GLOBAL EN, OMOLOGIES: INSEC, S, EM I ES, AND, HE 'SYN, HE, IC AGE' IN O LD HIS, O Y*

I

I November 1944, De eords rele sed lbum e uri g Ell Fizger ld d, he I k S, s, he w, r ks, he re, rd, 'I'm M ki g Believe' d'I E h Li e Some i Mus F ll', s e seve ee weeks he , he Billboard h r s i he ied S es di ugur ed la g-erm all bar is bewee he 'Firs L dy, S, g' d he bled re rd r du er Mil G bler. A e ury be re his musi 1 miles e, he O m Sul Abdülme id I (1839–61) u ded he Hereke ImerilCreMu ure rdueelbresilkrugs r his D₁lm b h, e 1 e he Se M rm r - hese ex r v r e s, m g he es ever w ve , e ured be wee g 3,000 d 4,000 k s er squ re i h. Six de des e rlier, 19 O ber 1781, Brig dier-Ge er 1 Ch rles O'H r His Bri i M jes y's Colds re m Gu rds do ed his dis i ive s rle - laured er's srade he b le eld York w, Virgi i, d surre dered he sword Lieu e Ge er l Ch rles C₁r w llis M j₁r-Ge er l Be j mi Li l he Nor h Ameri C i e l Army.¹

A rin more i grunus eve s, s i g hree e uries, migh seem di ul im gi e, ye hese e is des sh re ishi g e ure, hey de e ded he reme dous rodu ive

 \star_{\neg} h ks Ni Gordo, Seve Gry, H h Gree w ld, Ke Ko $_{\neg}$ ri i Li , Be j mi M dley, Jerry Melillo, L lise Melillo, Mi h el O'Co or, D w e erso, Kh ry lk, Eliz be h ryor d, heodore ddelow or heir i u o e rlier versio so his r i le.

 1 S u r Ni h lso , Ella Fitzgerald: A Biography of the First Lady of Jazz, ew ed (New y rk, 1995), 81. Emme Eil d, Oriental Rugs Today: A Guide to the Best New Carpets from the East, 2 d ed (Berkeley, 2003), 80; r m re h Hereke Im eri I C r e M u ure, see Ay, e F zlý dlu d Ok y Asl , The Last Loop of the Knot: Ottoman Palace Carpets (Is bul, 2006). O he di ere m eri ls used i dyei g ers' s d h se lower-r ki g soldiers i he Bri ish rmy, see S Hughes Myerly, British Military Spectacle: From the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea (C mbridge, M ss., 1996), 68.

d.i:10.1093/ s j/g 026

Se d, he le g-erm his ries shell , silk d hi e l er u er-rr ive ve i l u s m der i y. Duri g he i e ee h d we ie h e uries, i dus ri le gi eers hemi lly sy hesized d ggressively rom ed surroe ie ly e gi eered d r, bly m ss-r, du ed. I er d, mi ed by he r, mise, 'Be er Livi g hr, ugh Chemis ry', m y, rg isms s ill, er e s i imi ble l b, r, ries, me m, r h, sis. As resul, surgi g dem d, r shell, silk d hi e l, w, me d me hr, ugh, u he w, rld, i ue rely u, i se se re i, s s me s, se uri g heir livelih, ds i ge, hi-e h gl, b liz i, .⁷

Glable vira me 1 his ry ers wer ul ly i l r mework or rel i g hese i ers e ies sso i i sol rger s il de logi 1shi s. Formille i, e le de sys ems i geogr hi lly dis i regions he world h ve i er ed i r-re higwys., he hllege wigrii ers globle viro me lhisory is r sed ro hesb sed solely lo lor in lom rises d move ow rds models h em h size r s in l e in s. A more mle eu ders di g, r, esses s diverse s he ex si, s d r is so im erilk wledge, he limiso sy he i hemis ry, d he shi i g s e s i ers e ies rel i s requires su hex sin so so e ds le. Al hough his rile ursues comparisons m, g hree i se se re i, s, he em h sis here is rim rily connections — d he go isms h hese e u ers ge er e — m g r du ers d sumers r ss s e d ime.⁸

 7 'Be er Livi g hrough Chemis ry'w s he shor e edversio o Du o's gli e 'Be er , hi gs or Be er Livi g... hrough Chemis ry', whi h he hemi lom y

E vir me lhis ri s re ls u iquely si i ed revise ur u ders di g her les h rg isms h ve l yed i ur ul ur l d e h l gi l sys ems. I i versi Le M rx's w- mili r me h r 'he m hi e i heg rde ', his ri Edmu d ussell h s e ded h he his ry bi e h l gy migh i s e d be see s he 'g rde i he m hi e', r he i erl y ev lu i d e h i l h ge r du e'bi l gi l r is sh ed by hum s serve hum e ds'.⁹ ye i se s re merely hereli s hr ge i m i ul i s. Bey db i l d me h i l me h rs lies re i i hew ys i whi h hese re ures h ve l ered d i ue sh e her r mew rks ur exis e e.¹⁰ As his r i le ludes, i se s re si egr l he re li ies ur e r hly surviv l s hey h ve bee ur visi s herw rldly ly se.¹¹

Mille i e vir me l d i s d ul ur l mm d i s h ve u derwri e hum rel i shi s i se s. , hr ugh u his ry, hese i re id re ures h ve ul ed ur lk les, lli ed ur fl weri g l s d l gued ur elds, hey h ve served s uli ry r ers es, eve s hey di ed ur r hie ur l u d i s. Civiliz i sh ve e red hem s ve rs dise se, revered hem s s red bje s, d

, hroughou I di hisory, l h sou diswyi Ayurvedi mediie, smeis, exile dyes, jewellery d i s, e wiho ils i I 1590, dmi isr ivereor re red or he Mugh 1 Em eror Akbr Ise i ed he e ess ry roorBe wee 1885 d 1899, Ass m's ver ge ull u u w s 714,860 kil₉ gr ms.²¹

L ws e mi m i s y r sm llholders hroughu I di . I 1908, he Bri ish olo i l o i l d bo is Sir George ed,

L e ersi he gri ul ur l, mmer i l, r is i, m u uri g, dmes i ds red eeli gs de er rises he e le I di exe h rdly re i ed by he rdi ry bserver. he exis e e he ner mmu i ies, i he gri ul ur l d res r s, is m de he ssimil i, he rees which he is eeds u, jus she ey d beesw x re rodu ed by he modi i, he e ro flowers by he bee.²⁷

Eve he word lacquer used misu ders di gs. Ni e ee hd we ie h- e ury Euro e r is s used he erm whe re erri g shell, bu hey lso em loyed i whe dis ussi g o her v r ishi g subs es, su h s he s he Rhus verniciflua, ree e demi o Chi.²⁸

As he immedi e rede ess r muld ble 1 s i s, shell u derwr e v s rr y m eri 1 ul ures. I eigh ee he ury New E gl d, r s e le reque ly ur h sed he r w re urs r shell, I di seedl, r use i bi e ry d ur i ure ishi g.²⁹ Duri g he i e ee h e ury, shell served s hem i i gredie i h gr hi ses. I 1837 he Fre hm Luis-J ques-M dé D guerre i ve ed he rs mmer i lly su ess ul h gr hi e h ique, he d guerrey e r ess, whi h used silvered er 1 e r du e dire si ive im ge i he mer r e r gile d guerrey e 1 es d he ex ge er i s h gr hs k w s mbr y es d i y es m u urers shi ed 'u i Shell w s he bi di g ge i m si e, whi h ls i luded rushed limes e, lubri s d br sives. Shell re rds were resis we r, bu e ured rse groves h re ed r kli g sur e ise like b sizzli g i ryi g . e rd rodu i drove dem d. I 1920 h e, he i ed S es im r ed m re h \$23 milli wor h shell rom Sou h E s Asi .³¹

Be use heir hysi l r er ies, shell rerds exhibited u usu l degree embedded bs les e e. C sim M ss, u der he r li J&M erdig S udi i New Orles, re lled h i he 1940s ' hi rerd wuld ge wr u e h week he jukeb x, be use shell su lies were s r e d rerd rmul i swere r... [Arerd g l yed 100/110 imes d i w swr u. S hi rerd ke sellig d sellig'.³² For musi m ies, his w s quie wid ll, bu durig he Se d rld r, shell su lies r ed dr si lly. J 's i v si s M l y, hil d, I d hi d Burm disru ed gl b l su lies he v lu ble rodu ..., he i ed S es r rodu i Brd beg r i i g shell i A^Uril 1942 be use he subs ew s key ishi g m eri li b d ir r rodu i.³³

hese shor ges roelled r s l i w rime re y li g moveme . I 1943 m ig e i led 'New e ords De e d Vou!' sor ium re ordig m ies e our ged w erso u w ed 78s ur i heir shell dis sor re roessi g. e rese ives De e ords, Columbi d rloho e ou ed i Bri i 's Gramophone m g zi e:

Owig wr di s he Gover me h s u di e ess ry sserve su lies shell d her m eri ls esse i l r m u uri g

³¹ A dre Mill rd, America On Record: A History of Recorded Sound, 2 d ed (New york, 2005), 202;, im, hy D y, A Century of Recorded Music: Listening to Musical History (New H ve, 2000), 19. By 1900, shell reords h d re 1 ed e rlier w x yli ders dvul izedrubberdis s s he medium, hai e armusi 1 yb k. See Me r. Valashi, f., he reserv i, d S r ge, His ri 178 r m e rded Dis s', Music Reference Services Quarterly, viii (2002), 39; Mi h el Ch , Repeated Takes: A Short History of Recording and its Effects on Music (La do, 1995), 29, he s is i ames ram Ch mber, Cammer e, he i ed S es, Ameri , Our World Trade

in 1920: Value and Volume of Principal Exports and Im Im Im1815(the)-199.7(Am43.8(n5(the)912.6(had)-3

re rds by hems s ri ge res ri is s s heuse hese m eri ls. A hes me ime he Gover me h sre g ised hev lue hegr moh ere rd i su r i g mor le, d he gre hel h i gives he w r e r . e h ve s red e r m i i su lies ver he l s hree ye rs, d his, we re sure, is well re g ised by re rd users. he ur her m i e e dequ ere rd su lies will de e d u he godwill dre di ess he ubli re ur ld d u w ed re rds, be use ly by his me s will m u ure i ue.³⁴

By M y 1946, S shell ri es s d \$45 er , more h ri li g heir re-w r ver ge \$14 er .³⁵

, he e d he w rm rked he d w ewer i re rdi g e h logy d he e d shell 's h l - e ury reig ver he re rd i dus ry. I 1948, Columbi e rds i r du ed he 'Vi yli e' 45-r m, 7-i h exe ded l y ('E'). Shor ly hereer, CA Vi r llowed sui wih he 33½-r m, 12-i h log-l yi g ('L') vi yl. New re rds, re ed by sy hesizi g o lymer vi yl hloride d vi yl e e, were h rder d er h hosem de shell, llowi gm u urers ress more groves i he dis. Shell 78s i ed rou d 85 groves er i h, while he ewer E s dL s ver ged be wee 224 d 260 groves er i h, his i v i r sormed he lise i g ex erie e by exe di g l yi g ime, redu i g b kgrou d ise d e h i g re rd dur bili y, he 'hi- deli y' er h d begu.

Eve s, he seve y-ye r mmer i lexis e e he shell dis h d bee eri d u re ede ed l gevi y r musi l e h logy. From heir dve i he 1890s heir ul im e demise i 1962, whe EMI Musi wi hdrew i s l s rem i i g 78s rom i s logues, shell re rds lled he olle i so musi lis e ers worldwide..., he musi e h ologies h h ve ollowed — vi yl re ords, reel-o-reel udio, eigh - r k re ordi gs,

³⁴ Gramophone (Feb. 1943), 16. I he e rly 1940s, he 'Big, hree' re rd m ies — CA Vi r, Columbi d De — m u ured mos he re rds m de i he SA. See, im hy Dowd, 'From 78s M 3s:, he Embedded Im , e h of gy i he M rke r rere rded Musi ', i Jose h L m el et al. (eds.), The Business of Culture: Strategic Perspectives on Entertainment and Media (M hw h, NJ, 2006), 208.

³⁵ Kur z Myers, 'Curre e r he e rd I dus ry', Notes, 2 d ser., iii (1946), 413. For ex m les, r r e-led re y li g m ig s duri gw r ime, see Ke e h D. Durr, <u>'</u>, he "New I dus ri 1 hil, s hy": S. Cor r e e y li g i rld r II', Progress in Industrial Ecology, 20 De . 2006. sse e es, m dis s, DA, s d M 3s—h ve e ded h ve mu h shor er mmer i l lives.³⁶

III

SILK

Like he de iled u s shell 's e rly uses, ex e sive des ri i s re-m der silk r du i h ve ir ul ed r mille i . A rdi g C u ius (C.551-479 BCE), i 2640 BCE, Em er r Hu gdi's wie Leizu w s re ri g e whe silkw rm umbled i her u r m verh gi g mulberry ree, he hre d h she shed u s re hed he le g h her g rde . eg rdless his h rmi g e d e's ver i y, by he Sh g Dy s y (C.1600-1040 BCE), s his i ed silk r du i (seri ul ure) w s yieldi g eleg ex iles.³⁷

Seri ul ure i ues i volve m y he s me e h iques e ured i i s e rly his ry., hese i lude l i g mulberry rees, eedi g mulberry le ves silkworms, lle i g silkworm s, d he exr i g he silk by 'reeli g' he s i As r ised i mediev l Chi, silkworm ul iv io re rese ed e, he world's ldes models i e sive e sys em m geme. Develo ed by Gu gdo g's e s s duri g he Mi g Dy s y (1368–1644), he 'mulberry emb kme d sh d' sys em ((can sang ju) hroughou Si hu rovi e, rovidi g rmers wi h mulberry rees, l d d seri ul ure r i i g.⁴¹

Su h mmi me s s e res ur es dem s r ed silk's u r lleled s di g s Asi 's m s lu r ive mm di y., he m s rs e u ered he shimmeri g i se se re i whe M r us Li i ius Cr ssus d his seve m legi s su ered dev s i g de e by he r hi s heb le C rrh e (H rr i s u h-e s er , urkey) i 53 BCE. m r s were e ri ed whe r hi s d rd-be rers u urled gle mi g s rle - loured silk b ers, embridered wi h g lde hre ds. his s e le m ied he m s' i r du i he ersi m u d b w, mmem r ed i lu r h'sh rr wi g u he' r hi sh ', wi h whi h gile m u ed r hers i ed he erri ed legi ires heir shields.⁴²

Des i e his r um i rs e u er, ie m s be me bsessed wi h silk. However, while m ex e di ures Chi ese silk were s romi l, heir k wledge seri ul ure rem i ed rudime ry. I his rs - e ury CE e y lo edi,

groves, here ws ssymde m ke silke, d surely he wormes ros ered ex elle well, ill hem s er-workm ell si ke: duri g whi h ime, hey were e wihr s. 4^{47}

Bri i 's lo i l seri ul ure s heme ever ully re vered rom his u le s e isode. Des i e roge rom he S u r mor hs, he Virgi i lo y l ked he skilled work or e or ise Bombyx mori, silkworms ok orly Nor h Ameri 's ive red mulberry (Morus rubra) rees, d highly roble b (Nicotiana tabacum) ul iv io qui kly moo lized, idew er l ers' i ves me s.⁴⁸

F iled em s le i lseri ul ure did u d ll se s Bri ish silk r du i, h wever. eligi us erse u i i i e lEur e ered mu h eeded s imulus he fledgli g i dus ry. F r ui usly, i flux Fre h Hugue s er 1685 e h ed Bri i 's silk r du i g r wess. E glish silk m u urers Bl k ri rs i C erbury d S i l elds i L d r di lly wel med r h e r es re ugees wh r ssed he Ch el wi h heir s his i ed we vi g skills d l h m u uri g e h legies.⁴⁹

Me while, Eur e s were u ely w re mu i g , urkish dem d r silk. As Je -Cl ude Fl h , he Ly, r vs m u ures, wr e i he 1760s: , he silk r de is m re im r h h he wale s... be use, urks, like her Lev i es, sume wi e s mu h silk la h s he wale s'.⁵⁰ , he exquisi ely ur ished Dalmb h, e l e, he reside e he O m sul s, w s he des i i r mu h he silk quired by, urkish eli es. A re ere e wark ur - hee ury rugs ed, e e ly, he Sul , urkey h s s r ed

⁴⁷ J_bh Smi h, Travels and Works of Captain John Smith: President of Virginia and Admiral of New England, 1580–1631, ed. Edw rd Arber, ew ed , 2 v_bls. (Edi burgh, 1910), i, 56.

⁴⁸ For om rehe sive re me so seri ul ure his ory i Virgi i dolo i l

ry Hereke

ier i g-su ki gm u h r s dis rel ed hids d i d s. he bug's ve ed red igme mes r m he rmi i id (hr qui e) se re ed i he i r ellul r vesi les he wi gless em le. N l i serve s he h s l s r hese i se s, d hus hi e l r du i urs i lries, he em les h hemselves he ds, r l d des, he i d use heirh ll w r b s ises ex r m is ure d u rie s r m he l s. I he r ess, hey exude s r ds yw x r e heir b dies d egg m sses r m red rs d he eleme s. ri i gi 1653, he Jesui Ber bé C b des ribed he ull-gr w em le hi e l i se s 'l gr dez de u g rb z j ris l' (he size hi k e r kid ey be).⁵⁷

I Mexi, w re-C lumbi d mesi ed l i, he 'N lde S G briel' (Opuntia tomentosa v r. hernandezii) d he 'N lde C s ill ' (Opuntia ficus-indica), h s ed hi e l ul iv i, , his r ess yielded he desired grana fina, r e hi e l, s he S ish lled he d mesi ed i se 's se rei. Like seri ul ure, he r i e r isi g hi e l bugs dem ded dev i b h i se s d h s l s., he em le hi e l bug is vir u lly de e eless be use her fligh less ess s ul iv rs s e m y h urs e h d y w rdi g red rs, whi h i luded wild hi e l (cochinilla silvestre), he eler w rm (Laetillia coccidivora), hi ke s, urkeys, liz rds, w de kers, mi e d r s.⁵⁸

I re r i, r hi e l r du i, l i required be wee wood hree ye rs m ur i. Cul iv rs he buil ube-like es s r husks r lm le ves, e h h usi g sever l d ze reg em le bugs. Me d wome would x hese i ers he l l d des. O e he i se s h d h hed d m ured r ur r vem hs, r du ers would h rves he bugs d dr w, s e m r su -dry hem. hese r esses

 57 h m s Eis er et al., ' ed C, hi e l Dye (C rmi i A id): I s lei N ure', Science, 30 M y 1980, 1039; Ber bé C, b, Historia del Nuevo Mundo (1653), ed. M r s Jimé ez de l Es d , 4 v, ls. (Sevillel-g, r ve(

su erior ll hesei erms isvibr y d s ess. i hi h l-e ury er is rriv l i Euro e duri g he 1520s, Mexi hi e l h d m le ely re l ed lish hi e l d kermes s he mos widely used red dye. I 1599, he res e ed Mexi Ci y reside Go z lo Gómez de Cerv es ed h C s ili s were s e ger or shi me so grana fina s hey were or rgoes gold d silver.⁶⁴

As with shell d silk, he rigi s d r du i r esses hi e l eluded im eri l sumers, hr ugh u he six ee h d seve ee h e uries, Eur e wri ers dis u ed whe her he ve ed rmi e dye derived r m i se s, w rms, berries r l seeds. I r, he usi s emmed r m he mm S ish me r he dye-s ur e, grana, whi h li er lly r sl es s 'gr i '. I 1555, he E glish bserver ber , ms de l red, , he C hi ill is w rme, r flye, s s me s y i is, bu berrie h gr we h u er i e bushes i he wilde

lser hme. I 1888, he E glish r veller Ch rles Edw rdes highligh ed e su hve ure he C ry Isl ds:

- -, hei se w s i r du edi , e eri e u il 1825; d r ime i uld be e ur ged r g e su ess ully. A ries w s he disverer herigh me h d ur ure, d himi is due h r m 1845 1866 u l r r m w sixmilli u ds hi e lw s r du ed.⁶⁹
- -, his r s l i r ser, hi e l r du i, i ided wi h revolu i, i hemis ry. I 1858, illi m He ry erki, ssis he Germ hemis Augus ilhelm v, H, m, i ve ed sy he i ur le igme, k w sm uve, he mu d, r du ed r m, l r, w s he rs ili e dye. M í s mer, Mexi,'s rs mb ss dor, he i ed S es, ured he

not one is an object of synthesis'.⁷¹ Less h w de des er

ilkes' de i ive s eme , Friedri h "hler sy hesized ure , he i r ge - i i g subs e i m mm l uri e. As he y u g Germ rese r her wr e his Swedish me r J k b Berzelius i 1828: 'I mus ell y u h I re re ure wi hu requiri g kid ey im l, ei her m r d g'.⁷² i h he r du i sim le m le ule, "hler sh ered he imeh ured dis i i be wee rg i m u ds di rg i subs es, he 'Sy he i Age' h d begu .

I he llowig e ury, his s i i wih sy he i m eri lsr ged rbey d he es hel br ry. I 1923, he r he high m der is r hi e ure, Le C rbusier (Ch rles-Éd u rd Je ere), u ed, he rime seque es he i dus ri l evolui i "buildi g" show hemselves i his rs s ge; he re l i g ur l m eri ls by r i i l es, heer ge e us dd ub ul m eri ls byh m ge e us d r i i l es (ried d r vedi hel b r ry) dby r du s xed m si i '.⁷³ Le C rbusier's h rd-edged u i lism v ured sy he i m eri ls, whi h re l ed he r w rker wi h he e gi eer d ili ed u re ede eds d rdiz i desig ri i les.⁷⁴

, he 1950s m rked he ex, sy he i hubris. I 1952, he jur 1 Science ublished r i le by he rg i hemis ger Ad ms lled 'M 's Sy he i Fu ure'. Ad ms, wh he ded he iversi y Illi is Chemis ry De r me r e rly hir y ye rs, redi ed he immi e demise, su h r du s s wol, , silk dle her, re s i g heir re 1 eme wi h hemi lly sy hesized m u ds. As he u i, 'I he u ure i ize s will m re e ively rm he 1 d d he se s; b i e ess ry mi er ls r m he e s; h he hemselves r m 1 d

 71 J_bh ilkes d J. Adl rd (eds.), Encyclopaedia Londinensis: or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature, 24 v_bls. (L_b d_b , 1810–29), iv, 167 (emh sis dded).

⁷² Friedri h "hler, qu, ed i Ber rd J e, Crucibles: The Story of Chemistry from Ancient Alchemy to Nuclear Fission, 4 h rev. ed (New York, 1976), 131., hese results

e redi Fr. "hler, 'eber kü s li he Bildu g des H r s s', Annalen der Physik und Chemie, lxxxviii (1828).

 73 Le C₀ rbusier, Towards a New Architecture, r s. Frederi k E hells (1927; New York, 1986), 232.

il...⁷⁵ Suhr sorm is swould me our esyo moder hemis ry. I he rovo ively i led book, The Road to Abundance (1953), hemis J b si d wrier M x E s m 1 imed, \leq he ime h s me whe he hemi 1 i dus ry d will, sl wly bu surely, ke ver r m gri ul ure he sk nd rudu in '.⁷⁶A ewye rsl er, s e i lrenr re rednr he i ed S es Se e Freig el i s Commi ee o urred, s i g, 'Sy he is my i he re s, bly e r u ure m ke he rodu io o ee, o o , o o , sug r, wool d some her rm mm di ies u e ess ry'. _ his i h i bou dless i dus ri l i yosu l he urlwih he ri ilexe ded vevery rer siey. I 1957, he hemi l m y M s ll br ed wih he M ss huse s I s i u e e h l gy re e he 'H use he Fu ure', re bri ed ru i rm dwellig , s ru ed e irely, sy he i m, e s (see 1 e), we y milli, visi rs ured he 119-squ re-me re l s i d bregl ss home i Dis eyl d's 4 marrawl d' exhibi in , whi h raudly ral imed, 'i uld be s id h h rdly ur l m eri l urs i i s rigi l s e ywhere i y ur ew h me!⁷⁸ Dis ey d $M_0 s - i ve rs himeri l d hemi l u ures$ joi ed or eso his qu si-m gi lusio o symboli dli er l eleme s. As he li er ry hearis al dBr hes r med his allisi, myh dm er: 'Des i e h vi g mes, Greek she herds (lys yre e, lyvi yl, lye hele e), l s i ... is i esse e he s u 1 hem1435, D[(he)-474.2(i e, r ed)-474.lys i l

lls bou hed gers hemi lollui.⁸⁵ By hel e 1980s, ur millions y hei hemi lowere i rodu ion hroughou he SA, doixy hous dh de ered ion mmo use.⁸⁶ evel ions bou he im li ions his seo irs ro hum he l h bego re eive wides re de ioni Nor h Ameri, Euro e d J. As he his ri Li d Nor h o i sou, 'Deb es ver hemi lond heir regul ion re, roo, deb es bou he rel ionshi be wee bodies dheir e viro me s'.⁸⁷

, he e sui g ul ur l b kl sh w s m, s re wi h he 1996 ubli i, Our Stolen Future by gr u e vir, melhe l h s e i lis s. Fe uri g reward by i ed S es Vi e reside Al G re, he widely ir ul ed b, k sser ed h syhe i m u ds were disru i ghum e d, ri e u i, s.⁸⁸ I he wards he his ri Mi helle Mur hy, his ew warld rder m u ed ' hemi l regime livi g', where 'm le ul r rel i, s ex e d u side he rg i re lm d re ei ere i, s wi h l ds es, radu i, d sum i, requiri gus ie he his ry e h s ie ewi h li i le my', he dve his er ls m rked shi i he imes le e vir, me l he l h issues. radu s h bi degr de ver mille i le ve muli-ge er i, lim ri b, he sys ems d he hum issues i whi h hey umul e.⁸⁹

 85 Firs h d es im, i ls b, u hese w, dis s ers be , u d i L, is M rie Gibbs (s, ld, Murr y Levi e), Love Canal: My Story (Alb y, 1982);, . . Ch, uh , Bhopal: The Inside Story. Carbide Workers Speak out on the World's Worst Industrial Disaster (New York, 1994). For de iled ssessme s, he he l h, seque es L, ve C l dBh, l, see Dwigh, .J eri het al., 'C er I ide ei he L, ve C l re', Science, 19 Ju e 1981; ush S. Meh et al., 'Bh, L, r gedy's He l h E es: A eview, Me hyl Is, y e, xi i y', Journal of the American Medical Association, 5 De . 1990.

⁸⁶, im, hy Mi hell, Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity (Berkeley, 2002), 21.

⁸⁷ Li d N sh, 'uri y d D ger: His ri l efle is s he egul i E vir, me l llu s', Environmental History, xiii (2008), 651.

⁸⁸, he C 1b, r , Di e Dum ski d J h e ess Myers, Our Stolen Future: Are We Threatening our Fertility, Intelligence, and Survival? A Scientific Detective Story (New y rk, 1996).

⁸⁹ Mi helle Mur hy, 'Chemi 1 egimes Livi g', Environmental History, xiii (2008), 697. For more his, see Devr D vis, The Secret History of the War on Cancer (New york, 2007); Joh rg, Our Children's Toxic Legacy: How Science and Law Fail to Protect Us from Pesticides, 2 d ed (New H ve , 1998).

30, 38

, HE LIML, S OF S BS, L, T ION

O i e l e, idealagies limi less graw h require arresdighearies, subsiuia. I e rlier er, ala i lism ered geogr hil xorsuhosriso, ilis umul i. Byem lavi g'ghas re ge', im eri lis is srelied s esbevad heir w terrafirma, su h s e s d reig 1 ds, su leme heir h rves s d ugme heir ressur e s, ks.⁹⁰ ye, i he ses, d, mes i ed i se s, heir highly skilled ul iv rs d heir r ri ed h s 1 s, su h de e de ies e rved rus r i g r h se u ively i h rge. E duri g mis, e i, s b, u he r, ess, shell r, du i, iled em s seri ul ure i la il se leme s, di ulies i r s errig he hi e l bug d i s Opuntia us h,s, erri ries u side L i Ameri, d he resis e domes i ed i se ul iv io o e o mies o s le flus ered Eura e im eri lis s i v rie y a w ys. O e rried au wihsrikigig r e la lk wledge, -d w em s i dus ri lize ure hraugh r di 1 sim li i sa m lex e logi l ro esses h ve rodu ed li vo emb rr ssi g ilures du mi ig ed dis s ers ver he e uries.⁹¹

, he romeers he Sy he i Age romised h helborrywould rovide s-loiles e rom su h roi swih he 'limis grow h'. However, i umber ses, he subsiui sy he i rodu sor urles hs roved ir ble rom hes doi eihermole ul rhemis ryor e mi e ie y. Subs es svried s blood, rubber dv ill re rem rk bly resis re l eme wih

⁹⁰ Mi hig S e iversi y d s ie is Georg Borgs röm rs devel, ed he e 'ghos re ge'. See Georg Borgs röm: see his Hungry Planet: The Modern World at the Edge of Famine (New york, 1965). illi m C exe ded Borgs röm's e e 'h m rryi g i y' i lude s 'ossil re ge', r'im r so e ergy rom rehis ri sour es'. See illi m . C Jr, Overshoot: The Ecological Basis of Revolutionary Change (rb , 1980), 41. For dis ussis s bou he r - di i s h rise whe subsiduig l bour d i lor ur lresour es, see

m u ured versi, s.⁹² Silk is simil rly i imi ble. As he uh, rs, sudy i he Journal of Applied Polymer Science, ed, 'Bi, l, gi lm eri ls, e sh, w mbi i, r, er ies h

be re rodu ed by ri ilme s. Silks, rodu ed ei her by s iders r mohl rv e, re good ex m le whe om red wih ri ilorg i bers'.⁹³

I he ses hi e l d shell , m y he sy he i subs i u es r hese i se se re i s ur ed u be xi umes he Sy he i Age. I 1950, hildre i he i ed S es be me si k r m e i g dy d r lured wi h he sy he i m u ds FD&C Or ge N. 1 d FD&C ed N. 32. New y rk C gressm J mes J. Del ey subseque ly rg ized he ri gsi hemi l ddi ives i he i 's dsu ly. he s- lled 'Del ey l use', whi h he SC gress ssed i 1958 s me dme he Fod, Drug, d C sme i A 1938, s i ul ed h 'N ddi ive sh ll be deemed be s ei i is u d i du e er whe i ges ed by m r im l, ri i is

⁹², he bigges bs le sy hesizi g r i i l blod is he h xygerryi g h emoglobi be mes xi u side he r e ive i g he redblod ell. See A dre Mozz relli d S e Be i, Chemistry and Biochemistry of Oxygen Therapeutics: From Transfusion to Artificial Blood (Hobke, 2011), xxiv; Jerry E. Squires, 'Ar i i lBlod', Science, 8 Feb. 2002. Likewise, m y hemos sig i

li i, s, l ex r, m he r'rubber ree (Hevea brasiliensis), su h s he yres, ir r de r h-m, vi g vehi les, e sily be re l ed wi h sy he i l ex be-

" ur l" re d'.⁹⁶ hile Mexi rmerss ill su ly rmi e hegl b lm rke, 85 er e hew rld's hi e l w mes r m highl d eru, where is r du i i v lves ver 100,000 milies.⁹⁷

C₁ em r ry seri ul ure sh res m y e ures wih rese dyshell d, hi e l r, du i, , he ex si, , hi-e h i dus ries h s used m y J ese d K re i ize s silkw rm ul iv i, bu Chi , I di , hil d, b d m d Br zilh ver idlvi re sed heir silk-r isi g er-Vie he s ew de des. Be use seri ul ure is hamein si b sed ivi v h res ds well mi r e, i ers u usu l , ruiies relevighee, mi ds ils us rur l w me . Al h ugh silk m rises ly 0.2 er e he l volume o exiles r ded o he world m rke, is ommer i l v lue is sever lorders m g i ude gre er, o ly be use iss us s luxuryg, d, bu ls be usem y is s r, du e rim rily ri er 1 sum is .Frex m le, I di silkwe vers sell 85 er e , heir r, du , d, mes i , sumers, muh_o i e di gu i wome 's s ris.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ J, sé S hul, 'C rmi e', i G briel J. L ur, dF. J kFr is (eds.), Natural Food Colorants: Science and Technology (New York, 2000); ld E. rols d d C heri e A. Culver, 'Al er ives a_{ro} has Ar i i 1 FD&C Food Color s', Annual Review of Food Science and Technology, iii (2012); J e Zh g, 'Is, here Bug i your Jui e? New Food L bels Migh S y', Wall Street Journal, 27 J . 2006, B1. I A r. 2012, S rbu ks swi hed rom hi e l vege ble-b sed dyei i s s r wberry 'Fr u i o' llowig sumer ou ry over he rese e bugs i bever ges. See K ri Klei , 'S rkbu ks Is Ge i g he Bugs Ou ', Los Angeles Times, 23 A r. 2012. For ses dverse he 1 hre is so hi e l, see Ci dy Skrzy ki, 'Allergy Fe rs, i ge Deb e, Bug-Dye ule', Washington Post, 9 M y 2006, D1. O he ed Dye No. 3 b , see ld H mowy, Government and Public Health in America (Chel e h m, 2007), 188; ild Colors From N ure websi e, <h ://www.wildfl vrs. m/? ge= hi e l_ rmi e> (essed 30 J u ry 2013).

⁹⁷ F, r eruvi hi e l r, du i, see dríguez d Niemeyer, 'C, hi e l r, du i, ', 78; Luiz C rl, s dríguez d i s u l, 'L d Cle r e d S, i l C i l i M, u i Agr. E sys ems: "he C se O u i S rubl d i Ay u h, eru', Ecological Economics, xlix (2004).", he C ry Isl ds h s ls, rei vigar ed i s hi e l r, du i, See Desiree M r i, 'S ish Isl ds L u h C, hi e l C, meb k', Taipei Times, 18 Se . 2011, 11.

⁹⁸ j K.D dM hesh N v y, Global Silk Industry: A Complete Sourcebook (B, 2005), 10–11; G. S. Gee h d . I dir , 'Silkwarm e ri g by ur l me i K r k: A h Em werme ', Indian Journal of Gender Studies, xviii (2011); B rb r E r h et al., 'I e si i, egimes i Vill ge-B sed Silk radu i, Nar he s, h il d: Baas (d Ch lle ges) me 's Au hariy', i Ber de e esurre i, d ebe Elmhirs (eds.), Gender and Natural Resource Management: Livelihoods, Mobility and Interventions (L, d, 2008); G. S dhy i, Women in SericultureVietnam

me h ve ls bee e r l herevi liz i I di l r du i Give heir sys em i lly dis dv ged si i i hel b ur m rke d heir limi ed ess i l, r w me i u lyi g regi s e de e du he lle i - imber res r du s $(N_{y} F s)$, su h sl . L -re ri gi v lves s m y s ve milli e le i I di , d $N_{y} F s$ i ue r vide u 75 er e rur l w me r ss he i wi h heir rim ry s ur e i me.⁹⁹

, hr ugh mu h h he devel i g world, i se ul iv i h s h g bee m i s y e mi lly m rgi lized sm llh lders. I he ses Ell Fizger ld's 78-r m re rd, Sul Abdülme id's silk r e s d Sir Ch rles O'H r 's red , i se s d heir hum ul iv rs r du ed ur l, ile d visu l gl b liz i s h se i m i r-re hi g rel i shi s r ss i e s, e s d s e ies b u d ries. he i me shell , silk d hi e l, Eur e s i h bi ed knowledge periphery, mys i ed by he rese e i se se re i s i heir mids bu de e de u hel l k wledge highly skilled w rkers i dis e sys ems.

Shell, silk d, hi e l re, l, ger hem eri ls h

A OCALY SE O ME, AMO HOSIS?

Des i e he m i rese e i se si urd ilylives, he m der Euro-Ameri i ude w rds hese re ures ge er lly rem i s e revulsi . I his re ise British Central Africa (1897), he b is d lo i l dmi is r r Sir H rry Joh s dmi ed his 'swee i g h red he i se r e' d rem rked, 'I is sur risi g my hi ki g h ur sylums re m i ly lled wi he mologis s drive dementia by he s udy his h rrible l ss'.¹⁰⁰, hir y- hree ye rsl er, he ul r Nor h Ameri s ie e ubli i Modern Mechanix ld re ders:

Aw rldruled by gi i se s, wi h hel s rem s hehum r e s sl ves is e he vori e devi es e s hol i wri ers. F s i ? N ll... All s his ry i di es h whe, d i, he rese iviliz i mes e d, i will die be use u s lved d r blem, d h i se s will be ribu i g r, d he e m y be he survivors.¹⁰¹

Ye, i v ive i versi s his se ri re r s rmi g error i error. Log r ised by i dige us ul ures e rly every i e, e moh gy — he sum i i se s — isg i i g urre y mog u ri i sie iss s vi ble roue w rdsgloblodse uri y.¹⁰² O e g i, hee mologi l k wledge su h r i es hrives u side Euro e d Nor h Ameri . As 2010 re r rom he Food d Agri ul ure Org iz i he i ed N i s i sou :

, he r i e e i gi se sg es b k h us ds ye rs dh s bee d ume ed i e rly every r hew rld. I m der imes, h wever, sum i i se sh s de li ed i m ys ie ies d is sme imes ridi uled s ld-shi ed d u he l hy. ye, i w uld be rude re ully sider he v lue us m ry k wledge be re dis rdi g i re dily. S ie i lysis rms, r ex m le, he ex e i l

¹⁰⁰ Eri h H₀y d₋ ed S hul z (eds.),

uri i lbe e s m y res i se s, d s udies i he e i l rdu e i se s r d wih r ewer eg ive e vir me l 38, 38

'he es'u i dige usk wledge rm u lyi g ge gr hi l regi s du mili re sys ems. si g b h m r ive d r s i l ers e ives, his r i le dem sr es h he emerge e sy he i l e h s everbee ssr igh rw rd s i s r m ers h ve sser ed. Des i e l ims he r ry, i se s rem i m i rese rs i mm ly sumed r du s d ru i l l e ry u i s., heir exis e e m y ls rese us wih u i i ed r u i ies r sel -refle i . As he e m l gis Je -He ri F bre rem rked, $\frac{1}{2}$ he i se d es im s mu h gl ry. I esi sel sh wi g usli ei hei exh us ible v rie y i sm i es i s; i hel s us de i her i s me sm ll me sure he bs ures b k ll, he b k urselves'.¹⁰⁶

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 106 Je $\,$ -He ri F bre, The Life and Love of the Insect, $\,r\,$ s. Alex $\,$ der_, eixeir de M $\,$ s (L $_{0}\,$ d $_{0}\,$, 1911), 128.