*The newsmagazine of the American Historical Association*

PERSPECTIVES ON HISTORY

Volume 58: 9
December 2020

# TEACHING TOGETHER

# The NEH-Hagley Fellowship Business, Culture, and Society Hagley Library, Wilmington Delaware

The NEH-Hagley Fellowship on Business, Culture, and Society supports residencies at the Hagley Library in Wilmington, Delaware for junior and senior scholars whose projects make use of Hagley's substantial research collections. Scholars must have completed all requirements for their doctoral degrees by the February 15 application deadline. In accordance with NEH requirements, these fellowships are restricted to United States citizens or to foreign nationals who have been living in the United States for at least three years. These fellowships are made possible by support from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Fellowships may be four to twelve months in length, and will provide a monthly stipend of $5000 and complimentary lodging in housing on Hagley's property. Hagley also will provide supplemental funds for local off-site accommodations to NEH fellowship recipients who can make a compelling case that special circumstance (e.g. disability or family needs) would make it impossible to make use of our scholar's housing. Scholars receive office space, Internet access, Inter-Library Loan privileges, and the full benefits of visiting scholars, including special access to Hagley's research collections. They are expected to be in regular and continuous residence and to participate in the Center's scholarly programs. They must devote full time to their study and may not accept teaching assignments or undertake any other major activities during their residency. Fellows may hold other major fellowships or grants during fellowship tenure, in addition to sabbaticals and supplemental grants from their own institutions, but only those that do not interfere with their residency at Hagley. Other NEH-funded grants may be held serially, but not concurrently.

## APPLICATION PROCEDURE FOR THE NEH-HAGLEY FELLOWSHIP ON BUSINESS, CULTURE, AND SOCIETY

**Deadline: February 15**

Requirements for application:

- Current curriculum vitae.
- A 3,000-word explanation of the project and its contributions to pertinent scholarship.
- A statement of no more than 500 words explaining how residency at Hagley would advance the project, particularly the relevance of our research collections.
- A statement indicating the preferred duration of the fellowship.

Applicants also should arrange for two letters of recommendation to arrive separately by the application deadline. These should be sent directly to Carol Lockman, clockman@Hagley.org. Questions regarding this fellowship may be sent to Carol Lockman as well.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

# FEATURES


**CONSIDER THE STUDENT VIEW ..... 11**
*Working Together to Improve Pedagogy and Learning*
MONIQUE DUFOUR

**TURNING INQUIRY INTO ACTION ..... 14**
*Using Communities of Practice to Build Better Introductory History Courses*
CALEB WOOD RICHARDSON

**COLLABORATING ON THE INTRO COURSE .... 17**
*The History for the 21st Century Project*
TREVOR R. GETZ AND STEVEN M. HARRIS


## ON THE COVER

This issue of *Perspectives on History* includes three Feature articles about collaboration in teaching. Although each focuses on different aspects of undergraduate education, all three emphasize how collaboration—with students, fellow historians, or faculty in other disciplines—improves the classroom experience for everyone. In "Turning Inquiry into Action," Caleb Wood Richardson (Univ. of New Mexico) explains how communities of practice (CoPs) brought instructors across the university together to get the gears turning. CoPs supported Richardson and other faculty as they worked on evaluating and improving their teaching. These articles, read together, may prompt historians to think about how they can bring collaboration into their classrooms, public history, and other learning spaces.

*Bill Oxford/Unsplash*

TABLE OF CONTENTS


**3 | FROM THE EDITOR**

Townhouse Notes
ASHLEY E. BOWEN

**4 | LETTERS TO THE EDITOR**

**6 | FROM THE PRESIDENT**

Reasons for Hope in a Difficult Year
MARY LINDEMANN

**8 | FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR**

Official Comments on Federal Regulations
JAMES GROSSMAN

**10 | NEWS**

Advocacy Briefs
GABRIELLA VIRGINIA FOLSOM

**20 | VIRTUAL AHA**

Overview and Updates

**23 | AHA ACTIVITIES**

2020 Awards, Prizes, and Honors Announced
GABRIELLA VIRGINIA FOLSOM

Women Historians in Academia
PATRICIA ALBJERG GRAHAM

The Value of Representation
SARAH FENTON

Black Internationalism, Plagues, and Toxicity
ALEX LICHTENSTEIN

**39 | IN MEMORIAM**

**42 | AHA CAREER CENTER**

**44 | EVERYTHING HAS A HISTORY**

Protose Cutlets
ADAM SHPRINTZEN

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ASHLEY E. BOWEN

# TOWNHOUSE NOTES

*How Would a Vampire Treat Yellow Fever?*


This fall, I gave my first lecture that took seriously the question "How would a vampire treat yellow fever in 1793 Philadelphia?" Would Marcus Whitmore, a fictional physician and vampire, have subscribed to Dr. Benjamin Rush's bleeding regimen? Or would he have embraced his vampiric taste for wine and pushed Madeira on his patients? At All Souls Con, the convention that caters to fans of historian Deborah Harkness's (Univ. of Southern California) best-selling All Souls trilogy (Viking Books), I got to think through exactly these questions.

I came to the series relatively recently, but I count myself among its die-hard fans. The novels follow the fictional Diana Bishop (Yale Univ.), a witch and historian of science, as she hunts down an enchanted alchemical manuscript known as Ashmole 782, falls in love with geneticist-cum-vampire Matthew Clairmont (Univ. of Oxford), travels back in time to the Elizabethan era, and challenges centuries-old beliefs about the nature of supernatural creatures. Harkness, herself a historian of science, captures the excitement of archival research and the magic of historical thinking while suffusing her fictional world with enough accurate or "real" history to make the books utterly engrossing for even the most skeptical historian.

When the All Souls Con organizers invited me to participate, I positively leapt at the opportunity. The fourth book in the series, *Time's Convert* (2018), partially takes place in 1793 in Philadelphia, not far from the Science History Institute, the Con's planned location. In 2018, I served as the guest curator for *The Politics of Yellow Fever in Alexander Hamilton's America*, an exhibition at the National Library of Medicine. I remembered how giddy I was reading *Time's Convert* after curating that exhibition. The Con was a chance to share that excitement with others.

Fan conventions are yet another unexpected place where historians might engage the public. Speaking at All Souls Con was, in many respects, exactly like giving a talk at an academic conference. I focused on a few key ideas in my 50-minute talk, created what I hoped were visually appealing PowerPoint slides, and, because it's 2020, recorded the lecture in advance over Zoom—uncertain if my jokes would land or my audience would stick with me the whole time. I couldn't take questions afterward, but I shared my Twitter handle and hoped that attendees would reach out with questions.

In important ways, however, the experience was unlike any other history talk I'd ever given (and not just because it was recorded weeks in advance). Offering good, accurate history to audiences invested in *both* history and a fictional world demanded that I think differently about what I discussed and how I presented that information. I began by taking seriously the questions prompted by the novels. How would a vampire react to bloodletting during an epidemic? Given that vampires have a heightened sense of smell, how would they have understood miasma? From there, I crafted a talk that began from a place of playfulness. Vampires, much to my surprise, proved to be an excellent entry point for a discussion of theories of disease in the late 18th century, various treatment plans, and the scale of the yellow fever epidemic.

I write this column in late October, the height of spooky season and the perfect time to think about witches, vampires, and daemons. It is also a moment when we face an enormous amount of uncertainty around the November elections, the third wave of the pandemic in the United States, and much more. Attending my first fan convention, even online, was a source of real joy and intellectual stimulation. The chance to connect with people excited to play with history and stories was restorative at a moment when very little feels joyful or affirmative.

*Ashley E. Bowen is the editor of* Perspectives on History. *She tweets @AEBowenPhD.*

## TO THE EDITOR

Mary Lindemann's October column captured the conflicted reality of working as an adjunct in the academy. Yes, what she wrote is true: "There is no doubt that adjuncts are often treated abysmally." Yes, we all have our horror stories; it doesn't matter whether we have published in journals or written books, an academic caste system reminds us of our marginality. Fortunately, I have seen much good, along with the bad and the ugly. And, thanks to President Lindemann's column, we have an opportunity to think more about the state of adjuncts in our field.

There comes with the non-tenure-track (NTT) and adjunct status a perceived inferiority, invisibility, and segregation; we aren't always invited to full-time faculty meetings and are sometimes emailed separately. Separate is never equal in this world. This past spring, before we went remote, I often saw a tenured faculty member in the office. He asked me who I was after I said "hello." I always have to say, "hello" first. Mind you, I have seen him for years. The next week, I said "hello," and there was no response. "May I introduce myself?" I asked, followed by my name, and this male colleague said, "I know who you are." Even with publications, a designation as a Public Scholar, and being one of two adjuncts to pilot for the history department a new student success program, I remain invisible. Invisibility is not welcoming, nor is the denying of eligibility for institutional research grants and travel funds when adjuncts are publishing.

I wonder if ignorant behavior like this is based on a spirit of elitism or insecurity. Or is it a reflection of how history departments operate? Either way, this behavior must change. Fortunately, in the same department, our chairwoman was supportive of adjuncts, advocating on our behalf and encouraging collaboration between NTT and tenure-track faculty. Should our fate depend upon the kindness and collegiality of one colleague or on the disrespect from another?

My love of teaching and sharing research kept me in the classroom, and my desire to help first-gen students, like myself, succeed, kept me anchored. In this binary world, where tenure-track faculty are "better" and NTT are contingent, many institutions have adjuncts teaching their survey classes. If we aren't good enough, why have us teach the introductory classes that expose students, often for the first time, to historical thinking and constructs?

It is my hope that the AHA will accept President Lindemann's challenge and dedicate space in all its venues to showcasing the work of its invisible and yet necessary adjunct faculty members. While I support the AHA's January 2020 statement on *Improving the Status of Non-Tenure-Track Faculty*, I do not think it is realistic to direct primarily one person, the chairperson, to fix this stigmatizing and mistreatment of adjuncts. The institutional culture and the attitudes of department members are equally important in the quest to be more welcoming to adjuncts.

SUE KOZEL
*Retired Adjunct Professor of History, Cream Ridge, NJ*

## TO THE EDITOR

I enjoyed Robert Darnton's article proposing a "new" view of event history, which is indeed an important enterprise for these eventful historical times. However, I was troubled to see that Professor Darnton did not acknowledge another, relatively recent theorization of the historical event, centered on the exact historical moment he is studying in his new book: the outbreak of the French Revolution. I refer to William H. Sewell Jr.'s essay "Historical Events as Transformations of Structures: Inventing Revolution at the Bastille," in his collection *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 2005). In this essay, Sewell uses the case of the attack on the Bastille prison in Paris on July 14, 1789, which was quickly interpreted as the beginning of a revolution in the modern sense of the word, to show how historical events rearticulate structures and transform culture; characterizing events as spatial and emotional as well as temporal, he calls them "acts of collective creativity."

For his project, Professor Darnton might want to familiarize himself with such innovative theoretical and historical work from more recent years, rather than referring exclusively to classic works published before 1980. While I look forward with interest to Professor Darnton's new book on the eventful year of 1788 in France, I do hope that it will recognize the very rich body of scholarship that has been published—in both French history and social theory—in the decades since his own major contributions to the "cultural" turn in history.

CHRISTINE HAYNES
*University of North Carolina at Charlotte*

## *ROBERT DARNTON RESPONDS*

I did indeed read William Sewell's excellent essay and his other work, including a study of Abbé Sieyès, which I much admire. Historiographical comments were removed from the article because *Perspectives* has a strict word limit and does not include footnotes. I am sorry if I gave the impression that other historians have not discussed similar issues, and I hope to build on their work.

MARY LINDEMANN

# REASONS FOR HOPE IN A DIFFICULT YEAR

*A Look Back at 2020*

The final column each president writes often takes the form of a personalized retrospective. When I took office in January, there were whispers of a new viral respiratory disease that had broken out in China's Wuhan Province. Precise information was vague and incomplete. It was worrisome but far away, and even I, as a medical historian, who realizes how quickly a local outbreak could flare into a global catastrophe, was not particularly alarmed. However, the COVID-19 pandemic and its far-reaching impact on our discipline soon came to dominate my term as the AHA's president.

COVID upended normal life. Under the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that three of my columns over the past year explicitly addressed the pandemic's effect on historians, and it has been in the background of other columns as well. From my position as AHA president, I saw the myriad ways that COVID reshaped the work that historians do in all sorts of venues and in all forms. This year, the AHA's Council issued a *Statement on Historical Research during COVID-19*, urging universities to accommodate faculty and students who have had their research agendas interrupted by the pandemic. We also issued a *Statement on Departmental Closings and Faculty Firings* in response to the unprecedented financial strain placed on many institutions by the pandemic and the growing number of history departments that came under the budgetary axe. The AHA also initiated a Historians Relief Fund to assist unemployed or underemployed historians who have been financially affected by the pandemic. I have been heartened by the generosity of my fellow historians. As this goes to press, AHA members have donated $55,859 and 75 grants have been distributed during two application periods.

The pandemic is an ever-present reality. Without denying the anxiety and precarity that COVID has created, I would like to frame my final column as president by returning to the mood of my first, which was about the creation of community in both the AHA and the discipline as a whole. Despite the awful parts of 2020, much happened this year that was admirable and impressive, even amazing. Despite the undeniable difficulties we experienced, despite the uncertainties and the sometimes poorly conceived policies of administrations (whether in scholarly institutions or government), the AHA, history departments, K–12 educators, and museums and libraries have accomplished a great deal. Under difficult circumstances, all have undertaken a wide variety of projects and launched initiatives, often creatively conceived and executed, to preserve intellectual and scholarly life amid a global pandemic.

Despite the awful parts of 2020, much happened this year that was admirable and impressive, even amazing.

The AHA as an organization has been incredibly active in responding to the crises its many constituencies have experienced. The activities of the organization and its staff, under exceedingly difficult circumstances, have been little short of awe-inspiring. At the beginning of the year, the AHA staff was splitting their time between a WeWork facility and their homes while awaiting the completion of renovations to the townhouse headquarters. In February, they briefly returned to the newly restored, far more functional townhouse. By mid-March, however, the staff was again working remotely, isolated in their homes and managing everything by Zoom, as were most of us. During the same period, some staff left for other employment, new staff were hired, and a staff reorganization occurred.

Location and staffing, major challenges in any year, were probably the simplest of the problems faced by the AHA this year. What to do about the annual meeting became a

central concern that touched on everything from the organization's bylaws to hotel contracts and public health guidance. There was also the question of how to serve the entire historical community when it was neither prudent nor safe to congregate in person. After careful and thoughtful deliberation, the Council and staff made the inevitable and responsible decision to cancel the in-person annual meeting scheduled for January 2021 in Seattle and began to reshape the annual meeting under novel circumstances.

> We have, as a group, done far better than merely muddling through.

To address the issue of maintaining the AHA's vast range of activities, the Association created Virtual AHA to offer a series of online opportunities "to bring together communities of historians, build professional relationships, and engage in professional and career development." It will run through June 2021. Under the umbrella of Virtual AHA, the AHA Colloquium presents content drawn from the originally scheduled 2021 meeting, including career development workshops, panels on research and teaching, and much more. Virtual AHA also includes a series of History Behind the Headlines webinars, National History Center programming, and a Virtual Exhibit Hall. I suspect that every member of the AHA can well imagine what this shift entailed and the amount of work it meant for the staff and the program committee to transform a meeting with more than 300 sessions into a series of webinars and virtual panels.

The AHA's rapid response to the pandemic was multipronged and included a series of webinars on research and teaching created especially for historians teaching remotely for the first time, as well as a similar series for department chairs addressing issues of teaching, graduate student applications and admissions, and considerations of tenure and promotion standards. The Remote Teaching Resources, funded by an NEH CARES grant, compiled materials and tools to help historians develop courses and teach remotely in online and hybrid environments. The NEH CARES grant also supported the compilation of *A Bibliography of Historians' Responses to COVID-19*. That bibliography, professionally vetted by AHA staff, is a valuable resource for those looking for historical perspectives on the crisis. *Perspectives* amplified these conversations, publishing many articles offering historical context for COVID as well as a series of "Remote Reflections" on teaching over the summer, with plans to publish a second set of articles under that umbrella this winter focused on changing research practices.

The AHA has also been very busy, more so than perhaps ever before, in fulfilling its advocacy functions and in drafting and publishing statements, often issued in conjunction with or co-signed by other associations, frequently with member organizations of the ACLS and with AHA affiliates. In addition to COVID-related statements, the AHA issued an important and powerful *Statement on the History of Racist Violence in the United States* in June. The AHA supported the rights of dissident, harassed, and even imprisoned scholars in other countries, and supported historians in the United States in their right to free speech. The AHA has always taken up the cudgels in these causes, but the activity during these troubled times has been far more frequent and intense.

But if the AHA has stepped up to deal with unprecedented crises in American society, others too have been exemplary in trying to maintain a modicum of normalcy in very abnormal times. Despite the disruptions, history departments and their faculties have pulled together to continue teaching and mentoring under extremely difficult circumstances, personal as well as professional. We have not always been happy with outcomes, and we have often been at odds with our employers and administrators, but the results have been impressive, and the cooperation of historians with their colleagues, no matter where and in what capacity, whether in museums, libraries, public institutions, government organizations, or higher education, has been impressive. We have, as a group, done far better than merely muddling through.

At the end of my presidential year, and despite the undeniable difficulties we still face, I can say, without hesitation, that it has been a rewarding experience. My hat is off to all of those who have worked indefatigably in the best interests of the discipline. I am tired, as we all are, but I am not depressed, and I look forward to the next decade of the AHA's history, beginning in 2021 under the leadership of Jacqueline Jones (Univ. of Texas at Austin). P

*Mary Lindemann is president of AHA.*

JAMES GROSSMAN

# OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON FEDERAL REGULATIONS

*The AHA Advocates for International Students*

When the AHA speaks out, we generally do so in the form of either a public statement or a letter. Statements typically relate to an aspect of public policy, an event, or an issue that affects the work of historians or the relationship of history to public culture or policy. Letters most often address a particular action by an institution and can derive from similar circumstances or relate to an AHA or departmental member. Both tend to be straightforward in form, if sometimes difficult to write. But a third genre gets further into the weeds of Washington bureaucracy. This is the official "comment" on a posting in the Federal Register.

Do not assign the Federal Register unless your institution rewards course attrition or the purpose of your course is to prepare students to either staff or monitor the federal bureaucracy. Its documents are usually long (256 pages in this case), and written without a hint of metaphor, irony, humor, or drama. Parsing them requires wading through arcane technicalities to find the almost-hidden levers of public policy.

I say "almost" because the Federal Register is supposed to be a tool of transparent government. Congress makes laws, but federal agencies write and revise regulations to implement that legislation. The register is the venue for public dissemination and commentary. The National Archives and Records Administration, for example, is required to post in the Federal Register proposals relating to the retention or destruction of particular categories of records. The AHA, often in collaboration with other organizations, posts comments when a proposal falls within the scope of our *Guidelines for Taking a Public Stance* (see, e.g., responses to CBP Document Destruction Proposal [NARA-20-0017-0014; Control Number DAA-0568-2018-0001]).

The bureaucratic language and technical nature of postings in the Federal Register can obscure significant changes in practice. On September 25, 2020, the Department of Homeland Security's (DHS) Immigration and Customs Enforcement Bureau (ICE) posted ICEB-2019-0006-0001, "Establishing a Fixed Time Period of Admission and an Extension of Stay Procedure for Nonimmigrant Academic Students, Exchange Visitors, and Representatives of Foreign Information Media," which says in part:

> Currently, aliens in the F, J, and I categories are admitted into the United States for the period of time that they are complying with the terms and conditions of their nonimmigrant category ("duration of status"), rather than an admission for a fixed time period.

Category F-1 is students, and ICEB-2019-0006-0001 proposes shifting their visa period from "duration of status"—effectively, as long as they remain fully enrolled—to a standard interval, usually four years. Many readers of this magazine are more aware than I that the four-year undergraduate degree has become increasingly elusive. At the graduate level, a four-year limit bears no relationship to current realities, whatever one's position on what the length of a PhD program *ought* to be.

## Why stick a wrench into a machine that works?

DHS "appreciates the academic benefits, cultural value, and economic contributions these foreign nationals make to academic institutions and local communities throughout the United States." DHS is also mindful of the $41 billion it estimates international students contribute to the US economy. Considering the current administration's stated hostility to higher education, I appreciate DHS's reference to the "world-renowned faculty, cutting edge resources, state-of the art courses, and individualized instructional programs" that attract these students.

So why stick a wrench into a machine that works? What problem is DHS trying to solve? The proposal identifies two principal concerns: "the integrity of the programs and a potential for increased risk to national security."

The first relates to fraud and abuse, especially on the part of institutions that flout rules in order to collect tuition dollars. Ironically, the Department of Education has backed away from the previous administration's attempt to crack down on for-profit institutions of higher education whose deplorable record is cited in this very DHS proposal. Why extend the monitoring of a million students when much of the problem could be addressed through tighter regulation of the (significantly fewer) institutions in which they enroll?

That leaves national security. Curiously, the national security risks cited in the proposal refer to students who would have been in compliance with the new rule, students who had *not* stretched out their stay. The case for national security is weak, both internally within the proposal and according to external reporting over the last decade. Few students are spies, and those accused of compromising industrial secrets or intellectual property would not have been affected by this change.

Historians look for context. Only in the context of the current White House and DHS—the hostility and wild charges they've directed at immigrants and their emphasis on exclusion, deportation, and control—can we make sense of this otherwise senseless exercise. The proposal asserts that current policy "does not afford immigration officers enough predetermined opportunities to directly verify that aliens granted such nonimmigrant statuses are engaging only in those activities their respective classifications authorize while they are in the United States." It is no accident that the nefarious activities in which these students are implied to be engaging are left unspecified. What matters is not what they do but who they are: "aliens." P

*James Grossman is executive director of the AHA. He tweets @JimGrossmanAHA.*

## AHA Submits Comment on Proposed Rule Change for International Scholar Visas

This proposal includes significant measures that are neither necessary nor useful. Current procedures and regulations provide substantial benefits to both international students and American higher education institutions. There is little evidence of abuse of these procedures other than by a small handful of for-profit higher education institutions whose improprieties can be more effectively controlled through direct regulation. At colleges and universities across the United States, the presence of international students enriches intellectual and cultural environments while enabling citizens of other nations to appreciate American culture and develop networks that benefit our nation's place in the world.

Why would this change diminish the presence of international students in the United States?

Completing an undergraduate degree in four years is a struggle for many students, whether history majors or students focusing on other disciplines. This is true of US nationals and international students alike. The proposed regulation will likely result in a larger proportion of international students who never graduate, which in the short run will result in negative recollections of their American experience. In the longer run it will discourage enrollment.

The impact would be similar at the graduate level. In our discipline, four years is not a realistic time frame for completing a PhD. According to the Survey of Earned Doctorates, conducted by the National Center for Science and Engineering Statistics (NCSES), the average time to degree for history PhD students is between seven and eight years. Students typically undertake two years of coursework and several months of independent reading for examinations before embarking on their PhD dissertation. Often they need to learn additional languages to perform their research. Many must acquire other skills as well, such as paleography or expertise in Geographic Information Systems.

It would be possible for students to complete history PhDs inside of four years only if American universities lowered their standards for preparation and accepted dissertations that were, on average, based on far less research than has been the prevailing expectation for the past 100 years. Such a change would undermine the globally dominant position that American PhD programs have earned in the past century—indeed enfeebling American PhD programs in history and rendering their graduates uncompetitive for employment against PhD graduates trained in other countries.

It seems especially odd that a Department of Education that professes faith in markets would promulgate rules likely to diminish the ability of American colleges and universities to compete in international markets for students, and that would handicap our own students who seek to cultivate the relationships and cultural skills necessary to success in a globalizing world.

*The AHA posted this comment to the Federal Register on October 26, 2020.*

GABRIELLA VIRGINIA FOLSOM

# ADVOCACY BRIEFS

*AHA Advocates for Historians' Free Speech at Home and Abroad*

**The research of historians is more essential than ever, and the AHA is committed to ensuring that historians can do their work at home and abroad in safety. The AHA continues to advocate for historians by protecting professional standards, defending historians' free speech, and encouraging debate and challenging ideas in the public sphere.**

## AHA Signs onto Amicus Brief in *Ahmad v. Michigan*

Along with the Association of Research Libraries and other partners, the AHA signed on to an amicus curiae brief filed on September 30 in the Michigan Supreme Court case *Ahmad v. University of Michigan* concerning "the use of a public records request to circumvent a deed of gift" of private papers to the University of Michigan Library. The brief asserts that an early release of the papers, which would violate the deed of gift, would set a dangerous precedent resulting in individuals destroying their personal papers rather than making them available to historians and other researchers.

## AHA Statement Urging Retraction of Executive Order Prohibiting the Inclusion of "Divisive Concepts" in Employee Training Sessions

On October 9, in response to the president's recent executive order prohibiting the inclusion of "divisive concepts" in employee training sessions, the AHA has issued a statement urging the retraction of the order because it is "neither necessary nor useful." "Rather than banning 'divisive concepts' from any educational venue," the statement explains, "historians seek to draw public attention to these concepts so that they can be discussed, debated, and ultimately challenged." As of November 2, 31 organizations have signed onto the statement.

## AHA Letter Expressing Grave Concern for Russian Historian

On October 20, the AHA sent a letter to the chairman of the Supreme Court of Karelia expressing "grave concern" for Yuri Dmitriev, a Russian historian sentenced to a jail term of 13 years by the Karelian Supreme Court for what the Delegation of the European Union to Russia has referred to as "unsubstantiated" charges "triggered by his human rights work and his research on political repression in the Soviet period." The AHA wrote to "respectfully urge the Supreme Court of Karelia to order the release of Mr. Dmitriev."

## AHA Submits Comment on Proposed Rule Change for International Scholar Visas

On October 27, the AHA submitted a comment on a proposed revision to Department of Education rules governing student and visiting scholar visas. The proposal would limit the length of such visas for both undergraduate and graduate students to a maximum of four years. The revision, writes the AHA, "will likely result in a larger proportion of international students who never graduate" from undergraduate programs and "would undermine the globally dominant position that American PhD programs have earned in the past century—indeed enfeebling American PhD programs in history and rendering their graduates uncompetitive for employment against PhD graduates trained in other countries." See page 9 for the full text of the comment.

*Gabriella Virginia Folsom is the communications and operations assistant at the AHA.*

MONIQUE DUFOUR

# CONSIDER THE STUDENT VIEW

*Working Together to Improve Pedagogy and Learning*

Considering student perspectives on assignments and their experience with the work you're asking them to do can revitalize your course.
***Unsplash/Kévin Hikari***

IN FALL 2019, three weeks into my undergraduate War and Medicine class, a student asked when she could expect to see her grades in Canvas, our learning management system (LMS). What?! Since the first week, my TAs and I had regularly uploaded marks for their daily assignments. But all she saw, the student explained, was an empty gradebook.

A small matter, with a simple fix. But the technological issue sparked a broader pedagogical insight. Canvas, like most LMSs, has two display modes: "instructor view" and "student view." As teachers, we spend a lot of time tinkering under the LMS instructor hood. However, course sites look quite different via student view. The LMS displays a different interface, and students see them from other perspectives.

Teachers can get caught up with what we are doing *for* our students. We become immersed in preparing what we'll give them, and in responding to what they give us. I craft my interactive lecture and slides on tuberculosis sanitoria, I collect primary sources and compose their analytical assignment, and I assess their submissions. But between our preparation and our response, there is space to become better attuned to the student view—to the ways that students perceive and interact with all this material we so carefully create for them.

> When we focus on teaching as communication, we can release some of the pressure to anticipate uncertainties and control the unexpected.

In order to do this, it helps to acknowledge that teaching hinges on communication. Effective assignments are not incantations that enchant the most recalcitrant student to optimal learning. Course plans are only as good as their usefulness to students, and teaching happens when students show up, interpret our plans, and act on them.

And yet, before the start of each semester, we design our courses by envisioning the future. Often, we plan alone. We create the syllabus, the calendar, and the assignments based on our highest hopes, expert knowledge, and past experiences, using best practices and the latest tools. How genuinely lovely, that quiet period of anticipation, when the semester is laid out before us in clean calendars and detailed instructions, when there are no actual students, just the ones in our heads.

In 2020, we likely feel even greater pressure to make careful plans that anticipate all manner of contingencies. We face unfamiliar digital and hybrid teaching platforms, unpredictable public health conditions, urgent social problems, and complex work-from-home environments. When we focus on teaching as communication, we can release some of the pressure to anticipate uncertainties and control the unexpected. When we see students as interlocutors, we can redirect our attention to the ways that they engage with what we offer, and discover a more adaptable, resilient way forward. Here are some suggestions:

**Share assignments as living documents and invite feedback.** We rarely distribute paper copies of assignments anymore. But our practices retain artifacts of that print system—most notably, the idea that once teachers prepare an assignment, we can't change it until the next one, or until the next semester. We can relinquish the outdated norm that once an assignment has been distributed, the type is set in indelible ink. Digital documents such as Google Docs open windows of time and opportunity for students to give feedback and for us to revise.

When you "hand out" an assignment, try sharing it as a living digital document, and allow students to interact with it as you observe and respond. This approach has two advantages. First, it helps you to see how students are reading and interpreting your assignment. Second, it allows you to revise on the spot in order to communicate with them more effectively.

Let's say, for example, that I am assigning a group project. In my History of Medicine class, students research and give class presentations about health advice for mothers and babies in the 20th-century United States. In their groups, I ask students to annotate the document. As they read, I ask them to:

- Highlight the places in the document where they feel overwhelmed or confused. Just noting these places helps me and the students to identify not just what they understand, but how they feel. It's hard for students to translate feelings of overwhelm or confusion to actual questions.

- Write a short explanation of what the purpose of the assignment is. What do they think that they might learn through the process? How does it fit with what we're doing in the class? Learners are motivated not just by completing tasks, but by a sense of purpose.

- Brainstorm what the assignment provokes them to think about. This prompt raises procedural and clarifications,

but it always pushes students to also think about the substance of the work.

- Find the typos and errors. Students enjoy fixing their teacher's prose. And when teachers share their writing, it models the essential role of revision and reader feedback in the craft of historical writing.

**Make process visible.** Whenever I meet with a student about their historical project, I end the meeting by asking them, "What you will do the next time you sit down to work on this?" Conversations about a work in progress can evaporate as they walk down the hall (or sign off Zoom). But when they leave my office or when they finish reading my feedback on a draft, they need to *do* something. By asking them to verbalize their plan, I am teaching them the habit of articulating their ideas as actions that can manifest as accomplishment, text, and progress.

For instance, if a student tells me that they need to "find secondary sources for my project on the history of the physical education in US high schools in the 1960s," I ask them to specify their plan. What database will they use first? Which search words will they start with? How will they occasionally step back, think, and consider next steps? How will they keep track of their searches and results? I make space to regularly ask students to share their processes, evaluate them, and plan their next steps.

How students do what we ask them to do is often a mystery to us, and we often make erroneous assumptions about their effort based on what they produce. But their work processes are an essential part of the student view—of how they approach and experience the key activities and skills we aim to teach. When we ask them to describe honestly what they are doing, it fills in a common, vexing gap between our instructions and their interpretation of those instructions. And, when they learn to articulate concrete plans and act on them, they learn to engage in independent work rather than complete tasks.

**Teach the verbs.** When I lead pedagogy workshops, I ask teachers to choose one of their assignments and circle all the verbs. Teachers often fail to circle the basic verbs. But those are precisely the ones that cause the most trouble for students. Take, for instance, "read." What verb causes more vexation for history teachers?

We tell students to read, but we are often disappointed in the results. We often frame this as an issue of student motivation. But it is also a communication issue. "Reading" sounds like a simple word for a straightforward action. However, we know that reading is a global verb that can entail a whole range of possible smaller actions, often completed in sequence. When we ask students to engage in global verbs such as "read," we often have something much more specific in mind, and we need to communicate that to them.

When we ask students to "read," we often have something much more specific in mind, and we need to communicate that to them.

For example, my History of Medicine class enrolls students across the disciplines. Some of my pre-med students shared that they were frustrated by how much time and energy it took to read for class. I asked them to describe just what they did, and how long it was taking them: they were reading every word, and it was taking up to six hours. At first, I shared strategies for reading more efficiently, such as previewing, scanning, and summarizing main points. But what they really needed was practice. I didn't need to tell them, I needed to teach them. So I dedicated class time to reading, when I could observe and provide guidance as they practiced, rather than admonishments and instructions outside of that direct experience.

When we teach a verb like "reading," we discover that what we are actually teaching are repertoires of activity. I want students to learn to read a photograph of patients on a sanitorium porch, and the argument of Helen Bynum's *Spitting Blood*, and my assignment asking them to formulate a historical question about public health posters. Our teaching task, then, is to communicate reading as a rich array of actions and to help students to draw upon this repertoire skillfully. It only works when we make this clear, and when we have ways of seeing them in action.

These suggestions share a core value: curiosity. Now more than ever, we need pedagogy that is resilient, flexible, and student-centered. When we consider the student view, we find ways to see and meet them as they are, however things are.

*Monique Dufour is assistant collegiate professor of history and director of graduate student professional development for the College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences at Virginia Tech.*

CALEB WOOD RICHARDSON

# TURNING INQUIRY INTO ACTION

*Using Communities of Practice to Build Better Introductory History Courses*

The University of New Mexico uses communities of practice to evaluate and improve introductory history courses.
***Bill Oxford/Unsplash***

HISTORY IS IN trouble, if enrollments in introductory courses are any indication. Communities of practice may offer a solution by drawing on the collective wisdom of everyone involved in these courses.

At my institution, the University of New Mexico (UNM), enrollments in introductory history courses have declined significantly over the past 10 years. Much of this is due to the influences that the AHA and others have identified on a national scale: drops in overall enrollment; changes to general education requirements; student, and parent, preference for majors with clearer pathways to employment. Other nationwide trends, such as the increase in humanities course offerings at community colleges, have played an important role in changing expectations about history courses at UNM. Our students can easily transfer credits earned at nearby Central New Mexico Community College (CNM). As a result, many opt for the smaller class sizes, wider range of scheduling options, lower tuition prices, and excellent instruction offered just a few blocks down University Avenue.

Nevertheless, introductory courses remain an important part of the UNM curriculum and one that we are committed to. It is not simply a question of numbers, although our introductory courses often enroll twice as many students as our upper-division courses. More importantly, these courses play a significant role in UNM's general education curriculum and serve as gateways for future history majors and double majors.

We understand that the introductory course is an especially important moment in a student's career. The important and troubling findings in the work of Andrew Koch, reported in the May 2017 *Perspectives* article "Many Thousands Failed," drive home the point. Koch's work suggests that first-generation, low-income students from underrepresented groups not only fail introductory history courses at disproportionately high rates, but that those failing grades often lead to their dropping out of college entirely. If Koch's analysis applies at UNM, and we assume it does because our introductory history classes regularly appear on UNM's list of "killer courses," we could be guilty of something far worse than irrelevance.

In response to this complex set of challenges, and with the goal of improving both teaching and learning within introductory courses, groups of UNM and CNM faculty members, graduate students, and local K–12 teachers and students have come together in a series of different `"communities of practice" (CoPs). A concept associated with the educational theorist Etienne Wenger and the anthropologist Jean Lave, CoPs are "groups of people who share a concern or passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly." More focused than clubs, but less results-driven than task forces, CoPs are united by a quest for knowledge.

The ambiguity at the heart of the model can be frustrating for those who prefer either more theoretical or more pragmatic approaches, but it is ideal for responding to multifaceted challenges such as those facing the history intro course. In addition, because these are communities *of practice*—in which practitioners share with each other what works and what doesn't, and then use that knowledge to improve their own practices—discussion translates to action relatively quickly, avoiding "analysis paralysis." CoPs in education should, of course, be informed by learning science, but their primary goal is not analysis—it's application.

More focused than clubs, but less results-driven than task forces, CoPs are united by a quest for knowledge.

Over the last four years, members of the history faculty at UNM participated in four CoPs explicitly addressing the introductory course. We met regularly to review relevant works in the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SoTL), share syllabi and personal experiences, and discuss possible innovations and improvements. We organized focus-group-style discussions with local high school and middle school history and social studies educators and undergraduate students. After concluding the CoPs, we have a greater appreciation for the complex role that introductory courses play in our students' educational experience as well as in our work as educators. Perhaps the most important insight to emerge out of this process was the most obvious one: communities of practice that concern teaching should include students at all levels.

One of the major insights that came from our CoPs could only come from students. During one meeting of our first CoP in 2017–18, we heard story after story from our majors about how they came to appreciate the structure, rhetoric, and intellectual effort involved in constructing a good lecture only *after* they'd taken years of discussion- or activity-based courses. From them we learned, for instance, why so many of our majors wait to take lower-division survey courses until their senior year: it was because they feel that only then can they appreciate a broad overview, tying together everything they had learned. Our program of study

is designed to move students from large lecture courses surveying broad topics into small, narrowly focused seminars. But these students suggested that reversing the structure might make more sense.

Expanding the CoPs to instructors beyond tenure-track faculty was essential to our success. Non-tenure-track instructors, who in most cases had more experience teaching introductory courses than did tenured or tenure-track faculty, provided valuable expertise and important insights. UNM graduate students, who have benefited from participation in the AHA's Career Diversity initiative, reminded us that the goal of training future professional historians, and the goal of introducing students to the benefits of studying history, require different pedagogical methods. Likewise, K–12 instructors introduced us to incoming students who, we suddenly realized, we knew almost nothing about.

> Communities of practice that concern teaching should include students.

Working across disciplines also contributed to the vitality and usefulness of our CoPs. During the 2018–19 academic year, another history faculty member and I were part of a different set of CoPs sponsored by UNM's Office of Academic Affairs and focused on interdisciplinary collaboration. Because of the diversity of these groups, we focused more on learning science and SoTL than on narrow disciplinary concerns. Through these CoPs, we gained a greater understanding of how faculty in other disciplines think about general education courses—and a better appreciation for how students experience those courses as part of their total educational experience at UNM. We began to understand that most students encounter introductory history courses not within the context of the discipline of history, but as one of many options among general education requirements. Most students do not choose between, say, US History I and Antebellum America: From Revolution to Civil War, but between US History I and, for instance, World Literatures, Biology for Non-Majors, or Introduction to Linguistics.

Perhaps the most vibrant CoP to emerge at UNM in recent years arose organically out of a new course, Teaching and Debating History, created by my colleague Melissa Bokovoy and taught in spring 2020. In this team-taught course, graduate and undergraduate students worked together with two faculty members to explore the practice of history teaching—in higher education, in K–12 schools, and in society more broadly. We treated this course like a CoP rather than a traditional classroom, encouraging students to not just learn about some of the key issues and debates in the SoTL in history, but also to practice teaching and learning themselves—by creating syllabi, by participating in group assignments centered on developing lesson plans, and by experimenting with and sharing knowledge about the use of new technologies in the classroom. Above all, we invited our students to "look behind the curtain" of the traditional classroom, and to ask questions about our own pedagogical choices. When we used the jigsaw method, for instance, to facilitate the discussion of one session's reading assignments, we spent as much time talking about the jigsaw method as the readings. Treating a traditional class as a community of practice may seem like stretching the concept to its breaking point, but it is important to remember that Wenger and Lave first coined the term while studying apprenticeships. Instead of uncovering a hierarchy of masters teaching students, they found a web of relationships that produced knowledge at different levels. Journeymen and apprentices learn from each other.

In some ways, the course confirmed many of our preconceived notions. We went in believing that students didn't like group projects: as it turns out, students don't like group projects. But perhaps the most rewarding aspect of this course was the extent to which our students pushed back against many of our most cherished beliefs about teaching. I, for one, had thoroughly internalized one precept of the catechism of the SoTL of history: "uncoverage" is preferable to "coverage." Proponents of uncoverage, such as Lendol Calder, Grant Wiggins, and Jay McTighe, reject a traditional "facts-first" or survey approach to history, suggesting that students are better served by first being exposed to historical methods of inquiry. Our students appreciated the uncoverage approach but were reluctant to jettison the survey entirely: they felt that they needed to know what they were studying before they could think about how to study it.

Can CoPs save the history intro course? Possibly, but certainly not on their own. They can support faculty working to create better undergraduate educational experiences by bringing people together to discuss their work. These discussions are most valuable, however, when they involve our students. P

*Caleb Wood Richardson is an associate professor of history at the University of New Mexico.*

TREVOR R. GETZ AND STEVEN M. HARRIS

# COLLABORATING ON THE INTRO COURSE

*The History for the 21st Century Project*

Should artifacts taken during colonization, such as this painting from Ethiopia found in the British Museum, be returned? Questions exploring colonialism in museums, curriculum, and the community are central to the "Questioning Decolonizing" module of the History for the 21st Century project.

OVER THE PAST decade, historians have grappled in print and in practice with the question of how our profession can adapt to the changing shape of the world without sacrificing the core of our craft as we understand it. A range of obstacles overlie the landscape of higher learning, from an enrollment crisis in college-level history courses, to the intense financial pressures facing students, complications and opportunities provided by new technologies, and a sheaf of sometimes-contradictory mandates from administrators and legislators. More broadly, the pandemic and recent acts of resistance to structural racism have deepened the demand that the United States, and historians in particular, take a hard look at our embedded assumptions and behaviors. Meanwhile, renewed culture wars loom, manifest most recently in the Trump administration's attempt to regulate the teaching of American history.

As a discipline, we are shifting to strategies that address these challenges forthrightly. The AHA's History Gateways initiative is one example. At the 2020 AHA annual meeting, half-a-dozen sessions were devoted to improving introductory courses. Even AHA president Mary Lindemann advanced her own "immodest proposal" in the February 2020 issue of this magazine, making an impassioned case that introductory courses do just that: *introduce* students "to what makes history so valuable."

> Responses to the challenge have sometimes taken the form of grassroots collaborations among instructors and historians

At the same time, emerging responses to this challenge have sometimes taken the form of grassroots collaborations among instructors and historians. This article serves as an invitation to participate in one such collaboration. History for the 21st Century (H/21) is a project that mobilizes and equips faculty to address together the challenges facing our discipline, our students, even our fellow faculty through a redesign of introductory college history courses. Based at San Francisco State University (SFSU), H/21 aims to foster the production of peer-reviewed, student-centered, open educational resources (OER): teaching materials that are free to students and instructors for use in introductory courses. The project's editorial board includes Urmi Engineer Willoughby (Pitzer Coll.), Molly Warsh (Univ. of Pittsburgh), Jesse Spohnholz (Washington State Univ.), and Trevor Getz (San Francisco State Univ.).

The H/21 initiative launched in August 2019 with a meeting at SFSU of leading history educators and world history instructors (including veterans of significant world history textbook projects) from around the country. Bob Bain's (Univ. of Michigan) keynote reviewed the long history of incomplete efforts at broad curricular reform and challenged us to be comprehensive, creative, community-focused, and effective. We asked participants to consider such elements as the challenges noted in our opening paragraph, the reliance on overworked contingent faculty (as well as the workload of tenure-track faculty), changing historiographical frameworks, and what we know about effective learning. The result was a provocative set of ideas and proposals that developed from both precirculated papers and brief on-site presentations. Some of the papers pushed us to think about how introductory courses can recruit new majors; others emphasized serving communities that will likely never take another history course. Some participants urged us to meet students where they are; others advocated pushing them in new directions. Some attendees provided concrete suggestions for content, format, activities, and assessments that are tried and tested; others proposed truly novel approaches. Many pointed out the need to think about the course in terms of skill-building progressions.

For all the variety of emphasis and perspective, there was broad agreement that community building among authors and instructors is essential to improving our craft, and that this collaboration begins with introductory courses. We contemplated how these two strategies might be brought together in an educative curriculum in which participants honed their own skills as instructors while also supporting student learning. Overall, we embraced a suggestion that the project focus on sponsoring and supporting the building of carefully designed and fully realized teaching modules. The precirculated papers and transcripts of our discussions are available on the H/21 website and may be of use to your departments or learning communities. They range from calls to make our teaching materials more relevant to deep dives into the question of "what historians do." They challenge us to complicate our thinking and simplify our teaching, all the while assessing its effectiveness for our students' current and future selves.

In the wake of this conference, we designed two significant initiatives to transform our conversations into a community of faculty-scholars producing student-centered pedagogical materials for one another.

First, using funds made available through a grant from the Agentives Fund, H/21 is commissioning authors to build

free, digitally available units (called Modules Ready to Educate, or MREs) that teach both skills and historical content. Following peer review and testing, MREs are being made available for instructors and students to use, and modify, for free. Designed to utilize two to four class sessions, these MREs will include all of the information, materials, and supporting documentation an instructor will need to adopt or adapt to their classes and teaching approaches. Once users have registered on the H/21 website to access the available MREs, those materials can be freely adopted or adapted for classroom use.

MREs follow an inquiry-based design. Each poses a question to students of world historical value. It provides them with tools to learn the skills necessary for answering that question, and sources on which to practice using those tools. In other words, each module aims to help the student accessing it learn to "think like a historian" at a level appropriate for an introductory course, using real and meaningful historical content. Because each derives from the expertise of the author, the modules can incorporate interesting reflections, unusual materials, and deep considerations of method.

Four MREs are currently available. One is "An Object of Seduction: The Early Modern Trans-Pacific Silk Trade," authored by Dr. Xiaolin Duan. This module compares silk production and culture in early modern Mexico and China. It begins with a history of sericulture before immersing students in a world of trade, fashion, and culture. Through visual sources, such as paintings, maps, and silk cloth, and documentary evidence from both sides of the Pacific, the module is designed to build students' skills in working with evidence in comparative perspective. It also has the potential to build their understanding of global connections, a theme central to any world history introductory course.

Three other completed modules are already available for instructors to use and adapt. Andrew Hardy's "Imperial Strategies in the Early Chinese Empire" encourages a deep reading of primary sources on statecraft during the rule of China's Han Dynasty. "Questioning Decolonization" asks students to consider "curriculum decolonization" in the context of historical decolonization. The module "1905" takes them on an exploration of the year 1905 across the globe. We are in the process of commissioning another eight modules for development this year. These additional modules will cover topics such as the First World War in Africa, interpreting contemporary narratives about the origins of Islam, comparing understandings of violence in the early modern era, and connecting global political and military events in the 19th century. We are accepting proposals for new MREs on an ongoing basis; a module proposal form can be found on the website.

Beyond authoring and using, H/21 will be building a community of engaged teacher-scholars. All modules will be available to other instructors for comment, new ideas, twists, and reports of effectiveness. Through this community aspect, instructors will benefit from coming together to explore how to engage students better, assess better, and teach better (oh, and have fun doing it!).

> H/21 is commissioning authors to build free, digitally available units that teach both skills and historical content.

In the future, we will sponsor papers, proposals, and discussions on course design so that instructors can explore frameworks to adapt their existing courses or shift to an all-module approach. We are also working with partners to develop a common format that will make it easier for instructors to find primary sources and teaching materials. The AHA has provided space for these conversations at various events, including the annual meeting and the Virtual AHA Online Teaching Forum. We are tackling world history courses first; we plan to turn to US history in 2021. H/21 doesn't claim to provide definitive or even comprehensive solutions for these courses. Instead, our goal is to develop a community that is faculty-led, student-centered, and effective at producing and sharing materials and curricula perfectly suited to students at the introductory level.

There's a long path ahead (or, more accurately, many long paths). But we will start here, with work shared among faculty members, within departments, and with administrators. H/21 is building a platform for our community to rewrite how we *do* history with and for 21st-century students. Our hope is that many of you will join us in the undertaking. P

*Trevor R. Getz and Steven M. Harris are co-directors of the History for the 21st Century Project. They both teach history at San Francisco State University.*

# Virtual | AHA

**Virtual AHA** is a series of online opportunities to bring together communities of historians, build professional relationships, discuss scholarship, and engage in professional and career development. A service to our members as they navigate the current emergency, Virtual AHA provides a forum for discussing common issues, building research networks, and broadening and maintaining our professional community in dire circumstances. It also provides resources for online teaching and other professional and career development. We are creating various kinds of content to help historians connect, while helping us learn more about what our members want and need.

Virtual AHA will run through June 2021. Virtual AHA incorporates the AHA Colloquium, our name for content drawn from the canceled 2021 annual meeting. It also includes an online teaching forum, career development workshops, a series of History Behind the Headlines webinars, National History Center programming, and more. These programs are free, and AHA membership is not required to register. Many of the webinars will be available for later viewing on the AHA's YouTube channel.

See **historians.org/VirtualAHA** for details. Download the Virtual AHA app at **guidebook.com/g/virtualaha** for the latest schedule updates and links.

## Virtual Exhibit Hall

The AHA Virtual Exhibit Hall will be available online through June 2021. The Virtual Exhibit Hall provides an opportunity to learn about the latest historical scholarship, take advantage of publisher discounts, and network with editors and press staff. If you normally look forward to the exhibits at the annual meeting, the Virtual Exhibit Hall offers a similar experience from the comfort of your home. Best of all, no name badge is necessary: the Exhibit Hall is free and open to the public. Check it out at **historians.org/ExhibitHall**.

## Programming Content Streams

- **AHA Colloquium**: Bringing together communities of historians who ordinarily meet face-to-face at our annual meeting through web-based programming.
- **History Behind the Headlines**: Featuring prominent historians discussing the histories behind current events and the importance of history and historical thinking to public policy and culture.
- **Online Teaching Forum**: Helping historians plan for teaching in online and hybrid environments.
- **Virtual Career Development**: Emphasizing career exploration and skill development for graduate students and early career historians.
- **Virtual Seminars for Department Chairs**: Supporting department chairs through the transitions and uncertainties resulting from COVID-19. Webinars will be small-group discussions (capped at 10 participants) and facilitated by an experienced department chair.
- **National History Center Congressional Briefings**: Briefings by leading historians on past events and policies that shape the issues facing Congress today.
- **Washington History Seminar**: Facilitating understanding of contemporary affairs in light of historical knowledge from a variety of perspectives. A joint venture of the National History Center of the AHA and the History and Public Policy Program of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

## Upcoming Events

*Visit historians.org/VirtualAHA for details on these and other events that will be scheduled between now and December.*

| | |
|---|---|
| **December 2** | Washington History Seminar—*The Perfect Fascist: A Story of Love, Power, and Morality in Mussolini's Italy* |
| **December 3** | Online Teaching Forum—*The Role of Higher Ed in AP History Courses and Exams* |
| **December 4** | AHA Colloquium—*History and Historians in Response to COVID-19: Plagues Past and Present* |
| **December 7** | Washington History Seminar—*Statelessness: A Modern History* |
| **December 14** | Washington History Seminar—*Woodrow Wilson and the Reimagining of Eastern Europe* |
| **December 17** | AHA Colloquium—*History and Historians in Response to COVID-19: Containing Contagion* |
| **December 22** | Washington History Seminar—*Political Fallout: Nuclear Weapons Testing and the Making of a Global Environmental Crisis* |

## In Case You Missed It

The following recordings are available on the AHA's YouTube channel:

***Online Teaching Forum***

- Engaging Students Online: Using Digital Sources and Assignments in Virtual Classrooms
- Teaching World History in the New World with Trevor Getz
- Middle Ages for Educators: Online Resources and Strategies for Teaching the Pre-Modern
- From High School Social Studies to the College Survey: A Conversation with Teachers and Students
- Teaching History this Fall: Strategies and Tools for Learning and Equity
- Dual and Concurrent Enrollment in History: Strengthening Programs and Learning
- History Gateways: "Many Thousands Failed" in 2020: a Conversation with Drew Koch
- History TAs in the Time of COVID

***Career Development***

- What is Grad School Really Like?
- Careers for Historians in the Tech Industry
- Making the Most of Your Postdoc

***AHA Colloquium***

- Doing Research during COVID-19

***History Behind the Headlines***

- Presidential Debates in Historical Perspective

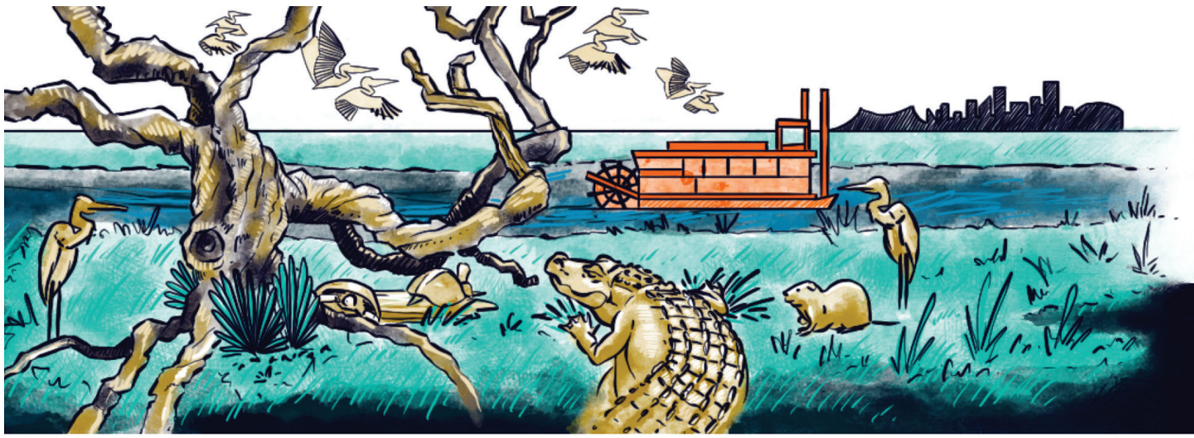
***Washington History Seminar***

- Recordings are available on the National History Center's YouTube channel.

## Further Information about the AHA Colloquium for Those Accepted for the 2021 Program

People originally scheduled to be on the 2021 program will have a variety of options for sharing their work. We are looking forward to working with participants on creative new ways to share their work. Keep an eye on **historians.org/VirtualAHA** for regular updates.

A PDF program, documenting all sessions accepted by the AHA Program Committee and the affiliated societies, was posted on the AHA website in early November so that participants can validate their expected participation for their CVs. Anyone who was expecting to deliver a prepared presentation will have the opportunity to post written remarks on the AHA website.



AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

135th ANNUAL MEETING
NEW ORLEANS
JANUARY 6-9, 2022

# Call for Proposals for the 135th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association

**The AHA's annual meeting is the largest yearly gathering of historians in the United States.**

All historians are welcome and encouraged to submit proposals. The AHA also invites historically focused proposals from colleagues in related disciplines and from AHA affiliated societies. The Program Committee will consider all proposals that advance the study, teaching, and public presentation of history.

The Association seeks submissions on the histories of all places, periods, people, and topics; on the uses of diverse sources and methods, including digital history; and on theory and the uses of history itself in a wide variety of venues.

**We invite proposals for sessions in a variety of formats and encourage lively interaction among presenters and with the audience.**

## Session Proposals

Sessions last for 90 minutes. Most sessions will be limited to four speakers plus a chair. The Program Committee will accept proposals for complete sessions only. We encourage organizers to build panels that bring together diverse perspectives.

## Poster Proposals

The meeting will feature a poster session to allow historians to share their research through visual materials. Proposals for single, individual presentations may be submitted as posters.

The Program Committee welcomes proposals from all historians, whatever their institutional affiliation or status, and historians working outside the United States. With the exception of foreign scholars and those from other disciplines, all persons appearing on the program must be members of the AHA, although membership is not required to submit a proposal. All participants must register for the meeting when registration opens. The Association aspires to represent the full diversity of its membership at the annual meeting.

**Electronic submission only, by midnight PST on February 15, 2021**

**Before applying, please review the annual meeting guidelines and more information at historians.org/proposals.**

**Questions about policies, modes of presentation, and the electronic submission process?**
Contact annualmeeting@historians.org.

**Questions about the content of proposals?**
Contact Program Committee chair Mark Ravina, University of Texas, Austin (ravinaaha2022@gmail.com) and co-chair Margaret Salazar-Porzio, National Museum of American History (salazar-porziom@si.edu).

GABRIELLA VIRGINIA FOLSOM

# 2020 AWARDS, PRIZES, AND HONORS ANNOUNCED

The following is a list of recipients of the various awards, prizes, and honors that have been conferred in 2020.

## 2020 AWARDS FOR SCHOLARLY AND PROFESSIONAL DISTINCTION

### Awards for Scholarly Distinction

**David Levering Lewis**, New York University

David Levering Lewis is Julius Silver University Professor and professor of history at New York University. His scholarly work ranges over millennia and continents. In his eight monographs, he has explored a wide variety of themes and individuals, in many instances synthesizing a massive amount of material and bringing to each project a fresh, bold perspective. He has received accolades in the form of a MacArthur Fellowship (1999–2004), the Bancroft Prize in American History, two Pulitzer Prizes (for his two-volume biography of W. E. B. Du Bois), and the Parkman Prize, among other awards. In 2009, President Barack Obama presented him with the National Humanities Medal.

Since 2003, Lewis has taught at New York University. He is perhaps best known for his biography of W. E. B. Du Bois, which is widely regarded as the standard, definitive study of this remarkable scholar-cum-activist. (Lewis's winning two Pulitzers in back-to-back years in the same category—Biography—is a feat that has not been matched before or since.) At the same time, his scholarly reach is truly impressive, for he has made significant scholarly interventions in a number of seemingly disparate fields—for example, early 20th-century French anti-Semitism, African resistance to European colonialism, the Harlem Renaissance, and the life of Republican politician Wendell Willkie.

Lewis's erudition, capacious scholarly reach, and brilliant contributions to the literature establish him as one of today's most distinguished historians. He has enlightened audiences in and outside the academy on the history and meaning of ideologies, such as racism, and on the significance of social movements around the world through time.

**Leslie P. Peirce**, New York University

Leslie P. Peirce, a world-renowned Ottomanist, is Silver Professor and professor of history at New York University. She holds appointments in the departments of history and Middle Eastern studies.

Peirce's major works include *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1993), *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Univ. of California Press, 2003), and *Empress of the East: How a European Slave Girl Became Queen of the Ottoman Empire* (Basic Books, 2017). She has received a number of book prizes and scholarly grants. She has twice been awarded the biannual M. F. Köpülü Prize, the top prize in the field of Ottoman and Turkish studies, as well as a number of other awards, including the Albert Hourani Award for the best book in Middle East studies, given annually by the Middle East Studies Association. She has received grants from the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Philosophical Society, Fulbright, the Social Science Research Council, and the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation.

Peirce is a pioneering and resourceful interpreter of Ottoman texts and archival researcher (especially in Islamic court records). She has played a major, transformative role not only in the field of Ottoman history, but also in the history of

women and gender in the Middle East. Her scholarship has compelled a reconsideration of Ottoman rule and dynastic practices, the role of the harem in elite Ottoman culture, and the way that the Ottoman administration worked with the court system to integrate disparate populations as the empire expanded. She has shown that gender was a key component of Ottoman governance, and that an understanding of the lives of ordinary people no less than elites is critical to the history of Ottoman expansion and administration.

**David Warren Sabean**, University of California, Los Angeles

David Warren Sabean is professor emeritus at the University of California, Los Angeles, where he held the Henry J. Bruman Endowed Professorship. After spending many years at the Max Planck Institute for History, then under the directorship of the late Rudolf Vierhaus, and a briefer sojourn at the University of East Anglia in the United Kingdom, he returned to the United States and held positions in the departments of history at the University of Pittsburgh and Cornell University, before moving to UCLA in 1993.

Sabean's scholarly production is as prodigious as it is distinguished. His mixture of interdisciplinary insights and methods, principally anthropology, and range of subjects has influenced generations of historians. A sensitivity to the world of rural society and its workings characterizes his scholarship. It first became apparent in his dissertation on the Peasants War of 1525 but came to full fruition in several subsequent, now classic works. *Power in the Blood* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987) offered a model microhistory informed by anthropology, while his two-volume magnum opus on the Württenberg village of Neckarhausen—*Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* and *Kinship in Neckarhausen* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990 and 1998, respectively)—analyzed the transformation of rural kinship from a clientage system to a consanguineal system of alliances through cousin-marriage. This duology was a tour de force of archival research. A series of edited and co-edited volumes soon followed. In addition, Sabean has long published on the topic of incest and cousin-marriage across centuries.

Sabean has held visiting and distinguished academic appointments at numerous institutes and universities in the United States and Europe, as well as having received major awards, including a John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship.

## Honorary Foreign Member

**Hartmut Lehmann**, University of Kiel

Hartmut Lehmann is emeritus professor of modern history at the University of Kiel. As the inaugural director of the German Historical Institute in Washington, DC (1987–1993), he played a key role in establishing and maintaining the scholarly mission and integrity of the GHI. In addition to fostering the work of German and American scholars, he also forged connections with the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, the German Studies Association, and the Central European History Society. In 1993, he became the director of the Max Planck Institute for History in Göttingen, where he fostered German-American scholarly relations until his retirement from the MPI in 2004. He then returned to Kiel as *Honorarprofessor*, also serving in that capacity in Göttingen. Since then he has traveled repeatedly to the United States as a visiting professor at Emory University, Dartmouth College, the University of California, Berkeley, and the Princeton Theological Seminary. He has been and remains an international mentor to generations of American scholars of Germany.

In addition to his many accomplishments in furthering scholarly cooperation and intellectual exchange between the United States, Germany, and Europe, Lehmann's scholarship in the field of religion and society is internationally respected. He opened the study of religion beyond the range of "church historians" by advocating for a chronologically and thematically expanded treatment of Pietism. His list of publications runs to many pages and is too long to summarize here. He has written numerous monographs and broad studies on religion, secularization, historical methodology, and religious plurality from a global perspective, published in English and German.

## Eugene Asher Distinguished Teaching Award

**Robert D. Johnston**, University of Illinois at Chicago

Robert D. Johnston is well regarded as a passionate advocate for the teaching and learning of history. Former students and current secondary educators note how he has challenged them to make the discipline meaningful and appealing to all constituencies. They praise his continuous mentorship. The timeliness

of his research and his command of the material as a director of the Teaching of History Program at the University of Illinois at Chicago make him a model for everyone devoted to teaching historical thinking.

### Equity Award

**University of Nevada, Las Vegas, Department of History**

The AHA Committee on Minority Historians is pleased to grant the 2020 Equity Award to the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, Department of History. UNLV is a Minority Serving, Hispanic Serving, and Asian American, Native American, Pacific Islander Serving Institution. The history department reflects this diverse student body: one-third of tenured and tenure-track faculty and one-third of graduate students come from communities of color and communities striving for more equitable access to the academy. This increasingly more diverse faculty has ensured student success and has placed students of color in the pipeline toward a more diverse professoriate and greater representation in cultural institutions.

### Herbert Feis Award in Public History

**Valerie Paley**, Center for Women's History, New-York Historical Society

The Center for Women's History at the New-York Historical Society, under the direction of Valerie Paley, offers an innovative model for public history work, which demonstrates how historical organizations can build mutually beneficial partnerships with the academy to engage the public in cutting-edge, relevant, critical history. The work of the center extends from training in public history to exhibitions, salons, and writing groups, as well as online programming and courses that take advantage of new and emerging technologies.

### Nancy Lyman Roelker Mentorship Award

**Omnia El Shakry**, University of California, Davis

Omnia El Shakry empowers her undergraduate students. Since 2002, she has used a cross-disciplinary approach in her work with honors, first-generation, and BIPOC students. As the embodiment of a true educator, she conveys to students the nuances of history in an engaging and rigorous manner, while providing them the institutional and professional knowledge necessary to succeed. El Shakry does so in a selfless manner, treating students as equals and advocating for their best possible futures.

## 2020 AWARDS FOR PUBLICATIONS

### Herbert Baxter Adams Prize in European History

**Alexander Bevilacqua**, Williams College

*The Republic of Arabic Letters: Islam and the European Enlightenment* (The Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press)

In *The Republic of Arabic Letters*, Alexander Bevilacqua examines early modern Europe's encounter with Islamic thought and writings. Elegantly conceived and rigorously researched, Bevilacqua's writing reveals how European collectors and religious scholars who knew Arabic interpreted Islam and its place in world history for European audiences. Bevilacqua argues that an era of intense scholarly engagement (1650–1750) yielded ultimately to Enlightenment thinkers whose secular and political interpretations of Islam, while less well-informed, have continued to dominate Western thought.

### George Louis Beer Prize in European International History

**Emma Kuby**, Northern Illinois University

*Political Survivors: The Resistance, the Cold War, and the Fight against Concentration Camps after 1945* (Cornell Univ. Press)

Emma Kuby's excellent study focuses on a fascinating group of actors, the International Commission against the Concentration Camp Regime, in order to investigate the group's fight against concentration camps in Europe and the decolonizing world. She thus retrieves a neglected period in the history of memory, morality, and the aftermath of the Holocaust. Kuby's story is not a heroic tale about the triumph of an idea but one that raises questions about what would have happened if the postwar human rights revolution had taken a different path.

### Jerry Bentley Prize in World History

**Toby Green**, King's College London

*A Fistful of Shells: West Africa from the Rise of the Slave Trade to the Age of Revolution* (Univ. of Chicago Press)

Toby Green's magisterial account puts West and Central Africa at the center of the history of the modern world. A breadth of sources, multidisciplinary approach, and serious attention to oral history allow Green to address the tensions between regional and global history and history and economic theory. Spanning the 14th to the 19th centuries, the book puts Atlantic trade at its core to examine global divergence in the emergence of inequalities, racial hierarchies, and underdevelopment.

### Albert J. Beveridge Award in American History

**Jeremy Zallen**, Lafayette College

*American Lucifers: The Dark History of Artificial Light, 1750–1865* (Univ. of North Carolina Press)

With astonishing research and elegant prose, *American Lucifers* reconstructs the history of artificial lighting in the United States before 1865. Jeremy Zallen shows that Americans' demand for brighter, more convenient light sources inspired new technologies at the expense of enslaved and child laborers, animals, and the environment. Spanning vast distances—from Argentina to England, from North Carolina to the South Pacific—Zallen tells a deeply human story about the hidden violence of global capitalism. A stunning achievement.

### Paul Birdsall Prize in European Military and Strategic History

**Brandon M. Schechter**, NYU–Shanghai and the Harriman Institute of Columbia University

*The Stuff of Soldiers: A History of the Red Army in World War II through Objects* (Cornell Univ. Press)

Brandon M. Schechter explores the materiality of the Red Army in World War II and the construction of military and national identities, from the design of uniforms to the items Soviet soldiers carried and the trophies they took from their vanquished enemies. Inventive in approach, skillful in the use of diverse primary sources, and beautifully written, this first book deserves a wide readership from anyone interested in the experience of combat, survival, and soldiers' homecoming.

### James Henry Breasted Prize in Ancient History

**Charles Sanft**, University of Tennessee at Knoxville

*Literate Community in Early Imperial China: The Northwestern Frontier in Han Times* (SUNY Press)

The primary materials of Charles Sanft's work are wooden writing strips left by soldiers posted on the northwestern frontier of Han China (206/2 BCE–220 CE). Sanft forges the concept of literate community, in which groups rather than individuals are the focus, and looks at all forms of interaction with texts. Thus, he avoids the narrow perspective of many approaches to literacy and favors non-elite, non-official engagement with texts and reading, including reading aloud by others, rather than writing.

### Albert B. Corey Prize in Canadian-American Relations or History

**Jamie Benidickson**, Faculty of Law, University of Ottawa

*Levelling the Lake: Transboundary Resource Management in the Lake of the Woods Watershed* (UBC Press)

Jamie Benidickson's intricate and layered analysis of resource development and environmental governance in the Lake of the Woods watershed moves gracefully across the different jurisdictional boundaries that crosscut this Canadian-American region. This thoroughly researched book underscores the environmental, legal, and human dimensions of the efforts to develop and regulate the land and water in Ontario, Manitoba, and Minnesota and brings to life the contests among stakeholders at the local, regional, and national levels over environmental decision making.

### Raymond J. Cunningham Prize for Undergraduate Journal Articles

**Jubilee Marshall**, Villanova University (BA, 2019)

"Race, Death, and Public Health in Early Philadelphia, 1750–1793," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* (Spring 2020)

At a time when Americans are once again debating the depths of structural racism, Jubilee Marshall investigates the intersection of African American burials and public health. She documents how severely limited burial options in the segregated section of the potter's field were often the African American community's last resort. Yet, within this oppressive structure, the author also finds agency among the living as they claimed public space, reshaped public health discourses, and navigated civil society.

### John K. Fairbank Prize in East Asian History

**Eiichiro Azuma**, University of Pennsylvania

*In Search of Our Frontier: Japanese America and Settler Colonialism in the Construction of Japan's Borderless Empire* (Univ. of California Press)

*In Search of Our Frontier* is an ambitious, far-reaching, and comprehensive study of Japanese and Japanese American patterns of migrations. Eiichiro Azuma creates an innovative framework that brings the histories of Japan, Asian America, migration, and empire into a single account full of unexpected encounters and provides a sophisticated transnational analysis constructed through the prisms of settler colonialism and race.

### Morris D. Forkosch Prize in British History

**Tawny Paul**, University of California, Los Angeles

*The Poverty of Disaster: Debt and Insecurity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge Univ. Press)

Tawny Paul's fascinating study transforms our understanding of the making of the British middle class. In contrast to narratives about rising incomes and an expanding consumer society, Paul places gnawing financial insecurity and fear of the debtor's prison at the heart of class formation. Attentive to gender, emotion, embodiment, and regional variation, her book is methodologically sophisticated and engagingly written; it vividly illuminates the lives and relationships of the 18th-century middling sort.

### Leo Gershoy Award in Western European History

**Margaret E. Schotte**, York University

*Sailing School: Navigating Science and Skill, 1550–1800* (Johns Hopkins Univ. Press)

Margaret E. Schotte's *Sailing School: Navigating Science and Skill, 1550–1800* is a vivid account of changes in navigational instruction with the spread of printed works and greater understanding of mathematics and the cosmos. Erudite and highly engaging, *Sailing School* provides a fresh view of the Scientific Revolution from the perspective of pilots and sailors in training and on the seas, whose practical learning gave way to specialized technical skills and calculation.

### William and Edwyna Gilbert Award for the Best Article on Teaching History

**Rien Fertel**, writer; **Elizabeth S. Manley**, Xavier University of Louisiana; **Jenny Schwartzberg**, Historic New Orleans Collection; and **Robert Ticknor**, Historic New Orleans Collection

"Teaching in the Archives: Engaging Students and Inverting Historical Methods Classes at the Historic New Orleans Collection," *The History Teacher* 53, no. 1 (November 2019)

The four authors document the ways in which a local historical collection worked with secondary- and college-level history courses using a flipped or inverted classroom. Solidly grounded in the literature of teaching and learning, the article offers an easily replicable model of working with archives and museums by both secondary and college courses. The authors provide some early assessments of their challenges and successes as well as newer understandings they gained from their interactions with the student participants in the program.

### Friedrich Katz Prize in Latin American History

**Marixa Lasso**, Ministerio de Cultura de Panamá

*Erased: The Untold Story of the Panama Canal* (Harvard Univ. Press)

Marixa Lasso's *Erased* is subversive history at its best. Engaging specialists and non-specialists alike, Lasso carefully examines how US officials (with Panamanian authorities' complicity) destroyed dynamic, bustling, mercantile communities in the canal zone and replaced them with segregated, sterile towns modeled on a projection of tropical wilderness. Poignant narration and pointed analysis, based on an array of oral and written sources and the author's own experiences, bring alive a lost world of global cosmopolitanism, Black republicanism, and Latin American modernity in the isthmus of Panamá.

### Joan Kelly Memorial Prize in Women's History

**Saidiya Hartman**, Columbia University

*Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Riotous Black Girls, Troublesome Women, and Queer Radicals* (W. W. Norton & Co.)

Saidiya Hartman brings the vibrant, beautiful, complicated lives of Black women and girls out of an archive of loss, erasure, and absence. *Wayward Lives* is unflinching, perceptive, and daring. Hartman is committed to the archives, but her approach overcomes the limits of both archives and of scholarship that viewed Black females as social problems. *Wayward Lives* shows how Black women's interior and exterior lives were lived on complex terms. With ambitions and talents, they experimented and created a culture that made "the uninhabitable livable."

### Martin A. Klein Prize in African History

**Abena Dove Osseo-Asare,** University of Texas at Austin

*Atomic Junction: Nuclear Power in Africa after Independence* (Cambridge Univ. Press)

Abena Dove Osseo-Asare offers a ground-shifting analysis of decolonization, nuclear power, scientific knowledge, and the Cold War focused on Ghanaian atomic aspirations from the 1960s to the present. In beautiful and accessible language, her riveting narrative innovatively weaves together ethnography, family history, scientific literature, and visual sources, plus over 50 interviews. Stressing the role of Africans as intellectual actors and producers of scientific, mathematical, and medical knowledge, she argues that Ghanaian scientific activities constituted a struggle for global "scientific equity." This trailblazing study will engage historians and historical scholarship for some time to come.

## Littleton-Griswold Prize in US Legal History

**Sarah Seo**, Columbia Law School

*Policing the Open Road: How Cars Transformed American Freedom* (Harvard Univ. Press)

Although often perceived as a symbol of American freedom, the automobile also functioned as a vehicle for the expansion of policing over the course of the 20th century in Sarah Seo's masterfully written book. Drawing on key cases originating throughout the United States, *Policing the Open Road* demonstrates that judges have granted increasing authority to police officers making traffic stops and pursuing vehicular arrests, often inadvertently. Consequently, law enforcement officials enjoy unprecedented authority over all drivers today and, as Seo argues, practice discriminatory and unconstitutional policing on American highways and streets, to much of the nation's dismay.

## J. Russell Major Prize in French History

**Joshua Cole**, University of Michigan

*Lethal Provocation: The Constantine Murders and the Politics of French Algeria* (Cornell Univ. Press)

Joshua Cole's deeply researched, beautifully written *Lethal Provocation* demonstrates the role of imperialism and right-wing extremist French nationalism in the political violence long known only as "the Constantine Riots." He combines careful attention to specific events and characters with an account of major transformations across time and space, but Cole also—by describing documents and reflecting on their interpretation—clearly shows *how* historians work. A major achievement, the book deserves a wide readership.

## Helen & Howard R. Marraro Prize in Italian History

**James Hankins**, Harvard University

*Virtue Politics: Soulcraft and Statecraft in Renaissance Italy* (Harvard Univ. Press)

This eloquent, innovative, and persuasive book marks a significant milestone in the study of humanist political thought. Through lucid and sensitive parsing of neglected political writings by Italian Renaissance humanists, James Hankins uncovers a pedagogical project of remarkable breadth and consistency, one which draws on classical models to offer profound and insightful ethical lessons that remain all too relevant for our own day. Hankins's magnum opus transforms our understanding of the "virtue politics" of the Renaissance.

## George L. Mosse Prize in European Intellectual and Cultural History

**Joan Neuberger**, University of Texas at Austin

*This Thing of Darkness: Eisenstein's* Ivan the Terrible *in Stalin's Russia* (Cornell Univ. Press)

Joan Neuberger's *This Thing of Darkness* is a beautifully written microhistory of Sergei Eisenstein's unfinished cinematic trilogy *Ivan the Terrible*. By means of a wide variety of sources, from Eisenstein's diaries and notes to archival materials, she ties in international and national politics to her analysis of the characters, content, and production of the film. Her brilliant analysis admirably demonstrates what happens to aesthetic theory and practice in the hands of a genius at an existential political moment.

## John E. O'Connor Film Award

**Documentary**: *Killing Patient Zero*

**Laurie Lynd**, writer and director, and **Corey Russell**, producer (Fadoo Productions)

This engrossing documentary unfolds as a series of discoveries rather than a preshaped narrative. The film interrogates the widely circulated fiction that a single "patient zero" spread AIDS across the United States. With interviews of people who knew him and who lived through the horrors of the early years of AIDS, *Killing Patient Zero* demonstrates the power of oral history to show people in their full human complexity, explore different points of view, and debunk historical myths. Interweaving individual stories with broader historical themes, the film shows the importance of using historical research to evaluate and revise misleading narratives.

**Dramatic Feature**: *Harriet*

**Kasi Lemmons**, co-writer and director, and **Debra Martin Chase, Daniela Taplin Lundberg,** and **Gregory Allen Howard**, producers (Perfect World Pictures)

Based on the true historical figure, this beautiful and timely film tells the story of Harriet Tubman, who escaped slavery and then repeatedly returned alone to the dangerous territory dominated by slave owners to free scores more people from bondage. In sharp contrast to the narrative arcs of many feature films about African American history, *Harriet* centers Black and female agency. It presents Harriet Tubman as a courageous, intelligent, and compassionate woman with undisguised vulnerabilities. Through skillful acting and vivid sets and costumes, the film conveys complex issues regarding race, gender, class, and religion, all of which resonate with the present.

## Eugenia M. Palmegiano Prize in the History of Journalism

**Vincent DiGirolamo**, Baruch College, City University of New York

*Crying the News: A History of America's Newsboys* (Oxford Univ. Press)

In exploring the exigencies of the newspaper industry and capitalism's exploitation of child workers, Vincent DiGirolamo's meticulously researched study traces "young toilers in the cause of truth," starting from the first anonymous enslaved boy who handed out the news in the American colonies through to the last youth newspaper hawkers found at the end of the "American Century." DiGirolamo masterfully contributes to debates in childhood studies, labor and economic history, and media history.

## James A. Rawley Prize in Atlantic History

**Sophie White**, University of Notre Dame

*Voices of the Enslaved: Love, Labor, and Longing in French Louisiana* (Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture and the Univ. of North Carolina Press)

Utilizing a treasure trove of slave testimonies from court records, this groundbreaking book illuminates the lived experiences of enslaved people in colonial Louisiana. Sophie White uses these testimonies to reconstruct the biographies of enslaved people at the microhistorical level, while also drawing especially from visual and material sources. The result is an imaginative work of scholarship that foregrounds the voices and lives of enslaved people, which are so often thought of as unrecoverable.

## Premio Del Rey

**Thomas W. Barton**, University of San Diego

*Victory's Shadow: Conquest and Governance in Medieval Catalonia* (Cornell Univ. Press)

*Victory's Shadow* shows how the acquisition and integration of New Catalonia was a lengthy and nonlinear process built on previous failures, on contests among rulers, on negotiations with ecclesiastical and secular magnates, and on the fate of territory further afield. With impressive attention to local political and economic contexts and changes in policies and possibilities over two and a half centuries, the book is a marvelously fine-grained account of the mechanics and logics of conquest.

## John F. Richards Prize in South Asian History

**Sheetal Chhabria**, Connecticut College

*Making the Modern Slum: The Power of Capital in Colonial Bombay* (Univ. of Washington Press)

Beautifully written and sparkling with critical insights, *Making the Modern Slum* takes us on a profound intellectual journey through the emergence of modern Bombay (now Mumbai), as British colonial administrators and Indigenous elites alike responded to periodic crises such as famines and plagues with a form of disaster capitalism, creating zones of exclusion—both internal and external—that demarcated the urban spaces housing the laboring and often transient poor as distinct from "the city" proper.

## James Harvey Robinson Prize for Teaching Aids

**Hasan Kwame Jeffries**, Ohio State University

*Understanding and Teaching the Civil Rights Movement* (Univ. of Wisconsin Press)

This is a spectacularly relevant volume that deliberately addresses the teaching of the history of the Civil Rights Movement by topic, concept, and source material. Timely, well researched, and thorough, it is immediately useful to anyone who wishes to teach this history. Together, its 23 essays are designed to foster student learning by championing a pedagogical approach, highlighting and interrogating resources, and volunteering methods for complicating students' assumptions and narratives.

## Dorothy Rosenberg Prize in History of the Jewish Diaspora

**Tamar Herzig**, Tel Aviv University

*A Convert's Tale: Art, Crime, and Jewish Apostasy in Renaissance Italy* (Harvard Univ. Press)

Following the travails of Salmone da Sesso, an Italian Jewish goldsmith and gambler who converted to Catholicism, Tamar Herzig's meticulously researched microhistorical study takes its readers on a fascinating journey into mid-15th-century Italy's elite society, exploring questions of apostasy and conversion, sexuality and gender, aesthetic creativity and social mobility, spirituality and worldly wealth. A virtuoso study of a virtuoso Jew, this book opens up the world of Renaissance Italy through multiple prisms and with exquisite details, based on deep archival research, intervenes in no fewer fields than art history, history of sexuality, business history, and, importantly, the conjoined histories of Judaism and Christianity.

## Roy Rosenzweig Prize for Innovation in Digital History

**Elaine Sullivan**, University of California, Santa Cruz

*Constructing the Sacred: Visibility and Ritual Landscape at the Egyptian Necropolis of Saqqara* (Stanford Univ. Press)

The committee was particularly impressed by the use of 3D recreations to help site visitors better understand the role of monument visibility in royal and elite sacred landscape production in ancient Egypt. Committee members also appreciated the detailed reflections on the methods and technology employed in the project and the ways in which the project team documented both certainties and uncertainties in their recreations of the monumental landscape of Saqqara. Finally, the committee wishes to compliment Stanford University Press for its willingness to invest in new forms of digital historical scholarship.

## Wesley-Logan Prize in African Diaspora History

**Benjamin Talton**, Temple University

*In This Land of Plenty: Mickey Leland and Africa in American Politics* (Univ. of Pennsylvania Press)

Benjamin Talton offers a remarkable study of Mickey Leland, former Black Power–era activist turned US congressman, who marshaled US humanitarian relief to address Marxist Ethiopia's famine and food crises in other Global South countries. Grounded in Ethiopian and US political and resistance movements, Talton wonderfully weaves together a work of African diaspora, Black internationalism, and African American political histories to illustrate African American politicians' influence on US involvement in African affairs during the 1980s.

*Leslie P. Peirce's image courtesy of New York University.*

*Gabriella Folsom is communications and operations assistant at the AHA.*

PATRICIA ALBJERG GRAHAM

# WOMEN HISTORIANS IN ACADEMIA

*The 1970 Rose Report*

In the late 1960s, professional academic associations found their annual meetings disrupted from the usual activities of staid paper presentations, job interviews, informal conversations over drinks or dinners, and "smokers," gatherings of cigarette, cigar, and pipe aficionados enjoying tobacco and lively conversations. American campuses experienced much upset in this period, beginning with the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1964, the 1968 occupation of the Columbia University campus, and followed by demonstrations, injuries, and deaths on other campuses. Professional associations, including the AHA, felt these tensions as well and responded at their annual meetings with vociferous debate involving the participation of many members. The business meetings, traditionally ignored by much of the membership, commanded attention as members sought support for statements condemning racial discrimination, US involvement in Vietnam, and the limited opportunities for women in academia.

In 1969, the AHA Council received a petition from the Coordinating Committee on Women in the Historical Profession, protesting discrimination against women in academia. Surveys revealed the paucity of women teaching in US history departments, particularly in prestigious colleges and universities.

In response, the AHA organized a Committee on the Status of Women in late 1969. Willie Lee Rose (Johns Hopkins Univ.) served as chair of the initial committee, and its members included Hanna Holborn Gray (Univ. of Chicago), Carl Schorske (Princeton Univ.), Page Smith (Univ. of California, Santa Cruz), and me, Patricia Albjerg Graham (Barnard Coll., Columbia Univ.), as a replacement for Mary Wright (Yale Univ.), who was ill with cancer. The committee reported our findings with a document for the membership released on November 9, 1970, and presented to the December 1970 annual meeting in Boston. The report became widely known as the "Rose Report," named for the chair of the committee.

The committee compiled statistics on the granting of PhDs to women and the hiring of these women in history departments. Women had constituted one-third to nearly half of undergraduates from 1920 to 1940 and nearly 20 percent of doctorates. Their fraction dropped dramatically after World War II, when the GI Bill made a postsecondary education available to military veterans, most of whom were men. In the 1950s and 1960s, women were about a third of undergraduates (today they are a majority) and received just over 10 percent of doctorates (today over 50 percent). The 1920s and 1930s, when PhD cohorts were small, provided opportunities for women to find teaching jobs, principally in small colleges, but virtually none on the professorial track in leading research universities. Less than half of these women faculty ever married. The fraction of women history PhDs declined dramatically from a high of 22 percent in the 1920s to a low of 9 to 11 percent in the 1950s and 1960s, before jumping to 16 percent in the 1970s.

The committee comiled statistics on the granting of PhDs to women and the hiring of these women in history departments.

History departments in liberal arts colleges and women's colleges hired women as faculty in the 1920s and 1930s and promoted some of them, as did some state universities. Major research universities did not. When women full professors began retiring in the 1950s and 1960s, their junior replacements were mostly men. The academic boom years of the late 1950s and 1960s brought unprecedented numbers of new faculty, nearly all men, to burgeoning and rapidly growing colleges and universities. However, the academic recession began in the 1970s, when jobs in history, and in the humanities more broadly, shrank just as women substantially increased their numbers in the PhD pool.

Among 10 leading coeducational colleges, the proportion of woman full professors of history dropped from 16 percent in 1960 to 0 in 1970, presumably the result of women hired before World War II retiring and being replaced by men. Ten leading women's colleges, including the "Seven Sisters," which traditionally hired women faculty, also saw a decline in women full professors during the same period, though it was less steep. The AHA replicated this decline in the participation of women on the program of its annual meeting: 6 percent in 1939, 7 percent in 1949, 1.7 percent in 1959, and up to 3.7 percent in 1969.

Research universities, which had been granting doctorates in history to women since the beginning of the 20th century, were not hiring their women students. Of the top 10 university departments in 1959–60, there were no women among 160 full professors. A decade later, these departments had a total of 272 full professors, of whom only two were women—Mary Wright (Yale) and Sylvia Thrupp (Univ. of Michigan). When universities did hire women, they often specialized outside of the most popular fields, American and European history. Rather, they were in less populous fields where perhaps they were more visible, such as Chinese history (Wright), medieval Europe (Thrupp), and Armenian and Byzantine history (Nina Garsoïan at Columbia and Angeliki Laiou at Harvard). To a considerable degree, these universities set the tone for the acceptability of women in faculty ranks.

When the committee prepared its report in 1970, we did not recognize that the dramatic decline in the proportion of women receiving doctorates coincided with the expansion of major history departments. Nor did we foresee that the increase in women historians would occur when history departments were no longer expanding and even contracting. This did not make future secure faculty appointments in history easy for women or for men.

The natural evolution of such an ad hoc committee was the AHA Council's creation of a standing Committee on Women in the AHA, and I became its chair. Willie Lee Rose, who would have been an appropriate and excellent chair,

1d. 10.

* History Degrees Conferred 1959-60

| Graduate Schools | Undergrad. | | M.A. | | Ph.D. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | W | M | W | M | W |
| Harvard | 159 | 0 | 30 | 0 | 23 | 0 |
| Calif., Berkeley | 84 | 100 | 60 | 15 | 13 | 1 |
| Yale | 158 | 0 | 24 | 7 | 14 | 0 |
| Columbia | 122 | 41 | 92 | 47 | 36 | 2 |
| Wisconsin | 98 | 55 | 56 | 6 | 20 | 0 |
| Princeton | 82 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| Chicago | 16 | 7 | 26 | 10 | 11 | 2 |
| Stanford | 96 | 68 | 12 | 1 | 6 | 0 |
| Cornell | 26 | 12 | 2 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Michigan | 91 | 44 | 32 | 12 | 10 | 0 |
| Totals | | | 346 | 98 | 144 | 5 |

The 1970 Rose Report included statistics on the number of history PhDs granted to women.
*AHA Archives*

had suffered a stroke and was not available to be considered for this position. Among its key members were Linda K. Kerber (Univ. of Iowa, appointed after the death of Adrienne Koch) and Jane Sherron De Hart (Univ. of California, Santa Barbara), both of whom subsequently served as committee chair. This committee continues today as the Committee on Gender Equity.

Undoubtedly, the most important initial activity of the new committee was to part company with the tactics of other professional associations. The predominant model was principally to raise issues about discrimination against women at annual meetings, but the results were generally negligible. Our committee, however, took another approach: hiring an Association staff member who would work specifically on women's issues, assuring women's participation in AHA activities, including committees and the annual meeting, and giving women historians and their work added visibility. The Council agreed to this approach, and for the role the Committee recruited Dorothy Ross, a recent Columbia PhD who had two children and a husband tied to a career in Washington, DC. Ross followed her AHA appointment with a distinguished academic career, and she laid the groundwork for the long-term service of Noralee Frankel in this role.

Supplementing and nudging the work of the AHA Committee on the Status of Women were many informal groups of women historians around the country—some employed and others not; some single, some in relationships; some with children, some childless; but all dedicated to the study of history and intending to pursue it professionally. It seemed very difficult to do so since most of their male colleagues in those early days easily found jobs, and many of the women did not.

My own participation in these activities was powerfully stimulated and influenced by a small group in New York City who met regularly in the 1960s and early 1970s. Many had been graduate students at Columbia, and all of us were struggling to find and keep jobs that were related to what we had studied. Several were part of the emerging network of the Coordinating Committee on Women Historians, which was a powerful stimulus to the AHA in taking women's issues seriously. We met regularly but informally in each other's apartments, to celebrate our successes—jobs, tenure, promotion, publications—and more often to console when an anticipated appointment went to a man, tenure was denied, or a manuscript was rejected. Many, but not all, of us were interested in women's history, but we were all wrestling with what it meant to be a professional historian in a field dominated by men. We ranged in age, from Gerda Lerner to Rosalind Rosenberg. Our ranks included Americanists and Europeanists, like Joan Kelly, Renate Blumenthal, and Sandi Cooper. We also ranged in disposition from assertive activists to moderate progressives. This was a lively lot, and the AHA's Committee on Gender Equity owes these groups around the country a great deal for helping to define and ameliorate the circumstances that limited women's opportunities in the historical discipline.

While 3.9 percent of participants at the 1969 AHA annual meeting were women, in 2020 women made up 52 percent of presenters.

Since the committee's work in 1970, these issues have changed. In the 1980s, approximately 33 percent of history PhDs were awarded to women. In recent years, women have earned slightly less than half of the PhDs granted in history. While 3.9 percent of participants at the 1969 AHA annual meeting were women, in 2020 women made up 52 percent of presenters. However, the academic market for PhDs in history has shrunk considerably from the open employment opportunities in the bulge years of the 1960s and 1970s. Some women historians have risen dramatically in academic positions, notably Hanna Holborn Gray as University of Chicago president and Drew Gilpin Faust as Harvard University president. Most history departments now include women faculty, though they are often concentrated in non-tenured ranks. The realities of a shrinking job market, reduced enrollments, and an emphasis on more technical subjects means that many women PhDs have been forced into part-time and "off-ladder" appointments in academic institutions. Others have sought out work outside higher education with varied success.

In 1970, the Rose Report addressed the issue of women scholars' exclusion from history departments. Today, most history departments include women faculty. In that sense, the Rose Report's agenda has been substantially fulfilled. However, in 2020, the issues are quite different. The role of historical understanding among our citizenry is at risk. The very existence of vibrant history departments and curriculum is threatened as colleges and universities shrink their liberal arts curriculum. Many who are prepared as historians will find employment in other venues. Nonetheless, for all of us historians, the challenge is to become more convincing that a historical perspective is a necessary element of an educated person. We need to provide it.

*Patricia Albjerg Graham is Charles Warren Professor of the History of Education Emerita at Harvard University.*

SARAH FENTON

# THE VALUE OF REPRESENTATION

*Scholarly Societies and HBCUs*

Lonnie Bunch III, a historian of the United States and the 14th secretary of the Smithsonian—a position that puts 19 of the nation's most imposing museums and 21 of its libraries in his charge—first heard the name of another great American historian when he was still a child. Bunch recalls listening to his father describe "a history course he had taken at Shaw College in the 1940s" and, despite his youth, sensing from his father's story the significance "of someone named John Hope Franklin. I am sure that he was the only historian my scientist father ever mentioned to me."

In fact, Bunch's grandfather and both of his parents attended Shaw, the first Historically Black College or University (HBCU) founded, in 1865, in the American South. John Hope Franklin attended the second—Fisk University, founded in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1866—and later served as the first Black president of the American Historical Association. Connections between HBCUs and the AHA abound: not only have HBCUs played a vital role in American history; they have also helped train countless American historians. And yet HBCU faculty and students remain notably underrepresented in scholarly societies, including the AHA.

In 2017, the AHA's special projects coordinator, Julia Brookins, set out to investigate the reasons for that underrepresentation and suggest some ways to rectify it. Her assignment grew out of a 2016 meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) at which the executive directors of the American Philosophical Association (APA) and the AHA found themselves in conversation about their organizations' failures to attract members from HBCUs. The issue, they realized, was not trying to recruit members; it was about value and relationships. The AHA and APA were not benefiting sufficiently from what HBCU faculty could contribute to their work, nor were enough of those faculty able to access the value that the associations provide to members and conference attendees. With a grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and in cooperation with the APA, the AHA began an initiative titled "Extending the Reach of Scholarly Society Work to HBCU Faculty."

First, they appointed a steering committee comprised of three historians and three philosophers from HBCUs, who drafted a national survey to capture how fellow HBCU-based faculty view their own work and the work of scholarly societies. Making the survey accessible from December 2017 to February 2019 allowed the project to recruit more than 200 respondents from at least 49 institutions. Preliminary answers in hand—some surprising, some not; most having to do with the constraints of time and funds—the AHA and the APA began seeking practical ways to make opportunities for professional development more accessible to HBCU faculty. They convened more than 25 people in multiple focus groups and hosted eight HBCU faculty members (four historians and four philosophers) at the AHA annual meeting and an APA divisional meeting in 2019. As the project finished, the team identified next steps in the ongoing effort to bring HBCU scholars into closer contact with the AHA and APA, and to consider how those organizations might better serve HBCU faculty, their institutions, and their students. Some of these steps require better communication about the range of functions that the AHA and APA already perform; others require new partnerships and funding to meet the needs identified by HBCU faculty.

> "It was great to feel that I was 'seen' by the AHA."

I got in touch with several of those faculty in mid-October, at the tail end of an election season that saw an HBCU graduate—Kamala Harris, Howard University class of 1986—running to become the nation's first female vice president. Roughly 10 percent of African American college students attended one of the nation's 101 active HBCUs in 2018, a percentage that appeared to be growing at a moment

when overall college enrollments were in decline. HBCUs saw an uptick in admissions in 2019, a surge sometimes called "the Trump bump" and described by the *New York Times* as "a noticeable increase in students applying to and enrolling in historically black colleges and universities and women's colleges over the past several years."

"We certainly have a historical mission," Tony Frazier (North Carolina Central Univ.) told me when I asked about the role of HBCUs past and present. "Here at NCCU, our commitment to the historical profession is long-standing. The commitments to teaching and researching history remain hallmarks of our department, even without great resources. The history department here has produced over 100 alumni who have received the PhD in history." Still, Frazier expressed concern that "because of the disconnect between HBCU history faculty and the AHA, a proper narrative of that tradition remains hidden." One aim of "Extending the Reach of Scholarly Society Work to HBCU Faculty" is to bring that tradition out of hiding.

Reginald K. Ellis (Florida A&M Univ.) emphasized the unseen aspect of ties that could bind HBCUs to the AHA as well, calling the Association's resources the "best kept secret" of the discipline. "As a faculty member of one of the largest HBCUs in the nation," Ellis said, "I connect with fellow HBCU historians regularly, and the idea of seeking membership within the AHA very rarely comes up." A member of the project's steering committee, Ellis recalled that "when I left the townhouse in the summer of 2018, it was clear that a partnership with the AHA not only provides me opportunities to network with leading historical scholars; it offers additional supportive voices to advocate for the continuation of historical studies on black college campuses." After his involvement in this project, Ellis ran for and was elected to the AHA Council.

Another of the project's participants put the matter this way: "It was great to feel that I was 'seen' by the AHA." She went on: "I'd been a member on and off, largely based on whether or not my home institution stressed AHA membership above others or offered funds to help defer the cost of membership and conference travel." These were themes that reappeared throughout the project: the combination of the AHA's failure to "see" HBCU faculty clearly or at all, and the financial barriers to full participation.

Making its way through my conversations with HBCU faculty was the delicate balance they walk day after day: recognizing the inequities faced by their students and fellow faculty without disregarding their equally significant achievements. As one participant (who asked to remain unnamed) put it: "The odds are against HBCU faculty. But we get in the ring nonetheless—to advance the work of our disciplines and for our students. The odds are against HBCU faculty—I don't know how to acknowledge that while not undermining the reputation of HBCUs (there's enough of that already), without slighting the stellar work that comes out of HBCUs. It's tricky." She concluded by stating a belief that is surely not hers alone but seems to capture a sense shared by many Americans in 2020: "This historical moment needs historians." Including, she adds, historians at HBCUs.

The "odds" as this historian described them are borne out by replies from the survey respondents—more than three-quarters of whom reported departmental budgets that did not meet basic operating needs. Four courses per term seems to be a common teaching commitment among HBCU faculty, though some teach even more; 200 students per instructor per semester is not unusual, often without teaching assistants. Few of the respondents had received financial support to conduct and share their research; they lacked adequate funding for


The AHA and APA consider HBCU faculty to be valuable members of their constituencies.
*Hildabast/Wikimedia Commons/CC BY-SA 4.0*

travel, conference fees, or accommodations, even when presenting their own work. Given those "odds," the hopeful strain she concluded with is notable: "Partnerships and collaborations are exciting to think about as a pathway forward."

This historian's emphasis on collaboration echoed one of the project's most valuable observations. HBCU faculty tend to participate in smaller scholarly societies with specialized research interests and lower membership fees. Such regional or research-specific conferences are generally more affordable to attend, and scholars believe they are more likely to have papers accepted for presentation and publication by smaller societies. The AHA's annual meeting seldom meets in the South, tending to convene in cities that make attendance expensive, particularly for faculty and students with significant time and financial constraints. But survey respondents did not highlight only practical reasons for choosing one conference over another. Instead, their responses suggest an appetite for community. Going forward, the AHA will work to extend and strengthen a sense of belonging and support for all scholars working in the same or shared disciplines. As part of this project, the AHA hosted a networking event for HBCU faculty and alumni at the 2019 annual meeting in Chicago.

HBCU faculty tend to participate in smaller scholarly societies with specialized research interests and lower membership fees.

Finally, it is not enough for the AHA to look outward, charting the history of racism in the world beyond the townhouse doors. An organization that works and speaks on behalf of historians representing every period and geography—one incorporated by Congress with the stated purpose of promoting historical studies—has a responsibility to look inward as well, at the biases buried deep within its own institutional practices. The AHA will soon begin an initiative to document and confront its role in legitimating racism within the discipline and in promoting racist scholarship that had a deep and lasting influence on American public culture. The results of this initial stage will establish strategies for mapping the way forward.

"Extending the Reach of Scholarly Society Work to HBCU Faculty" made clear how much ground those maps will need to cover, and how widespread was the perception that the AHA and APA have little interest in welcoming their colleagues from HBCUs. But the project also provided new partners. It is not unusual, at the moment, to hear a refrain that "representation matters." Considering the consequences of representation, Lonnie Bunch recalls: "I was in junior high and we were reading biographies of historic figures. I remember one on Gen. 'Mad' Anthony Wayne, and one on Clara Barton and Dorothea Dix. I thought, 'Were there no histories of black people?' One day, I was going through my grandfather's trunk, and I found a book about black soldiers in the First World War. I devoured it." He now oversees an institution that, in his words, "treasures memory and scholarship and makes that knowledge accessible to millions."

*Sarah Fenton is contributing editor for the AHA. She tweets @skfenton.*

ALEX LICHTENSTEIN

# BLACK INTERNATIONALISM, PLAGUES, AND TOXICITY

*In the December Issue of the* American Historical Review

This past year has been deeply marked by a global pandemic of proportions not seen in a century and mass anti-racist demonstrations that have once again brought the question of racial equity and justice before the law into the court of international opinion. Whether through foresight or serendipity, the December issue of the *AHR* considers both these matters in depth. The issue features a pair of articles on pandemic history, a History Unclassified essay on illness and mortality, and an *AHR* Conversation on the topic of "Black Internationalism."

The issue opens with "The Four Black Deaths," a bold intervention in the plague debates by **Monica Green** (independent scholar). Green turns to genetic approaches to plague's history to disrupt conventional definitions of the Black Death, often called the largest pandemic in human history, usually defined as the massive plague outbreak of 1346 to 1353 CE. As she shows, genetic evidence suggests that *Yersinia pestis*, the causative organism of plague, suddenly diverged in Central Asia at some point before the Black Death, splitting into four new branches. Drawing on a "biological archive" of this genetic evidence, Green traces the bacterial descendants of this divergence and compares that data to historical human activities in and around Central Asia a century *before* the devastating outbreak we know as the Black Death. The Mongols, she contends, unwittingly moved plague through Central Eurasia in the 13th, not the 14th, century. Grain shipments that the Mongols transported to several sieges, including the 1258 siege of Baghdad, were the most likely mechanism of transmission. The subsequent 14th-century plague outbreaks, amplified by climatic shifts, thus represent local spillover events out of the new plague reservoirs seeded by the imperial military campaigns of the 13th century, Green concludes.

A second, and quite different, intervention in epidemiological history is provided by **Merle Eisenberg** (Princeton Univ.) and **Lee Mordechai** (Hebrew Univ.) in "The Justinianic Plague and Global Pandemics: The Making of the Plague Concept." If Green sees scientific evidence as opening new vistas in plague research, Eisenberg and Mordechai argue that science can overdetermine historical evidence. Rather than consider the history, etiology, and impact of a single outbreak, as Green does, they reexamine what they call the "plague concept" that scholars have applied to pandemics over the ages. Focusing on the case of the Justinianic Plague (c. 541–750 CE), they argue that this first major recorded plague pandemic retains its great historiographic power to explain significant demographic, political, and social changes during late antiquity because it evokes a terrifying myth of what plague *should* do—rather than because of conclusive evidence of what it actually did. Eisenberg and Mordechai suggest that the "plague concept" derived from the Justinianic case includes three key features—extensive chronology (lasting for two centuries), a catastrophic death toll, and a global geographic scope—and builds upon three interdisciplinary types of evidence: rats, climate, and paleogenetics. In order to explore how plague, as an idea, became an ahistorical, independent agent of historical change, they trace how scientists constructed the plague concept in the first half of the 20th century. Historians entered this discussion only in the last third of the century, and they relied uncritically on the plague concept to frame their arguments without problematizing it or any of its features that scientists had constructed decades earlier, Eisenberg and Mordechai maintain.

> Genetic evidence suggests that *Yersinia pestis* suddenly diverged in Central Asia before the Black Death.

These articles can be read in conjunction with a deeply personal History Unclassified essay by **Heather F. Roller** (Colgate Univ.) about the intertwined experiences of family history, environmental history, and disease. In "A Shared Toxic History," Roller traces her experience teaching an

Between 1966 and 2019, OSPAAAL (Organización de Solidaridad con los Pueblos de Asia, África y América Latina) actively promoted Black internationalism, the topic of the annual AHR Conversation found in this issue. Based in Havana, OSPAAAL drew on the talents of Cuban artists to produce over 300 multilingual international solidarity posters, many focused on anticolonial and Black liberation struggles in Africa. Although often designed to promote Cuban foreign policy, the posters took on a life of their own as they circulated around the globe as foldouts inside OSPAAAL's magazine, *Tricontinental*. These posters serve as reminders that, like New York, Paris, London, and Dar Es Salaam, Havana became an important center of Black internationalism in the second half of the 20th century. Six OSPAAAL African solidarity posters appear on the cover. All posters used by permission from the collection of Lincoln Cushing/Docs Populi.


undergraduate course on "toxic history," even while she and her mother both battled lymphoma. Her search for answers in family histories of illness explores how toxic exposure can connect people—mothers and daughters, teachers and students—in unexpected ways.

Every December issue carries an *AHR* Conversation, bringing together six to eight scholars to engage in an ongoing interchange about a historical topic of broad import. This year's subject—chosen months before the widespread popular mobilizations against racist police violence in the wake of the killing of George Floyd—is "Black Internationalism." Participants **Monique Bedasse** (Washington Univ. in St. Louis), **Kim Butler** (Rutgers Univ.), **Carlos Fernandes** (Eduardo Mondlane Univ.), **Dennis Laumann** (Univ. of Memphis), **Tejavsi Nagaraja** (Cornell Univ.), **Benjamin Talton** (Temple Univ.), and **Kira Thurman** (Univ. of Michigan) bring a wide array of interests and areas of expertise to bear on the origins, evolution, and meaning of the concept of Black internationalism, its application within Africa, the US, and the African diaspora more generally, and its relationship to gender, nationalism, and anticolonialism. In addition to tracing the deep roots of this framework for writing the history of Black resistance to slavery, colonialism, and white supremacy as global phenomena, they insist on seeing Black internationalism from multiple points on the compass. Perspectives derived from the history—and intellectual production—of Africa, Europe, South America, and the Caribbean prove just as important as those emanating from the United States. As Bedasse puts it, "We have to constantly shift our center when we study the history of Black Internationalism." The footnotes that accompany the Conversation offer a rich bibliography for those seeking to cross boundaries and expand their scope of knowledge in the field.

The issue also includes an article on the ambiguities of collaborative knowledge production in segregated South Africa. In "Writing Apartheid: Ethnographic Collaborators and the Politics of Knowledge Production in Twentieth-Century South Africa," **Joel Cabrita** (Stanford Univ.) shows that throughout the 1930s–50s, the joint intellectual labor of both Africans and Europeans created a body of knowledge that codified and celebrated the notion of a distinct realm of Zulu religion. Examining the intertwined careers of Swedish missionary Bengt Sundkler and an isiZulu-speaking Lutheran pastor-turned-ethnographer, Titus Mthembu, Cabrita highlights the limitations of sharp demarcations between "professional" and "lay" ethnographers as well as between "colonial European" and "indigenous African" knowledge. Mthembu and Sundkler's collaboration resulted in *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (1948; 2nd ed., 1961), a book best understood as the joint output of both men, although Sundkler scarcely acknowledged Mthembu's role in its creation. In the apartheid era after 1948, Cabrita argues, the idea that African religion occupied a discrete, innately different sphere had significant political purchase. As a representative African interlocutor for the apartheid state, Mthembu mobilized his ethnographic findings in order to argue for the virtues of "separate development" for South Africa's Zulu community.

Finally, the December issue features a review roundtable on **Jill Lepore**'s (Harvard Univ.) popular 2018 synthesis of US history, *These Truths: A History of the United States*. **Ned Blackhawk** (Yale Univ.), **Matt Garcia** (Dartmouth Univ.), **Mary Beth Norton** (Cornell Univ.), and **Paul Ortiz** (Univ. of Florida) offer their critical assessments of Lepore's achievement and consider its limitations. P

*Alex Lichtenstein is editor of the* American Historical Review.

# Stephen F. Cohen

**1938–2020**

Historian of Soviet Russia; AHA Member

Stephen F. Cohen, called "the most controversial Russia expert in America" in a 2017 *Chronicle of Higher Education* profile, died on September 18, 2020, at the age of 81. But long before his commentary in outlets such as *The Nation* and CBS brought him public notoriety, he was a maverick in Soviet history during its most formative period in the US academy.

Cohen's landmark book *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution: A Political Biography, 1888–1938* (Vintage Books, 1973) became central to debates about the New Economic Policy (NEP) and Stalin eras that were long the center of gravity in the field. *Rethinking the Soviet Experience: Politics and History since 1917* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1985) broadened the leitmotif of his work—Bolshevik alternatives to Stalinism—and cemented his own distinct position within what became known as revisionism.

Cohen was a charismatic teacher, a longtime proponent of détente and relentless critic of US foreign policy, and a rare academic philanthropist in Slavic studies. He forged a close bond with Bukharin's widow, Anna Larina, giving her an archival copy of the last letter the Bolshevik theoretician wrote to her. A self-styled provocateur in debates at home, Cohen became the confidante of a wide array of gulag survivors, dissidents, intellectuals, scholars, and reformers in the USSR and Russia.

In the 1980s, Cohen became something of a historical figure in his own right as his *Bukharin*, translated abroad, influenced key Soviet architects of reform. In 1989, Mikhail Gorbachev—later a personal friend of Cohen and Katrina vanden Heuvel, Cohen's second wife and publisher of *The Nation*—invited them to the Lenin Mausoleum to review the May Day parade on Red Square. In that symbolic moment, the scholar occupied the space traditionally studied by Kremlinologists.

Cohen first visited the USSR in 1959 at the age of 19. Raised in Kentucky, versed more in pool and ponies than in politics, he jumped on a monthlong boat cruise with a group of Fabian Society pensioners. At Indiana University, where he received his BA and MA in 1962, he studied with Robert C. Tucker. After earning his PhD at Columbia University, Cohen joined his mentor Tucker on the Princeton University faculty in 1968. After 30 years, he moved to New York University, where he remained from 1998 until his retirement in 2011, maintaining close ties with Columbia University's Harriman Institute. In a freewheeling 2017 interview with the Harriman Institute's Oral History Project, Cohen recalled how Tucker probed his intellectual and historical outlook to uncover his vocation: "There's your subject. The great unexplored topic, very few of us work on it—alternatives in Soviet history."

*Bukharin* opened up the field precisely because the dominant "totalitarian school" had posited inexorably direct lines between Leninism and Stalinism. But Cohen's work also delved in revelatory ways into the political, ideological, and economic debates of NEP. Cohen's fierce anti-Stalinism and focus on political history led to disagreements with a generation of revisionist social historians who posited support for Stalinism "from below" and explored new types of continuities between the 1920s and 1930s. Many of Cohen's nine other books and edited volumes explored alternatives, dissenters, and the friends and foes of reform in later periods.

When I took Cohen's Soviet Politics course at Princeton in 1984, he held an auditorium of 400 undergraduates spellbound. I myself dissented from his counterfactual approach. But students debated it intensively as Cohen conveyed the high stakes and broad cultural-historical understanding of Russia/USSR needed to join the conversation. That course prompted me to pursue a career in Russian history.

In the 2010s, Cohen became controversial on a much broader scale for disturbing stances on Crimea, Putin, and Trump. He was publicly vilified, and the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies initially rejected a gift from vanden Heuvel and Cohen to fund dissertation research in Russian historical studies. But the uproar caused them to reverse course, to found the Cohen-Tucker Fellowship Program in 2015. It was not our finest hour. Even if many vehemently opposed his late political views, Stephen F. Cohen had surely earned the right to speak and to support future scholarship in the field.

Michael David-Fox
*Georgetown University*

*Photo courtesy Katrina vanden Heuvel*

# Miriam E. Jiménez Román

**1951–2020**

Scholar of Afro-Latinx Studies

Miriam Esther Jiménez Román, professor, editor, archivist, curator, social theorist, author, and activist, died of cancer at age 69 on August 6, 2020, in Cabo Rojo, Puerto Rico. She was a pioneering architect of Afro-Latinx studies.

Miriam was born on June 11, 1951, in the coastal city of Aguadilla, Puerto Rico, to Arcelia Román Ruiz and Baldomero Jiménez Font. Her mother was a factory and health care worker and a hospital coordinator, while her father was a factory worker after service as a US Army private. The family migrated to East Harlem in New York City in 1952, where her sisters Carmen, Evelyn, and Awilda were born.

In her youth, Miriam developed a love of reading, helping her become an analytical thinker and creative problem solver. As a 1968 summer Saxtons River Project participant, she studied under internationally recognized Black sculptor John Torres at Vermont Academy, where she optimistically declared that she wanted "to make it on her own terms."

Miriam graduated from Manhattan's High School for Art and Design in 1969, where she studied illustration and advertising art and published insightful short stories for *Prism*, the school yearbook. She attended the University of Vermont for two years, spent a year at University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras Campus, and completed her sociology BA in 1974 at Binghamton University. She completed the coursework for a sociology PhD at Binghamton in 1987.

After relocating to Puerto Rico in the late 1970s, Miriam co-founded the feminist collective Encuentro de Mujeres and was assistant director of external resources at InterAmerican University. During her years there, she realized that the anti-Black attitudes she experienced growing up in the US were also present in the colony, albeit in different form.

Her experiences as a Black Puerto Rican helped her to bring awareness of Afro-Latinidad and build coalitions with African Americans. Influenced by the Civil Rights, Black Power, and Nuyorican Movements, Miriam asserted, "African Americans have always been in the vanguard. Everything that's worthwhile in this country has come about because African Americans have pushed it. We all benefit every day, white people as well as people of color, from the struggles of African Americans."

After returning to the mainland US in 1983, Miriam published dozens of foundational works that critically challenged racial democracy, Taíno revivalism, blanqueamiento, and the US census. In 1987, she joined the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, where she worked for a decade as a research coordinator and curator of exhibits and special programs. In these roles, Miriam worked with Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee activist Roberta "Bobbi" Yancy, author Zita C. Nunes, and director Howard Dodson to produce widely celebrated international Africana exhibits. She became editor of *CENTRO: Journal of Puerto Rican Studies*, the premier organ of the field, from 1998 to 2001. She returned to the Schomburg as assistant director of the Scholars-in-Residence program from 2001 to 2004 and was a scholar-in-residence herself in 2010 to 2011.

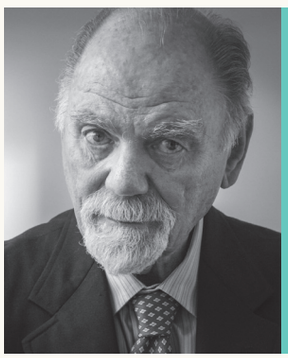
As a visiting professor, Miriam taught innovative courses on Afro-Latinidad at Binghamton, Brown University, Columbia University, and New York University from 1991 to 2013. In 2005, she co-founded and was executive director of the Afro-Latin@ Project, which was renamed the AfroLatin@ Forum in 2007. The forum hosted two instrumental international conferences, *Afro-Latin@s Now!*, that assembled hundreds of artists, academics, and activists in 2011 and 2014.

Her critically acclaimed book *The Afro-Latin@ Reader: History and Culture in the United States* (Duke Univ. Press, 2010), co-edited with her husband, Juan Flores, won the 2011 American Book Award. She also co-founded and edited Palgrave Macmillan's Afro-Latin@ Diasporas book series and helped organize the Black Latinas Know Collective in 2019 to promote and mentor Afro-Latina intellectuals who study Blackness and Latinidad.

As one friend noted, "We lost Miriam Jiménez Román, our unapologetically Black, Boricua, NYer, feminist, Marxist, intellectual luchadora. We must follow the road she paved for us, one of integrity, heart, and a conviction that change doesn't happen unless we collectively fight for it."

Will Guzmán
*Prairie View A&M University*

*Photo courtesy Awilda Jiménez*



# Peter Paret

**1924–2020**

Historian of Culture and War

On September 11, 2020, Peter Paret died peacefully at his home in Salt Lake City at the age of 96. His spouse, Isabel Harris Paret, a distinguished clinical psychologist, predeceased him in 2018.

Paret was born in Berlin, and his family moved to Austria, France, and the United Kingdom before emigrating to the United States in 1937 and settling in San Francisco. In 1943, war pulled Paret out of the University of California, Berkeley, into combat in New Guinea and elsewhere in the Pacific. His US Army service postponed his graduation to 1949, and as he later wrote, the "issue of war in history continued to be in my thoughts as unfinished business." Under the direction of Michael Howard, he began the formal study of war as a broadly defined historical force and earned a PhD from the University of London in 1960. In recognition of his switch from fine arts to military history, his curriculum vitae always cited his enlisted service as a staff sergeant among an array of scholarly achievements and international academic honors.

Paret returned to the United States in 1961 as a research associate at Princeton University's Center for International Studies. In the fall of 1962, he arrived at the University of California, Davis, as a visiting assistant professor of history. He was awarded tenure the following year and was promoted to full professor in 1966. The intellectual environment of the rapidly expanding Davis history department was ideal for a new graduate program, which Paret helped launch in 1965. His emphasis on a broad, integrative approach to the historical study of war was incorporated into the more traditional historical concentrations. He wrote later that his years at UC Davis were the happiest of his academic career.

In 1971, when I graduated with my PhD with an emphasis in the new military history, Paret was a professor at Stanford University, which he joined in 1969 and where he was appointed Raymond A. Spruance Professor of International History in 1977. In 1986, he was named the Andrew W. Mellon Professor in the Humanities at the Institute for Advanced Study and became professor emeritus in 1997.

Paret's various academic titles, prestigious chairs, and scholarly endeavors since 1960 reflected his extensive research and myriad publications, including 14 monographs and essay collections, 11 edited works, and more than 100 articles, book chapters, and lectures. In spite of earlier monographs and articles related to the study of war, he did not feel that his identity as a military historian was confirmed until the publication in 1976 of *Clausewitz and the State* (Oxford Univ. Press) and a new edited and translated edition (with Michael Howard) of Carl von Clausewitz's *On War* (Princeton Univ. Press). Although Paret continued to write about issues of war—notably with the expanded and revised edition of *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1986) and *Understanding War: Essays on Clausewitz and the History of Military Power* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1992), among others—he never considered military history to be separated from intellectual, cultural, or social history, and was equally interested in the relationship of art, literature, and politics. Paret's publications in this area included *The Berlin Secession: Modernism and Its Enemies in Imperial Germany* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1980); *Persuasive Images: Posters of War and Revolution from the Hoover Archives*, written with Beth Irwin Lewis and his son, Paul Paret (Princeton Univ. Press, 1992); and *German Encounters with Modernism, 1840–1945* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001).

Among his many awards, including four honorary degrees, two seem particularly noteworthy—Paret twice was granted the Federal Republic of Germany's Order of Merit, with the Cross in 2000 and the Great Cross in 2013. These were awarded partially in recognition of Paret's distinguished scholarship in the history of culture.

Anyone who knew Peter Paret realized he was a devoted humanitarian—evidence is in his writing on war and art. He dedicated *Imagined Battles: Reflections of War in European Art* (Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1997) "to the memory of the men with whom I served, and against whom I served . . . during the Second World War." Paret was an extraordinary representative of the Greatest Generation.

Carl Boyd
*Old Dominion University (emeritus)*

*Photo courtesy Thomas Mueller*

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## GEORGIA

### EMORY UNIVERSITY

Atlanta, GA

**Cahoon Family Chair in American History.** The Department of History at Emory University is excited to announce the establishment of the Cahoon Family Chair in American History. We invite applications from scholars at the associate professor or full professor rank with research and teaching expertise in pre-20th-century Native American history. We are especially interested in applications from women, members of underrepresented groups, protected veterans, and individuals with disabilities, as well as others who would bring additional diversity to the university's research and teaching endeavors. Applicants will be expected to teach courses at both the undergraduate and graduate levels and to provide intellectual and programmatic leadership across the university and throughout the broader community. Applicants should submit a letter of application, a CV, and a statement explaining their experience and vision regarding the teaching and mentorship of students from diverse backgrounds. Review of applications will begin January 4, 2021. Full consideration will be given to applications received up to at least 30 days after review begins. The appointment will begin on September 1, 2021. Inquiries can be directed to Joseph Crespino, History Department Chair, at jcrespi@emory.edu. Emory is using Interfolio's Faculty Search to conduct this search. Applicants to this position receive a free Dossier account and can send all application materials free of charge. Apply to https://apply.interfolio.com/80156. Emory University is an AA/EOE. Women, minorities, people with disabilities, and veterans are strongly encouraged to apply.

## ILLINOIS

### UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Chicago, IL

**History of Science**. The Department of History at the University of Chicago invites applications for a tenure-track, beginning assistant professorship in the history of science to start on or after July 1, 2021. The specific geographic area and period are open, and fields of study including life, physical, social, and technological sciences will be considered. The appointment includes membership in the Committee on Conceptual and Historical Studies of Science. Candidates must have earned the PhD degree prior to the start of the appointment. Applicants must apply online at the University of Chicago's Interfolio website at http://apply.interfolio.com/80134 and include a cover letter, a CV, a research statement, a teaching statement, dissertation abstract, an article or chapter-length writing sample, and three letters of reference. Consideration of applications will begin on December 1, 2020, and will continue until the position is filled or the search is closed. We seek a diverse pool of applicants who wish to join an academic community that places the highest value on rigorous inquiry and encourages diverse perspectives, experiences, groups of individuals, and ideas to inform and stimulate intellectual challenge, engagement, and exchange. The university's Statements on Diversity are at https://provost.uchicago.edu/statements-diversity. The University of Chicago is an AA/disabled/veterans/EOE and does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, national or ethnic origin, age, status as an individual with a disability, protected veteran status, genetic information, or other protected classes under the law. For additional information please see the university's Notice of Nondiscrimination at https://www.uchicago.edu/about/non_discrimination_statement/. Job seekers in need of a reasonable accommodation to complete the application process should call 773-702-1032 or email equalopportunity@uchicago.edu with their request.

## MAINE

### COLBY COLLEGE

Waterville, ME

**Visiting Assistant Professor in Russian and Soviet History.** The History Department at Colby College invites applications for a one-year replacement position for a visiting assistant professor in Russian and Soviet history, to begin September 1, 2021. The department is a community of engaged teacher-scholars who teach a diverse array of courses from surveys to specialized seminars grounded in our research. We are searching for a teacher-scholar with a focus on Russian and/or Soviet history. The candidate will teach four courses including two survey courses (one in imperial Russian history, one in Soviet history). The two other courses might explore such themes as ethnicity, race, and nation; science, technology, and environment; sexuality and gender; or monarchy, autocracy, and authoritarianism. Ability to teach a topical intensive writing course for first-year students is an advantage. We are particularly interested in hearing from candidates who will bring to the classroom experiences, identities, ideas, and ways of engaging that will resonate with History's, and Colby's, increasingly diverse student body. We are searching for candidates with great potential to be innovative, effective, and inclusive teachers of history at Colby. In evaluating this potential, we will give particular weight to candidates who have successfully designed and taught their own courses. PhD preferred, but ABD will be considered if candidate will complete degree requirements before September 2021. The Colby History Department is committed to professional development and the future advancement of all its members. Please submit a cover letter, CV, three confidential letters of recommendation, and a statement of teaching philosophy and research interests that demonstrates commitment to the value of diversity and to inclusive teaching via Interfolio at http://apply.interfolio.com/79645. Review of applications will begin on January 4, 2021, and will continue until the position is filled. Questions about this search should be directed to historysearch@colby.edu. Colby is a private, coeducational liberal arts college that admits students and makes employment decisions on the basis of the individual's qualifications to contribute to Colby's educational objectives and institutional needs. Colby College does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, disability, religion, ancestry or national

origin, age, marital status, genetic information, or veteran's status in employment or in our educational programs. Colby is an EOE, committed to excellence through diversity, and encourages applications from qualified persons of color, women, persons with disabilities, military veterans and members of other under-represented groups. Colby complies with Title IX, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in an institution's education programs and activities. Questions regarding Title IX may be referred to Colby's Title IX coordinator or to the federal Office of Civil Rights. For more information about the College, please visit our website at http://www.colby.edu/.

**Visiting Assistant Professor in World History/Africa.** The History Department at Colby College invites applications for a one-year replacement position for a visiting assistant professor in world history with a regional specialization in Africa, to begin September 1, 2021. The department is a community of engaged teacher-scholars who teach a diverse array of courses from surveys to specialized seminars grounded in our research. The department is open to expertise on all themes, including (but not exclusively) intellectual history, histories of race, gender, and sexuality, and histories of migration, trade, and empire. Reflecting the department's increasing focus on global history, the candidate's research and teaching interests should speak to global contexts. The successful candidate will also be expected to teach HI 276, Patterns and Processes in World History. We are particularly interested in hearing from candidates who will bring to the classroom experiences, identities, ideas, and ways of engaging that will resonate with History's, and Colby's, increasingly diverse student body. We are searching for candidates with great potential to be innovative, effective, and inclusive teachers of history at Colby, who may be willing to make use of resources made available by the Colby Museum of Art, Special Collections, and the Mule Works Innovation Lab. In evaluating this potential, we will give particular weight to candidates who have successfully designed and taught their own courses. PhD preferred, but ABD will be considered. The Colby History Department is committed to professional development and the future advancement of all its members. Please submit a cover letter, CV, three confidential letters of recommendation, and a statement of teaching philosophy and research interests that demonstrates commitment to the value of diversity and to inclusive teaching via Interfolio at http://apply.interfolio.com/79641. Review of applications will begin on January 4, 2021, and will continue until the position is filled. Questions about this search should be directed to historysearch@colby.edu. Colby is a private, coeducational liberal arts college that admits students and makes employment decisions on the basis of the individual's qualifications to contribute to Colby's educational objectives and institutional needs. Colby College does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, disability, religion, ancestry or national origin, age, marital status, genetic information, or veteran's status in employment or in our educational programs. Colby is an EOE, committed to excellence through diversity, and encourages applications from qualified persons of color, women, persons with disabilities, military veterans and members of other under-represented groups. Colby complies with Title IX, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in an institution's education programs and activities. Questions regarding Title IX may be referred to Colby's Title IX coordinator or to the federal Office of Civil Rights. For more information about the College, please visit our website: http://www.colby.edu/.

ADAM SHPRINTZEN

# PROTOSE CUTLETS

The first time I sent an article for peer review, I was a doctoral candidate. A few months after submitting the manuscript, I received a kind rejection. Reader one found the article compelling and endorsed publication. Reader two—of course, reader two—thought the article lacked focus (true), had an unclear thesis (also true), and was not interesting enough (ouch). I bristled at the difference in reports, but one suggestion stuck out. The article focused on meat substitutes produced at the Battle Creek Sanitarium, and the review suggested I cook to better understand the product. I found the suggestion silly and ahistorical. I complained about it to my friends: How could I taste or smell food the same way someone did a century earlier?

Meat substitutes marked a turn for the vegetarian movement at the start of the 20th century, one that led to a depoliticization for a whole generation of vegetarians. Protose—the name mashes together the word *protein* and the suffix *-ose*, or full of—was the most popular and enduring meat substitute crafted in the experimental kitchen at the Battle Creek Sanitarium (or San), the Michigan health resort operated by John Harvey Kellogg from 1876 to 1943. Promoted as a versatile meat alternative, Protose could be eaten as an entrée like a beef steak, on a sandwich for a light lunch, or as a roast to be carved ceremonially. The product was served to San visitors, marketed via mail order, and available at local grocers. The marketing of fake meats in early-20th-century America represented a transformation from vegetarianism's radical, 19th-century political past into a community of individualistic consumers looking to produce healthy, economically productive bodies and minds.

Forced to cook more at home during the pandemic, I finally returned to reader two's suggestion. Research based on product descriptions led me to an approximation of the product: wheat gluten, cereal, and peanut butter. I used a wooden mixing spoon to work the ingredients together, which increased in resistance as the peanut butter activated the gluten proteins. The ingredients combined into a meatish paste with the consistency of raw, ground beef.

To turn the basic recipe into a real meal, I followed a 1913 recipe for Protose cutlets from Lenna Frances Cooper, the San's head dietician. The recipe called for Protose to be mixed with corn flakes, milk, eggs, and salt. The mixture was slow-roasted in an oven and filled our apartment with a smell that can best be described as vaguely chicken-adjacent. The result was texturally satisfying, though admittedly a little bland.

Reader two, at least in this instance, was right. The experience did help me understand why this was a culinary step forward for vegetarians, both fulfilling a desire to have more food choices and to present vegetarianism as socially acceptable by emulating meat. Smelling, tasting, and touching this fake meat helped me appreciate the sensory power of food as a historical force. And as a vegetarian of 16 years, the process also helped me appreciate and understand that my own food choices were and are very much shaped by the fake meats of the past.

*Adam Shprintzen is associate professor of history at Marywood University. He tweets at @VegHistory.*

*Image courtesy Adam Shprintzen*

# *Virtual* | AHA

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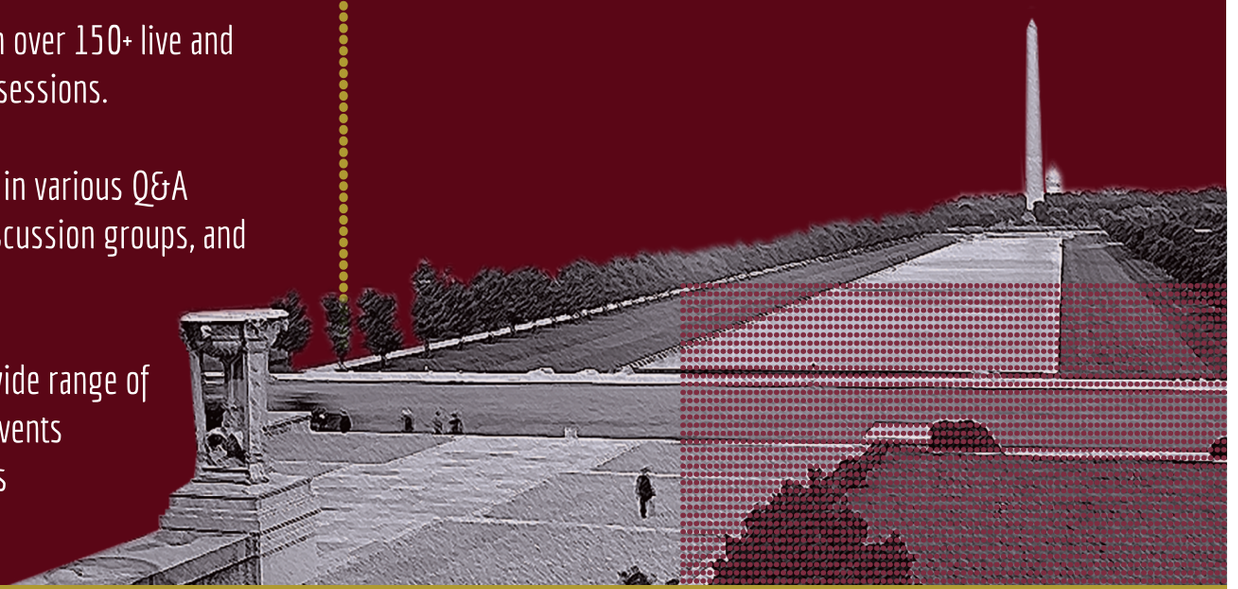

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