of Lou Tseng-Tsiang (Lu Zhengxiang, 陆征祥 one of modern China's leading diplomats) and the Chinese delegation he led during the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. It argues that Chinese participation at the Paris Peace Conference was motivated by a quest for justice. China especially sought redress from the Unequal Treaties with foreign powers such as Germany. The Chinese delegates used ideals espoused by US President Woodrow Wilson to support their claims and also displayed political and diplomatic savvy as they used tools such as the media to further their cause. Nevertheless, Lou Tseng-Tsiang and his compatriots in Paris and China were disappointed with the outcome of the Peace Conference and the Chinese delegation ultimately did not sign the Treaty of Versailles.

Introduction

> China, in coming to the Peace Conference, has relied on the Fourteen Points set forth by President Wilson […] and formerly [sic] adopted by the Powers associated against Germany. She has relied on the spirit of honorable relationship between states which is to open a new era in the world and inaugurate the League of Nations. She has relied, above all, on the justice and equity of her case. The result has been, to her, a grievous disappointment.[1]

The quotation above is an excerpt from a letter of protest to the President of the 1919 Paris Peace Conference's Council of Three. The letter was written by a man, Dom Pierre-Célestin René Jean-Jacques Lou Tseng-Tsiang (陆征祥), who

1 Nicholas M. Keegan, "From Chancery to Cloister: The Chinese Diplomat Who Became a Benedictine Monk," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 10, no. 1 (1999): 178.

in his lifetime (1871–1949) had been a diplomat, minister, monk and more.[2] At the 1919 Paris Peace Conference he was leader of the Chinese delegation that sought redress for injustices that had been inflicted on China.

This article will focus on the experiences of Lou Tseng-Tsiang and the Chinese delegation he led during the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 and its immediate aftermath.[3] In doing so, it will illustrate some of the complexities of Chinese politics and diplomacy of the period within the context of the global geopolitical situation of the time. Chinese participation at the Paris Peace Conference was arguably motivated by a quest for justice. China especially sought redress from the Unequal Treaties with foreign powers such as the March 1898 treaty with Germany that had ceded concessions in Shandong province.[4] The Chinese delegation used the ideals of self-determination and equality of nations espoused by President Woodrow Wilson of the USA to strengthen its case but was ultimately disappointed by the outcome of the Conference.

The historian Erez Manela highlights how President Wilson became for many people around the world the icon and most prominent exponent of the vision of a just international order based on the principle of self-determination and a League of Nations whose members would be equal in status.[5] Inspired by Wilsonian rhetoric like the Fourteen Points Speech, nationalists in colonial and semi-colonial countries such as China launched campaigns to demand self-determination and international equality.[6] Manela argues that nationalists in China and other colonial countries were savvy political actors who were aware of their weakness vis-à-vis the great imperial powers, and therefore sought to harness Wilson's power and rhetoric to advance the struggle to achieve international recognition and equality for their nations.[7]

An episode discussed in this article illustrates this political and diplomatic savvy: When the Chinese delegation hosted a reception for foreign journalists, they pleaded China's cause before the international media, and in doing so evoked ide-

2 In line with current academic convention, the Hanyu Pinyin system was used for the Romanization of Chinese words and names that appear in this thesis. Exceptions were made for figures such as Sun Yat-Sen and Chiang Kai Shek who are well known with names Romanized according to older Romanization systems. Since the thesis from which this article is derived has been an attempt to reanimate Lou Tseng-Tsiang's voice for a contemporary audience, a decision was made to Romanize Lou's name as "Lou Tseng-Tsiang," the Romanization he himself used, rather than adopt the Pinyin Romanization "Lu Zhengxiang".

3 This article has been adapted from several sections of the author's undergraduate thesis, Julian Theseira, "Gentle as Jade: Perspectives Upon the Multiple Lives of Lou Tseng-Tsiang" (B.A. thesis, Wesleyan University, 2014).

4 Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2007), 112. Klaus Mühlhahn, "Negotiating The Nation: German colonialism and Chinese nationalism in Qingdao, 1897-1914," in *Twentieth-century Colonialism and China: Localities, the everyday, and the world*, ed. Bryna Goodman and David S.G. Goodman (London: Routledge, 2012), 38.

5 Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment:* 6, 10.

6 Ibid., 10, 12.

7 Ibid., 13.

als of justice and an equal international order espoused by American leaders - especially President Wilson. While the Chinese delegation was divided by internal rivalry mirroring the political factions in China at the time - as demonstrated by an incident analyzed in this article when several delegates competed for the main seat at a meeting table -, the Chinese diplomats were ultimately united in their pursuit of international justice for China.

Neither Politician nor Scholar[8]

Dom Pierre-Célestin Lou Tseng-Tsiang was born into the turbulent period of late Qing and Republican China. This was a time of foreign aggression against China, but also a time of changes and new beginnings in Chinese politics and society. The Republic of China was Asia's first republic. Simultaneously, Christianity was gaining adherents and Confucianism was losing its traditional predominant place in Chinese society.[9]

Lou Tseng-Tsiang grew up in a Protestant family in Shanghai, but converted to Catholicism in adulthood. He did not enroll in a traditional Confucian academy but did have some home schooling in Chinese classics.[10] Lou Tseng-Tsiang's father Lou Yong-Fong enrolled him instead in the Shanghai School of Foreign Languages located in the Jiangnan Arsenal.[11] There, Lou Tseng-Tsiang specialized in the study of French.[12] Lou continued his education at the *Tong Wen Guan*, the school for interpreters established in 1862 and attached to the *Zongli Yamen* (Chinese Office of Foreign Affairs) in Beijing.[13] Lou's command of French was a valuable skill that helped him to eventually become one of the leading Chinese diplomats of his time.

8 The following overview of Lou Tseng-Tsiang's life is based mainly on his autobiography: Dom Pierre-Célestin Lou Tseng-Tsiang, *Souvenirs et Pensées* (Flavigny-sur-Ozerain: Traditions Monastiques, 2009).

9 Daniel H. Bays, A New History of Christianity in China (Chichester: Wiley – Blackwell, 2012), 77-79, 94, 103, 107-109.

10 Shi Jianguo 石建国, *Lu Zhengxiang Zhuan* 陆征祥传 (*Biography of Lu Zhengxiang*), (Shijiazhuang: Hebei Renmin Chubanshe, 1999), 9.

11 Lou, *Souvenirs et Pensées*, 38. Meanwhile, for a discussion of the historical background of the Shanghai School of Foreign Languages, the subjects it taught, and its appeal to the Shanghainese, please refer to Benjamin A. Elman, *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 369-370. Elman argued that because the school taught both the Confucian Classics and new subjects such as Western algebra, geometry, international law, etc., it came to be seen as an alternative means for accessing the Chinese civil service.

12 Lou, *Souvenirs et Pensées*, 39.

13 Lou, *Souvenirs et Pensées*, 39. Meanwhile, for a discussion of the historical background of the establishment of the Tong Wen Guan within the context of mid-19th century Chinese reforms, please refer to Mary C. Wright, *The Last Stand Of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-Chih Restoration*, 1862 – 1874 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1962), 6-8, 242-243. Wright argued that the Tong Wen Guan was an attempt to integrate new learning into the old Chinese educational system, thereby hopefully strengthening the system against Western expansion and "Cantonese compradors."

Through a combination of professional skills and patronage, Lou Tseng-Tsiang successfully climbed the ranks of the Chinese Foreign Service to eventually serve as an ambassador, foreign minister and even prime minister of China. He was involved in crucial Sino-Russian and Sino-Japanese negotiations and led the Chinese delegation at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference.[14] Lou throughout his life considered himself to be both a Confucianist and a Christian; he was a Chinese patriot as well as a Europhile.[15] During his time in public service he sought to modernize the Chinese foreign ministry according to Western models.[16] However, unlike some more radical reformers of the Republican period who were very critical of Chinese traditions, Lou defended the humanistic value of Confucianism.[17]

After the death of his Belgian Catholic wife and the end of his political and diplomatic career, he joined a Benedictine monastery in Belgium in 1927.[18] Even though Lou Tseng-Tsiang lived out the rest of his life as a Benedictine monk and priest, he nevertheless remained concerned with Chinese affairs and actively spoke out for China's cause after Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931 and then attacked China in 1937.[19] During his time as a monk, Lou reflected on his past experiences and compiled them into an autobiography entitled *Souvenirs et Pensées*.[20] The autobiography was translated into multiple languages, Dutch, *Mijn roeping: herinneringen en gedachten* (De Kinkhoren: Desclée de Brouwer, 1946), German, *Konfuzianer und Christ* (Luzern: Josef Stocker, 1947), Spanish, *Recuerdos y Pensamientos* (Desclée de Brouwer: Bilbao, 1947), and English, *Ways of Confucius and of Christ* (London: Burns & Oates, 1948).[21]

As a monk, Lou Tseng-Tsiang came to believe that diplomacy and international organizations were not enough to ensure justice and peace. By the end of his life, he instead emphasized the need for mutual respect and understanding between peoples. In a manuscript published posthumously under the title *La rencontre des humanités et la découverte de l'évangile,* he argued for the necessity of inter-civilizational dialogue via engagement with the humanistic foundations of different civilizations.[22] Lou longed to return to China as a Catholic missionary.[23] War and

14 Keegan, "From Chancery to Cloister," 176-177.
15 Ibid., 172 – 173, 175.
16 Lou, *Souvenirs et Pensées*, 60, 62-63.
17 Dom Pierre-Célestin Lou Tseng-Tsiang, *La Rencontre Des Humanités Et La Découverte De L'Évangile* (Bruges: Desclée De Brouwer, 1949), 14-15.
18 Lou, *Souvenirs et Pensées*, 92.
19 For instance in 1933, Lou Tseng-Tsiang published the following booklet criticizing the Japanese invasion and occupation of Manchuria from the perspective of Catholic doctrine: Dom Pierre-Célestin Lou Tseng-Tsiang Moine Bénédictin Ancien Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de la République Chinoise, *L'invasion et l'occupation de la Mandchourie jugées à la lumière de la Doctrine Catholique par les écrits du Cardinal Mercier* (Paris: Les Editions Du Foyer, 1933).
20 Lou, *Souvenirs et Pensées*, 31.
21 Ibid., 13.
22 Lou, *La Rencontre Des Humanités Et La Découverte De L'Évangile*, 12-13.
23 Dom Pierre-Célestin Lou Tseng-Tsiang, *La Bénédiction Abbatiale Du Révérendissime Père Dom Pierre-Célestin Lou Tseng-Tsiang Abbé Titulaire De Saint-Pierre De Gand: Allocution*

ill health however prevented that. He passed away on 15 January 1949, before the Communist takeover of China.[24]

Beyond Chancery and Cloister

Despite his curious and yet influential life, Western scholarship on Lou Tseng-Tsiang is currently sparse. One published secondary source in English that examines Lou Tseng-Tsiang's life in entirety is Nicholas Keegan's article published in the journal *Diplomacy and Statecraft* in 1999 and entitled "From Chancery to Cloister: The Chinese Diplomat who became a Benedictine Monk."

Keegan's article argued that studies of the lives of Chinese diplomats such as Lou Tseng-Tsiang comparing how they viewed the significant events in the history of Sino-Western relations with Western accounts would enhance our understanding of important moments in modern international history.[25] This article expands on Keegan's work by analyzing in greater depth how Lou and his colleagues experienced the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. Keegan highlighted Lou's contribution to the Chinese cause at the Paris Peace Conference as he had insisted that China be represented on three of the Conference's most important commissions: the League of Nations, International Control of Ports, Railways and Waterways, and International Labor Legislation. Chinese representatives were successfully appointed to the first two of these commissions.[26]

Lou Tseng-Tsiang was also the subject of study of an unpublished doctoral dissertation by Claire Shu-chin Chang entitled "When Confucius Meets Benedictus: The Destiny of A Chinese Politician Lou Tseng-Tsiang (1871 – 1949)." Chang argued that Lou Tseng-Tsiang was one of the most remarkable personalities of his era, as he was an important government official during both the Qing dynasty and early Republican China, and some of his decisions affected China for a long period.[27] Chang came to the conclusion that Lou was universalistic in his concern for humanity. He had a world consciousness that was not limited by Chinese nationalism and this colored his religious sentiments as well.[28] Chang's dissertation

De Dom Lou, August 10, 1946, 11, Printed Copy of Text of Address, From The Dom Pierre-Célestin Lou Tseng-Tsiang Papers, (1871 - 1949), KADOC Documentatie- en Onderzoekscentrum voor Religie, Cultuur en Samenleving, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (KADOC Documentation and Research Centre for Religion, Culture and Society of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven), (accessed August 2, 2013).

24 Keegan, "From Chancery to Cloister," 183.

25 Ibid., 172.

26 Ibid., 177.

27 Claire Shu-chin Chang, "When Confucius Meets Benedictus: The Destiny of A Chinese Politician Lou Tseng-Tsiang (1871-1949)" (PhD diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1994), 13.

28 Ibid., 385.

is valuable for the insights it provides into Lou's inner turmoil during the Paris Peace Conference.[29]

The most recent scholarly work in English that studied Lou Tseng-Tsiang is a chapter in a monograph by David Strand published in 2011 and entitled *An Unfinished Republic: Leading by Word and Deed in Modern China*. Strand analyzes how three prominent political actors of early Republican China, including the diplomat Lou Tseng-Tsiang, attempted to adapt to the Republican atmosphere and adopt new political practices that had developed in China - such as public speech-making .[30] Strand focuses on Lou's short tenure as Chinese prime minister in 1912 and provides only a very brief overview of Lou's experience of the Paris Peace Conference, noting that his refusal to sign the Treaty of Versailles was his "shining republican and patriotic moment" although he may have been simply swept along by events. Strand also points out that some historians argue that other Chinese diplomats, such as V.K Wellington Koo (Gu Weijun), played a stronger role in Paris than Lou did.[31]

Chinese scholarship on Lou Tseng-Tsiang is more extensive, including three full-length biographies. Stanislaus Luo Guang's (Lokuang) *Lu Zhengxiang Zhuan* (*Biography of Lu Zhengxiang*) is the oldest biography of Lou, first published by the Truth Society of Hong Kong in 1949, the very year of Lou Tseng-Tsiang's death, and subsequently republished in 1967.

Luo Guang derived much of his personal understanding of Lou Tseng-Tsiang from interviews he conducted with his then elderly compatriot after he had become a monk. When discussing the Paris Peace Conference and its immediate aftermath with Luo, Lou mentioned the large crowds who welcomed him back to China with acclaim at the port of Shanghai and at the train station because he had refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles. [32]

The second published biography of Lou Tseng-Tsiang written in Chinese is by Shi Jianguo. It is also entitled *Lu Zhengxiang Zhuan* (*Biography of Lu Zhengxiang*) and was published in 1999 by the Hebei Renmin Chubanshe (Hebei People's Press). Shi Jianguo's biography of Lou Tseng-Tsiang is primarily focused on Lou's diplomatic career.

Shi thought that Lou was unique because not only was he an accomplished statesman, but in his later years he also became a distinguished monk, being elevated by the Catholic Church to become the first Chinese Benedictine abbot in history.[33] This article draws on Shi's work to illuminate some of the domestic op-

29 Ibid., 233.
30 David Strand, *An Unfinished Republic: Leading by Word and Deed in Modern China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011), 2.
31 Ibid., 186-187, 191, 213, 217-222.
32 Luo Guang 羅光, *Lu Zhengxiang Zhuan* 陸徵祥傳 *(Biography of Lu Zhengxiang)* 2nd ed. (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1967), 115-116.
33 Shi, *Lu Zhengxiang Zhuan*, 283-285.

position to Lou's appointment as head of the Chinese delegation to the Paris Peace Conference.[34]

The third and most recent Chinese biography of Lou Tseng-Tsiang, *Ruoguo Waizhang Lu Zhengxiang; Xiangei Xinhai Geming Yibai Zhounian* (*Lu Zhengxiang Foreign Minister of a Weak Country: Dedicated to the Centenary of the Xinhai Revolution*) by Hu Xinding, Lü Cai and Hu Ying, was published in 2011 by the Shijie Zhishi Chubanshe (World Knowledge Press). The authors argue that the 1919 Paris Peace Conference was a turning point in modern Chinese history because the Chinese delegation rejected the Treaty of Versailles, whereas in the preceding decades the Chinese had agreed to a series of unequal treaties and agreements with foreign powers that conceded Chinese territory to outsiders and committed China to paying costly indemnities. They also highlight Lou's role in leading the Chinese delegation to reject the Treaty of Versailles.[35]

This article aims to contribute to the scholarship on the career and life of Lou Tseng-Tsiang by focusing on his participation in the 1919 Paris Peace Conference as the leader of the Chinese delegation. The choice was made to concentrate on the Paris Peace Conference because it was a crucial experience for Lou - as indicated by his decision to mention it in an address made years later:

> Vous me reprocheriez, Messieurs, un vrai manque de coeur, si, en terminant, je ne redisais, aujourd'hui toute ma profonde affection à mes propres compatriotes, à mes collègues et anciens collaborateurs du Corps Diplomatique Chinois, qui au moment où je deviens Abbé, se retrouvent à défendre la cause de la Paix à la Conférence de Paris, comme nous le fîmes ensemble, il y a 27 ans, au Congrès de Versailles.[36]

On the solemn occasion of his consecration as an abbot, Lou said it was imperative for him to remember his former colleagues in the Chinese diplomatic corps affectionately. In 1946, some of them had gathered in Paris to take part in deliberations concerning the nature of the post-war international order, just as they had done twenty-seven years earlier in Versailles. The 1919 Paris Peace Conference was the only one of the multiple international conferences Lou attended that he mentioned explicitly in this address, thereby demonstrating its importance to him personally.

34 Ibid., 203 – 204.

35 Hu Xinding胡心鼎, Lü Cai吕才and Hu Ying胡颖, *Ruoguo Waizhang Lu Zhengxiang: Xiangei Xinhai Geming Yibai Zhounian*弱国外长陆征祥： 献给辛亥革命一百周年 (*Lu Zhengxiang Foreign Minister of a Weak Country: Dedicated to the Centenary of the Xinhai Revolution*) (Beijing: Shijie Zhishi Chubanshe, 2011), 153-154.

36 Lou, *La Bénédiction Abbatiale Du Révérendissime Père Dom Pierre-Célestin Lou Tseng-Tsiang Abbé Titulaire De Saint-Pierre De Gand*, 10.

Jostling At The Table

China sent a large delegation of more than sixty members with five plenipotentiary delegates to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.[37] The Chinese delegates led by Lou Tseng-Tsiang had initially travelled to Paris with a set of far-reaching goals they wanted to achieve for China at the Peace Conference. They sought the abrogation of all the unequal treaties that had been concluded with the foreign powers and which infringed on Chinese sovereignty. They also wanted to phase out the system of extraterritorial jurisdiction for foreigners in China, and asked that leased territories and foreign concessions in Chinese railroads, mines, and communications be returned to Chinese hands.[38] Instructions from the Chinese government meanwhile unequivocally stated that China's primary objective at the Paris Peace Conference was the recovery of the German concessions in Shandong.[39] Shandong was of symbolic importance to the Chinese as it was the birth province of the Chinese sage, Confucius. The region was also strategically important for defending the southern flank of Beijing, and for securing control of the lower reaches of the Yellow River and the Grand Canal.[40]

China's basis for its presence at the Peace Conference was that China had supported the Allied cause during the war by sending more than 100 000 laborers to Europe. The Chinese reformist thinker Kang Youwei had written a letter to Lou in 1919, asking Lou to fight for equal treatment of Chinese laborers in Europe and elsewhere, because it was they who had truly contributed to the war on behalf of China.[41] Many of the laborers originated from Shandong province and during the Peace Conference they were keenly interested in Chinese diplomatic efforts to recover control of their native region. An article published in the *Chinese Labor Journal* encouraged all Chinese workers in France to express their opposition to transferring the German concessions in Shandong to Japan. Chinese laborers also sent a petition directly to Lou Tseng-Tsiang in Paris urging him not to accept the Treaty of Versailles. The petition included a pistol and a threat that "if [Lou] agrees to Japan's demands, [he] should commit suicide with this pistol. Otherwise we will kill him."[42]

Lou Tseng-Tsiang was appointed to lead the Chinese delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in his capacity as foreign minister of China.[43] Despite Lou's credentials and experience, his appointment as chief of the Chinese delegation to

37 Xu Guoqi, *China and the Great War: China's pursuit of a new national identity and internationalization* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 246.
38 Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment*, 112.
39 Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed The World* (New York, NY: Random House, 2001), 332.
40 Ibid., 326.
41 Xu Guoqi, *Strangers On The Western Front: Chinese Workers in the Great War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 213.
42 Ibid., 216, 237.
43 Lou, *Souvenirs et Pensées*, 67.

Versailles was not without opposition; the Anhui clique and other factions close to Japan opposed Lou's appointment. These factions lobbied for Liang Qichao to be selected to lead the Chinese delegation as Liang was close to Japan.[44] A newspaper of the period, the *Minguo Ribao* (Republican Daily) also documented some Chinese dissatisfaction with Lou, "Lou's diplomacy as Foreign Minister, whether on the issues of Mongolia, Manchuria, Tibet, etc. have all resulted in national humiliation. Moreover, he lost a confidence vote in the National Assembly. This shows that the people do not recognize Lou's diplomacy."[45]

Meanwhile, opposition to Lou Tseng-Tsiang's status as chief delegate also came from the Southern government of the time. This opposition was due to Lou's past involvement with Yuan Shikai's government and Yuan's failed attempt at imperial restoration. Lou's competence as a diplomat was also questioned. He was accused of having failed to adequately defend Chinese sovereignty over Mongolia, Manchuria and Tibet from foreign incursions during his stewardship of the Foreign Ministry. The National Assembly's vote against Lou in 1912 was also seen as a sign that the Chinese people lacked confidence in Lou's abilities.[46]

The internal disputes amongst the Chinese continued at Versailles as evidenced for example by an episode recounted by Wellington Koo in his memoirs:

> In the beginning of February, the Chinese delegation convened a meeting. […] Normally, the seat was left at the head of the table for the chair of the meeting, Minister Lou. However on this occasion, there were two chairs at the head of the table. Delegation Secretary Shi said he had been told by C.T. Wang's private secretary, Zhao, that since Wang represented the Southern government, his status was equal to that of Lou's. Hence the seats should be arranged to reflect their joint chairing of the meeting and delegation.[47]

The early leadership disputes within the Chinese delegation mirrored the ongoing power struggles in China and initially hampered the work of the Chinese

44 Shi, *Lu Zhengxiang Zhuan*, 203.

45 Translation of "Lushi zi zhang waijiao yilai, ruo mengmanzang gechu zhi waijiao, ju wubu sangquanruguo, qie cengjing guohui tou yi butongyipiao, zujian guomin duiyu lushi buneng shengren waijiao yi wei duoshu ren suo chengren 陆氏自长外交以来，若蒙满藏各处之外交，举无不丧权辱国，且曾经国会投以不同意票，足见国民对于陆氏不能胜认外交已为多数人所承认" from Shi, *Lu Zhengxiang Zhuan*, 203-204.

46 Shi, *Lu Zhengxiang Zhuan*, 204.

47 Translation of passage "2yuechu, daibiaotuan zhaokai yici huiyi. […] tongchang zaichangzhuoshangshou gei huiyi zhuxi Luzongzhang liu you yige zhuowei. Ke zheci wo kan nar fangzhe liangba yizi, […] shishuo, zhao gaosu ta, Wang Zhengting boshi daibiao nanfang, rutong Lu zongzhang daibiao beifang yiyang, jiran diwei xiangdang, jiu ying xiang lianhe zhuxi nayang bing pai jiu zuo 2月初，代表团召开一次会议。[…] 通常在长桌上首给会仪主席陆总长留有一个桌位。可这次我看那儿放着两把椅子，[…] 施说， 赵告诉他，王正廷博士代表南方，如同陆总长代表北方一样，既然地位相当，就应像联合主席那样并排就坐。" From Gu Weijun 顾维钧, *Gu Weijun Huiyi Lu* 顾维钧回忆录 (*Memoirs of Gu Weijun*), vol. 1, trans. Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1982), 190.

delegation that had such lofty goals for the Conference. According to Koo's account, the aforementioned meeting became farcical when the delegates entered the room. C.T. Wang apparently jostled with Lou for the leading seat and usurped Lou's authority by acting as meeting chair. Lou remained silent in the face of this indignity. In doing so, Lou perhaps displayed traces of the future monk with inner fortitude. Koo meanwhile pointed out to his colleagues that Lou was still the foreign minister and head delegate and should be treated accordingly.[48]

The Chinese plenipotentiaries seemed to be split into two camps. Wellington Koo, who had worked with Lou to reform the Chinese Foreign Ministry and like Lou Tseng-Tsiang was originally from the Shanghai region, supported Lou's leadership. C.T. Wang and Alfred Sze, on the other hand, formed an opposing camp.[49] Yet, the Chinese delegates eventually put aside their differences in the face of common challenges. Ultimately, they were united in not signing the Treaty of Versailles because it failed to resolve the question of control over German concessions in Shandong in China's favor.

An Oriental Courtesy

One of the reasons the Paris Peace Conference did not resolve the Shandong question to Chinese satisfaction was arguably because the Great Powers did not place much importance on Chinese demands. Lou Tseng-Tsiang reported the indifference of the leaders of the Great Powers towards developments in the Far East, and their lack of any desire to understand China's plight, or China's attempt to seek justice:

> […] *M. Lloyd George lui* (Wellington Koo) *posait la question: "The Twenty-One Demands, what's that?" Cette ignorance ouvertement affichée ne s'accompagnait d'aucun désir d'information : la cause de la Chine était jugée avant d'être entendue.*[50]

When Wellington Koo discussed the Twenty-One Demands, he was stunned by Lloyd George's ignorance of the matter.[51] Given the circumstances, Lou conclud-

48 Gu, *Gu Weijun Huiyi Lu*, vol. 1, 190-191.

49 Stephen G. Craft, *V.K. Wellington Koo and the Emergence of Modern China* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 49.

50 Lou, *Souvenirs et Pensées*, 68.

51 Japan presented The Twenty-One Demands to China in January 1915 with the aim of expanding and securing Japanese privileges in China. China finally accepted a revised set of demands backed by a Japanese ultimatum issued in May 1915 and concluded formal diplomatic treaties and agreements with Japan on the matter. For an extensive discussion of The Twenty-One Demands including their implications for Japanese politics, please refer to Frederick R. Dickinson, *War And National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914-1919* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), 85-116.

ed therefore that China's cause had been decided even before China had pleaded its case. The Great Powers were not interested in seeking justice for China.

Great Britain had fought the First World War to curtail Germany's rise and maintain a world order in which Britain was the predominant imperial power. The British goal at Versailles in 1919 was to see the perpetuation of that world order, not to achieve international justice. Likewise, the French had no interest in seeking international justice except to demand compensation and retribution for the severe losses France had endured during the war.[52]

Confronting the lack of comprehension from the Great Powers, and the complexities and contradictions of Sino-Japanese relations of the period, the Chinese delegation tried various methods to plead their case, including appeals to international media. A March 6, 1919 news report from the *Washington Post* with the headline "China Defies Japan: Peace Delegates Denounce Nipponese Aims as Imperialistic" recounted one press briefing where the Chinese tried to do just that. The article noted Chinese hopes placed in Wilsonian ideals, such as the right of nations to self-determination, in the run-up to the Peace Conference. The Chinese wanted the Peace Conference to free China from foreign interference and guarantee China's national sovereignty:

> Basing their attitude on the Wilsonian idea of the League of Nations the Chinese delegates make no secret of their hope that out of the peace conference will come a new China, free of all alien interference. Nor do they hesitate to affirm that unless the Far Eastern question is solved […] the hope of preventing and or minimizing the chances of future wars by the League of Nations is illusory.[53]

The Chinese were right in pointing out the importance of resolving the tensions in the Far East in order to prevent future conflicts. When Japan eventually invaded and occupied Manchuria in 1931, the League of Nations was powerless to check Japanese aggression, and Japan responded to international criticism by simply withdrawing from the League of Nations in 1933.[54]

The foreign journalists also at first misunderstood the gravity of the situation in the eyes of the Chinese, as shown by their initial thoughts about the Chinese invitation:

52 John Maynard Keynes, "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," in *Twentieth-Century Europe*, ed. John W. Boyer and Jan Goldstein, vol. 9 of *University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization*, ed. John Boyer and Julius Kirshner (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), 179.

53 John J. O'Brien, "China Defies Japan: Peace Delegates Denounce Nipponese Aims as Imperialistic," *The Washington Post*, March 6, 1919, 1.

54 Thomas W. Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations: Empire and World Order, 1914-1938* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), Burkman, 172, 175.

> Ever since the publication of reports denials, counter-reports, new denials and counter-assertions regarding the alleged secret treaty between Japan and China there has been a feeling here that an explosion was bound to come. It came last night. It was heralded by the apparently guileless invitation, "Mr. Lou Tseng Tsiang requests the pleasure of your company at tea Tuesday." Being Mardi Gras we regarded the party as merely an oriental courtesy to foreign newspaper men. It was more than that. Gathered at the hotel Lutenia we found the entire Chinese delegation to the peace conference.[55]

For the assembled Chinese, the occasion was a serious one, as they were attempting to argue for the preservation of Chinese national sovereignty and territorial integrity. They demonstrated their mastery of the ways of international diplomacy with a large delegation comprised of professional diplomats and technocrats, as well as skillful use of the modern mass circulation newspapers to advance their cause.

The Western journalists meanwhile revealed their ignorance of how much the Chinese had learned in such a short span of time. They may have thought the Chinese diplomats of 1919 were like those of the Qing Dynasty who were still unfamiliar with the ways of Westernized international diplomacy, and did not know how to argue for their country's rights and privileges. Consequently, they were merely expecting an "oriental courtesy" for Mardi Gras, which was hardly a traditional Chinese festival.

Significantly, despite the internal tensions and rivalries within the Chinese delegation, when facing the foreign press, the Chinese strove to present a united front:

> Besides Mr. Lou welcoming us there were Wellington Koo, Ambassador to Washington, who has a seat on the league of nations commission; Tchedu Wei, secretary of the Chinese delegation to the conference; Chanting Thomas Wang, China's representative on the ports and waterways commission; a dozen minor members of the delegation, and several technical experts, including Quo Tai Chi, who told me proudly he was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and was hoping to learn newspaper work in America when the war called him back to China. He is the expert adviser of the delegation on international politics.[56]

The composition of the assembled Chinese illustrated the changing face of the Chinese diplomatic corps. Several of the prominent diplomats, such as Koo and Wang, and the technical experts, such as Guo Taiqi (Quo Tai Chi), spoke fluent English and were American rather than French educated. Quo even felt the need to

55 O'Brien, "China Defies Japan," 1.
56 Ibid.

emphasize his status as a graduate of a prestigious American university to the assembled journalists. Perhaps he hoped that the reputation of his alma mater might convince them of his quality as a technical adviser and an aspiring journalist.

The Washington Post article also noted that Lou Tseng-Tsiang allowed C.T. Thomas Wang (who had previously challenged Lou's authority) to be the leading spokesperson at this press conference. This was evidently part of the effort to present a united Chinese front. Lou also likely recognized that, as a Yale graduate, Wang was much more comfortable conducting public diplomacy in English than Lou himself was:

> Wang several times emphasized the fact that he was speaking to Americans. Wellington Koo, Tchedu Wei and Lou Tsenw (sic) Tsiang nodded appreciatively. Ambassador Koo remarked to me, "Our main hope is the American love of justice."[57]

Given the number of prominent American-trained diplomats and technical experts in the Chinese delegation (among the five Chinese plenipotentiaries, three were American educated: Wellington Koo at Columbia University, Alfred Sze at Cornell University, and C.T. Wang at Yale University), it is hardly surprising that the Chinese placed their hopes in the United States of America, which portrayed itself as the champion of liberty and justice.[58] The Allies on the whole had presented the war as a fight for civilization and justice. The USA and its president Woodrow Wilson were seen as the best embodiments of the love of justice and the hope for a new world order.

Lou Tseng-Tsiang noted that the American delegation was sympathetic to Chinese hopes:

> […] *la délégation des États-Unis au Congrès de la Paix multiplia envers nous les marques de compréhension et les actes de serviabilité. Les États-Unis allaient dans la suite poursuivre à notre égard une politique d'amitié qui nous fut très précieuse.*[59]

Some of the Americans were reportedly understanding and helpful toward their Chinese counterparts. Lou remarked that American policy toward China after the Peace Conference was also friendly. However, this attitude was due more to American fears of Japanese domination in China and East Asia, which would have threatened American influence in the region, rather than due to any altruism on the part of the USA.

The Chinese delegates reminded the powers assembled in Paris that, given China's military weakness at the time, it was dependent on foreign guarantees to secure its independence and sovereignty. All the Great Powers had competing

57 Ibid.
58 Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment*, 113.
59 Lou, *Souvenirs et Pensées*, 68.

interests in China and no single power wanted another power to dominate China completely:

> […] said Mr. Wang in his speech, "the Chinese question may be said to center on the maintenance of the independence and integrity of China, which is guaranteed in a series of conventions and agreements concluded severally by Great Britain, France, Russia and the United States with Japan. The necessity for these international guarantees springs from the inability of China to prevent assault on her sovereignty, owing largely to the weakness marking the transition of a state in the throes of readjusting its life to the demands of the new environment. [60]

By playing the competing interests of the different powers against each other to advance China's own agenda, the Chinese diplomats demonstrated a shrewd grasp of foreign policy and diplomacy. They understood how a militarily weak state could still use diplomacy to further its goals.

The Chinese were also keenly aware that American concern over developments in East Asia was also ultimately motivated by a desire to preserve American interests in China:

> Mr. Wang then reviewed the presentation to China of Japan's 21 demands in January, 1915, […] He told how Japan had been dissuaded from proceeding further by the action of the American State Department informing Japan that America would not recognize any agreement impairing the policy of the open door.[61]

There may very well have been American statesmen who were sympathetic to China's cause, but when America intervened to check Japanese expansion in China, it was because uncontrolled Japanese ascendancy would present a threat to America's own pretensions as the dominant power in the Pacific basin.

China had perceived the Paris Peace Conference as a first opportunity to renegotiate the system of unequal treaties and foreign concessions that had been imposed on them over the course of the nineteenth century. They wanted to begin by reclaiming the German concessions in China, which Japan had since occupied:

> Within the category of burdens against which we protest is included the system of imperialistic rights, interests, and privileges which Germany established in the province of Shantung in 1898. This German system was typically expressed in the leased territory of Kiao Chou. Japan, since her reduction of Kiao Chou, developed and delimited this territory for exclusive Japanese occupation.[62]

60 O'Brien, "China Defies Japan," 1.
61 Ibid.
62 Ibid.

The Chinese did not achieve their main objectives at the Peace Conference. Nevertheless when the Chinese delegates returned to China, they were still mostly acclaimed as heroes for having rejected the Treaty of Versailles that transferred control of the German concessions in Shandong to Japan.[63]

Wang concluded his speech by reminding the audience of China's fervent support of the Allied cause during the war and Chinese praise for the idea of the League of Nations:

> After recounting what China had actually done to help the cause of the allies in Europe, Mesopotamia and the Far East, Mr. Wang said China hailed the idea of a League of Nations as the "supreme expression of the intellectual and moral qualities of the modern mind."[64]

The League of Nations, whose members would be equally sovereign nation-states coming together to further the cause of international justice and peace, was a modern utopian internationalist idea.[65] It had, however strong echoes of the traditional Confucian notion of *Datong* or "Great or Grand Harmony," a concept further developed by modern Chinese thinkers such as Kang Youwei.[66] Kang thought that the League of Nations would be an opportunity to realize the ideal of *Datong*.[67]

These parallels between the League of Nations and *Datong* were not lost on the members of the Chinese delegation at Versailles, who, while being mostly Western educated, were at the same time grounded in the Chinese tradition. For instance, in a pamphlet entitled *China and the League of Nations* that Wellington Koo and C.T. Wang co-authored while in Paris, Koo drew a parallel between Wilson and Confucius, noting that both these men had "spared no effort in emphasizing the need of creating and preserving a new order of things which would ensure universal peace."[68]

Duty Not To Obey

In spite of all Chinese diplomatic efforts, the Great Powers decided to support Japan's claims on the German concessions in Shandong. The transfer of the Ger-

63 Lou, *Souvenirs et Pensées*, 39, Luo, *Lu Zhengxiang Zhuan*, 115-116.
64 O'Brien, "China Defies Japan," 1.
65 Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment*, 108-109.
66 In the *Datongshu* 大同書 (*Book of Great Harmony*), Kang Youwei had advocated the abolishment of the state in politics, private property in economics, and families in the social structure because according to Kang, all evils in society came from the differences among countries, classes, races/ethnicities, genders, families, and wealth levels. From Hua Shiping, *Chinese Utopianism: A Comparative Study of Reformist Thought with Japan and Russia, 1898 – 1997* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2009), 36.
67 Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment*,108-109.
68 Ibid., 115.

man concessions in Shandong to Japan would be formally accomplished through clauses in the Treaty of Versailles.[69] After much deliberation, Lou Tseng-Tsiang and the Chinese delegation decided not to sign the Treaty of Versailles.[70] In any case, events may have overtaken them, as on the day of the signing ceremony a group of Chinese students surrounded the Parisian hotel in which the Chinese delegation had lodged to prevent the delegates from leaving.[71]

The Chinese delegation had not yet received official approval for their decision from the Chinese government when they rejected the treaty:

> *Pour la première fois dans ma carrière, je crus de mon devoir de ne pas obéir.* […] *Je ne voulais pas, une nouvelle fois, apposer mon nom sous des clauses injustes, et je pris sur moi seul de refuser la signature.*[72]

The Chinese perceived the treaty's clauses that transferred the German concessions in Shandong to Japan as deeply unjust. When Lou recounted his decision not to sign the treaty, he claimed it was the first time in his career that he believed he had a duty to disobey orders. He believed that it was time for China to stand up for its rights and not submit to being the plaything of the Great Powers any longer.[73] Lou Tseng-Tsiang asserted that he no longer wanted to attach his name to another unjust treaty. He did not want to repeat the experience of 1915 when he had signed the Twenty-One Demands. Lou later claimed he made the decision of his own accord.[74]

The Shandong question and the deliberations concerning the Treaty of Versailles had aroused considerable interest among not just Chinese in China, but also among overseas Chinese.[75] China was the only country present at the Peace Conference that refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles.[76] The Chinese delegates had done the best they could to make a case for the return of Shandong in all its integrity directly to China. Secret treaties between the European powers and Japan, however, complicated the Shandong issue.[77] In exchange for Japan joining the war

69 MacMillan, *Paris 1919*, 338.
70 Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment*, 193.
71 MacMillan, *Paris 1919*, 341.
72 Lou, *Souvenirs et Pensées*, 69-70.
73 Ibid., 69.
74 Ibid., 70.
75 To view messages from overseas Chinese communities received by the Chinese delegation in Paris, please refer to *Telegrams Received By The Chinese Delegation In Support Of Their Stand On The Shantung Question* (Paris: Imprimerie De Vaugirard, 1919).
76 MacMillan, *Paris 1919*, 341, 476.
77 Bruce A. Elleman, *Wilson and China: A Revised History Of The Shandong Question* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2002), 22. For an edited collection of diplomatic documents related to the Shandong Question, including those concerning the agreements between Great Britain, France and Japan with regards to Shandong, please refer to James Brown Scott, ed., *Shantung: Treaties and Agreements* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, 1921).

on the Allied side, France, England and Italy had committed not to support Chinese attempts to seek redress for China's grievances, particularly against Japan.

The Chinese struggle was further jeopardized by secret agreements the Beijing government had concluded with Japan in September 1918, agreements that even the Chinese plenipotentiary delegates at Versailles were apparently unaware of until January 1919, when they were already in Paris.[78] The Chinese government had agreed to Japanese proposals concerning Shandong, such as the stationing of Japanese troops along the Shandong railway line, in return for the advance of a 20 million yen loan for extensions of the Shandong railway.[79] It was not just the European powers who had betrayed the Chinese delegation's hopes through secret dealings with the Japanese, but also China's very own government in Beijing.

While the Americans were initially sympathetic to the Chinese cause, the revelations of the September 1918 secret agreements between China and Japan forced the American delegation to reevaluate its support of the Chinese, especially since China had entered into these agreements willingly. Wilson himself faced a dilemma. Italy had walked out of the Conference as Fiume had been awarded to the Croats, thus disappointing the ambitions of Italian irredentism.[80] The Japanese, meanwhile, had already seen their proposal for a racial equality clause in the covenant of the League of Nations defeated. With Italy gone, Wilson could not risk having the Japanese withdraw their support of the League of Nations as well. In the end, a bargain of sorts was struck as Japanese claims in Shandong were recognized and Japan agreed not to vote against the League of Nations, despite their proposal for racial equality having been rejected.[81]

Disillusionment with such diplomatic bargaining may have contributed to Lou Tseng-Tsiang's subsequent retreat from professional diplomacy. During the Peace Conference itself, the myriad and complex double-dealings and secret treaties, and the pressure from Chinese communities worldwide not to sign the peace treaty, were a source of great stress for Lou.

The strain seems to have taken a physical toll on Lou Tseng-Tsiang:

> *Ce qui s'est passé le 27 dans le nuit et le 28 dans la matinée, dans le salon et le jardin de l'Établissement et enfin dans ma chambre de malade, même à mon chevet, a été comique et tragique au plus haut point de la vie humaine. Jamais je n'ai eu tant de gardes d'honneur; comme s'il s'agissait d'un enterrement d'un haut personnage* […].[82]

78 Elleman, *Wilson and China*, 41-43.
79 Scott, *Shantung*, 91-94.
80 MacMillan, *Paris 1919*, 336.
81 Ibid., 336-338.
82 Lou Tseng-Tsiang, *Lou Tseng-Tsiang to Berthe Bovy*, *June 29, 1919*, Letter, Quoted in Claire Shu-chin Chang, "When Confucius Meets Benedictus: The Destiny of a Chinese Politician Lou Tseng-tsiang (1871-1949)" (PhD diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1994), 232.

Lou likened the atmosphere at his sick bed to that of a funeral. He compared those gathered by his bedside awaiting his decision concerning the treaty to a guard of honor attending the burial of a dignitary.[83]

He further lamented about the gravity of the situation:

> Cette date et cette heure seront-elles heureuses ou malheureuses pour la Chine? L'avenir le dira […], […] Voilà tant de mois d'espoir et tant de mois de labeur se réduisent à une sublime absence de la Chine au concert des Nations civilisées […].[84]

Lou was deeply disgruntled that long months of hope and labor had finally culminated in China's absence from the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. Moreover, he was not certain what kind of consequences China's absence from this momentous event might entail.

In addition, Lou was bitter about the delegation, comprised of foreign educated diplomats, having seemingly succumbed to popular pressure:

> *Enfin, le mal est fait: ce qui est désolant et décourageant, il est fait par des hommes connaissant l'Europe et les affaires internationales, car les membres de la délégation malgré tout parlent tous une langue étrangère, sont tous élevés en Europe ou en Amérique et sont certainement supérieurs à ces vieux chinois de Pékin conservateurs et ignorant complètement l'étranger et les affaires étrangères*.[85]

He felt that, given their qualifications, they should be superior to the Chinese crowds in Beijing, who supposedly lacked understanding of foreigners and foreign affairs and yet had clamored for the Chinese delegation not to sign the Treaty of Versailles. Lou would eventually revise his opinion, especially once it became clear that not signing the treaty did not leave China worse off, and in fact even raised his standing in the eyes of his compatriots.

The trials of the Paris Peace Conference brought to the fore frustrations that had been building up in Lou for some time. He confessed to his wife his weariness of diplomacy and his desire to retire from diplomatic service:

> *Je suis plus que jamais décidé à quitter ma carrière qui m'a fait jusqu'à présent ma réputation et coûtera plus tard trop cher pour que j'y reste.*[86] […] *D'ailleurs, ma santé le réclame et me l'impose. Même avec une santé robuste, pourquoi servir et se sacrifier pour un gouvernement impuissant à vous defender au cas de danger*.[87]

83 Chang, "When Confucius Meets Benedictus," 232.
84 Lou, *Lou Tseng-Tsiang to Berthe Bovy, June 29, 1919*, Quoted in Chang, "When Confucius Meets Benedictus," 233.
85 Ibid.
86 Ibid.
87 Ibid., 234.

Lou noted that even though he had earned his reputation through a diplomatic career, the time had come for him to go. Staying would likely cost him dearly in the future. As it was, his health was already suffering from the stress of his work. But Lou claimed that even if he had been in good health, he no longer wanted to serve a government that was incapable of defending him in times of danger and trouble. Such language reveals the depth of Lou's disillusionment with diplomacy at the time, the true extent of which he seems to have shared only in the aforementioned letters to his wife.

The Whole Country Declared Itself With Me

In his autobiography, Lou Tseng-Tsiang recounted that when he first returned to Shanghai, his home city, after the long wearying months at the Paris Peace Conference, he was greeted by cheering crowds:

> *Lors de ma rentrée de Chine, vers la fin de 1919, à Shanghai, à la descente du bateau, et dans toutes les gares où mon train devait s'arrêter, de vastes manifestations populaires, ovationnant celui qui avait refuser de signer* […][88]

He felt pride in that moment of being acclaimed as a national hero.

In his account however, Lou Tseng-Tsiang omitted the fact that not everyone gathered that day was hailing him as a hero. There were about a thousand protesters who waved banners and called him "traitor" whilst distributing leaflets denouncing him for failing to deliver on the "hopes of citizens" for the recovery of Qingdao and the redress of other violations to Chinese sovereignty.[89] Nor did Lou recall the aforementioned personal distress he had experienced in Paris before deciding to reject the Treaty of Versailles.

Shortly after returning to China, Lou Tseng-Tsiang resigned as foreign minister, leaving the ministry that he had helped to build up. He cited several reasons for his resignation, namely the persistent enmity of foreigners that he had to confront, the lack of government support for him, the absence on the part of the government of a vision and the lack of a consistent and coordinated action plan for national renewal and reconstitution.[90]

Lou Tseng-Tsiang later wrote that he believed it was pointless for him to remain at the helm of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and continue to be held responsible, by his country and by history, for the whole series of mistakes that had been committed.[91] His resignation was effective from December 1920. Lou also later

88 Lou, *Souvenirs et Pensées*, 39.
89 Strand, *An Unfinished Republic*, 234-235.
90 Lou, *Souvenirs et Pensées*, 70.
91 Ibid.

claimed that it was the first manifestation of his secret desire to renounce political life in favor of pursuing other callings [92]

After Lou Tseng-Tsiang resigned as foreign minister, he did not immediately end his career of public service. Instead, he accepted a position as vice-director of the Famine Relief Bureau, which gave him the chance to come to know the hardships of the common people of China, whose lives were so different from his own.[93]

In 1922, Lou Tseng-Tsiang left China for Switzerland where he owned a villa in Locarno, as his wife's declining health necessitated a stay in Europe.[94] While there, he ended up taking one last diplomatic position as Chinese ambassador to Switzerland.[95] After the passing of his wife, Lou in July 1927 joined the Benedictine abbey of Sint-Andries in Belgium, where he would spend the rest of his life.[96] Lou made the choice to leave China and eventually the diplomatic world, even though when he first returned from the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, the Chinese people had acclaimed him as a hero for having rejected the Treaty of Versailles, and he had seemed to be at the pinnacle of his public service career.

Conclusion

During the interviews Luo Guang conducted with Lou Tseng-Tsiang as part of his research for a biography of the former Chinese diplomat, the two men discussed Lou's experiences and memories of the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. Lou recalled that:

> I was then serving as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Regarding proposals for the Peace Conference, I already had preparations early on. At the time, I wanted to attempt to abolish the Unequal Treaties, whether they agreed to or not was a different matter. Since we had come across this rare opportunity, we must state all that needs to be said, and let foreigners know that China now had people competent in diplomacy and foreign affairs, unlike during the foolish Qing Dynasty that did not know what a country's rights were. When we spoke at Versailles, the other countries' representatives opened their eyes wide, and responded to us that our requests were beyond their jurisdiction.[97]

92 Ibid.
93 Ibid.
94 Ibid., 70-71.
95 Ibid., 89-90.
96 Ibid., 92.
97 Translation of quote: "Wo nashi ren waijiao zongzhang, duiyu hehui de tiyi, yizaoyou zhunbei, wodangshixiang shefa ba bupingdengtiaoyue quxiao, tamen daying budaying nashi lingyishi. Women ji yuzhe zhe nande de jihui, wubi ba gaishuodehua dou shuochu, rangwaiguoren zhidao zhongguo yijing you dongwaijiaoderen, yijing buxiang qingchao naban yuchun, budong guojia de quanli shi shenme. Women zai Fansaier shuohuashi, bieguo daibiao dou zhengyan xiangkan, tamen dashuo women de yaoqiu chaochu tamen de quanxian yishang

Lou claimed that during the Qing dynasty, Chinese diplomats did not know how to assert that China's rights and privileges as a sovereign state had to be respected. By 1919, the situation had changed.[98]

Lou Tseng-Tsiang recalled that he had considered the Peace Conference to be a precious opportunity to address the injustices dealt to China through the unequal treaties. Chinese diplomats demonstrated in Paris how much they had learned of the ways of international diplomacy since the time of the Qing Dynasty. As Lou recounted, the other delegates were surprised by the Chinese performance at Versailles, and could only respond that the questions the Chinese delegates hoped to resolve were beyond the jurisdiction of those assembled at Versailles.

The promises of Wilsonian internationalism to create a just international order based on self-determination and equality of nations remained unfulfilled for the Chinese at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. Chinese territories in Shandong inhabited by Chinese people were not returned to China as per the principle of self-determination but rather transferred to Japanese control.

The Peace Conference was nevertheless still a turning point in international and Chinese history. Of all the states participating in the Conference, China was the only one that rejected the Treaty of Versailles.[99] During the nineteenth century China had signed a series of unequal treaties with foreign powers - such as the one that ceded concessions in Shandong to Germany. In 1919, the Chinese attempted to redress these past injustices. When confronted with a new treaty they perceived as unjust toward China, Chinese diplomats including Lou ultimately chose to reject it.

For Lou Tseng-Tsiang, leading the Chinese delegation to the Peace Conference was his last major act as a diplomat. During the 1920s he served as China's ambassador to Switzerland before taking up his religious vocation. Some of the younger Chinese diplomats who had served under him in Paris in 1919, for example Wellington Koo, would go on to hold leading positions in the Chinese diplomatic corps such as that of minister of foreign affairs.[100]

Despite the disappointment of Paris 1919, Chinese diplomats would continue their quest to redress past injustices through engagement with the mechanisms of international diplomacy. They eventually made incremental progress toward revoking some of the unequal treaties. At the Washington Conference of 1920 –

我那時認外交總長，對於和會的提議，已早有準備， 我當時想設法把不平等條約取消，他們答應不答應那是另一事。我們既遇著這難得的機會， 務必把該說的話都說出，讓外國人知道中國已經有懂外交的人，已經不向清朝那般愚蠢，不懂國家的權利是什麼。我們在凡賽爾（sic）說話時，別國代表都睜眼相看，他們答說我們的要求超出他們的許可權以上。" From Luo Guang羅光, "Fangwen Lu Zhengxiang shenfu riji (xuwan) 訪問陸徵祥神父日記 (續完) (*Diary of Interviews with Father Lu Zhengxiang continuation and end*)" *Zhuanji wenxue* (*Biographical Literature*) 19, no. 6 (1971): 62.

98 Ibid.

99 Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment*, 193.

100 MacMillan, *Paris 1919*, 343.

1921 for instance, they obtained a statement of principle from the Great Powers to phase out the unequal treaties.[101] Lou Tseng-Tsiang, however, no longer played an important part in these efforts, as he had become more concerned with caring for his ailing wife, and then subsequently living his religious vocation as a Benedictine monk.

101 Julia C. Strauss, *Strong Institutions in Weak Polities: State Building in Republican China, 1927-1940* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1998), 153.

"And it is still not much different in Europe!" Understanding and Translating Anxiety: Homophile Emotional Ties Across the Atlantic 1950-1965

SÉBASTIEN TREMBLAY

Sébastien completed his BA in History and German Studies at the Université de Montréal in Canada and at the Freie Universität Berlin. He also spent a year abroad in Gießen, perfecting his languages skills and teaching French in a "Gesamtschule". After years of focusing on Gender History and Queer History, he now researches the transnational links between Germany and the United States in the postwar era, with a focus on the history of masculinities, homosexualities and emotions. Parallel to his studies, he is interested in memory cultures in Germany, genocidal studies, memories of the Holocaust and European far-right movements. His Masters thesis explores the convergence of militarized masculinities and homosexualities in the early German Federal Republic.

Reacting to social and state repression in 50s and 60s US-America, homosexuals tried to redefine their masculinities through the homophile movement. Through the analysis of compiled letters sent by its readership to the biggest US-American homophile magazine of the time, ONE, this paper states that some homosexuals expressed anxiety when confronted with a contemporary crisis in masculinity, for which they were blamed. Crossing the Atlantic, ONE and its Swiss multilingual counterpart Der Kreis/The Circle/Le Cercle offered new perspectives for many gay men and lesbians, breaking their isolation and carrying out their desires. This paper confirms a sort of understanding in Switzerland of what was being felt by US-American homosexuals and demonstrates that a translation of those feelings was possible. Each magazine interpreted homosexual realities with different emotional and literary styles when it came to respectability, culture and legal affirmation. However both acted as a new form of communication networks for members of their communities.

Presented in the Panorama section of the 64th Berlinale in February 2014, the Swiss film *Der Kreis* retells the true story of Ernst Ostertag and drag superstar Röbi Rapp amidst the social circles of Zurich's homophile movement in the first years of the 1940s. The story, told half in a traditional documentary fashion and half as a fiction, portrays Ernst as he goes to *Der Kreis* headquarters, a homophile magazine similar to another contemporary magazine in California: *ONE*. A discussion about the fate of the "US-American brothers" ensued where all protagonists expressed concern regarding the witch-hunt running amok during Senator Joseph McCarthy's era in Washington.[1] Seen from a global perspective, what was happening in US-America – Cold War inquisitions against communism paralleled with an almost pathological fear of homosexuality – seemed anchored in local po-

1 Stefan Haupt, "Der Kreis," (Switzerland: 2014).

litical culture. Indeed, one Dutch reader of *ONE* sent a letter in 1953 to the magazine on the West Coast showing his empathy for discriminated homosexuals and stated that "in Holland there [were] no McCarthys, who see in every homophile a communist."[2]

This scene is both intriguing and misleading. Although it is true that the postwar homophile movement had international ties and that some homosexuals expressed deep concern and empathy regarding what was happening across the Atlantic, it would be false to believe that every homosexual in Europe was interested or was standing in solidarity with their North American counterparts. However, global historians interested in the "navigation of feelings", to borrow William Reddy's 2001 book title, should look at the possibility offered them to inspect the level of understanding enabled by common bonds of oppression. If either the LGBT communities in California or Switzerland were oppressed under the yoke of sexual norms, the differing political and cultural contexts makes it hard for historians to parallel the emotional consequences and to develop an encompassing thesis. Nevertheless, the expression of feeling on both sides took similar proportions and analogous forms. *ONE: The Homosexual Magazine* from California and the multilingual Swiss *Der Kreis/The Circle/Le Cercle* offered new perspectives for many gay men and lesbians looking to break their isolation and carry out their desires without being ostracized. This paper will show that there was a sort of understanding in Switzerland of what was being felt by US-American homosexuals and that a translation of those feelings was possible. Both magazines interpreted homosexual realities with different emotional and literary styles when it came to respectability, culture and legal affirmation. However both acted as a new form of communication network for members of their communities. Indeed, an important place was accorded in each of them to the commentaries of eager readers and acted as a platform for social tirades, rebukes of the political *zeitgeist* or the expression of feelings. At the same time, the editors of both magazines received countless letters from subscribers articulating the various constellations of emotions experienced by their readership. According to Jan Plamper's claim that private letters are a good source with which to analyze feelings,[3] this paper will first examine an array of them, as they were sent to *ONE* in California, in order to emphasize a particular emotion that was evoked frequently by the magazine's readers: anxiety. Establishing that the magazine acted as a new emotional geographical space, it is possible to implement this new emotional communication network on a global scale and study the flow of emotions crossing the Atlantic and transposed by different authors in its Swiss equivalent. A scan of *Der Kreis*'s literature written by its leading figure Karl Meier (known as Rolf) and his colleagues, will then allow

2 Craig M. Loftin, Masked Voices: Gay Men and Lesbians in Cold War America, Suny Series in Queer Politics and Cultures (Albany: SUNY Press, 2012), 67.

3 Jan Plamper, *Geschichte und Gefühl Grundlagen der Emotionsgeschichte* (München: Siedler, 2012), 44-47

us to see if US-anxiety was understood in Europe. So doing, theories on translation and hermeneutics, juxtaposed to the Swiss publication, will lead to a better depiction of this understanding.

My experience as both a self-identified North American young gay historian and LGBTQI activist on both continents necessarily figures in my interpretations of the aforementioned letters. Indeed, the classification of such letters by historian, teacher and gay man, Craig M. Loftin, inspired me to write this piece. Still, a continuous reflection of my position while analyzing the letters only pushed further the various possibilities and limitations of literary translation and interpretation. This is especially important as the core of the paper actually tries to demonstrate how identity can be somehow problematic and lead to a mirage of understanding.

One Magazine as an Emotional Exchange Space

Although not as prominent as the amount of papers and publications on McCarthyism and the Red Scare, the state of research on the "Lavender Scare", the systemic discrimination, hunt and repression unleashed against people who did not fit into US-America's Cold War sexual norms and morals, has evolved considerably during the last decade. Studied as an integral part of history on its own, the inquisition against homosexuals is now analyzed to grasp the causes of such a collective paranoia. From Richard Hofstadter's studies on paranoia culture in the Cold War, to questionable conspiracy theories about a so-called "homosexual international", the history of homophobic repression in the early Cold War era cannot be separated from an analysis of the history of sexuality and a social and cultural history of nationalist representation. Thanks to the historians of sexuality John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, it is now possible to study the sexual conceptions and assumptions of US-America's sexuality in the 1950s up to the end of the 1960s. Moreover, the extensive archival research of young historians like Craig M. Loftin, and the engrossing studies on the persecution of gays and lesbians by historian David K. Johnson, put a term to propagandists' euphemisms ignoring the LGBT community's memory in mainstream publications on the Red Scare.[4] Indeed, the Cold War *Newspeak* (borrowing the expression from Orwell's dystopia) complicates the research on the subject due to the various amounts of idioms used as identifiers for non-heteronormative individuals. Such persons were often referred to as "moral weaklings", "sexual misfits", "moral risks", "misfits", "undesirables", and "security risks" and were blended by many historians into

4 LGBT will be here preferred to LGBTQI, Queer theory and queer being a relatively new frame of analysis and a relatively new emancipator identifier. Furthermore, the small amount of research on Intersexuality in the Cold War era deprived the author of this paper the necessary documentation to make any statement on the subject. Needless to say that the academic world would benefit from a deeper historical investigation on this subject.

broader categories of people considered disloyal at the time.[5] While other individuals, such as chronic gamblers and alcoholics, also fell into many of the same categories, recent archival examinations of the Federal Bureau of Investigations and the Central Intelligence Agency show that, most of the time, such categories were used as umbrella terms to repress and discriminate against gays, lesbians and trans* individuals.

Additionally, at the state and at the local level, citizens, media and law enforcement agencies started to push for better laws against what they considered "sexual psychopaths" and pushed for further action. In response to these calls, twenty-one states and the District of Columbia passed law against "sexual psychopaths" and child molesters between 1947 and 1955.[6] Congressman Miller, one of the instigators of these laws in Nebraska, also started pushing for a subcommittee that would be charged to study the "homosexual case" in the State Department in order to stop perverts from "succumb[ing] to conflicting emotions to the detriment of the national security". In his speech in Congress in 1950 he added that: "perhaps they [perverts] have relatives behind the iron curtain and thus would be subject to pressure […] the most flagrant example is the homosexual who is subject to the most effective blackmail."[7]

It is in this context, that discontented members of the Mattachine Society, the first homophile organization on the West Coast, created *One Magazine*, the first publication to actively promote homosexual viewpoints on the state of society. From 1953 onward, *ONE* published explicit rebukes of the repressive McCarthy era alongside short stories, erotica and news about the homophile state of affairs around the world. The latter, a collection of columns mingled together under the title "Tangents", was the main international springboard connecting *ONE* with the rest of a global movement that will be analyzed in the next chapter. This part of the magazine accompanied in each issue by the letters written by various gays and lesbians around the country (and beyond the national borders) show how *ONE* and its readership mutually influenced one another. However, it is also utterly important to acknowledge that even if *ONE* politicized some of its readership, the magazine's influence should not be overstated. According to Craig M. Loftin, the men and women reading and writing to the editors did not need to be introduced to a political impulse, but found nevertheless a way to articulate, clarify, and reinforce this impulse. Moreover many correspondents stated that they had

5 David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 7.

6 Fred Fejes, "Murder, Perversion, and Moral Panic: The 1954 Media Campaign against Miami's Homosexuals and the Discourse of Civic Betterment," Journal of the History of Sexuality 9, no. 3 (2000),318.

7 "Homosexuals in Government, 1950" Congressional Record, Volume 96 Part 4 81st Congress 2nd Session March 29 – April 24, accessed 29.03.2014, http://www.writing.upenn.edu/~afilreis/50s/gays-in-govt.html.

already come to comfortable terms with their homosexuality before encountering the magazine.[8]

In that sense, *ONE* magazine and the organization behind it (ONE Inc.) not only acted as a movement, but also created a new space that permitted some gays and lesbians to find new areas in which to explore their emotions and express them, knowing that they would be shared by individuals likewise oppressed and concerned with similar issues. An anonymous letter from October 1956 summarizes this aspect: "*ONE* is more than a magazine to me. It's a vehicle through which communion is made with thousands of brothers whose outlook, ideals, problems, etc. are my own. It is one of several important links with the world of our minority without which I would feel very parochial, not to say isolated."[9] This reader's claim exemplifies the idea that *ONE* should be examined under the scope of emotional geography.[10] The magazine had a clear editorial line, pushing forward the culture and appeals of the homophile movement. Nevertheless, various individuals belonging to various emotional styles could find common ground and participate in one persecuted emotional community.[11] This imagined gay and lesbian community could therefore enter the emotional geographical space offered by the magazine and interact with each other, and "use" the magazine to further certain emotional claims. At the same time they could consume the affective reactions caused by short stories or erotic photography. At this point it is also important to specify that some writers explicitly expressed their desire to be published and to express their thoughts and reactions in a national publication.[12] Furthermore, the strong and opinionated answers to articles and to other parts of the magazine clearly stipulated the aforementioned inter-relational aspect of the magazine. Some published letters had a clearly oppositional stance, refuting some editorial choices as well as other letters by fellow readers.[13] Additionally, this emotional geographical aspect evolved around a time-line specific for this particular emotional community. For example, in concordance with the needs of the community, election times, a period characterized by a renewal of intensive persecutions, were equally intensely discussed inside *ONE* magazine's borders.[14] Thus, more than a magazine to be consumed, *ONE* was an emotional exchange space, influenced by and influencing gays and lesbians.

It is also possible to interpret the new emotional space as a part of a larger communication network; a circuit enabling communication between a source of in-

8 Loftin, *Masked Voices*, 9.
9 Ibid., 18.
10 Mick Smith et al., "Geography and Emotion: Emerging Constellations," in *Emotion, Place, and Culture*, ed. Mick Smith et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 1-18.
11 Benno Gammerl, "Emotional Styles: Concepts and Challenges," *Rethinking History* 16, no. 2 (2012), 163.
12 Loftin, *Masked Voices*, 83.
13 Craig M. Loftin, "Unacceptable Mannerisms: Gender Anxieties, Homosexual Activism and Swish in the United States 1945-1965," *Journal of Social History* 40, no. 3 (2007), 577-598.
14 Loftin, *Masked Voices,* 85; for further information: Johnson, *The Lavender Scare.*

formation and the magazine's readership. According to historian Martin Meeker, this multi-directional circuit served as an inspiration to the surrounding emotional community. It ran from the readers to the publication and the other way around, helped to break down the walls isolating various individuals, and altered the process by which individuals could encounter ideas about identity and then articulate their own.[15] Meeker also points out the link between identity formation and community building and the specificity of homosexual history. He writes that the identification process involves; "feeling, longing, sensing and thinking and not necessarily firsthand experience and experiential knowledge of a particular place or groups of people."[16] Therefore, the desire to contact others via an amorphous geography, through a magazine, is a logical step in the affirmation of one's self. For that matter, Vivienne Cass' 1979 model of homosexual identity formation, borrowing a lot from the "coming-out" allegory, is useful to understand this logic. Cass' framework considers that identity formation is a developmental process. The first two steps of acceptance of one's non-heteronormative sexuality, "identity confusion" and "identity comparison", are pushed forward by establishing contacts with "others". Turning afterward a negative self-hatred to tolerance of oneself ("identity tolerance") the subject finally reaches the fourth stage, the one of acceptance ("identity acceptance").[17]

The textual aspect of this example of communication network and identity formation is also important in order to understand which kind of emotional space *ONE* could offer its readership. As Dariusz Galasinski mentions in his book *Men and the Language of Emotions*, textual communication provides three functions for emotional exchange: an ideational, an interpersonal, and a textual. Here the first two are of importance. Through their letters to the magazine and through the consumption of what *ONE* had to offer them, homosexuals could not only identify themselves to others, but also refer to realities they were keeping "inside" and express them on the "outside". By this they were exchanging and rendering intelligible their experience of the world.[18] So far, if *ONE'*s readership was using the magazine as a new space to create and participate in exchanges on their emotional realities, it is necessary to take a look at the specificity of emotional expressions.

15 Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s - 1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 11.

16 Ibid., 10.

17 Darren Langdridge, "Are You Angry or Are You Heterosexual: A Queer Critique of Lesbian and Gay Models of Identity Development," in *Feeling Queer or Queer Feelings? Radical Approaches to Counseling Sex, Sexualities and Genders*, ed. Lindsay Moon (London: Routledge, 2008), 24-26.

18 Dariusz Galasinski, *Men and the Language of Emotions* (Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2004), 22.

Masks, Surveillance and Anxiety in Lavender America

It can easily be a cliché to consider the 1950s as an "age of anxiety". Numerous scholars have already described the paranoia culture of the Cold War, the so-called crisis of masculinity or the postwar suburbanization culture.[19] Yet, one could argue that "anxiety" could be a useful concept to understand gay men's states of mind during the early years of the Cold War, as a mere suspicion of homosexuality could ruin their professional and love life, destroy their reputation, and alienate their family. Psychologist Evelyne Josse describes anxiety as: "a feeling of insecurity or of being threatened [and that] in contrast to fear, it can occur in the absence of any obvious danger or specific source of apprehension (context, place, person)." Furthermore, she advance that victims of anxiety:

> [A]re constantly worried and experience excessive and recurrent fears relating, for instance, to their health or that of their families, or to their future or that of their children. They generally have feelings of impending doom. They often have a morbid awareness of their problem (they know that their apprehension is exaggerated or unfounded) but they nonetheless find it difficult if not impossible to overcome. [20]

Homosexual historians working on homosexuality have argued that the well-known closet metaphor should be dismissed in order to introduce a mask metaphor already in use by people at the time.[21] Wearing a mask conjures the idea of resistance and agency, whereas the closet metaphor evokes fear and some sort of passivity. Following this mask metaphor, gay men always had to "wear heterosexuality" at the office, at home, in the streets, if they wanted to avoid sexual repression. In effect, *ONE*'s cover of its 1955 issue "Are homosexuals necessarily neurotics?" extended the idea that a prolonged life of perpetual anxiety could lead to further emotional problems. The homosexual body, as the core of the social experience, was constantly under threat as both the workplace and the private sphere could trigger fears concerning one's true sexuality.[22] Indeed, *ONE*'s editor, Dorr Legg, mentioned during a lecture at the magazine's institute that the trauma caused by the revelation of homosexual behaviors could leave a man completely shattered, because his carefully built-up world - his mask - was forcefully taken from him.[23] In a world where both conservatives and progressive forces were pub-

19 K. A. Cuordileone, "'Politics in an Age of Anxiety': Cold War Political Culture and the Crisis in American Masculinity, 1949-1960," The Journal of American History 87, no. 2 (2000), 537.

20 Evelyn Josse, "They Came with Two Guns: The Consequences of Sexual Violence for the Mental Health of Women in Armed Conflicts," in *International Review of the Red Cross* 92, no. 877 (2010), 9.

21 Loftin, *Masked Voices*, 4.

22 David Bele and Gill Valentin, *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities* (London: Routledge, 1995), 76.

23 Loftin, *Masked Voices: Gay Men and Lesbians in Cold War America*, 85.

licly humiliating homosexuals and where newspapers were divulging names of suspected ones, it is understandable that many gay men felt anxious, as their letters to the magazine stipulate.

Asked to retell her first experience with homosexual literature, lesbian mystery writer Katherin Forrest recalled that when she bought her first romance novel focusing on a same-sex relationship between two women, she felt her heartbeat through her chest crushed by a "gauntlet of fear" and remembers a "fear so intensive that I remember nothing more" before exiting the store in a hurry in possession of the book. The fear of getting caught, prosecuted and losing control over one's life marred the lives of numerous homosexuals at the time. This persistent fear or anxiety can also be traced in the communication network established by gay men via *ONE* magazine. Browsing through letters, historians shouldn't be surprised to find expressions of anxiety around the same three spheres where the repression was at its highest: with one's family, at one's job and the constant fear of criminal prosecution. Historians and specialists of the period known as the Lavender Scare have already analyzed the impact of Cold War politics on false accusations of espionage, communism and treatise formulated against gay men working white-collar jobs.[24] Hence the high percentage of letters discussing job anxieties closely intertwined with a perpetual fear of criminal punishment.[25] Cynically, if the mere presence of the magazine in one's apartment became both a possibility to drop the heterosexual mask and enter a communicative emotional space shared by other subscribers, it also became a source of anxiety, as a signifier of one's deviance from the heteronormative ideal.[26] Moreover, men not performing their gender "correctly" constituted a cause of anxiety for other men and were sometimes repressed as the quest to attain hegemonic ideals of masculinity prevailed. [27] This was not only to repress gays but to avoid causing in others a state of anxiety crisis. In reaction, the US-American homophile movement started to witch-hunt its own members in order to force men to conform to masculine stereotypes. In his study of homophile correspondence Craig M. Loftin noted a vigorous and harsh debate between readers of *ONE*, as some wanted to appeal to masculine norms of respectability and conceal their love for their sexual comrades and others were strictly denigrating fellow homosexuals that weren't consider manly enough. The latter despised the "fairy", the "swish", and the "queen" as shameful to the movement that tried to live in the shadow of the Lavender Scare.[28] In the play *Tea and Sympathy*, a fierce satire of the anti-communist inquisition and its effects on homosexuals, one character explains to the other, a "swish", how to pass for heterosexual. The exaggerated aspect of the description for humoristic purposes

24 K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare*, 17.
25 Loftin, *Masked Voices*, 85.
26 Loftin, *Letters to One*, 101.
27 R.W Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995).
28 Loftin, "Unacceptable Mannerisms", 577-580.

still illustrates perfectly the heterosexual mask forced on gay men's faces and the anxiety of the time:

> First watch your hands... Avoid the limp wrist as you would the plague... Learn to control the little finger. The "fairy finger" I've heard it called. Brawny truck drivers can stop at their diners and while sipping coffee hoist their little finger to the ceiling - and get away with it. But you can't Johnnie...[...] Crossing the legs is a universal posture of both sexes... The masculine way is to prop the ankle of one leg on the knee of the other; and to drop the elevated knee to such a level that the leg is almost parallel to the floor...[29]

Moreover, various letters published by ONE or sent to the editors demonstrate the endless fear of many homosexuals when it came to the consumption of same-sex desires. Those letters embodied what Foucault calls the "cycle de l'interdit" and exemplify the power of auto discipline and alienation when it comes to the repression of sexuality and affirmation of one's power over another. By constantly remembering that he shouldn't touch, approach, consume, desire, talk about, or appear as a form of transgression of the sexual norm, a gay man almost forgets to exist and perform his sexuality outside of secret circles.[30] Foucault argues that power only has one option against a deviant form of sexuality: a pernicious one. Thus, opting for auto regulation, as punishment hangs over him like the sword of Damocles, the homosexual man renounces his sexuality to appease his anxiety. However, historians shouldn't see this process as a form of shame, as transgression still took place in the emotional space covered by the magazine. Instead of looking at these letters as a testimony of passive anxiety, scholars should look at them as a form of emotional agency where homosexuals realized that something was wrong. As Foucault also stated in his work on the history of sexuality, the recognition of one's own oppression is a major step toward pride.[31] The model exposed previously elaborated by Cass asserts the same notion of reality check.

Unfortunately, the concealment of homosexual sexuality also deprived countless young men of information about their own sexuality. If many letters expressed homosexuals' anxiety toward losing their jobs and the idea of facing the state judicial apparatus, some other letters expressed young men's anxious feelings about their own desires, their own bodies. Neil, a young man from suburban Oakland, stumbling upon an issue of *ONE* looked for answers to diverse questions about his sexuality. Anxious about the idea of "anal copulation", Neil asked how he could manage to consume his desires for men around him without having to participate

29 Ibid., 584.
30 Michel Foucault, *Histoire De La Sexualité 1: La Volonté Du Savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), 110-111.
31 Ibid., 100.

in such acts he couldn't cope with.[32] In the same vein, John expressed his despair every time he was going to shower at work, as he was aroused by some of his colleagues' muscles and attributes. John was not only anxious about his own sexuality and bodily manifestations of his own desire (erections), but also feared to be discovered by his co-workers and friends and to lose both his job and probably his family.[33] Consequently, if such letters reached the editors' desk and went on to be published, the communication network offered by *ONE* did not only allow a new geographical space to discuss a common anxiety, but also proved to offer a pedagogical space where others could answer questions.[34]

Still, the emotional space created by *ONE* magazine only existed in the context of a broader society that decided to put an end to the destruction of US-values. In the context of the Cold War and persistent paranoia culture forwarded by McCarthyism this took the form of espionage, censorship and surveillance. Accordingly, historians should remember that many homosexuals were aware, at least the editors of the magazine, that every issue was being scrutinized by censors and by the FBI. Fugaté, the first member of *ONE* to put voluntarily his face in a gay national publication, dismissed his associates' fear before the publication by saying:

> Do you honestly believe the FBI hasn't secured every name and address by the simple means of photographing one of your monthly mailings when you brought it into the Post office? Or are you naive enough to suppose that there isn't a fat file on each of you (and me) and your activities in spite of your pseudonyms? Remember we do live in a Police State.[35]

According to Fugaté's declaration, it should be noted that letters published by ONE or even the letters sent to the editors with explicit plea not to be published probably already suffered from auto-censorship. Appropriately, those letters should not be considered the perfect expression of experienced emotions, of experienced anxiety. Contrary to numerous European homophile magazines providing its subscribers with a possibility to create links between pen pals, *ONE*'s board never deemed the situation safe enough.[36] Surveillance is best expressed by another John, who lost his job after writing a letter to ONE. Amidst various accusations of obscenity, it is almost normal that he suspected some kind of shadowing. He wrote in 1959:

> I am led to the belief that you never received either of my two letters. This implies that the post office opened them and read them (information which was never in-

32 Loftin, *Letters to One,* 82.
33 Ibid., 131.
34 Ibid., 140-141.
35 Loftin, *Masked Voices*, 29.
36 Ibid., 70.

> tended for their eyes) and then refused to deliver them to you. There was absolutely nothing in either letter...which was the less (sic) bit obscene or in any way unmailable. I know the trouble you've had and that a bunch at the Los Angeles post office ought to be ousted from their jobs and the whole rotten lot of them thrown in prison and the keys thrown away. But there's nothing I can do about it except tell you about it. That is, if this letter ever gets to you. Now, on those first two letters I did not put my return address on the outside. On this one I am. This may make a difference. If you receive this letter, I trust you will make a prompt reply via the enclosed envelope...[37]

Indeed, since the early 1870s, post office censorship had been a reality to cope with. At the time, Anthony Comstock, a leader in the YMCA movement had been pushing for new draconian measures to ban erotica and material he deemed obscene, especially anything sexually explicit. With the YMCA at his side, and surfing on the success of previous anti-obscenity statutes, Comstock started a federal campaign. He helped to pass the 1873 bill calling for the "Suppression or Trade in, and Circulation of, Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use" through the mail, then known as the Comstock Act. The new bill procured extra powers to the postmaster general, enabling him to seize material being sent through the mail.[38] In a time where mail was one of the only ways to secure subscribers to their monthly issues, the Comstock Act became, decades later, another obstacle to the homophile movement, and most particularly its international ties. Indeed, magazines crossing the northern border to Canada or sent to Europe added another layer of insecurity to foreign homophiles and adherents. Writing to the editors from Hamilton, Ontario on the 22nd of May 1958, Steven, a subscriber, expressed his problems with the Canadian authorities after the US-post office marked his correspondence as being forbidden and inappropriate[39]. In the same vein, *ONE Inc.* had to go to court (and eventually won) after one of its issues was called out as obscene for advertising *Der Kreis* on its back cover.[40] However, the post office laws did not only have repercussions for international mail. For example, Fernando, a New-Yorker writing on the 31st of July 1960 expressed his concerns on a "wave of decency" making his life miserable and causing him anguish. He stipulated that his trust in the post office had been lost for years and that he felt there was constant examination of his mail.[41]

As it has been so far demonstrated, the life of many homosexuals seems to have been marked by anxiety even though they were able to express it to their peers

37 Ibid, 102-103.
38 Meeker, *Contacts Desired Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s*, 19.
39 Loftin, *Letters to One: Gay and Lesbian Voices from the 1950s and 1960s*, 123.
40 Ibid, 9.
41 Ibid, 48.

and to a newly formed communication network, using *ONE* as an emotional geographical space. On the other hand, historians of emotions should not forget that anxiety is not necessarily a merely negative feeling. In his philosophical work on anxiety, Kierkegaard points out that anxiety can also be a spark, a push to new manifestations of freewill, of adaptation to crisis.[42] By exchanging on their anxieties, homosexuals could then find a sense of pride in what they accomplished. Martin Block, the first editor of *ONE,* stated that one of the magazine's goals was to give the opportunity to fellow homosexuals to look at themselves in the mirror and be proud for the first time of what they were.[43] The tone of many letters published in the magazine's history was not one of utter despair but of resilience to external forces, a sort of get-together of everyone's anxiety in order to find new strategies to overcome the numerous difficulties of being gay at the time. A letter published on the 3rd March 1963, written by a young man named Trent, illustrates this side of the story. It is unclear if Trent meant the editors or the readership he refers to in his letter, but he wrote (as many others have done): "You, have given me courage and strength over the years far more then you can ever know." He then goes on expressing his concerns and numerous anxious aspects of his life as a non-heteronormative man in Cold War America.[44]

Post-war sexuality expert, Dagmar Herzog, claimed that historians too often forget that the 1950s was also a period of sexual contestation.[45] Additionally, Meeker has already shown in his work on communication networks that homophile activists paved new pathways of interaction between homosexuals and pursued them over decades. In so doing, they helped to break the isolation of many and expand the homosexual world[46]. However, if this resistance and sharing of each other's emotions helped some homosexuals to overcome their anxiety, or to at least express it, how can translation theory help historians to analyze if Meeker's communication networks really worked on the international level? The homophile movement did have global ties, especially in the Western World, but how did cross-linguistic and cultural contexts affect the readings of the aforementioned US-American anxieties?

42 Loftin, Masked Voices, 10.
43 Eric Marcus, *Making History the Struggle for Gay and Lesbian Equal Rights, 1945-1990; an Oral History* (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 1992), 41.
44 Loftin, *Letters to One*, 18.
45 Jennifer V. Evans, "The Long 1950s as Radicals in-Between: The Photography of Herbert Tobias," in *Queer 1950s: Rethinking Sexuality in the Postwar Years*, ed. Heike Bauer and Matt Cook (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2012), 14.
46 Meeker, *Contacts Desired Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s*, 35.

A Circle of Translation: Der Kreis *and its understanding of US-Anxiety*

In every issue of *ONE*, one section, "Tangents", was reserved for international news about worldwide homophile topics, or merely short stories including travel diaries and personal fantasies. While its flirtation with Orientalism should not be ignored, these monthly columns provided subscribers with an open door to numerous other communication networks. Amidst many ties to other magazines, the ties with *Der Kreis* from Zurich remained of utter importance, as they were one of the biggest and oldest magazines. It was common matter for authors of *Der Kreis* to travel to the USA and share their experiences in the English section of the trilingual periodical. In the same vein, Rolf (Karl Meier) traveled to California to visit *ONE*'s editors and stayed at various collaborators' apartments.[47] He even sent a number of thank you notes and gave a speech about *ONE* at the next ball organized by *Der Kreis* in Zurich. Similarly, *ONE*'s editors organized a travel week in Europe for young homophiles in the beginning of the 1960s. Meier took the participants to the Alps and celebrated with them the worldwide connections of the homophile movement.[48] Additionally, the English authors collaborating with *Der Kreis*, nearly all originating from the United States, went to great lengths to describe the North-American situation to Swiss subscribers. For example, the leading figure of the Anglophone section of the magazine, Rudolf Jung, recalled in various issues and his private correspondence the good souvenirs he had from his time in New York City. *ONE*'s editors showed him the metropolis' marvels from the top of the Empire State Building in 1958, leaving a strong impression on him.[49]

The emotional situation and political context in the United States preoccupied the readership of *Der Kreis* as the magazine kept on delivering, similarly to the "tangent" section in *ONE*, a summary of the political situation across the globe. The situation in US-America was entitled to two special issues in the 1950s alone. The Anglophone section of the magazine was especially fond of Richard Plant's (formerly Plaut) stories. Growing up in Frankfurt am Main, Plant moved back to Basel after twenty years in the USA. In his short descriptions of American lives, Plant tried to mark the differences between the Europeans and their counterparts across the Atlantic. His writing focusing on homosexual life in the Big Apple or in Massachusetts portrays US-citizens as more inhibited than the Europeans thought they were. He stated that especially after the McCarthy witch-hunt, homosexuals in the North American Republic had learnt to cover their tracks and pursue "normal" lives.[50] The time away from North America may have blurred Plant's vision

47 Loftin, *Masked Voices*, 72.
48 Ibid.
49 Hubert Kennedy, "The Ideal Gay Man: The Story of Der Kreis," *Journal of Homosexuality* 38, no. 12 (1999), 38
50 Ibid., 39.

of his past homophile ties in the United States, as the letters sent to *ONE* and the articles published in the Californian monthly described a time of great upheavals in the US-homophile movement. While the movement in California denounced their position as scapegoats for many Cold War deceits and faced the consequences for this, the Swiss faction focused much more on respectability and avoiding making waves, even to the extent of avoiding contesting the law at all. Indeed, Meier was always proud to discard other magazines, like the Danish *Vennen,* as "enfants terribles". He also pointed out that *Der Kreis* was included in Bern's National Library catalogue and *de facto* had no problem with the authorities.[51]

This association with the establishment should not be considered as a proof that Swiss homosexuals did not feel anxiety. According, for example, to one post from Meier in July 1960, his subscribers appeared to have problems writing about the positive aspects of living a homosexual life. Commenting on the entries to the second short story contest organized by *Der Kreis* and urging more would-be writers to use their plumes, Meier expressed his concerns about the dramatic aspects of each received story. Unease at the amount of stories evolving around fear, he appealed for more contributions regarding "that cheerful-considered element that does not burden our being and being 'so' with such weight."[52] It is probably impossible to know exactly why subscribers were more focused on the negative aspects of homosexual lives, but the lives of homosexuals in Switzerland and in Europe in general was not an easy ride. From the West-German §175 criminalizing sexual intercourses deemed "against nature", to police raids across the continent, the situation was similar across the continent. Actually, Meier himself commented in July 1964 on the situation in the USA and compared it to what was going on in Switzerland and in Europe. He stated:

> the McCarthy process in America seems to have more or less run into the sand. Or better said: there is no end to it, for even if the American public has had more than enough of the painful play of tricks that the world has been offered by it, there will follow numerous smaller processes for "false accusations and perjury" here and there. And it is still not much different in Europe! Confiscation of books that treat our theme, confiscation of pictures that glorify beautiful young men, without being immoral, not to mention obscene, attempts to destroy serious periodicals even when they are directed only to those with the same feelings all this we also know in Switzerland in spite of the law that allows adults the freedom of erotic relationships.[53]

To what extent did Meier understand the reality of McCarthyism when he wrote those words? The world homophile movement, in an American or Swiss context, faced similar oppressions and repression. Nevertheless, they also differed, espe-

51 Loftin, *Masked Voices*, 71.
52 Kennedy, "The Ideal Gay Man: The Story of Der Kreis," 59.
53 Ibid, 94.

cially in their respective contexts. Despite this, they were two different emotional spaces and two communication networks merging together on a global scale. Stephan Fuchs, professor of sociology at the University of Virginia wrote in his 2001 book Against Essentialism: A Theory of Culture and Society that when two cultures interact and overlap up to a certain important degree, numerous problems encountered in the process of translation merge and divergences become less severe.[54] So how could homophiles from Switzerland read Richard Plant's short stories and Meier's comments on McCarthyism and understand the anxiety felt by *ONE*'s subscribers? According to Fuchs, two similar Western cultures, such as the Swiss and the US-American, should find a path to understanding each others' feelings. What could be considered similar and what could not when it comes to the homophile movement?

Before carrying on with further analysis, the issue of language remains. In their introduction to their volume *Emotions in Crosslinguistic Perspective*, Jean Harkins and Anna Wierzbicka argue against the notion that emotions are universal and exist in fixed linguistic forms. Calling out on the ethnocentricity of such a claim, they demonstrate how words like "fear" and "anger" in English could have no equivalent in other languages.[55] Galasinski, in his aforementioned study on men and emotions, also criticized the same notion, adding that emotional words could have multiple forms in different languages. For him the word "fear" could be understood differently in Polish, as the concept could be interpreted as: *starch*, *lek* or *obawa.*[56] As a result, the trilingual aspect of *Der Kreis* is interesting, as the English speaking part of the magazine was the one dealing the most with the situation in US-America. Nevertheless, the readership was not only constituted of English native speakers and, as it was previously stated, some issues over the years were dedicated specially to the problem on the other side of the Ocean and therefore in German and in French as well as English. Moreover, the communication network of *Der Kreis*, allowing exchange in three languages about various subjects, complicated the matter, as the communication was already being translated from one language to another. Furthermore, the issue of language can only be considered the tip of the iceberg when it comes to understanding. Even if speaking the same language, two homosexuals, already being different people, can associate different ideas with exactly the same word in the same context. Even in an emotional space outside of hegemonic masculinity, the plurality of homosexual contexts can easily lead to two different readings of the word "anxiety", even if the two were born and raised in the same city, are of the same age and speak the same language.

54 Stephan Fuchs, Against Essentialism: A Theory of Culture and Society (Harvard University Press, 2001), 81.
55 Jean Harkins and Anna Wierzbicka, *Emotions in Crosslinguistic Perspective* (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 5.
56 Galasinski, *Men and the Language of Emotions* , 4.

On the other hand, for Gadamer, understanding - being always contextual - is only possible through hermeneutics as everyone is construed by "prejudices". Yet sustained dialogue between two cultures, even if they are alien to each other, permits a "merging of horizons". Indeed, for Gadamer, when two cultures are part of the same *Wirkungsgeschichte*, as it could be argued for the Swiss and US-American homophile culture in the 1950s and 1960s, the hermeneutical circle of translation can become productive, as understanding and the lack of it is exchanged back and forth by protagonists of the same story.[57] In other words, by reading in similar ways letters and short stories about each other and exchanging their feelings about comparable oppressions, Swiss and US-American homophiles could move toward better understanding. Stephen Fuchs advances that the process proposed by Gadamer is a never-ending one. Thus there is no "one accurate understanding", but understanding becomes possible.

However, sociologist Martin Fuchs, in his writing on representation and translation, disagrees with Gadamer as the gap between contextual experiences and the reading of such experiences is too wide to be overcome. For Fuchs even if reflections on translation have evolved over the years, the ability to understand the translation of someone's own translation of the world around them seems impossible.[58] Yet, William Reddy, in his book The Navigation of Feelings argues that 'translation' is a good replacement for the post-structuralist concept of sign, to rise above the signifier/signified dichotomy. Reddy uses the example of (the image) of a circle [item 1] and the words "a drawn circle" [item 2]. Both items are expressions of a similar concept: the circle. Instead of arguing that one item is the signified and the other is merely a signification of the original one, or the signifier, Reddy advances that both are a translation of the same idea.[59] For him, the connection between both items seems to lay somehow at the juncture point, in their resemblance. In the same vein, Ricoeur writes that even in misunderstandings the idea is supported by a prior concept of meta-level understanding.[60]

Even if one agrees with Martin Fuchs when it comes to analysis of emotional contexts and the experience behind them, Ricoeur's and Reddy's ideas on translation can help the historian to understand how homophiles could meet each other halfway on the path to understanding. In other words, instead of focusing on differences, historians of emotions should focus on similarities. Communicating through plural forms, homosexuals in Switzerland and in the United States expressed concerns about what was going on in the rest of the world and how their counterparts across the Atlantic were experiencing repression. Ironically, the op-

57 Stephan Fuchs, *Against Essentialism,* 82.
58 Martin Fuchs, "Reaching out; or, Nobody Exists in One Context Only: Society as Translation," *Translation Studies* 2, no. 1 (2009), 21-40.
59 William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling a Framework for the History of Emotions*, (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 2001), 79-80.
60 John B. Thompson, *Critical Hermeneutics a Study in the Thought of Paul Ricoeur and Jürgen Habermas* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1981), 77.

pression afflicting homosexuals in Europe and North America, if different in its contexts and outline, may have been the door to an understanding of the fear or anxiety expressed on both sides. Swiss homosexuals could read stories and travel diaries about anxious homosexuals in California or New York City and transpose their own feelings of fear into them. By translating their emotions via those expressed by others, they already understood them. This is not to say that the US-American signified anxiety was understood completely, but it would confirm Gadamer's never ending fusion of horizons.[61]

Conclusion

From California to Zurich, the postwar years were harsh for homosexuals. However, the Queer 1950s and 60s of Heike Bauer and Matt Cook are both the decades of aspiration to struggle and internalised anxieties.[62] In that sense, Gadamer's never ending fusion of horizons is a never ending story of exchange that eventually led to a more global movement. That being said, homosexuals of the time, almost whispering the word, could not have foreseen the mass communication of today's transnational movements.[63] In the same way, global exchanges of overseas experiences and struggles did not mean back then, as it does today, that homosexuals from both side of the Atlantic could grasp an exact understanding of each other's fears and anxieties. This paper intended to demonstrate that there is no incommensurability in understanding and that if historians would not focus only on differences it would be possible to accept that one interpretation of a given emotion, here anxiety, can be perceived as a partial understanding. Translation of feelings, even if they lead to misunderstandings, are still set in an exchanging process between two, and indeed a plurality of, actors.

For that reason, it is possible to recognize that subscribers and editors of *Der Kreis* could have understood anxiety expressed by *ONE*'s readership. If one sees either magazine as a communication network it is tempting to merge them into one big emotional homophile exchange space that pushed solidarity. Historians, always critical of their sources, know that such an immense claim for international solidarity, if not whimsical, would be at least an oversimplification, as both magazines were implemented in their own culture and contexts, distinct from one another. This is exactly where global historians and global historians of emotions can observe how both fields of studies can learn from each other. Historians of

61 Ibid, 75.

62 V. Evans, "The Long 1950s as Radicals in-Between: The Photography of Herbert Tobias," in *Queer 1950s: Rethinking Sexuality in the Postwar Years,* ed. Heike Bauer and Matt Cook (Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) 1-12.

63 Joe Binnie and Christian Klesse, "Researching Transnational Activism around Lgbtq Politics in Central and Eastern Europe: Activist Solidarities and Spatial Imaginings," in *De-Centering Western Sexualities: Central and Eastern European Perspectives*, ed. Robert Kulpa and Joanna Mizielinska (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 107-129.

emotions and sociologists like Martin Fuchs, suspicious of universal claims to total understanding, may temper the enthusiasm of the latter who would recall that Global History is not a synonym for a total history of a global world. Indeed, if both magazines, and both emotional spaces, had differences, they also shared ties. Editors from both publications shared friendships as both readers and writers exchanged on personal situations. The anxieties in the USA to lose one's job, to be under constant surveillance by the post office or to be discovered as a homosexual could have been recalled by Swiss subscribers and editors as they were facing a similar oppression based on sexual norms in Europe. Gay activists in the United States and in Switzerland did not invent homosexual activism, they adapted a form of resistance that existed on the international level and gave it a written form. That two magazines were founded so far apart also depicts the possibility that such oppression, though different in its form, could lead to a similar reaction. That being said, there is then a possibility of understanding a trail of anxiety: from the pen of a young man in Kansas expressing his anxiety to *ONE*'s editors, across the Atlantic to the discussion of two homosexuals in Zurich reading about it.

An Armchair Scholar's World: Cornelius de Pauw and the Global Discourse of Historiography in the late Enlightenment

JULIAN ZUR LAGE

Julian zu Lage has both a BA (2013) and MA (2015) in history from the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. This paper is based on his master's thesis on American historiography in the late 18th Century. He is currently a PhD student in Osnabrück, in the graduate program 'Wissensspeicher und Argumentationsarsenal. Funktionen der Bibliothek in den kulturellen Zentren der Frühen Neuzeit' which was created in cooperation with the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. His thesis will focus on the role of libraries in regards to German 18th-Century compilations on the non-European world.

Cornelius de Pauw was one of the most controversial scholars of the 18th Century, sparking major disputes with his *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américans* and *Recherches philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois*. Although none of his works covered the whole world, they all featured a concept of global thinking: De Pauw's main objectives were a Eurocentric critique of the developmental stage of non-European cultures and an anti-colonialist critique of European knowledge of global issues. This negative portrayal prompted replies, favorable and unfavorable, from Enlightenment philosophers like Denis Diderot and Voltaire as well as harsh opposition from all over the world. Jesuit Missionaries from China and the Spanish Empire, Caribbean planters, and Politicians from the United States such as Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton were among those opposing de Pauw's style of critical compilation while claiming local authority against an author who had never left Europe.

Introduction: Global Historiography in 18th Century Europe

The decades following the Seven Years War, or French and Indian War in North America, can be described using terms like a "phase of accelerated globalization"[1] or "The first age of global imperialism"[2], coined by Ottmar Ette or C. A. Bayly, respectively. After the war, fought from Manila in the East to the Great Lakes in the West, European interest in the rest of the world rose rapidly. This increase was not only due to the war; other concurrent developments like the Atlantic revolutions, growing economic dependencies, and voyages in the Pacific Ocean played

1 Ottmar Ette, "Archeologies of Globalization. European Reflections on Two Phases of Accelerated Globalization in Cornelius de Pauw, Georg Forster, Guillaume-Thomas Raynal and Alexander von Humboldt", *Culture & History Digital Journal* 1(2012), accessed August 31 2015, doi: 10.3989/chdj.2012.003.

2 Christopher Alan Bayly, "The first age of global imperialism, c. 1760–1830", The Journal of Imperial and Com*monwealth History*, 26 (1998): 28–47, accessed August 31, 2015, doi: 10.1080/03086539808583023.

a significant role as well. All of these events inspired new additions to the already high number of texts on the non-European world. By the end of the century traveler's accounts were available for almost every part of the world and printed in large numbers.[3]

The combination of the growing interest in global topics and the availability of a vast number of texts on the non-European world laid the foundation for the emergence of European armchair scholars in the second half of the 18th Century. Works of authors who had never left Europe dominated the debates in a number of intertwined fields including history, natural history, philosophy and geography. French and British historians and philosophers tried to form a view of the world or mankind as a whole but sometimes, more specifically, focused on European Expansion and early globalization. The vast number of 18th Century works within this framework included publications of some of the best-known philosophers of the Enlightenment like Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Herder. The philosophical view usually emphasized a general concept of humanity, while other authors focused on colonialism and the non-European world from a historiographical perspective. [4]

The latter were usually closer to concepts of globalization: The most important work was probably the *Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Établissemens et du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* by the Abbé Raynal and a number of other contributors including Denis Diderot.[5] Further notable historiographical works with global perspectives, such as the *Modern Part* of the British *Universal History*, the *Histoire générale des voyages* collected by the Abbé Prévost, and lesser-known projects like the Abbé Roubaud's *Histoire générale de l'Asie, de l'Afrique et de l'Amérique,* were published in the 1740s to 1770s as well.

Cornelius de Pauw[6] does not fully fit into that group for a number of reasons. His oeuvre consists of several publications on different parts of the world, not a single publication with a global makeup. His debut *Recherches Philosophiques*

3 Sebastian Conrad, "Enlightenment in Global History: A Historiographical Critique," *The American Historical Review* 117, (2012), 1009-1011.

4 Jennifer Pitts, "The Global in Enlightenment Historical Thought," in *A Companion to Global Historical Thought*, edited by Prasenjit Duara, Viren Murthy, and Andrew Sartori, (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 187-191.

5 The first edition was published anonymously in 1770, two editions with major alterations in 1774 and 1780. Only the latter carried Raynal's name, although, ironically, the uncredited contributions of other authors were largely augmented in the later versions: [Guillaume-Thomas-François Raynal], comp: *Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Établissemens et du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 6 vols. (Amsterdam, 1770).; Guillaume-Thomas-François Raynal, comp, *Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Établissemens et du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 10 vols. (Geneva: Jean-Leonard Pellet, 1780).

6 De Pauw's name can be found in several different versions. His first name was rarely mentioned by his contemporaries, in modern works he is also referred to as 'Cornelis' or 'Corneille'. For the last name, early responses often omitted the affix 'de' or the 'u', often addressing him as 'M. Paw'. His own publications after 1776 were printed under the name 'de Pauw', conforming with 'de P***' used in his older anonymous books. In accordance with

sur les Américains, ou Mémoires intéressants pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Espèce humaine[7] and some follow-ups[8] covered the new world, *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois*[9] added two more continents to his portfolio. His last surviving work, *Recherches philosophiques sur les Grecs*[10], focused on ancient Athens, thus contributing less to his global concepts. Additionally, de Pauw's eccentricity has sometimes been considered as too much of an obstacle for an in-depth examination.[11] Despite growing interest in the past few decades, two essays from 1926 and 1936 still provide most of the biographical background.[12]

Still, de Pauw might be the most interesting armchair scholar for several reasons. First, he had very limited personal contact with inhabitants of other continents or even travelers, as he rarely left his monastery in Xanten. With the exception of two stays at the court of Frederick the Great, he only worked with books and letters and is therefore one of the best examples of scholarship without personal experience. Second, despite his low profile nowadays, de Pauw sparked some of the most intense debates of the 18th Century, as shown by Antonello Gerbi.[13] His adversaries included some of the most renowned philosophers of his age, but also authors from geographical outskirts of the Republic of Letters. Lastly, de Pauw's deeply rooted eurocentrism combined with a profound critique of European knowledge of the non-European world is one of the most radical, yet remarkable concepts of a global world in the late Enlightenment.

many 20th and 21st-Century works written in English or German, 'Cornelius de Pauw' or 'de Pauw' will be used in this paper, without capitalization in the latter case.

7 [Cornelius de Pauw], *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains, ou Mémoires intéressants pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Espèce humaine,* 2 vols. (Berlin: G. J. Decker, 1768/69).

8 Most importantly [Cornelius de Pauw], *Défense des Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains*, (Berlin: Antoine-Joseph Pernety, 1771).Cornelius de Pauw, "Amérique, (Hist. & Géographie)", in: *Supplément à l'Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers par une Société de gens de lettres*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Robinet, (Amsterdam, 1776), 343–354. De Pauw wrote other entries for the *Supplément* as well, for example on one of his favorite topics, the alleged Patagonian giants.

9 [Cornelius de Pauw], *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois*, 2 vols. (Berlin: G. J. Decker, 1773).

10 Cornelius de Pauw, *Recherches philosophiques sur les Grecs*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1787).

11 For example Gilbert Chinard, "Eighteenth Century Theories on America as a Human Habitat," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 91 (1947), 35. See David Anthony Brading, *The First America. The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State 1492-1867*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 23 for a more recent and moderate assessment for de Pauw's obscurity.

12 Gisbert Beyerhaus, "Abbé de Pauw und Friedrich der Grosse, Eine Abrechnung mit Voltaire, " *Historische Zeitschrift* 134 (1926), 465–469. Henry Ward Church, "Corneille De Pauw, and the Controversy over his Recherches Philosophiques Sur Les Américains," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 51 (1936), 178–180.

13 Antonello Gerbi, *The Dispute of the New World: The History of a Polemic, 1750-1900*, rev. and enl. ed., (Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1973).

Cornelius de Pauw's Global Concepts

De Pauw's three major works – on America, Egypt and China, and ancient Greece – would hardly seem connected at first glance. The distances in time and space which separate these objects of study are remarkable, yet he considered each subsequent publication a logical follow-up:

> Après avoir publié successivement des observations touchant des peuples sauvages et abrutis, tels que les Américains; et ensuite touchant des nations condamnées à une éternelle médiocrité, telles que les Egyptiens et les Chinois, nous tâcherons de compléter enfin cette longue suite de discussions relatives à l'Histoire naturelle de l'Homme, par des recherches entreprises sur les Grecs, qui portèrent à un tel degré la culture des arts et des sciences, que nos regards aiment toujours à se diriger vers ce point du globe qui fut nous la source de la lumière.[14]

This passage emphasizes two core elements of de Pauw's philosophy: The general notion of European superiority and especially the gradual assessment of cultures in the framework of the development of mankind. The latter is closely related to concepts of *stadial* or *conjectural* history as fathered by Scottish contemporaries of de Pauw. When the *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Grecs* were published in 1787, the most important Scottish works had been available for at least a decade, such as William Robertson's *History of America*, published in 1777.[15] Yet, de Pauw had already formed the concept in his first work in 1768, preceding John Millar's *Observations Concerning the Distinction of Ranks in Society* (1771) as well as Lord Kames' *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774):

> C'est l'agriculture qui a conduit les hommes par la main, de degrés en degrés, de la constitution agreste à la constitution politique.[16]

Considering the attention de Pauw's *Recherches* gained in just a few years, his concepts may have had more influence than has previously been considered. In combination with the quotation on the general outlines of his works, it becomes apparent that Europe was styled as the peak of human development. De Pauw built on the Comte de Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle* when he outlined his version of the degeneracy thesis, claiming the inferiority of all inhabitants of the Americas

14 De Pauw: *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Grecs*, vol. 1, I. In order to reflect the importance of nuances in the original phrasing, French quotations were not translated in this paper.
15 William Robertson, *The History of America*. 2 vols (London: W. Strahan; T. Cadell, 1777). See Karen O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment. Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 132-136 for a detailed analysis.
16 De Pauw, *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains*, vol. 1, 99.

due to climatic causes.[17] Ancient Egypt and 18th Century China were described as more highly developed than the New World cultures, yet unable to reach the European level.

Both his contemporaries and modern authors have criticized de Pauw's overly negative picture of the non-European world. The first author to oppose the *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains*, Antoine-Joseph Pernety, considered the concepts to be directed only against America:

> une hypothèse enfantée par une imagination un peu trop enivrée de tendresse pour notre Hémisphère & pour ses habitants.[18]

In the quoted paragraph, Pernety, a Benedictine librarian at the court of Frederick, accused de Pauw of partiality towards the Old World. Alexander Hamilton attacked de Pauw in a similar fashion in one of the Federalist Papers. For him, the *Recherches* were the prime example of a European text claiming authority on American topics without actual competence:

> Facts have too long supported these arrogant pretensions of the Europeans. It belongs to us to vindicate the honor of the human race, and to teach that assuming brother, moderation.[19]

Remarkably, Hamilton called for a defense of humanity, not only of the population of the newly founded United States. Despite addressing an American audience on the unrelated topic of *commerce and a navy*, Hamilton unveiled the whole degree of de Pauw's eurocentrism in just a short paragraph. Most European adversaries, including Voltaire and the aforementioned Pernety, only pointed out de Pauw's flaws in regards to one part of the world.[20]

Today's assessment of de Pauw puts additional emphasis on his eurocentrism to the degree of condemning the phrasing as too light.[21] Although this evaluation seems ethically convincing, 'eurocentrism' is the best-fitting term for de Pauw's

17 An overview on the degeneracy thesis James W Ceaser, *Reconstructing America. The Symbol of America in Modern Thought* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press 1997), 19-22.

18 Antoine-Joseph Pernety, *Dissertation sur l'Amérique et les Américains, contre les Recherches Philosophiques de Mr. de P.*, (Berlin: Antoine-Joseph Pernety, 1770), 13. Pernety later also published [Antoine-Joseph Pernety], *Examen des Recherches Philosophiques sur l'Amérique et les Américains, et de la Défense de cet Ouvrage*. 2 vols. (Berlin: Antoine-Joseph Pernety, 1771).

19 [Alexander Hamilton], "The Federalist 11. The utility of the Union in respect to commerce and a navy," in: *The Federalist Papers,* ed. Lawrence Goldman, (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2008), 60.

20 For Voltaire, see[Voltaire]: *Lettres chinoises, indiennes et tartares: A Monsieur Paw, par un bénédictin. Avec plusieurs autres pieces intéressantes*, (London, 1776), 16.

21 Ottmar Ette, *Alexander von Humboldt und die Globalisierung: Das Mobile des Wissens* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 2009), 60, instead describes de Pauw's concepts as dehumanizing („menschenverachtend").

historiographical approach, as Roger Mercier has shown.[22] De Pauw was one of the most ardent opponents of a romanticization of the 'savages', as adapted from the works of Jean Jacques Rousseau. Pernety and especially the anonymous 'philosophe la Douceur', another adversary publishing in Berlin around 1770, followed in Rousseau's footsteps instead.[23]

In light of the dominance of eurocentrism in his works, the historiographical value of de Pauw seems to be slim. However, his criticism did not spare the colonial powers and especially the European knowledge of the world. De Pauw is usually considered one of the strictest anti-colonialists of his period, as he not only criticized European atrocities abroad, but also challenged the general notion of European rule in foreign continents. His anti-colonialism advocates an isolationist policy in order to benefit both Europe and the non-European cultures, especially in regards to the newly discovered Pacific Islands.[24]

Additionally, he attached utmost importance to the dispelling of myths on any of his topics. The *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois* were based on de Pauw's attempt to disprove that China was originally an Egyptian colony. Popularized by one of the leading French orientalists, Joseph de Guignes, this theory had gained support throughout Europe. From his position in the royal Académie, de Guignes reinforced his older works after de Pauw's publication.[25] The debate did not have a clear victor, but de Pauw had managed to bring de Guignes' idea under scrutiny.

De Pauw's skepticism was not limited to certain theories opposing his negative view of non-European cultures, as some of his adversaries presumed.[26] He systematically disputed all texts he used based on the older trope of the bad qual-

22 Roger Mercier, "Image de l'autre et image de soi-même dans le discours ethnologique au XVIIIe siècle, " in: *Facing Each Other. The World's Perception of Europe and Europe's Perception of the World*, ed. Anthony Pagden. 2 vols. (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2000), vol. 1, 223.

23 *De l'Amérique et des Américains: ou observations curieuses du philosophe La Douceur, qui a parcouru cet hémisphere pendant la dernière guerre, en faisant le noble métier de tuer des hommes sans les manger*. (Berlin, 1771), 68.

24 See Klaas van Berkel, "'That Miserable Continent': Cultural Pessimism and the Idea of 'America' in Cornelis de Pauw", in: *Revolutionary Histories. Transatlantic Cultural Nationalism 1775-1815*, ed. Wilhelmus M Verhoeven (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 150f. Susanne M. Zantop, "Dialcetics and Colonialism: The Underside of the Enlightenment," in: *Impure Reason. Dialectic of Enlightenment in Germany*, eds. Daniel W. Wilson and Robert C. Holub (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1993), 315 on the other hand describes de Pauw as a supporter of a ‚better' prussian colonialism.

25 Joseph de Guignes, *Réponse aux doutes proposés par M. Deshautesrayes, sur la Dissertation qui a pour titre: Mémoire dans lequel on prouve, que les Chinois sont une Colonie Egyptienne* (Paris: Lambert, 1759). Joseph de Guignes, "Observations sur quelques points concernant la Religion & la Philosophie des Égyptiens & des Chinois," in: *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, avec Les Mémoires de Littérature tirés des Registres de cette Académie, depuis l'année M. DCCLXXIII, jusques & compris l'année M. DCCLXXV, & une partie de M. DCCLXXVI : Mémoires de Littérature, Tirés des Registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres* (Paris: L'Imprimerie Royale, 1780), 163–186.

26 De Pauw, *De l'Amérique et des Américains*, 10.

ity of traveler's accounts. Rousseau had authored the best-known version in his *Discours*, focusing on the professions of travelers:

> II n'y a guéres que quatre sortes d'hommes qui fassent des voyages de long cours; les Marins, les Marchands, les Soldats, & les Missionaires; Or on ne doit guéres s'attendre que les trois premiéres Classes fournissent de bons Observateurs, & quant à ceux de la quatriéme … [, ils] détourneraient des travaux plus importans auxquels ils se destinent.[27]

While this negative portrayal of uneducated travelers might have sparked limited responses, the description of missionaries proved influential. De Pauw was one of the authors to adopt the concept; he generalized the allegations of incompetence and added an accusation of intent. In three steps, he turned the trope of the 'lying traveler' into a claim for his own competence as a distant viewer.

> C'a toujours été le privilege, & peut-être aussi la récompense de ceux qui ont découvert des terres nouvelles &lointaines, d'en conter des prodiges qui ne devroient pas survivre à leur Auteurs, s'il n'étoit dans l'instinct du vulgaire de se passionner longtemps pour des absurdités venues de loin, & attestées par des aveugles ou par des fourbes.[28]

In the first *Recherches*, de Pauw cast a general doubt on all kinds of written accounts and lamented the credulity of the European public. These allegations were less apologetic than Rousseau's, but had not been able to support the armchair scholar's claim for competence. The second step followed in *Defense*, originally directed against Pernety:

> Au reste, on peut établir un regle générale, que sur 100 Voyageurs, il y en a 60 qui mentent sans intérêt, & comme par imbécillité, 30 qui mentent par intérêt, ou si l'on veut par malice.[29]

This sentence sharpened the accusations again, claiming that 90 percent of traveler's accounts were fraudulent. With the presumed unreliability of the vast majority of texts, skepticism would have necessarily been the only possible way to write on the non-European world. Arguments for local experience were deflected in *Défense* as well:

27 Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (Amsterdam: Marc Michel Rey, 1755), 232.
28 De Pauw, *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains*, vol. 1, 132.
29 De Pauw, *Defense*, 198-199.

> Supposons pour un instant, que l'Auteur eût voyagé au nouveau Monde, alors le critique lui eût dit tout de même; mais vous ne viviez pas du temps de Christophe Colomb.[30]

After negating any advantages of local experience, de Pauw consistently turned the trope into an advantage for the sedentary philosopher in the *Recherches philosophiques sure les Egyptiens et les Chinois*:

> c'est un bonheur que les voyageurs se soient contredits eux-mêmes; sans quoi il ne seroit pas si aisé de les convaincre, qu'il nous en ont imposé. [31]

With this phrase, it is clear how the critique of travelers' accounts was the key to de Pauw's approach. All similar kinds of texts, whether written by settlers, officials or indigenous authors, received the same treatment: De Pauw weighed the inconsistencies and thereby established his own critique of sources, albeit in keeping with other developments of the Enlightenment. Pierre Bayle had already made steps in the same direction in the late 17th Century with his *Dictionaire Critique* (1697), while Voltaire and others developed the method in the 18th Century.[32] Nevertheless, de Pauw was a pioneer on non-European texta, in terms of the degree of skepticism applied and the focus on travelers' accounts. Later works with global concepts followed suit, most importantly the *Histoire des deux Indes*. In the third edition, one of the most ardent dismissals of travelers was coined.

> L'homme contemplatif est sédentaire, & le voyageur est ignorant ou menteur. Celui qui a reçu le génie en partage, dédaigne les détails minutieux de l'expériences est presque toujours sans génie.[33]

While this passage, presumably written by Diderot, did not reinforce the accusation of intentional misinformation, the critique of travelers herein reached its broadest form: Even the concept of the philosophical voyager, as it had been advocated by Rousseau, came under scrutiny.[34] De Pauw rarely gave credit to travelers, but had always left the door open for accepting their results – sometimes of course just for those authors who fit into his views.[35] Despite the more complex

30 De Pauw, *Défense*, 249-250.
31 De Pauw, *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois*, Vol. I, 4.
32 Phrased in Pierre Bayle, "Epicure", in *Dictionaire historique et critique*, 2 vols. ed. Pierre Bayle, (Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1697), vol. 1, part 2, 1046. See also: Michèle Duchet: *Anthropologie et Histoire au siècle des lumières: Buffon, Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvétius, Diderot* (Paris: Maspero, 1971), 95-99.
33 Raynal, *Histoire des deux Indes*, Vol. 6, 64.
34 Rousseau, *Discours*, 235-236. See Ottmar Ette, *Literature on the move. Space and Dynamics of Bordercrossing Writings in Europe and America*, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), 71.
35 For example: De Pauw, *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains*, vol. 1, 300.

style of de Pauw's critique, his adversaries' accusations of partiality were not completely unfounded.

The Sedentary Philosopher and his Global Adversaries

While de Pauw's negative image of the non-European world was opposed by various European writers as well, his general approach as an armchair scholar found its toughest opposition on the American and Asian continent. Quite a few of the European scholars who disagreed with de Pauw had traveled the world, but it was authors living abroad that placed the strongest emphasis on local experience. Obviously, the language barrier limited the responses to writers with connections to Europe. Still, missionaries in Beijing, planters from the Caribbean, politicians from the United States, and exiled Jesuits from the Spanish Empire created an impressive map covering the majority of areas de Pauw had written on.[36]

Writing on the non-European world produced responses from all over the world, though mainly using local arguments. Virtually all authors who had lived abroad used their experience to claim authority on these topics, thus usually writing on a much smaller area. Consequentially, the armchair scholars' competence was disputed in the same way. A basic example can be found in the *Discours Préliminaire* for the *Histoire générale de la Chine* (1777):

> Tel est, en peu de mots, le résumé des assertions hardies que M. Paw, tranquilement assis dans son cabinet, à Berlin, prononce sur un peuple qu'il n'a jamais vu, & qui habite i1 six mille lieues de lui.[37]

Jean Baptiste Grosier, a Jesuit working in Paris, phrased this defense not for his own work, but for an historiography which could claim local authority on two levels: firstly, because it was collected and translated by Joseph-Anne-Marie de Moyriac de Mailla, a missionary in Beijing, in the first half of the 18th Century.[38] Secondly, as mentioned in the title, De Mailla translated Chinese sources. Therefore, the *Histoire générale de la Chine* called upon voices of the criticized culture itself to challenge de Pauw, while Grosier and, to a lesser extent even de Mailla, were solely intermediaries, not the creators of the historiographies.

36 The Spanish responses have been a field of interest for some decades: Brading, *The fist America*; Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford University Press: Stanford, 2001). For that reason, I focus on other opponents of de Pauw.

37 Jean-Baptiste Grosier, "Discours Préliminaire", in *Histoire générale de la Chine, ou Annales de cet empire; traduites du Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou*, trans. Joseph-Anne-Marie de Moyriac de Mailla, eds. Jean-Baptiste Grosier and Michel-Ange-André Le Roux Deshauterayes (Paris: P. D. Pierres, 1777), XXXVII.

38 Grosier, "Discours Préliminaire", XXVII.

Other authors reacted to the critique of travelers' accounts as well. Joseph-Marie Amiot, another Jesuit at the court in Beijing, sent two letters refuting de Pauw to Europe. The second one, written in 1777, emphasized the importance and competence of missionaries:

> Les Missionnaires, dira tout homme equitable, tout Philosophe même de la classe de l'Auteur des Recherches, les Missionnaires sont les seuls qui ont pu nous donner des notions sûres des pays lointains … ils ont eu l'occasion & le loisir de les examiner.[39]

Amiot defended his congregation, the most active missionaries, but also opposed the whole notion of the clergymen's incompetence brought forward by Rousseau. In the 1770s, the Jesuits were criticized by more philosophers than de Pauw alone, who is said to have had a special antipathy towards them due to his own years at a Jesuit's school.[40] Jesuits had also been expelled both from the Spanish Empire and China, Amiot being one of the few remaining in Beijing.[41] Meanwhile Francesco Saverio Clavigero (or Francisco Javier Clavijero), an exiled Jesuit born in Mexico, was one of the most important authors from the New World. Despite their usually complicated situations, the Jesuits still contributed to these scholarly disputes.

Instead of opposing the trope of the 'lying traveler', the London-born Jamaican planter Bryan Edwards turned it against the European authors.

> I conceive that, unless an author had had the benefit of actual experience and personal observation, neither genius nor industry can at all times enable him to guard against the mistakes and misinterpretations of prejudiced, ignorant, or interested men; to whose authority he submits.[42]

As an anti-abolitionist lobbyist, the main focus in Edwards' historiographic works was the defense of slavery. At the same time, he opposed the degeneracy thesis and especially de Pauw's writing on America.[43] His *History of the British West*

39 Joseph-Marie Amiot, "Extrait d'une Lettre de M. Amiot, à M**** du 28 Septembre 1777. Observations sur un le Livre de M. P*** intitulé: Recherches philosophiques sur les Egyptiens & les Chinois", in: *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les Sciences, les Arts, les Moers, les Usages &c. des Chinois: Par les Missionaires de Pékin*, (Paris: Nyon, 1776-1814), vol. VI, 1779, 276.

40 Beyerhaus, *Abbé de Pauw*, 465-466.

41 Nicolas Standaert, "Jesuits in China," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, edited by Thomas Worcester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 182-184.

42 Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*. 2 vols, (London: J. Stockdale, 1793), vol. 1, VII-VIII.

43 Edwards, *History of the British West Indies*, Vol. I, VIII-X. See as well: Olwyn M. Blouet, "Bryan Edwards, F.R.S., 1743-1800", in *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 54 (2000), 215-219.

Indies (1793) was at that time the authoritative historiographical work on the Caribbean, although Edward Long's *History of Jamaica* (1774) had paved the way.[44] Médéric Louis Élie Moreau de Saint-Méry, with his *Description topographique* (1797/98) one of the most important authors from the French Caribbean, took note of the debates as well.[45] All of the Caribbean works featured an emphasis on local experience and the importance of practical involvement, as the authors were not professional scholars or writers.[46] The opposition to de Pauw was thus inherent in their methodology.

On top of the general defense of local knowledge, De Pauw's concept of critique garnered particularly harsh rebuttals. Thomas Jefferson – who did not mention the *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains* in his monograph on the debate, the *Notes on the State of Virginia*[47] – characterized de Pauw's work in a letter from 1785 as a compilation of lies:

> Paw, the beginner of this charge, was a compiler from the works of others; and of the most unlucky description; for he seems to have read the writings of travellers only to collect and republish their lies.[48]

To separate the two allegations: Jefferson negated an inherent value of de Pauw's works due to the lack of original content. Additionally, Jefferson considered the compiled information to be wrong, also using the trope of the lying traveler. Almost the same two points had been made by Clavigero in his *Storia Antica Del Messico*, which was only published in English in 1787.

> we could add a long catalogue of French, English, Italian, Dutch, Flemish, and German writers … [who] have either repeated what was already written by Spanish

44 Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica. or, General Survey of the Antient and Modern State of that Island: ...*, 3 vols. (London: T. Lowndes, 1774). See especially Vol. II, 351-355 for Long's plea for polygenesis, closely related to the degeneracy debate.

45 Médéric-Louis-Élie Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description topographique, physique, civile, politique et historique de la partie francaise de l'isle Saint-Domingue*, 2 vols., (Philadelphia, 1797-98), Vol. I, 15.

46 Elsa V. Goveia, A Study on the Historiography of the British West Indies. To the End of the Nineteenth Century, reprint (Washington D.C.: Howard Univ. Press 1980), 167.

47 Jefferson, Thomas. *Notes on the State of Virginia*. (London: J. Stockdale, 1787). Church, *Corneille de Pauw*, 190 remarks that Jefferson probably did not know the *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains* in 1781, when he wrote his *Notes*; Lee Alan Dugatkin, *Mr. Jefferson and the Giant Moose. Natural History in Early America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 101-102 considers the omission intentional. Jefferson's later letters hardly give an argument for the latter.

48 Thomas Jefferson to François-Jean de Chastellux, Paris, 7 June 1785, in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* Volume 8 25 February to 31 October 1785, ed. Julian P. Boyd (Princeton University Press, 1953), 184–186.

> authors mentioned by us, or have altered facts, at their own discretion, to inveigh the more strongly against the Spaniards, as has lately been done by M. de Paw.[49]

Clavigero added a pro-Spanish defense and directed the allegations against de Pauw himself. The traveler's trope was not invoked, possibly due to Clavigero's role as a Jesuit. His confreres' writing on China made similar points, adding another spin:

> Quand on avance de pareilles propositions, il faudroit citer ses autorités.[50]

> pourrois extraire de son livre près de trois à quatre cens de ces assertions, avancées sans preuves, & qui n'ont d'autres garans que la science particulière & la bonne foi de M. Pau.[51]

Both Amiot and Grosier criticized the lack of consistent notes in the *Recherches philosophiques*. Compared to other works of the Enlightenment – such as the *Histoire des deux Indes*, which is lacking notes completely[52] – de Pauw's annotations were numerous. Yet he did not offer the consistent use of citations that William Robertson could, whose work was nevertheless met with similar rejection by Clavigero.[53] If de Pauw's adversaries were to be believed, his works lacked new content and only consisted of information extracted from wrong accounts which were not even cited – in other words, it was considered the worst kind of compilation.

49 Francesco Saverio Clavigero, *Storia Antica Del Messico Cavata Da'Migliori Storici Spagnuoli, E Da'Manoscritti, E Dalle Pitture Antiche Degl'Indiani. Divisa In Dieci Libri, E Corredata Di Carte Geografiche, E Di Varie Figure: E Dissertazioni Sulla Terra, sugli Animali, e sugli abitatori del Messico*, 4 vols. (Cesena: G. Biasini, 1780-81). Francesco Saverio Clavigero, *The History of Mexico. Collected from Spanish and Mexican historians, from manuscripts, and ancient paintidngs of the Indians. Illustrated by charts, and other copper plates, to which are added critical dissertations on the land, the animals, and inhabitants of Mexico. Translated from the original Italian, by Charles Cullen*, Esq., 2 vols (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1787), XXIV-XXV.

50 Joseph-Marie Amiot, "Remarques Sur un Ecrit de M. P**, intitulé: Recherches sur les Egyptiens & les Chinois", in: *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les Sciences, les Arts, les Moers, les Usages &c. des Chinois: Par les Missionaires de Pékin*, (Paris: Nyon, 1776-1814), vol. 2, 1777, 370.

51 Grosier, "Discours Préliminaire", XXXVII.

52 Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, rev. ed., 6 vols. (London: W. Strahan; T. Cadell, 1783), vol. 3, 277. Compare John G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion. Volume Four: Barbarians, Savages and Empires,* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005), 229.

53 William Robertson, *The History of America.* 5th ed., rev. and enl. 3 vols. (London, 1788), Vol. I, XVI on the use of notes, XVIII-XIX for his reply to Clavigero. See also Silvia Sebastiani, "What Constituted Historical Evidence of the New World? Closeness and Distance in William Robertson and Francisco Javier Clavijero" *Modern Intellectual History* 11 (2014), 677–695.

Conclusion: Armchair Scholarship at its Peak

Towards the end of the 18th Century, the approval to de Pauw's approach diminished in Europe as well, as the characterization of the "ingenuity and the eccentricity of M. Pauw's speculations" in a contemporary review shows.[54] He was mainly considered an entertaining and controversial author who had initiated the degeneracy thesis and popularized a general concept of European superiority. Still, as mentioned above, some of the best-sellers of the 18th Century, such as the *Historie des deux Indes* or Robertson's *History of America*, used or adapted the ideas put forth in the *Recherches Philosophiques*. Even the vast number of refutations probably helped keep de Pauw's work relevant in the Republic of Letters. New translations in the 1790s followed the intense disputes of the late 1780s, when Clavigero's *History of Mexico* and Jefferson's *Notes* were first published in England.[55]

As a result, the works of de Pauw remained relevant until his death in 1799. As Jürgen Osterhammel has noted in regards to the replies from China, de Pauw's adversaries rarely had problems with pointing out mistakes and misinterpretations.[56] But they did not reach a broader audience, which holds true for the suppressed Jesuits as well as for Caribbean or North American authors – especially in comparison to the works of Robertson and Raynal, who also wrote about the non-European world from their desks. De Pauw's *Recherches* had laid the foundation for the European dominance as basically all of his works were preparations for attacks from the non-European world: a degenerated American or an unreliable missionary in China were exactly the kind of authors he had made his target. The same is true for European travelers like Pernety. Without a consistent separation between local experience and the role of an eyewitness, de Pauw could claim the impartiality of the distant observer over biased locals.

It was not until the beginning of a new century that a traveler from Europe managed to break the armchair scholars' dominance in the European arena. After his voyage to the Americas from 1799 to 1804 (and years later to Central Asia as well), Alexander von Humboldt published several works on the New World. He disputed not only the negative image of the indigenous cultures of the Americas created by de Pauw and popularized by Robertson, but also the armchair historians' methodology.[57] The critique of sources implemented by European authors of

54 Review of: "Selections from M. Pauw, with Additions by Daniel Webb, Esq." *The Monthly Review*; or *Literary Journal* XVII (1795): 130.

55 Daniel Webb, *Selections from Les recherches philosophiques sur les Americains of M. Pauw (*Bath: R. Cruttwell, 1795). Cornelius de Pauw, *Philosophical Dissertations on the Egyptians and Chinese*, transl. J. Thomson, 2 vol. London 1795. See Sebastiani, "Historical Evidence," 692-694.

56 Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert*, (Beck: München 1998), 149.

57 See for example: Humboldt, Alexander von: *Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne*. 5 vols. (Paris: F. Schoell, 1811), Vol. I, 131-132; Humboldt, Alexander von: *Vues*

the Enlightenment initiated further developments, but, in general, Humboldt based his works on the claim of local experience. Consequentially, he used Clavigero as an authority on Mexico, and even met Thomas Jefferson, then President of the United States, at the end of his voyage.[58]

The meeting took place almost forty years after the *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains* had been published; forty years during which an armchair scholar writing in his monastery in Xanten had found strong supporters and especially harsh adversaries all over the globe. Despite the opposition, de Pauw had influenced historiographical approaches as well as European perceptions of the world.

des Cordillères et monumens des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique, 2 vols. (Paris: N. Maze, 1816), Vol. II, 98-99.

58 Dugatkin, *Jefferson*, 114-116.

Book Reviews

Anti-Imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism

By Michael Goebel, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Pp. 344, Hardback $120.00, ISBN: 978-1-107-07305-0

REVIEWED BY BENINIO MCDONOUGH TRANZA

Beninio McDonough Tranza holds an undergraduate degree in History from University College London and is currently studying a MA in Global History at Freie Universität Berlin and Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. His main academic interests are modern intellectual and cultural history, the history of European imperialism, and the history of transcultural interaction in the context of European imperialism.

In the European and American cultural imagination Paris is symbolic of cosmopolitan modernity. This status is not unfounded for interwar Paris held a magnetic appeal to cultural travellers, it attracted writers and artists from across the world, and served as the central hub of migration and transit across Europe. Yet the French capital was not only the site of cultural but also of political innovation- the home of Zhou Enlai and Ho Chi Minh as well as Josephine Baker and Ernest Hemmingway. Michel Goebel's *Anti-Imperial Metropolis* explores the everyday lives of these migrants and unearths the web of inter-cultural contacts and cross community transfers through which diverse movements collaboratively forged an anti-imperial consciousness. Despite the fact that Paris played host to a remarkable array of individuals who would go on to lead anti-imperial struggles across the world, many of whom identified their experiences in Europe as a crucial formative period in the development of their political thought, the role that migratory networks and the migratory experience played in the intellectual development of anti-colonial movements remains surprisingly underexplored. Recently, however, a number of exciting works, such as Stovall's *Paris and the Spirit of 1919* (2012) and Boittin's *Colonial Metropolis* (2010) have begun to examine anti-imperial thinkers as migrants and to explore their relationship to the social and political currents of the metropole. Goebel's *Anti-Imperial Metropolis* is a major and original contribution to this emerging field, which is in many respects an advance on current scholarship.

Goebel makes two key arguments. Firstly, he maintains that the experience of migration played a key role in the political development of anti-imperialism. Goebel's argument is not merely that contact with Western intellectual currents helped promote anti-imperialism and nationalism but that the lived experience of 'everyday ethnicity' in the French capital helped expose the contradictions of colonialism and that local community politics proved a 'training ground' for burgeoning anti-imperial leaders. Figures like Ho Chi Minh are conceptualized as 'ethnopolitical entrepeneurs' (a term borrowed from Rogers Brubaker) who

honed their political skills in the context of community activism. Consequently, Goebel's methodology differs significantly from traditional intellectual history in foregrounding a detailed study of the social practices and community organizations which structured migrant life in Paris. Indeed, as he acknowledges at the outset, Anti-Imperial Metropolis is 'much more of a social history of migration than an intellectual history of anti-imperialism'. This social historical focus undoubtedly provides an important corrective to the often dematerialised intellectual histories of anti-colonial nationalism. Goebel's primary achievement is to have situated key figures in the history of anti-imperialism in a history of migrant community formation inspired, to some extent, by the ambitions of *Alltagsgeschichte.* The early chapters, which describe the negotiation of 'everyday ethnicity', the function and institutional nature of immigrant community organizations and the mediating political role played by the PCF and other French political institutions are very well researched and cogently argued.

Goebel's second significant, and most original, claim is that a process of cross community intellectual transfers between different migrant networks played a critical and unacknowledged role in the development of anti-imperialism. The majority of studies which, like *Anti-Imperial Metropolis*, have argued that the experience of life in the metropole provoked a consciousness of racial injustice and helped inspire anti-colonial activism have tended to focus on particular ethnic groups as, indeed, have most migration histories. Goebel, however, insists that anti-imperialist politics in Paris was a transcultural phenomenon which was collectively forged by a multitude of different ethnic communities. His work employs a very broad definition of 'anti-imperial' migrants which includes immigrants from across the French empire (principally Vietnamese, Algerians, West Africans and Antiguans), Chinese citizens and Latin Americans. In support of his argument Goebel clearly documents several ways in which different anti-colonial political movements built alliances and forged common anti-colonial strategies through a process of intercultural learning. The wide-angle focus does occasionally lead to overgeneralization, however, Goebel's emphasis on transcultural interaction undoubtedly represents a triumph of the global historical perspective which guides his work and a major advance on current scholarship.

Yet, despite undeniable achievements, *Anti-Imperial Metropolis* ultimately fails to adequately bridge the gap between social and intellectual history. Goebel's social historical focus is at the same time the primary strength and weakness of *Anti-imperial Metropolis*. If we accept that the experience of migrant life played a crucial role in the development of anti-imperialism it is in the sense that key individuals, who would later shape anti-colonial movements and, in many cases, lead their nations to independence, were influenced by the experience of migration. However, Goebel consistently privileges the study of institutions and social practices at a community wide (and even intra-communal) level over a detailed study of the differentiated histories of social experience and ideological development at

the level of the individual. While key figures like Ho Chi Minh frequently recur in the narrative, the references are usually anecdotal and only serve to illustrate wider community-level trends. The problem, of course, is that this form of argument works only one way and we cannot simply infer the ideological development of key individuals from a history which focuses at the level of the group.

Goebel's work is good at providing a view of the social experiences of migrants across a broad period but not of the key particular individuals within migrant groups who actually shaped anti-imperialist thought. A history more attentive to individual microhistories of anti-colonial intellectual development would lead us to question the structure of Goebel's work and some of his key claims. Goebel's tendency to overgeneralise at the group level affects the structure and temporal focus of the study. Although he includes an interesting discussion on the significance of "global moments" (such as the Italian invasion of Ethiopia or the Rif War) to the development of anti-imperial consciousness, he generally treats the "interwar period" as a simple and clearly definable temporal unit. *Anti-Imperial Metropolis* is structured thematically (chapters may focus for instance on 'Private Life and Work' or 'Students in the Latin Quater') with little appreciation for chronology. This is a major weakness since the anti-imperial migrants Goebel studies were not, as he claims, 'part of one generation' but were in fact resident in Paris at different times across a 20 year period which witnessed huge social and political transformations. Ho Chi Minh and Zhou Enlai, for example, were almost exact contemporaries (they lived in Paris from 1920-1923 and 1920-1924) but they experienced a very different Paris and a very different Europe from George Padmore (resident in Paris in the 1930s). The social experiences they were shaped by and the political conditions of their eras varied greatly.

A keener attention to individual biography would also lead us to question the centrality of Paris to the study. Goebel treats his "ethno-political entrepreneurs" as representatives of particular cultural communities in Paris in which they were rooted. However, as he admits, many anti-imperialist leaders led a transient life and were not only often resident in many European cities aside from Paris but were frequent travellers connected to anti-imperialist networks across the continent. Ho Chi Minh, for example, lived in New York, Marseille and London before moving to Paris (from where he moved to Moscow). However, the significance of these previous European residencies or of frequent travel between European cities is left entirely unexplored by Goebel. In this key respect, as in many others, it is obviously clear that the experience of political leaders in the migrant communities Goebel discusses were very different from the vast majority of migrants.

Finally, as would be expected, Goebel's failure to engage with intellectual biography leads to a lack of nuance when discussing the specifics of different currents in anti-imperialist thought. Goebel does highlight differences in the forms of anti-imperialist consciousness between cultural groups and sometimes offers

interesting and plausible explanation for these differences (for example he suggests that the nature of the work-study programme by breaking down the distinction between intellectual and physical labour and leaving many Chinese students in penury may have encouraged the popularity of Communist ideas). However, a history which focuses on groups is incapable of explaining the specificities of anti-imperialism for individuals. It is possible to reach interesting conclusions about what social experiences encouraged a sense of alienation and fostered the development of anti-colonial politics in a general sense but it becomes much more difficult to see how social life in Paris encouraged individuals to develop specific forms of anti-imperial consciousness without examining in detail what particular individuals, rather than cultural groups, actually believed. Yet *Anti-Imperial Metropolis* contains no comprehensive exposition of the political thought developed by key anti-imperialist political figures and the complex variations between different forms of anti-imperialist and nationalist thought are only examined in detail in one chapter (Vernacularising Nationalism).

Although there are some significant limitations to Goebel's work, *Anti-Imperial Metropolis* is undoubtedly a major contribution to the study of nationalism and to anti-colonialism. There is every reason to believe the migratory experience was, as many key anti-colonial leaders claimed, and as Goebel has convincingly argued, a major factor in forging an anti-colonial consciousness. Further study of this neglected topic has the potential to radically affect our understanding of non-European nationalism and anti-colonialism. Moreover, the study of nationalism in the non-European world has been far too often dematerialized. A history attentive to the social experiences of nationalist and anti-colonial leaders will prove essential in correcting this. It is to be hoped that future histories will be far more attentive to individual intellectual biography than Goebel. However, they will have, in *Anti-Imperial Metropolis*, an impressive and immensely useful social history to draw upon which will prove invaluable in the development of a truly transnational history of anti-imperialism and migration. Goebel's work could well become seen as a milestone in years to come and is undoubtedly essential reading for all historians of 20th century migration and anti-imperialism.

Kropotkin, Read, and the Intellectual History of British Anarchism: Between Reason and Romanticism

by Matthew S. Adams, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
Pp. 264, Hardback £ 60, ISBN 978-1-137-39260-2

REVIEWED BY OSCAR NORRIS-BROUGHTON

Oscar completed his BA in Intellectual History at the University of Sussex in 2010, focusing on the development of democracy in Germany during the late 19th and early 20th century. Upon completion of his undergraduate studies he moved to Germany in order to write about the migration of radical ideas and individuals across the globe. This interest drew him towards undertaking an MA in Global History at both Humboldt University and the Free University of Berlin in 2013. His main research interests include industrial democracy, anarchism, nationalism, socialism, the works of Gustav Landauer, and the Weimar Republic.

This volume serves as an excellent account of British anarchism as an intellectual history, which explores the translation and impact of ideas and practices within a transregional context. Although marginal as a political force, anarchist ideas developed in Britain into a distinctive political and philosophical movement. *Kropotkin, Read, and the Intellectual History of British Anarchism* explores this typically overlooked history, offering a new engagement with the works of Peter Kropotkin and Herbert Read, and examining the ways in which they endeavoured to articulate a politics fit for the particular challenges of Britain.

Notably, this volume attempts to engage with Quentin Skinner's observation that it is extremely problematic to reach an understanding of political life within intellectual history by merely exploring on the level of high abstraction the ideas of individuals. Instead Skinner recommends surrounding classic texts with layers of ideological context, which encourage the understanding of political life. Adams successfully follows this approach by thematically exploring the impact generated by Kropotkin's arrival in UK at the end of the nineteenth century upon his own work and its reception within the context of British political life. Specifically Adams highlights the distinct lack of an anarchist movement in Britain during this period, particularly in contrast to continental Europe. This, he claims, served to stimulate Kropotkin into developing a new approach in order to articulate his anarchism, whereby he began to specifically develop an anarchist philosophy which would be palatable within Britain. In this way, Adams highlights how Kropotkin was instrumental as a figure for the translation of many of the ideas and practices associated with continental anarchist movements to Britain. Chief amongst these strategies was an attempt to draw together positivist arguments and revolutionary politics, which is most clearly identifiable in key texts such as *Mutual Aid* (1902) and *Fields, Factories and Workshops* (1898).

Adams also explores the impact of these ideas within the British intellectual context, highlighting the context of British socialism in relation to the key figures, such as G.D.H. Cole and the guild socialist movement. Adams' principal focus is however the reception of Kropotkin's work by the literary figure and anarchist Herbert Read. This relationship is significant owing to their polar opposite approaches towards anarchism, which is reflected in the subtitle of the book *Between Reason and Romanticism.* Adams is successful in highlighting this contradiction between the scientific rationalist approach of many late nineteenth century and early twentieth century anarchists, socialists and syndicalists within Europe typified by Kropotkin, and the romanticist bohemian wing of anarchism which seemingly stood in opposition to this approach and is characterised by Read in this case. This seemingly contradictory dynamic is understood by Adams to have many points of mutual overlap and agreement within the British context particularly in relation to the development of ideas of revolution and utopia.

While this attempt to overlap these positions historically is broadly successful and particularly innovative in relation to the British case, Adams' work ultimately suffers from a failure to draw parallels between this case and others, most notably figures such as Gustav Landauer and Rudolf Rocker in Germany, France, Britain and the USA, who engaged in similar debates between romantic and rationalist approaches towards anarchism.

One of the most interesting points Adams makes is towards the existence of an "imagined anarchist community", which developed around the distribution and translation of texts and ideas between varying locations. In this regard Adams is part of a relatively recent trend amongst historians of anarchism, such as Anthony Gorman and Davide Turcato who have similarly drawn attention to trans-regional and global links shared between anarchist individuals and groups between a multitude of locations. These connections help to solidify the idea of an imagined community of anarchists and related radical movements. Unfortunately Adams does not stress this point heavily enough and in particular fails to fully explore the particular role played by the British Isles in relation to this global network, instead limiting the focus of his analysis to the relationship between Kropotkin and Read.

The Edge of the World: How the North Sea Made Us Who We Are

By Michael Pye, London: Viking, 2014. Pp. 394, Hardback £25, ISBN 978-0-670-92232-1

REVIEWED BY YORIM SPOELDER

Yorim completed an interdisciplinary BA at University College Maastricht and National Taiwan University followed, after a year of travels across Eurasia, by a MA in Global Studies (University of Freiburg, JNU New Delhi, UCT Cape Town). His MA-thesis critically engaged with the problematique of voice in writing a history of Indian Ocean sailors in European employ during the Age of Sail. He is currently pursuing his main research interests in the context of the Global History Program in Berlin (Freie Universität Berlin/Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin). These include the connected histories of the early modern as well as the modern period, the maritime histories of the Indian Ocean realm, the Dutch and British colonial empires, colonial historiography and orientalist scholarship in South Asia, and Indian nationalism.

Ever since the French historian Fernand Braudel brought up the idea that the unity of a geographical and cultural area can also be defined by the movements of people across the water at its centre rather than by the lands around its periphery, the field of maritime history has seen a frantic output of scholarly work that extrapolates Braudel's revolutionary longue durée perspective on patterns of long-distance trade and connections across the Mediterranean to other maritime realms.

A bewildering range of themes and typologies has informed the scholarly quest to uncover patterns of cohesion and unity in littoral realms and vast seascapes across the world. Some scholars, such as K.N. Chaudhuri in *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean* (1985) and *Asia Before Europe* (1990) took Braudel as more than an inspiration and excuse to focus on merchant networks, maritime labour or a particular commodity and carefully studied the methodological implications of his multi-volume opus magnum *The Mediterranean in the Age of Phillip II* (1949). Recently however, the Braudelian predilection for abstract, statistical and structural analysis has been overtaken by a historiographical trend to write 'human' histories of the sea and evoke the connections and entanglements across a maritime realm by focusing on the spread of ideas, culture, religious networks etc. Michael Pearson's sweeping and comprehensive account of the Indian Ocean (2008), Amrith's study of migratory flows in the Bay of Bengal (*Crossing the Bay of Bengal*, 2013) and Abulafia's wide-ranging take on the human history of the Mediterranean (*The Great Sea,* 2014) are three excellent recent studies that try to describe (rather than analyze) in exquisite detail the process by which their particular maritime realm became integrated over time into a commercial, cultural and even political zone.

David Kirby and Merja-Liisa Hinkkanen approached in a similar spirit the history of the Baltic and North Sea (2000) and scholars/students familiar with their work might have awaited with excitement the publication of Michael Pye's attempt to distill out of the human trajectories connecting the North Sea an even bolder argument, namely that "the edge of the world", as he calls the wind-swept seascape extending north from the British Isles and the Low Countries, played a crucial role in shaping "our modernity". Notwithstanding the elegant prose and the impressive sample of sources which Pye deploys throughout his labyrinthine narrative, the overall argument is, as I would like to argue, flawed on many levels and a deliverance with gusto cannot conceal or compensate the analytical shortcomings of his project.

Echoing in spirit - although not in substance - the work of David Landes (*The Wealth and Poverty of Nations,* 1998), Pye assigns himself the task to bring "light" to the pre-modern era (aptly referred to as the "Dark Ages") by revealing how crucial attributes of our contemporary modern world such as the abstract notion of value (paving the way for capitalism), traditions of learning and scientific inquiry, fashion and the notion of (relative) gender equality were in fact already stirring in the environments surrounding the North Sea realm and help explain the unique subsequent trajectory of the people that were lucky enough to inhabit the littorals on the "edge of the world". Yet even in this summary statement the problems with his approach become already painfully evident.

First of all, Pye does not once define the North Sea realm and his various thematic discussions have a far broader geographical sweep than one would anticipate in a book whose stated aim is to "explain how the North Sea made us who we are". Paris and Burgundy feature regularly and at some point the Hanseatic trade networks are conveniently brought into the orbit of the North Sea as if the Baltic *were* in fact part of North-Sea and Lübeck a North Sea harbor. The whole notion of the North Sea as a particular geographical entity and climatic zone is not once explicated or problematized, although this seems indispensable when the natural environment had supposedly such profound cultural impacts that it catapulted its littoral population onto a unique trajectory to modernity. A short subsection on land-reclamation and peat mining in the Low Lands briefly considers the cultural and administrative legacies of the struggle against the sea, but the unique nature-culture complex it fostered and society it engendered can hardly be extrapolated across the whole North Sea realm. Although the argument hinges on the link between climate, geography and a peculiar human condition supposedly shared to varying degrees by all those living in vicinity of the North Sea environment, many if not all developments described in the book occur in a specific place and do not explain much about the North Sea realm as such.

Secondly, Pye's thesis is informed by a simplistic notion of 'connected history' as he tends to see developments in a dualistic binary that divides Europe into a Northern and Latin modernity, the former which, according to Pye at least, is often

seen as surfing the waves created by the 'Southern' Renaissance frenzy of cultural and intellectual efflorescence rather than judged on its own innovative dynamics. These assumptions never make it beyond the occasional polemical one-liner and it remains unclear *why* we should think in terms of these two modernities in the first place. Is it helpful at all to think in terms of a connected history within the North Sea realm while leaving out the entanglements that brought the Renaissance world of Northern Italy to the "edge of the World"? Pye seems to think so but as a result he is incapable of placing 'innovations' in the North Sea realm within a proper historical perspective. Did the Irish really invent punctuation, the Vikings the Northern town and Flemish merchants the bourse? It is hard to appreciate these innovations and gauge their impact on the evolution of North Sea societies without doing justice to historical precedents (there were after all Roman towns established in Britain before the Vikings arrived) and placing them in a wider perspective of world-wide trends and developments. This is even further complicated by the lack of a clear (and analytically justified) temporal threshold. Although the book follows more or less a chronological trajectory, it remains unclear why it starts with the Frisians and ends with Golden Century Amsterdam. One also rarely gets a snapshot of the North Sea *as a whole* in a particular time-frame. As a result arguments of synchronicity and causality remain puzzling and vague.

That brings us, thirdly, to the overall structure and style of the book. A certain degree of ornamentalism is inevitable and also welcome when writing a human history of so elusive a subject as the sea. Yet the novelist streak is all too visible and the lucidity of the argument compromised by an excess of style. The oddly random thematic approach, labyrinthine narrative trajectory and eclectic succession of short stories makes for nice reading but not for an orderly presentation of argument. Instead of convincingly backing up the bold thesis "that the North Sea made us who we are", the book lacks substance, the focus drifts too much and the North Sea seems to be used as an excuse for all sorts of digressions about science, the herring trade, Icelandic fashion, the polygamous habits of lusty Vikings, beguines in Flanders, the impact of the Plague laws and so on and on.

Braudel penned in his Mediterranean opus magnum the following cautionary words: "A historical study centered on a stretch of water has all the charms but undoubtedly all the dangers of a new departure". Those who consider embarking on a journey across the North Sea with Pye's book should be warned that the dangers sometimes far outweigh the charms.

Conference Reviews

The First Annual Global History Student Conference, Berlin

THE ORGANISATION TEAM OF THE GLOBAL HISTORY STUDENT CONFERENCE

On April 25-26th 2015, the very first international Global History Student Conference on European ground took place at Free University Berlin. It was organized by eight students of the joint master's programme 'Global History' of Free University and Humboldt University with generous support from Professor Sebastian Conrad and the research area Global History at the Friedrich Meinecke Institute. Over the course of these two days, 40 participants from ten different countries presented case studies, debated research goals and methods and attended workshops.

Professor **Michael Goebel** opened the conference with a keynote speech on anti-imperialist networks in interwar Paris, entitled "Global Urban History. The World in Parisian Archives". Drawing on source materials heretofore overlooked by the often elitist mainstream of intellectual history, such as police documents and personal correspondence, he turned the spotlight on what he calls 'ethnopolitical entrepreneurs' and argued that migration and diasporic ethnic associations served as a crucial vehicle of anti-imperialism and third world nationalism.

Panel 1- Travellers, Migrants and Experts

Studies on the movement of people and ideas rank high among the classical global history topics and constituted the thematic framework for panel one: 'Travellers, Migrants and Experts'. The first presentation was given by **Gabriel Schimmeroth** (Freie Universität Berlin / Humboldt Universität zu Berlin), who examined the case of the German construction company Julius Berger and its involvement into the urban governance of Lagos (1965-1975). His study described the movement of experts and technical knowledge between Venezuela, Germany and Nigeria. Apart from analyzing its influence on the shape of Lagos, Gabriel revealed the entanglements of Julius Berger with local authorities, being gradually transformed into a Nigerian company. The second presentation was held by **Ester Pink** (Oxford University), focusing on Cornish migration to Australia, South Africa and Mexico (1869-1910). This interesting study, besides from examining a global network of mining experts, questioned the undifferentiated uniformity of a British migrant diaspora and called for a consideration of regional migrant identities. The following presentation from **Nari Shelekpayev** (University of Montreal) added another worthwhile instance for the global circulation of ideas and practices. Focusing on the construction of the three postcolonial capitals of Ottawa, Brasília and Astana, Nari elaborated on a long-standing transnational network of state actors, city planners and architects. The panel finally closed with a paper about 19th

century tourism in Palestine, given by **Andreas Greiner** (University of Heidelberg). Discussing ambivalent representations of the 'Holy Land' in guide books and travelogues, he eventually raised the stimulating question whether tourism itself needs to be reconsidered as an informal practice of imperialism.

Panel 2 - Work, Exploitation and Capitalism

This panel focused on the ever present issues of labour and capitalism and how global historians can engage with these fields. The various discussions which took place examined these issues and explored the differing forms and impacts caused by these phenomena upon specific actors in relation to networks, which spanned cultural and political borders, and highlighted differing constellations of power. **Joe Kelly** (University of Liverpool) began these discussions with his study on the transatlantic slave trade. This study examined the changing nature of discourses in Britain which served to foster the growth of the abolitionist movement and shed light upon early tendencies within the nineteenth century, which would lay the foundations for the modern concept of corporate social responsibility. **Peter Brent**'s (University of Massachusetts/University of Oxford) presentation explored the nature of precarious work in Egypt and India. These two locations were tied together through their shared experience of empire, which served as a common mediator for labour regulation and the creation of precariousness in these locations. **Jonas Söderqvist** (Södertörns högskola) delivered a presentation on the formation of a new labour archive which has recently been founded as part of the 'Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek' (ARAB) in Sweden. This archive focuses specifically on testimonies of unregistered workers who have travelled to Sweden from various locations, and the realities which they faced in relation to labour and exploitation, in one of Europe's most prominent examples of social democracy.

Panel 3- Reshaping the International Order

Panel three was dedicated to institutions, media and other actors that strove to exert some degree of influence in the realm of geopolitics and international relations. **Philipp Kandler** (Freie Universität Berlin / Humboldt Universität zu Berlin) opened the session with a paper on the invocation of the concept of 'security' by various parties in the context of the conflict surrounding the incorporation of the Miskito Coast into the Nicaraguan national state in 1894, arguing that this rhetoric was primarily aimed at an international audience, rather than at the local population. **Sean Phillips** (University of Oxford) then examined how the Pacific as an imagined space of intellectual and political communication across political and racial divides was conceptualized by the Institute of Pacific Relations, a pioneering institution that has been described as "an entirely realistic experiment in unpractical politics". **Tobit Vandamme** (Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales/ Heidelberg University) offered a short summary of his master's thesis, which dealt with the impact of the First World War on the Geman and French

communities in Shanghai - an impact which he characterized as a 'mobilization of the minds' promoted by the two newspapers Deutsche Zeitung für China and Echo de Chine. Lastly, the panel ended with a paper presented by **Julian Theseira** (IHEID Geneva), who portrayed Dom Pierre-Célestin Lou Tseng-Tsian, Foreign Minister of the Republic of China and later Benedictine monk, as an example of a 'syncretic model of modernization'.

Panel 4- Colonial and Postcolonial Encounters

The fourth panel was dedicated to colonial and postcolonial encounters and their role in global history. **Damilola A. Adebayo** (Graduate Institute Geneva) proposed an insightful transnational perspective to study racial discrimination, using the example of African American Baptist Missionaries in South Africa at the end of the 19th century. **Paromita Das Gupta** (Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich) also illuminated a case of colonial encounter and the effects of foreign "spirits" on local communities, namely the Baboos in colonial India. **Tatjana Poletajew** (Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf) presented a vivid example of colonial iconography, innovatively using the slide-shows of the German Colonial Society to make a point about colonial exoticization and imagination. Finally, the representation of Islamic art in Western museums was scrutinized by **Eman Abdeen** (The Aga Khan University International). Her talk led to a productive and insightful discussion about the ways colonialism is depicted and reflected upon in today´s society and in academia.

Panel 5- Knowledge production

Panel five revolved around the question of how historians can think and write about the emergence and development of scientific knowledge. The discussions took stock of the different modalities and forms of knowledge production, the actors and networks behind it while also examining the intersection between science and other spheres such as politics or culture. **Julia Mariko Jacoby** (Freiburg Universität) started off the panel with her presentation on the origins and early history of seismology in Japan. Her study looked at the network of local and international scientists which was behind the birth of seismology in Japan while also addressing the significance of the discipline within the national history of Japan. **Thilo Neidhöfer**'s (Johannes Kepler University Linz) presentation explored the life and work of Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson, two well-known American anthropologists, who played a leading role in the US public and academia from the 1930s till 1950s. His study explored how the personal relationship between Mead and Bateson shaped the articulation of their thought while also assessing their role in US politics during said period. Following up was **Malavika Binny** (Leiden University/Jawaharlal Nehru University), whose presentation took the audience to India's Malabar Coast in the early modern period. Through the close

analysis of two central texts, she outlined how European explorers and scholars adapted and appropriated existing indigenous knowledge on medicine and botany. The panel was closed by the contribution of **Zoltán Gyimesi** (Eötvös Loránd University) which retraced the various intellectual and political currents which shaped the scientific discipline of geography in Hungary during the Cold War era.

Panel 6- Rethinking Educational Institutions

Panel six dealt with the question how educational institutions – including schools, universities, educational programs, reforms and ideas – functioned as spaces of inter-cultural contact and exchange, how they were shaped by outsiders and perceived by locals and which conflicts that could create. **Andreas Oberdorf** (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster) started by presenting how an expert migrant, Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin, from a Catholic region in Western Germany shaped the 'Bildungslandschaft' of Catholic education in Pennsylvania in the recently independent United States. Then **Natalia Pashkeeva** (École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales) had a look on how the North American YMCA was engaged in shaping a model for social organization which was aimed at social improvement and how the organization transferred this model to Russia and used it to spread a range of political, economic, social, and moral values. **Martin Wagner** (Freie Universität Berlin / Humboldt Universität zu Berlin) presented the case of Harbin, in Manchuria during the transition of the region from semi-colonialism to informal empire. In his presentation he examined how the city's universities became a place where intercultural exchange between Russians and Chinese took place. In the last presentation, **Ifeyinwa Mbakogu** (McGill University) examined the case of girls' education in Nigeria during the period of British colonial rule and essentially why it failed, due to high cost and cultural insensitivity by the British colonial administration.

Panel 7- Transnational History of Ideas

This was probably most popular panel of this conference. It started with an interesting paper about anarchism and nationalism in the early Kibbutz movement, presented by **Oscar Broughton** (Freie Universität Berlin / Humboldt Universität zu Berlin). The inspiring speech and discussion focused on the complex and relatively understudied relationship between anarchism and nationalism with a special emphasis on the writings of Gustav Landauer at the turn of the 20th century. The subsequent presentation, given by **Tim Rudnicki** (University of Cambridge), moved back in time, examining the image of the Dutch Republic in late 18th century British political thought. In particular he described the conception of the Dutch experience in British books and pamphlet literature, analyzing their influence on the formation of the contrasting political ideologies of radical Whiggery and neo-Toryism. Continuing with late 18th century's history of thought, the next presenta-

tion was given by **Julian zur Lage** (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität). His paper discussed several instances of European enlightenment scholars and their writings on the history of non-European societies, thereby revealing interesting insights into the 'ancestors' of contemporary global historians. The discussion on the practice of global history was finally carried forward by **Schott Schorr** (University of St. Andrews) and the presentation of his visionary research project. Aiming to open up the dialogue between historians, computer scientists and sociologists, Scott introduced some ideas on writing a global history of virtual space, which, as he argued, is mostly independent of national boundaries or demarcations and thus constitutes a global space in the truest sense of the term.

Panel 8- Global History before 1750

Panel eight had to be split into two parts because of the astonishingly large number of contributions concerned with medieval and early modern topics. The first speaker, **Philipp Meller** (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin) presented his research project on global contacts at the court of Otto I. Tracing the travels and migrations of ambassadors, merchants, migrants, pilgrims and scholars who crossed religious or language borders, he demonstrated how the rising Ottonian empire established connections with Slavs in the east, Vikings in the north and Muslims in the south. **Richard Herzog** (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg) followed with a presentation about the mestizo writer Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl and his work "Historia de la nación chichimeca". He showed how Ixtlilxochitl acted as a cultural intermediary between Spanish and Aztec traditions. **Meera G. Muralidharan** (Universität Leiden) dealt with the descriptions of South Indian Brahmin communities in Dutch accounts in the 16th and 17th century and concentrated on the construction of identities. **Christiane Borchert** (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt) presented on intra-asian trade relations between the Dutch "Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie" and Tokugawa Japan, taking a 'post-sakoku' perspective. She grounded her fascinating study on diverse source material ranging from Engelbert Kaempfer's and Suzuki Ta-dao's treaties, the Kan'ei (sakoku) edicts, porcelain design manuscripts, Dutch dag-register to rituals like the Hofreis and forms of material communication. **Radu Dipratu** (Universitatea din București) closed the panel with his talk about the experiences of English foreigners in the Ottoman Empire in the 17th century. He detailed on their travels and living conditions during their stay and their perspectives. The presentations were followed a lively discussion about the usability of global history methods for earlier epochs and possible limitations.

Panel 9- Sexuality and Power in Global History

Panel nine examined the expansive fields of sexuality and power relations and how global histories can attempt to broaden these fields. The discussions which took place followed a number of different strands of the history of sexuality

and focused on the relationship between various actors across wide fields, spanning varying spaces, times and discourses. Furthermore the role that these actors played, sometimes in direct relation to each other, and the impacts which they generated formed a key point of discussion, which allowed participants to directly explore the benefits of how histories of sexuality can be examined in a modular fashion with the aid of comparative methodological approaches. **Josh Mentanko** (York University, Canada) began these discussions with an in depth account of the American photographer Hart Crane, whose work in Mexico during the early 1930s served to highlight differing ideas of masculinity between the USA and Mexico during this period. In this way, a transregional history of sexuality was constructed, which particularly brought out the variety and subtleties of discourses between various locations. **Sébastien Tremblay** (Freie Universität Berlin / Humboldt Universität zu Berlin) delivered a presentation on the history of anxiety, and how this emotion was translated and understood between North America and Europe within gender queer magazines. This analysis led to discussions which tied the history of emotions with histories of the body and of sexuality within a global framework, and drew attention to the discursive nature of sexuality. **Nailya Shamgunova** (University of Cambridge) presented her work on anglophone conceptions of of sexual diversity within South East Asia and Japan during the seventeenth century. This presentation led to discussions on sexuality in Europe and Asia, and the differing conditions of power which mediated them. **Iris Shahar** (Freie Universität Berlin / Humboldt Universität zu Berlin) delivered a comparative perspective on the histories of sexual violence against women in Berlin, following the end of the second world war and Punjab, following the partition of India. This study illuminated the synchronicities of sexual violence in these two locations, and sought to reveal the parallels between women's experiences as victims.

Panel 10- Representations through different Media

The role of the media and media representations in global history were the topics of the tenth panel labeled 'Representations through different Media'. The different ways in which media represented global developments as well as the mutually constitutive character of medialization and globalization constituted the overarching question of the debates. Sadly, one of the invited speakers could not make it to the conference. **Mahmoud Baballah** (Université Abdelmalek Saadi) in Tanger was denied his visa on short notice and could therefore not present his case study on the representation of the Sahrawi community in Spanish media. Global flows and transnational interaction, even in the academic world, reaches its limits when it comes to 'real' contact between the European Union and Africa. **Charlotte Piepenbrock** (Freie Universität Berlin) opened the session with a highly interesting case study from the Vietnam War. She argued that pictures of atrocities of the so called 'My Lai Incident' and their repercussions in global media

could be interpreted as the beginnings of a global iconography of war. **Elisabeth Gheorghe** (University College London) then examined the 'Soviet Anekdot' and its media representation during the Cold War. The examples of jokes and satire transcending national borders were not only entertaining but also constitute a very vivid example of how global history can benefit traditional historical research. The panel ended with **Beninio Tranza McDonough** (Freie Universität Berlin / Humboldt Universität zu Berlin) presenting a case study of 'Japan Punch' and the depictions of self and other in the British Colonial Imagination. He offered a fascinating example of how media history could be linked to other big debates in global history, such as discourses on race, othering and colonialism.

EUI Summer School Review

OSCAR NORRIS-BROUGHTON AND MARIUS OESTERHELD

Oscar completed his BA in Intellectual History at the University of Sussex in 2010, focusing on the development of democracy in Germany during the late 19th and early 20th century. Upon completion of his undergraduate studies he moved to Germany in order to write about the migration of radical ideas and individuals across the globe. This interest drew him towards undertaking a MA in Global History at both Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and Freie Universität Berlin in 2013. His main research interests include: industrial democracy, anarchism, nationalism, socialism, the works of Gustav Landauer and the Weimar Republic.

Having completed his BA in history and cultural anthropology at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and University College London, Marius is now studying Global History - with a special focus on the history of East Asia in the 19th and 20th century - at Freie Universität Berlin. His research interests include intellectual and conceptual history, labour history, the history of emotions, translation studies and popular music in the context of war and imperialism. Currently, he is analysing Chinese and Japanese adaptations of British self-advancement literature between 1870 and 1920. He has received grants from Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes and DAAD and worked in various fields, including heritage protection, online journalism and cultural diplomacy, in Berlin and Beijing.

Set amongst the natural beauty of the Tuscan countryside, the European University Institute's (EUI) summer school in *Comparative and Transnational History: Theories, Methodology and Case Studies*, convened by Regina Grafe, Laura Lee Downs and Ann Thomson (all of them resident professors at the EUI), boasted an impressive array of intellectual stimuli. The EUI itself is an international centre for doctorate and post-doctorate studies that was established 40 years ago by the six founding members of the EU and is co-funded by the at present 21 contracting states. Its mission is to "foster the advancement of learning in fields which are of particular interest for the development of Europe" while at the same time promoting a cultural exchange between member states. It is located on the outskirts of Florence and consists of 14 historical villae sprawling across the picturesque hills of Fiesole. Since 2005, the EUI Department of History and Civilization has hosted an annual four day summer school for students of history and area studies. Thematically, the focus of the summer school sought to explore transregional and global histories as a means of moving beyond using nation-states as the traditional units or containers for historical analysis. In particular, a strong emphasis was placed upon comparative approaches to history in order to defy and transcend Eurocentric and nationalistic history narratives.

The schedule of the summer school was tightly packed with lectures delivered by both EUI faculty members and visiting scholars and – of course – student presentations. The wide range of thematic fields covered included the history of emotions, of gender and labour, settler colonialism and the global silk trade. From

the EUI, Stéphane Van Damme opened the floor with a paper entitled "Democratic Nature in the Early American Republic", followed by Laura Lee Downs who presented her research on "Women's Work and the Transformation of State-Society Relations in Europe, 1914-18", with their colleague Luca Molà offering a rich introduction to "Silk, Italy, and Global History: The Long Term Perspective". The first guest lecturer, Gabriel Piterberg (UCLA), spoke about "Settler Colonialism as a Global Phenomenon"; the second guest, Garthine Walker (University of Cardiff), presented a paper on "Translating Emotions in English and Welsh 17th- and 18th-Century Court Records"; Michael Miller (CEU Budapest) elaborated on "Revolutionaries in Exile: '48ers in Europe and Beyond'"; and the official programme was concluded by Paul Corner (Università di Siena) with a talk on "Popular Opinion in Comparative Perspective: Problems and Methodologies".

These hour long presentations were then followed by often intense and lively discussions, which were, however, cut short by the tight schedule. In addition to the professional academics, 21 student participants from 15 countries also delivered their own shorter research presentations across an even broader array of historical topics. Unfortunately, the ten minutes allotted to each presenter proved slightly too short to fully explore many of the research projects, however ample time was found after the seminars to continue discussions. The conversations that followed these presentations were extremely useful for many of the participants, most of whom had either presented ongoing research pertaining to their doctoral studies, or work which was connected to recently, or soon to be completed masters theses that they were interested in developing further. In this regard, the summer school successfully laid a foundation for discussion and exchange of ideas between young scholars. Furthermore, this atmosphere of openness and discussion continued throughout the summer school, encouraging participants to engage with each others work constructively beyond the strict 09:00 to 18:00 daily schedule. Thankfully the strong Italian coffee and excellent food provided kept all of the participants fit and well provisioned throughout these long, but highly stimulating and productive days.

In addition to the presentations, the EUI summer school also included a guided tour of the institute's library and research archives, which have featured the Historical Archives of the European Union since 1986, as well as part of the institute's impressive grounds and hill top villas. This provided students with the opportunity to experience the vast scale of the institute which boasts an impressive array of villas and numerous quiet and scenic locations for study.

List of Student presenters.

Topi Artukka - Between Old and New: Establishing a New Regime Through the High Society in Early 19th Century Turku.

Igor Ciobanu - Images and Perceptions about Bessarabians of the Romanian and Soviet Authorities (During the Second World War).

Vassiliki Charalambous - Constructing the Great Eastern Crisis in the French Press: The role of the Special Correspondent.

Alexandra Esche - Bourgeois Antisemitism in Germany and England, (1890-1920).

Maria Florutau - Transnationalism Through Historiography During the Late Habsburg Enlightenment: Ion Budai Deleanu‘s *De originibus populorum Transilvaniae*.

Leonor Alvarez Frances - Spanish Commanders as Heroes or Criminals in Chronicles: a Transnational and Comparative Approach to the Eighty Years’ War.

Giacomo Girardi - The French Revolution, Bonaparte and the Fall of Venice. Ancient and New Republic from 1789 to 1797.

Anniken Hareide - Creating a European Legal System. The Case of Norway, 1948-64.

Atdhe Hetemi - Serb - Albanian Relations in Kosovo: From the Public‘s Perspective.

Richard Maher - Identity and Integration: A Comparative Study of two Irish Émigrés in Early Bourbon Spain, Daniel O‘Mahony & Charles Wogan.

Barbara Molas - Confronting the Russian Revolution in Spain: The Impact of the Spanish Second Republic on the Conservative Press and its Anti-Communist Backlash (1931-1932).

Marius Oesterheld - The Measure of a Man: Normative Approaches to Selfhood in Translation

Avi Mizrahi - Re-framing Popular Culture: Comparative Study of Cultural Policies in Interwar Turkey and Italy.

Oscar Louis Norris-Broughton - Between Anarchism and Nationalism: The Case of Gustav Landauer.

Charitini Petrodaskalaki - The Greeks in Egypt: Alternative Ethnic Strategies (1919-1952).

Lenka Rudová - Paris in the French, Czech and American Tourist Guidebooks (1918-1939).

Yorim Spoelder - Colonial Archeology and Nehruvian State Symbolism: The Making and Appropriation of Asoka‘s Heritage.

Paola Verhaert - The Belgian Trade Unions in the Solidarity Campaigns for Chile and Argentina (1970-1990).

Jovana Vukcevic - Consuming Socialist Heritage: Nostalgia, Political Negotiation and Disneyfication of the Socialist Memorial Sites in Former Yugoslavia

Europäische Sommer Universität Ravensbrück 2015 — A Reflection

BARBARA UCHDORF

Barbara completed her BA in History and Political Science at the University of Florida, focusing on post-World War II family memory and Holocaust studies. After moving to Berlin, she began her MA in Global History at the Freie Universität Berlin and Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. In addition to pursuing her studies, she works as a student assistant at the Institut für Zeitgeschichte and the Friedrich-Meinecke Institut. Placing the Holocaust in a global historical context has enabled a broadening of her research interests to also include a legal historical perspective, particularly with regard to the construction of the concept of statelessness.

My trip to Ravensbrück for the *Europäische Sommer Universität Ravensbrück* (23-28 August 2015[1]) marked my third time visiting the largest Nazi concentration camp for women. Upon arriving in Fürstenberg, the nearest town, I realized that this would be the first time that I wouldn't need to make the thirty-minute trek through cold rain from the train station to the memorial site. Instead, a shuttle picked us up from in front of the station, just outside the *Gaststätte* I've never seen open, and left us right in front of the youth hostel's main building. 144 Euros later, I'd received the key to a room which I was to share with another student. The rooms, located in former SS houses, have been refurbished to look like those in a youth hostel, linoleum included.

I was late and had missed the introduction given by Insa Eschebach, the head of the *Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück.* The first session was to take place in the SS garage building, which now houses Ravensbrück's archive, administration offices, and a temporary exhibition space. The first three lectures, each of which was followed by a question and answer session, stayed true to the theme of the summer school: "Photography in Concentration Camps". Each approached the topic slightly differently— Sandra Starke focused on the cult of photography, its links to Nazi race ideology and photography's everyday uses by the SS; Lukas Meissel dealt with the *Erkennungsdienst*[2] in Mauthausen; and Ulrich Prehn with various photo albums produced by members of the SS in concentration camps.

With an hour or so for lunch and coffee and cake, discussions continued in smaller, though by no means intimate, groups. I attended Ulrich Prehn's session, where we were able to look more closely at the Ravensbrück SS photo album. It

1 I was only able to attend the Ravensbrück summer school from the 24-28 August. According to the schedule distributed to all of the participants, the first day included an opening ceremony that took place at Technische Universität Berlin, with a few welcoming remarks and an evening reception.

2 In Nazi concentration camps, the *Erkennungsdienst* was an "identification service", tasked with producing photographic documentation of the concentration camps, including taking snapshots of newly arrived prisoners.

was difficult not to be impressed by the depth of discussion coming out of this interdisciplinary group, which had brought the most seasoned experts into conversation with the newly interested. One woman in particular whose name I unfortunately never caught (so much for networking), was restoring the Ravensbrück SS photo album and therefore had very intimate knowledge of how the original was made, which proved essential for our analysis of the album's potential use. The album cover's impractical size, combined with the flimsy 3 mm wire that was meant to hold it together, the extremely thin paper which barely supported the photos glued onto it, and the dust on the front but not on the back, laid to rest the knee-jerk assumption that the creation of such an album was intended for distribution as propaganda.

The first day ended at 17:45 with a reception at 18:30 in Fürstenberg, right on the water, with the boats, the ducks, the mosquitoes and spiders, a glass of wine, and bad jokes about some Holocaust museum exhibits' obsession with the colors red and black. At 23:30 we returned to Ravensbrück and went to sleep next to friendly roommates in clean beds.

The following day was to start at 9:00 with a tour of Ravensbrück. I was late again and unknowingly tagged along with the group led by Matthias Heyl, head of the pedagogical department at Ravensbrück. He gave a tour that was much more a conversation between himself and the historical *Spuren*, traces, left in the concentration camp, where he grappled with questions that even after thirteen years he'd been unable to answer, explained both his closest and most difficult relationships with survivors, and pointed to problematic parts of the exhibit. At issue was always the ownership of memory.

Lunch was followed by another lecture, bearable primarily because we'd seen coffee and cake being set up outside while entering the garage building. Up next, a two-and-a-half-hour long session that afforded six "young academics" the chance to superficially brush over unfinished projects, giving each the opportunity to be evaluated and questioned by other students and scouting professors rotating from table to table. The interest in each project quickly grew strained, less because of the quality of the projects and more because of the speed-dating format they were presented in, which loaded them with unimportance. The purpose of the rotating session was much less linked to taking seriously the ideas of young people, and tied much more to the socialization process of academia. The aim was to create a space for networking.

Not everyone was able to last the two-and-a-half hours allotted to the six "young academics" and left the session early, hungry and numb from the indiscriminate use of the word "interesting". Too early for dinner, they were left to fend off the swarms of bees that each summer take up residence near Ravensbrück's Schwedtsee, across from which Fürstenberg is clearly visible. Schwedtsee, a mass grave accessible by boat, is the site where the ashes of Ravensbrück's victims had been

dumped from the crematorium. The youth hostel has canoes and kayaks available for rent to those unaware.

I do not remember when the last lecture ended, but I know it was good because the lecturer was charming, Czech, and had studied under Norbert Frei, everyone's biggest academic crush.

The following day's sessions were to begin at 10 instead of 9. Again, three hours of lectures, then lunch, more coffee and more cake, two hours of group discussion, summary and commentary on the day, dinner.

An hour after the start of dinner, *Night Will Fall* (2014) was shown, a documentary by André Singer on the shelved—and until last year unfinished—official British documentary film *German Concentration Camps Factual Survey*. The film was based on footage shot during the liberation of concentration camps in 1945. *Death Mills (Die Todesmühlen)*, perhaps more well-known, is a shortened version of that British documentary film. All draw from the same footage, which represents the most graphic recordings of the horror of the Holocaust. *Night Will Fall* needed to be handled with care and sensitivity. But, placed in the space of a "movie night" after an exhausting two days of lectures, the need for pause and reflection was ignored. Instead, a quick question concerning information on the documentary's director. It was inappropriate in its banality. The floodgates had been opened and a discussion amongst those in the first rows, unaware of the pained expressions of those behind them, began, only to be brought to an abrupt halt by the pleading of a representative from the *Internationaler Freundekreis Ravensbrück* to "remember the victims".

The hours that followed were spent in a saddened anger in the company of those who didn't want any. Why was there such an insistence on creating an artificial normality in the space of a concentration camp? It was difficult to ignore the senselessness in directing my thoughts, and I escaped from conversation into an exhausting sleep.

The next day, some words were said regarding how showing interest in detail was just the way some people connected to a topic. The speakers, though met with applause from some, failed to respond directly to the concerns of those who had walked out early in protest of the discussion following the film. The introduction to the film had not provided adequate preparation for the images that were to be projected before us, either. This could have been remedied by including a pause for reflection following the film and, for those who would have wanted to, a chance to reconvene to discuss the effect of the film. I expect that this suggestion, offered by others at the summer school as well, will be incorporated in the program next year. But there is something more. Implicit in the focus on "just the facts" was the expectation that the audience, due to its interest in the Holocaust,

should have been accustomed to coming across such footage. It prioritized the development of the "skill" of distancing, often misunderstood as a requisite for handling Holocaust sources.

There was no response allowed to this "last word" and the day progressed as planned, artificially redirecting our attention to another three-hour long lecture session. The first presentation of the day was given by Nathalie Roelens from the University of Luxembourg, who had arrived earlier that day and had not witnessed the unintended tensions that had developed the evening prior. Her presentation was refreshing, and made use of literary theory to look at the connected images of aerial photos taken by the Allies of Auschwitz on 23 August 1944 and those taken by the *Sonderkommando*[3] of piles of burning bodies in August 1944. Placing the photos in the context of Allied inaction, she underlined how the vertical gaze of the aerial images of atrocity served in maintaining the false ignorance of the Allies by removing the detail shown in the *Sonderkommando* photos. Her presentation also related these images to text and testimony surrounding them, and inquired into how such connections affect our understanding of the event that is photographed. The questions that she introduced as a result of this analysis dealt with the construction of truth coming from a multitude of images and forms, which, viewed from our position of freedom, might lead to a trivialization of horror by dealing with evidence of horror, but not with horror itself.

Roelens' workshop later that day was the smallest out of the three. Our group of eight discussed Georges Didi-Huberman's book *Images in Spite of All*, Marianne Hirsch's concept of "postmemory", and Roland Barthes' idea of a photograph as a certificate of existence. The discussion was engaging because it struck a good balance between sharing knowledge and learning from others. The strangeness of the previous day was filed away as an anomaly in otherwise invested, engaged research that not only gives space for emotion but cannot exist separate from it.

This feeling continued throughout the day, with a presentation on the clandestine photos taken by Joanna Szydlowska of Barbara Pietrzyk and Maria Kusmierczuk, two of the "*Kaninchen*" of Ravensbrück forced to undergo torturous "medical" experiments. The day ended with a photo exhibit that had been put together by students from the Muthesius University in Kiel and the Berlin Weißensee School of Art, which explored the process of producing images of *traces* left in the space of a concentration camp.

The last day began earlier than usual with two lectures, the latter of which, given by Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius, examined the use of Holocaust photos in the fine arts after 1945. It was an excellent presentation to end on. After the last coffee and cake session, all participants of the summer school reconvened one final

3 The *Sonderkommando* in Auschwitz was a "special squad" tasked with burning corpses of victims, only to be themselves killed and replaced after a few months.

time in the former SS garage for a reflection on the program. The commentators were Petra Bopp, Stephan Matyus, and Janina Struk, all of whom had been very engaged in the week's program, be it through presentations of their own or simply by being available for thoughtful discussion. Despite the last day of relative calm, the commentary and critique remained focused on what had until then been left out of discussion. The three spoke on the need for reflection, for a chance to place and understand emotion in the space of the Ravensbrück concentration camp.

The critique was challenged by a few very vocal members of the audience, resolutely maintaining that there is no division between research and emotion—a point which no one had actually been contesting. Some even went so far as to rudely invite everyone to take another trip to Ravensbrück, where they could have all the time they needed for reflection. In reframing the discussion, in being unwilling to listen, they missed the point.

The strict schedule and routine of the summer school discouraged taking time for experiencing the space as a *Gedenkstätte*. The focus on networking, which allowed for the world of academia to overtake the delicate and sensitive space surrounding us, combined with the luxuries of shuttle services and too much cake, side-lined the process of learning, both from each other and from the site itself. It is unusual to have the opportunity to discuss history in the same location as where it transpired, not least because such locations are rarely equipped with an infrastructure that would allow it. Layering the intentions of education and remembrance over the concentration camp's history makes such opportunities all the more complicated, and, for that reason, all the more important to reflect upon. Fruitful discussions do not require blank canvases, and the desire for a normalized conference hall atmosphere in the middle of a concentration camp was unnecessary. The problematic construction of such an artificial space served as a distraction.

It is unfortunate—and perhaps unfair—that this critique has taken a place of primacy in my memory of the summer school. Looking over my notes, I realize that my understanding of the role of photographs in Holocaust memory and my refusal to view the camera as a stagnant actor comes from the countless lectures and discussions at this summer university. The team given the thankless task of organizing such an event did an excellent job. Still, the relationship between the world of academia and the space of a concentration camp needs to be reevaluated, especially if we are to appreciate what lessons are being offered quietly to us by a space of mass atrocity.

First Global History Collaborative Summer School 2015, Tokyo and Sapporo

THOMAS LINDNER

Thomas Lindner obtained his M.A. in Global History at Freie Universität and Humboldt Universität Berlin. He is now a doctoral candidate at the International Max-Planck Research School "Moral Economies" in Berlin. In his PhD project, he works on anti-imperialist movements in Latin America after the First World War, analyzing their local and transnational networks via a global history perspective.

Global collaboration and cross-continental exchange are not only important topics of global history writing – if conducted in a fruitful way, global collaboration can itself stimulate innovative global history research. Realizing the great potential of transnational collaboration was the driving force behind the Global History Collaborative (GHC), a collaboration of five prestigious universities: the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales Paris, Freie Universität Berlin, Humboldt University Berlin, Princeton University, and the University of Tokyo. The GHC´s first summer school was held in September with the University of Tokyo as the first host. The school was aimed at offering many young scholars the chance to present their PhD projects in the field of global history.

The University of Tokyo offered a very welcoming surrounding in which the works were displayed and extensively discussed. Debated projects included such diverse topics as exiled New Spain Jesuits in Italy in the eighteenth century, a global history of the reception of John Ruskin, the experiences of Korean ambassadors in China and Japan and contemporary practices of DNA-related heritage search in the US and Brasil. These projects, only a small sample of the vast plurality of works, were discussed in relation to the overarching question of scale in global history. Time frames, spatial boundaries and thematic configurations were scrutinized in their relation to global history research. It became clear that even highly place-specific histories can be envisioned and fruitfully re-read under the lens of global history or using its methodological tools. The focus on the works and the active participation of students was especially noticeable. Faculty members successfully restrained themselves from taking over discussion and thus made the summer school primarily about student discussions.

Alongside the inspiring academic involvement with global history, the cultural encounter with Japanese society and amongst the students with diverse backgrounds themselves was an integral part of the summer school experience. For many of the "Berlin delegation" it was the first opportunity to gain "hands-on" experience with Japanese culture. In terms of weather, the aficionados of heavy rain (which was caused by a severe typhoon) were clearly favored but this did not affect the cheerful and warm atmosphere among all participants. After inspiring

days in Tokyo, the whole group spent the last sessions in the University of Hokkaido in Sapporo and thus also gained a quick look upon Japan´s northern island.

Overall, the Global History Collaborative offers myriads of possibilities for students and young scholars to connect their studies to other places in the academic world. The GHC´s website (http://ghc.wp.ehess.fr/) is regularly updated and events such as workshops, conferences and summer schools are typically open to students. This great opportunity to gain novel academic insights and, get to see the world besides, should definitely be harnessed! The next summer school will take place in summer 2016 in Princeton.

Final Discussion

Final Discussion

The 2015 Global History Student Conference closed with a final discussion which reflected on the nature of the conference and the themes which had been discussed. This featured all of the participants, and other interested parties, who were divided into groups and asked to respond to three questions, which were chiefly aimed towards measuring the types of conversations that had developed over the course of the previous two days. The additional aim of this exercise was to draw attention to the synchronicities which had begun to appear between these discussions across the field of Global History.

1. After attending the conference what is your understanding of Global History? Is there anything in particular which you remember or agree/disagree with?

This question aroused one group to challenge the concept of Global History and specifically the persistent vagueness of the term 'global', and its implications. This necessitated the question: does Global History still imply a history of the whole world? As well as an integration and inevitable homogenisation of all spatial categories? These conclusions were however not satisfactory for this group, and they proposed that Global History holds the possibility of exploring new spatial relationship between multiple locations, thus allowing for new realities to emerge.

This question also provoked much discussion between groups as to the boundaries between definitions of Global and Transnational History. This led to the implication that Global History itself cannot be separated from eurocentrism and is often closely linked to ideas of empire and nation-states. These conclusions were however challenged by another group who asserted that Global History is not necessarily an all-encompassing term, but a methodological approach, which draws upon comparative and postcolonial approaches.

Several other groups emphasised the significance of researching the connections between different locations as a key signifier of Global History's importance. They explored this in relation to socio-cultural, political and geographic borders; which at times, inhibit, and at others, promote the diffusion of various actors, and actor related resources. This, in turn, provoked the interesting point that Global History allows for a reimagining of histories through the stress it places upon the issue of connectivity, or the lack thereof, between spaces.

2. Could you tell us more about the relevance and position of Global History at your home institution?

This question provoked much academic and national factionalism amongst the groups, and led to an interesting regionalist understanding of how Global History is both researched and taught in different locations. Several participants from

British institutions stressed their preference for the term World History and noted that universities such as Cambridge and Liverpool did not have a Global History department. These comments provoked the reflection that there is a tendency amongst British historians to teach and research global themes in relation to the phenomenon of empire, prompting some even to comment that they felt this was Imperial History by the back door. Furthermore it was noted that whilst many British historians may be conducting research into global themes, they were not necessarily identifying with the label of Global History.

Participants from India highlighted how amongst Indian scholarship there is skepticism towards Global History due to suspicion that it acts, or can act, as a masking term for Colonial History. In these regards they mentioned Global History's strong tendency towards drawing on Colonial Studies, particularly in regards to methodologies. As a result there are few, if any, Global History classes, which means that students come to the field from a variety of interdisciplinary historical backgrounds and frequently see Global History as an umbrella term.

An Israeli participant noted that there are three departments currently in Israel. However research and teaching of Global History themes is hampered by national consciousness that prevents scholarship from looking far beyond national boundaries towards other global entanglements. The freedom to transgress these borders can thus be seen as privilege which is not shared by all historians in all locations, and indeed some are profoundly limited by institutions in terms of teaching and research.

Several participants from France noted how at their home universities a strong focus was placed upon understanding how Europe is connected to other geographic areas, which draws heavily from Transregional Studies. However, other French historians noted that Area Studies was still a highly present feature of French universities and functioned as the preferred term instead Global History.

German participants from Berlin and Heidelberg formed a clear coalition in their shared view of Global History as a methodological approach, which drew upon aspects of Transregional and Colonial History, but also emphasised the importance of Critical Theory as a defining feature of Global Histories. Furthermore the term itself appeared to be widely accepted by participants from German institutions, despite ambiguities and differing focusses.

3. What problems and strengths are there with a Global History approach?

The ambiguity of Global History was a central feature of this discussion with various groups expressing this issue as highly problematic, and noting the lack of clearly defined boundaries as a limiting factor for the field which promotes confusion amongst scholarship. Conversely this ambiguity was championed by other groups and individuals who felt that the ambiguities of global history promoted opportunities for young scholars to define the field. Furthermore they argued that

the ambiguity of Global History can be used to liberate historians and histories alike, from already established historical fields.

A number of groups also commented on the attractiveness of Global History as a marketable quality, which is being used to attract scholars from numerous related fields into new research and teaching constellations. While this leads some to see Global History as catch-all term, others were drawn to the possibilities for both new and interdisciplinary approaches, as well as for the creation of sub-fields which promote specialist interests. In this regard many groups also referenced the emerging discussions which had developed throughout the conference itself as evidence of these new possibilities.

Closing Note

The content of these discussions highlights that there are still plenty of, as of yet, unresolved debates pertaining to the nature of Global History, and that scholars must be careful to avoid the pitfalls of previous historical schools. Alongside this however, it is abundantly clear that there is also enormous potential for students to make a significant impact upon this field in order to shape its course and contours. These themes will continue to form the basis for many discussions yet to come in the field of Global History and we hope to discuss these issues, along with other related topics, in our 2016 conference, with hopefully the same amount of energy, thoughtfulness, and dynamism which made this year such a success. Through this second venture we hope to expand these discussions into other fields, in the expectation that an interdisciplinary approach will provide important alternative views and external critiques of Global History, which we as scholars need to consider and respond to in order to develop.