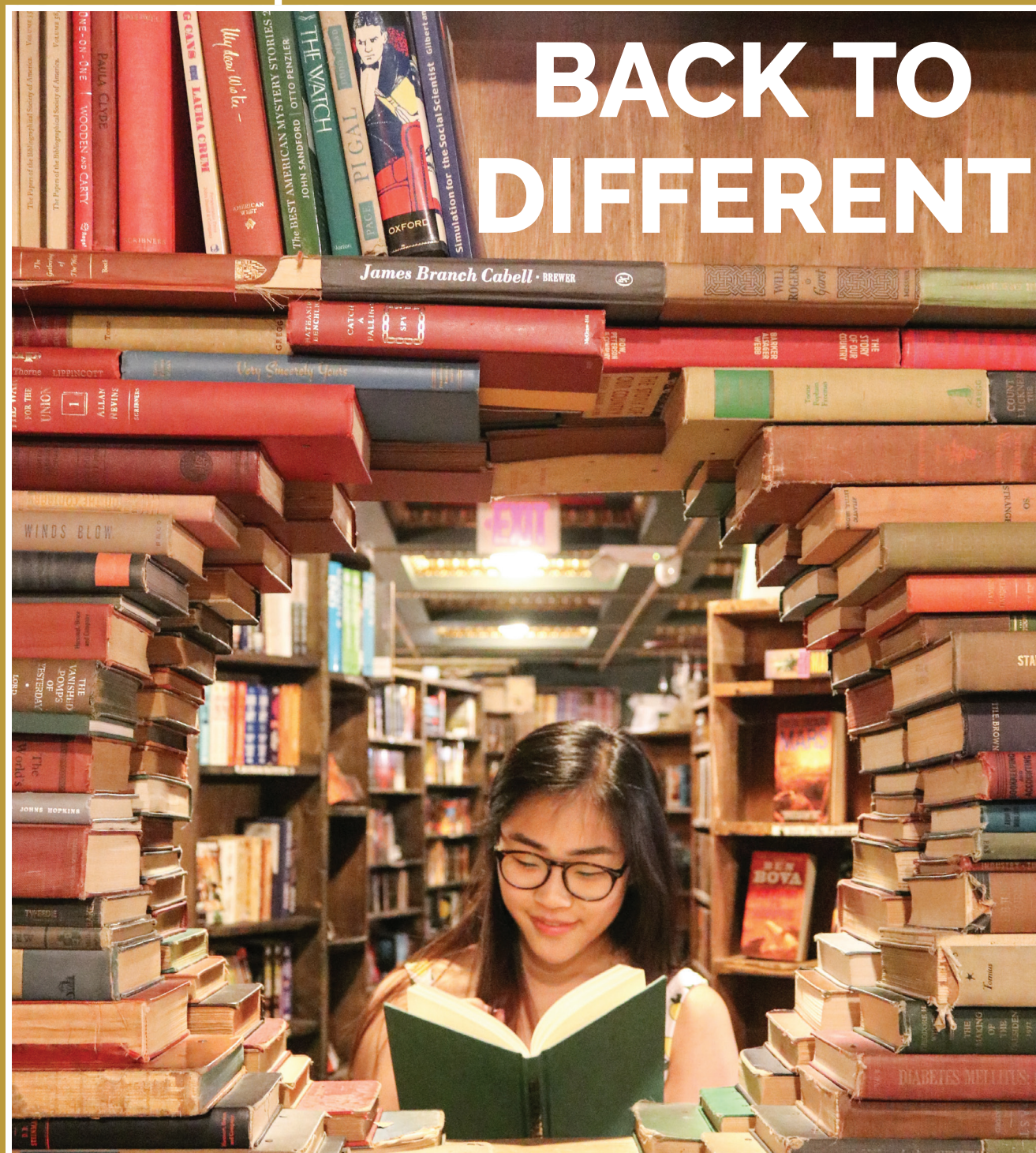


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PERSPECTIVES ON HISTORY

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HISTORIES OF SLAVERY, FREEDOM & (UN)FREEDOM

Image: Penal treadmill, House of Corrections, Jamaica 1837

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INDIANA UNIVERSITY

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KATHARINA MATRO



ON THE COVER

Several articles in this issue grapple with what the 2021–22 school year will look like. With debates raging on many fronts, from so-called “divisive concepts” in the classroom to mandatory masking, this school year is going to be different for teachers and students. But this issue is not exclusively focused on COVID’s impact. Different can be transformative in good ways, too, as Joseph D. Martin demonstrates in “Motivate, Situate, Evidence, Illustrate.” He outlines a way to move beyond the primary–secondary source binary and suggests how recategorizing sources can open up new, powerful possibilities for students.

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ASHLEY E. BOWEN

TOWNHOUSE NOTES

Back to the New Old Offices

This issue should arrive in your mailbox around the same time that AHA staff members arrive back at the townhouse after 18 months of working from home. For historians, the chance to step into our own time capsule is both jarring and exciting. What did we leave written on our whiteboards in early March 2020, when we believed we'd be out for just two weeks to flatten the curve? Will our conference badge collections bring back happy memories of mingling with peers or spark anxiety around travel, variants, and masking?

The return to the office is no such thing for about 40 percent of the AHA's staff. Eight current staff members, including myself, began working at the AHA after stay-at-home orders were put in place. We have known working here only as a combination of Zoom, Slack, Dropbox, and other digital productivity tools. This hasn't stopped us from feeling like a welcome part of the team. We've participated in everything from trivia contests to brown-bag lunches, informal chats over coffee, and Slack channels dedicated to pet photos. I expect that for us, the chance to be in the office will feel like a natural continuation of relationships forged through these technologies.

Perspectives has dedicated much of the last year to covering how the pandemic has changed our work and personal lives. The Remote Reflections series, originally imagined as a contained series of seven articles, now spans 15 articles covering everything from parenting to remote teaching techniques, mental health to tips for successfully continuing to write a dissertation during a pandemic. We may not yet be anywhere close to a post-COVID world, but we are ready to look to the future. We hope to transition from covering the incredible ways that historians adapted in the last 18 months to thinking about what changes will or should carry forward into the "new normal."

Many historians will return to changed workplaces this autumn (or they have already). All of us, regardless of our professional roles, face the question members of the

Teaching Division ask in their "From the Division" column this month: "How can we keep our memories of the past year alive without being burdened by them?" As we return to offices unseen since March 2020 or step into new offices for jobs we began after the pandemic upended our lives, we face myriad big and small decisions that ask us what it really means to "go back" to the way things were.

It is my sincere hope that we remain in the townhouse through the autumn and winter. There are some tasks that are just easier in person—reviewing the printed issues of *Perspectives*, for example, is simpler when we can sit around a conference table and compare ink colors in different copies. However, we remain conscious that things can change quickly. As I write this in late July, the delta variant is surging in the United States and around the world. We cannot yet know whether—or, more likely, when—epsilon, zeta, and eta variants will emerge or how they will change our current plans. We may have to adjust our work plans, but I am confident that the quality of this publication and all the AHA's work will continue to be exceptional.

"You can't scare me, I'm a historian" reads a sticker distributed at the 2020 annual meeting and affixed to some of our laptops. It is one of those lines that AHA staffers throw around in times calling for gallows humor. We used it a lot in 2020–21; it suggests that we already know how bad things can get, so how could this be worse? At the same time, I suspect that the return to working, researching, teaching, and networking in person will be met with a bit of trepidation by many. I am grateful to my colleagues for their careful attention to how and when the townhouse should reopen. I am even more thankful for the grace, patience, and empathy we have shown one another and that we have received from members. May those traits continue to characterize our working environments as we "go back"—whatever that may mean. P

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





TO THE EDITOR

Two articles in the May issue of *Perspectives* demonstrate the confusion that continues to hover over how historians define themselves and their practice. In “Terminal Does Not Mean Dead: Why the History MA Deserves Our Attention,” Lauren Braun-Strumfels and Tim Herbert argue that terminal MA students do not receive the respect they deserve as historians. In “The Business of Applied History: What Brand Historians Do,” Caroline Morris and Jack Fiorini share their stories of leaving academia behind to embrace the business of “doing applied history.”

As to the first article, readers are left with the irony that the AHA is not defining well the “purpose, scope, and impact” of the MA completer, while the authors urge the “profession” to accept terminal MA graduates as “historians.” Braun-Strumfels, who holds a history faculty position, and Herbert, who is a PhD candidate and high school teacher, further argue that the quantity of MA completers teaching in the field constitutes a major rationale for embracing them as central to the field. They note that history programs should link “the path to a terminal MA” to the work of historians. *Should*, of course, denotes that this may not be occurring, but then again, the authors complain that one really does not know what is going on in the training of MA history completers.

The second article, on applied history, pushes one to wonder what history PhD students are learning. Morris and Fiorini have become “brand historians.” Permit me to think out loud here—was Robert H. Ferrell a brand

historian as he wrote and edited 14 books on President Harry Truman and more on other presidents and on American diplomacy? Perhaps. But the question of expertise, familiarity with the archives, and continuous exploration of secondary literature and new findings on the topic to contextualize and pursue a balanced perspective on the past all come to mind, differentiating what is expected of historians in and out of academic settings. The words of Morris and Fiorini provide the sort of grist that one can consider when distinguishing among different types of historians or what they might be expected to produce.

The emphasis in the work world of Morris and Fiorini appears to be explicitly biased: content over context; use of archival assistants over the historians’ own selection and familiarity with the relevant archives; history consultant over history professor; exclusivity versus open access to archival sources; niche over broad-expanse perspectives; preparing “briefs for CEOs to use” versus providing explanations that contain nuance, complexity, irony—a sort of argument that chases truth but does not necessarily present itself as the truth.

Morris and Fiorini boast of “the satisfaction of having roles that make use of [their] skills and contribute to the public good.” Just what are those skills? What are the end goals of historians? What is the public good that they serve? What makes them historians?

All this is to say that the work of historians as described by Braun-Strumfels and Herbert or Morris and Fiorini is as muddled as ever into the 21st century.

DOUGLAS A. DIXON
Austin, Texas

THE AHA RESPONDS

The AHA considers all four authors of the articles mentioned above to be historians. If your field is history—no matter your specialization or profession—the AHA is a place for you.



TO THE EDITOR

In an age of drastic cuts to history departments and the overall demeaning of our profession, many might wonder whether there is anything that associations can do to improve the situation. James Grossman's reflection "How Can We Help?" (April 2021) and recent statements in support of the humanities give reason to believe that there is.

Too often, the people whose positions are at risk are left to make a case for the relevance of what they do. Professional associations—both large and small—can play a crucial function in such situations: they have the power to issue public statements, their leaders can craft letters to decision makers, and they can talk to the press. In a recent dispute at Aston University in Birmingham, UK, Emma Griffin, president of the Royal Historical Society, was quoted in the *Guardian*, and former AHA president Mary Beth Norton and Grossman co-authored an *Inside Higher Ed* piece, giving international resonance to the case. Studies sponsored by professional associations across borders helped counter many of the inaccurate claims used to justify unnecessary cuts. Dozens of organizations wrote in opposition to the plan. These actions combined made a difference, and the proposal to eliminate the history department was withdrawn—though other closures still went ahead.

Crucially, professional associations can help make the people whose jobs are under threat feel worthy. A unique form of gaslighting takes place when a discipline is placed at risk because of its supposed misalignment with an institution's "new foci" or with a government's opinion about its supposed "value." One cannot help feeling foolish and questioning the sanity of embarking on—let alone teaching in—a program that can so easily be terminated. Tremendous financial and personal burdens, discombobulated family arrangements, and many other sacrifices I need not describe here pile up and can easily push one into despair, making anyone doubt the life choices that have made being in academia possible. To be sure, in the case of the aforementioned dispute, much reassurance came from reading the more than 6,800 names from 81 countries on a petition opposing the proposed cuts, including familiar colleagues, long-admired authors, but mostly unknown people from all walks of life who took a minute of their time to oppose something they recognized as wrong. But professional organizations provided the strongest counterpoint and an irrefutable defense of the larger structures that history and academia are meant to protect. By their very presence, they

reminded everyone involved that at stake were not only livelihoods but also the intellectual, educational, civic, and personal callings that had made these sacrifices worthwhile. May this success encourage further and stronger actions everywhere they are needed.

ILARIA SCAGLIA
Aston University

CORRECTION

In "American Solitude: Notes Toward a History of Isolation" (March 2021), the photo of Robert R. Holt was identified as demonstrating an experimental apparatus of his own design. The apparatus was devised by graduate student Leo Goldberger. The author regrets the error.



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JOINT STATEMENT ON LEGISLATIVE EFFORTS TO RESTRICT EDUCATION ABOUT RACISM AND AMERICAN HISTORY

We, the undersigned associations and organizations, state our firm opposition to a spate of legislative proposals being introduced across the country that target academic lessons, presentations, and discussions of racism and related issues in American history in schools, colleges, and universities. These efforts have taken varied shape in at least 20 states, but often the legislation aims to prohibit or impede the teaching and education of students concerning what are termed “divisive concepts.” These divisive concepts as defined in numerous bills are a litany of vague and indefinite buzzwords and phrases, including, for example, “that any individual should feel or be made to feel discomfort, guilt, anguish, or any other form of psychological or emotional distress on account of that individual’s race or sex.” These legislative efforts are deeply troubling for numerous reasons.

First, these bills risk infringing on the right of faculty to teach and of students to learn. The clear goal of these efforts is to suppress teaching and learning about the role of racism in the history of the United States. Purportedly, any examination of racism in this country’s classrooms might cause some students “discomfort” because it is an uncomfortable and complicated subject. But the ideal of informed citizenship necessitates an educated public. Educators must provide an accurate view of the past in order to better prepare students for community participation and robust civic engagement. Suppressing or watering down discussion of “divisive concepts” in educational institutions deprives students of opportunities to discuss and foster solutions to social division and injustice. Legislation cannot erase “concepts” or history; it can, however, diminish educators’ ability to help students address facts in an honest and open environment capable of nourishing intellectual exploration. Educators owe students a clear-eyed, nuanced, and frank delivery of history, so that they can learn, grow, and confront the issues of the day, not hew to some state-ordered ideology.

Second, these legislative efforts seek to substitute political mandates for the considered judgment of professional educators, hindering students’ ability to learn and engage in critical thinking across differences and disagreements. These regulations constitute an inappropriate attempt to transfer responsibility for the evaluation of a curriculum and subject matter from educators to elected officials. The purpose of education is to serve the common good by promoting open inquiry and advancing human knowledge. Politicians in a democratic society should not manipulate public school curricula to advance partisan or ideological aims. In higher education, under principles of academic freedom that have been widely endorsed, professors are entitled to freedom in the classroom in discussing their subject. Educators, not politicians, should make decisions about teaching and learning.

Knowledge of the past exists to serve the needs of the living. In the current context, this includes an honest reckoning with all aspects of that past. Americans of all ages deserve nothing less than a free and open exchange about history and the forces that shape our world today, an exchange that should take place inside the classroom as well as in the public realm generally. To ban the tools that enable those discussions is to deprive us all of the tools necessary for citizenship in the 21st century. A white-washed view of history cannot change what happened in the past. A free and open society depends on the unrestricted pursuit and dissemination of knowledge. **P**

Signed,

American Association of University Professors
American Historical Association
Association of American Colleges & Universities
PEN America

Approved by the AHA Council on June 16, 2021. For a full list of signatories, please see the online version of the statement.

JACQUELINE JONES

ABSTRACT AND ILL INFORMED

Adding Facts to the Critical Race Theory Debates



Since the spring, critical race theory (CRT) has become the focal point of strident public debates over the teaching of history and civics in K–12 schools and at colleges and universities. Much of the discussion around this theory has remained maddeningly abstract and distressingly ill informed.

CRT provides an intellectual framework for understanding the many ways that governmental entities and private interests have put racial ideologies into practice in the form of laws, taxation policies, public works projects, regulatory guidelines, profit-making schemes, hiring preferences, and more. The cumulative effects of these practices include persistent patterns of poverty and inequality among minority populations—patterns that have proved impervious to civil rights legislation. Despite its critics' claims to the contrary, CRT does not focus on individuals or on individual acts of discrimination; rather, it illuminates and draws attention to the historic biases embedded in economic and political structures.

I have found that when I teach the American history survey, my students breathe a collective sigh of relief when we get to the mid-1960s, when Congress passed civil rights legislation. They see these federal initiatives as the culmination of a generations-long struggle against state-sanctioned discrimination; they assume that these laws finally secured a level playing field in housing, education, employment, and voting and that any residue from generations of bias gradually disappeared within the next few years. These assumptions are wrong.

Teaching informed by CRT can challenge students to rethink these assumptions. It can help them understand and recognize the many forces in society that perpetuate racial bias, even after the passage of major pieces of civil rights legislation. Here are some relevant, concrete historical facts—and an interpretation—that reveal the

usefulness of critical race theory. This approach has informed my own scholarship and teaching.

Approximately four million enslaved men, women, and children won their freedom during and immediately after the Civil War. The end of the legal institution of bondage did not guarantee the formerly enslaved actual freedom, however. Most emerged from the war with little or nothing in the way of material possessions or financial resources. Propertied whites colluded to deny them access to credit, which meant they could not buy land. Many freedpeople in the Cotton South became sharecroppers, an exploitative labor system that at times took the form of peonage. Freed Black people received no compensation for their lifelong backbreaking work or for the work of their forebears over the preceding two and a half centuries.

CRT provides a framework for understanding the ways that governmental entities and private interests have put racial ideologies into practice.

By 1910, the former Confederate states had passed laws to disenfranchise their Black male populations. Local systems of legally mandated segregation developed that served to humiliate Black people in public but did not bar Black servants from entering white households every day to cook, clean, and care for children. White terrorists carried out a campaign of lynchings and assaults of Black men and women across the South. Private employers and southern states devised convict-lease and prison-labor systems that resembled slavery, with Black people arrested, incarcerated, and condemned to heavy labor on the slightest pretext. With the exception of members of a small, vibrant, urban middle class and a small but growing class

of farm owners, most Black southerners began the 20th century impoverished, lacking cash, land, credit, and a political voice.

It was no wonder, then, that Blacks began to move north during World War I, when jobs in that area of the country became available to them. Over the next half century, about seven million would leave the South in search of decent housing, employment opportunities, political rights, and personal dignity. However, the federal government colluded with private interests such as banks and real estate agents to thwart the ambitions and aspirations of people of color. Segregated schools and housing, combined with discrimination in employment and home lending, had long-lasting, devastating consequences for many Black families.

Whether or not the individuals implementing these measures are personally biased is irrelevant.

For example, the federal government officially segregated the public housing it built for defense workers during World War I. Federal housing programs, tax policies, and infrastructure projects (including the national highway system built in the 1950s and 1960s) favored suburban white homeowners over urban Black renters and even homeowners. A 1934 New Deal program, the Federal Housing Administration, required that new housing be segregated if building contractors were to qualify for government loans. So-called neighborhood-improvement associations encouraged—indeed, often coerced—homeowners to use property deeds that included restrictive covenants prohibiting homeowners from selling their houses to Black people (in some cases, to other groups as well, especially Jews and Italians). The interstate highway system allowed suburbanites to commute to jobs in the city but often eviscerated minority communities.

Confined by various forms of discrimination to impoverished neighborhoods, most northern Black families suffered from the effects of underfunded public education and a discriminatory social division of waged labor. Except for a period of labor shortages during World War I, Black men and women generally did not gain entry into industrial or factory jobs until World War II.

The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, combined with judicial decisions

eliminating discriminatory laws and policies such as restrictive covenants and the all-white southern primary, undermined the role of government as an official, active agent of discrimination. These measures were historic and far-reaching. Nevertheless, a spate of “race-neutral” laws and policies continued to have a disparate impact on Black families and neighborhoods. The so-called war on drugs launched in the 1970s and harsh “three-strike” laws helped to build the modern carceral state, which has decimated Black communities already reeling from long-standing and widespread patterns of police brutality. These issues are compounded by increasingly restrictive voter registration and balloting laws that suppress minority political influence. In enacting these measures, some lawmakers have sought to ensure what they call the “purity of the ballot box,” an echo of Jim Crow disenfranchisement policies.

Governmental entities enact laws and enforce supposedly race-neutral policies that can have a negative impact on minorities. Private businesses benefit from the vulnerability of minority populations. Whether or not the individuals implementing these measures are personally biased is irrelevant. For example, like many other small towns throughout the country, Ferguson, Missouri, relied for its annual budget on the fines, fees, and court costs extracted from its citizens charged with minor traffic infractions. Police officers enforced these laws whether they agreed with them or not. When bank officials targeted low-income people in minority neighborhoods for predatory loans (the perverse counterpoint to redlining), they did so because that was their employer’s policy, regardless of their individual feelings about the matter. Moreover, the goal was to maximize profits, rather than to achieve an outcome relating to race. Towns that depend on traffic arrests for municipal funding and banks that take advantage of would-be homeowners deny their policies are racist, but the effects of these policies can be devastating to minority communities because their impoverished condition makes them so vulnerable.

These examples remind us why CRT focuses on institutions and structures, and not individuals and personal attitudes, in accounting for the enduring effects of racist laws and policies. CRT does not explain all of American history; rather, it provides insights into why achieving the ideals enshrined in the Founders’ declaration that “all men are created equal” has been so elusive over the centuries. **P**

Jacqueline Jones is president of the AHA.

JAMES GROSSMAN

AN EPIDEMIC OF HOSTILITY

Vaccination, Public Health, and Antielitism in a Pandemic



I'm a historian. Not a virologist. Not an epidemiologist. We don't have any such experts, or any public health professionals, on our staff at the AHA. We therefore defer to medical experts on decisions relating to COVID-19 conditions. *Perspectives on History* editor Ashley E. Bowen's column this month discusses our plans for returning to our office in September; these plans rely on guidance from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the Washington, DC, health authorities. This issue also contains information about our annual meeting, to be held January 6–9, 2022, in New Orleans. Right now, we are planning to meet in person, but if or how we do so could evolve according to the CDC and local health authorities.

I have no problems deferring in this way. I respect the expertise of our colleagues in the health sciences. Especially in a public health emergency, the public good trumps the rights of individuals to do what they think is best for themselves *as individuals*. Everything has a history, including vaccine hesitancy, as my colleagues in the history of medicine remind me.

Today, for many in the United States, deference to experts represents a form of elitism, a trust in the judgment of institutions and individuals by dint of professional credentials and reputation. I am impatient with those who so readily refuse that deference, whether in the AHA's Washington, DC, home; the city of New Orleans; or the state of Louisiana. As I write this in early August, 54.1 percent of Washington, DC, residents have taken the advice of medical professionals and been fully vaccinated against COVID-19. In Orleans Parish, the figure is 59.7 percent; in the state of Louisiana, a dismal 36.9 percent. Not surprisingly, we have had inquiries from members regarding the dangers of traveling to a state where many residents act as though they know more about a deadly virus than medical professionals. One Shreveport resident made it very clear to state health authorities at a city council meeting: "We should refuse to be tracked,

discriminated against, bribed, controlled, threatened, shamed, or coerced into compliance." She basked in the applause from her neighbors.

To a considerable extent, this is the result of the effective politicization of deeply rooted hostilities toward expertise and the education that produces it. Demonizing elites has a long and sordid tradition in politics; so do medical conspiracy theories. Here, COVID-19 and the attendant masking protocols, vaccines, and legitimately controversial school closures have been joined to partisan rhetoric about teachers indoctrinating white students to hate not only America but themselves and their families, along with a host of other conspiracy theories ranging from a supposedly stolen election to the absurdities of QAnon. In all these cases, experts from various ideological perspectives have pointed to professional consensus, whether among public health experts and virologists, historians of racism, or election referees.

Demonizing elites has a long and sordid tradition in politics; so do medical conspiracy theories.

We are looking at an epidemic of hostility toward expertise itself, drawing on a cynical language of antielitism to undermine public trust in the value and values of education, knowledge, and expertise as they apply to public culture and policy.

Legislators in more than half the states act as though they know more than historians who have devoted decades to research and teaching relating to the impact of racism on American institutions and culture. The AHA has had its share of "elitism" accusations for joining three other leading education organizations in opposing "legislative efforts [that] seek to substitute political mandates for the

considered judgment of professional educators.” Yes, we do believe that “educators, not politicians, should make decisions about teaching and learning.” We expect the same respect that we offer to our colleagues in virology and epidemiology.

The AHA cannot force our neighbors at home or our hosts in Louisiana to follow the advice of medical experts and get vaccinated. But we will continue to track public health conditions in New Orleans and update our members as conditions evolve. Currently,

conditions in New Orleans and CDC guidance are encouraging; in the state of Louisiana, not so much. We therefore have sent the following letter to Governor John Bel Edwards, legislative leaders, public health officials, city government, and business organizations. The AHA is relying on the data and advice of public health experts, and we are asking Louisiana’s leadership to do the same. [P](#)

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

July 26, 2021

Dear Governor Edwards and Louisiana Leaders:

The American Historical Association, the largest professional association in the world for all historians, will hold its annual meeting in New Orleans in January 2022. Nearly 4,000 historians from the United States and abroad will attend, bringing millions of dollars in revenue and booking over 8,000 room nights in New Orleans hotels. Our conference will bring educational as well as business benefits to the state. In addition to sessions, tours, and talks focused on the history of New Orleans and the region, we will offer free conference registration to public school teachers from Orleans Parish to enable them to take advantage of professional development opportunities at the conference. We are excited to return to in-person meetings after cancelling our 2021 meeting due to the pandemic and to invite our members to join us in a city rich in history and culture.

We want to make our meeting as safe as possible for all to attend. We have been impressed by the clear policies, benchmarks, and data analytics established by New Orleans public health officials to ensure a safe return to business, including for large gatherings like our annual meeting. The Association has been encouraged by the city’s progress in ensuring that its citizens are vaccinated, which enabled the New Orleans Health Department to ease restrictions on indoor gatherings. We are optimistic that the city will open conferences at full capacity in time for our meeting.

However, we note with alarm that vaccination rates in the state of Louisiana remain well below the national average and that the state is one of seven listed at high risk for an outbreak on the Centers for Disease Control COVID

Tracker website. One popular consumer publication has listed Louisiana dead last in its rankings of “Safest States during COVID-19.” Poor vaccine distribution and infection control at the state level affects risk at the city level; as of this writing, the COVID-19 New Orleans Dashboard reports that Orleans Parish is at risk of an outbreak.

Our members read this readily available information. They email us; they are worried about whether it is safe to attend, safe to travel to Louisiana.

We know that city and state officials are eager to see business travel resume and travel industry jobs and revenue rebound, and we trust that you will mount a vigorous public health effort to increase vaccination rates and prevent a renewed surge of COVID cases, which would necessitate the reimposition of restrictions on conferences and business travel.

We appreciate the state’s efforts to plan for a safe return to business and expect that you will continue to work to encourage vaccination so that it will be safe for us to meet in New Orleans.

Sincerely,

James R. Grossman
Executive Director

LAURA ANSLEY

"THE CULTURE WARS—THEY'RE BACK!"

Divisive Concepts, Critical Race Theory, and More in 2021

In recent years, history has been front and center in the public consciousness. During the Trump administration, debates over how we interpret US history made headlines, from his proposed "Garden of Heroes," to the backlash against the *New York Times Magazine's* 1619 Project in the form of the now mothballed 1776 Commission, and frequent battles, some violent, over Confederate monuments.

Yet historians can still be disheartened to see our discipline is at the center of 2021's newest culture war. As of July, *Education Week* reports that, in the first half of 2021, over half of US states have debated or passed legislation that limits how teachers can discuss racism and sexism in public school classrooms. From local school board meetings to state legislatures to the US Capitol, Americans are fired up about what should, and shouldn't, be taught to children about the past.

These bills have focused on what have become known as "divisive concepts," including critical race theory (CRT) and the 1619 Project. In Alabama, a bill has been prefiled for the next legislative session to ban "teaching certain concepts regarding race or sex, such as critical race theory." In Florida, the state board of education has prohibited the teaching of critical race theory and the 1619 Project. In Maine, a bill was introduced in February to prohibit public school

teachers from "engaging in political, ideological or religious advocacy in the classroom." A bill in Michigan adds "anti-American and racist theories" to CRT and 1619. As the AHA's James Grossman and Jeremy C. Young wrote for the *Hill*, much of the legislation is based on language posted online by the group Citizens for Renewing America, alongside a tool kit for "Combating Critical Race Theory in Your Community."

The speed and success of these efforts have been remarkable, and even those with legislative expertise are having trouble keeping up with developments. The National Coalition for History (NCH) is a consortium of over 50 organizations,

including the AHA, that advocates on legislative and regulatory issues relating to the history discipline. Executive director Lee White describes this summer's constant state legislative developments as like "drinking from a fire hose." It seems every day saw a new op-ed in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, or other national media outlets.

In Texas, this conflict feels familiar. In the last five years, partisan fights have flared over the contents of history textbooks and the state's social studies standards, as *Perspectives* reported in 2016 and 2019. These earlier disputes prepared Texas history advocates well for the 2021 debates. Trinidad Gonzales (South Texas Coll.) spoke with *Perspectives* about the



Efforts to restrict the teaching of so-called "divisive concepts" are a response to debates that flared last summer about the role of race and identity in history.
Corey Young/Unsplash

situation there. As he says, “The culture wars—they’re back!”

The rapid and expansive nature of the debate in Texas is representative of what’s happening nationwide. Gonzales argues that the newest legislation, Texas House Bill 3979 (HB 3979), is both reflective of national trends and a response to these localized battles. The bill, filed in March and signed by Governor Greg Abbott in June, prohibits teachers, among other things, from “[requiring] or mak[ing] part of a course the concept that (i) one race or sex is inherently superior to another race or sex” or that “(ii) an individual, by virtue of the individual’s race or sex, is inherently racist, sexist, or oppressive, whether consciously or unconsciously.” In an obvious reference to the 1619 Project, instructors cannot teach that “the advent of slavery in the territory that is now the United States constituted the true founding of the United States.”

As Gonzales told *Perspectives*, “This is a clear response to successes related to ethnic studies in the state of Texas.” Successful lobbying by advocates for Mexican American studies courses in Texas high schools has led to further ethnic studies electives. “Now they are developing African American, Native American, Asian American studies at the high school level. The legislature is hoping to upend what the state board of education has done and reverse those gains,” he says. But even with such experiences in Texas, Gonzales says HB 3979 came as a surprise. “We were blindsided by this, honestly . . . and it seemed to move pretty fast across other states.”

The AHA has issued two advocacy documents specifically regarding HB 3979. In May, president Jacqueline Jones and executive director James Grossman co-authored a letter sent to members of the Texas senate and Lieutenant Governor Dan Patrick, objecting to the bill as “gross government overreach into the

curricular matters of K–12 public schools.” The law, if enacted, would prohibit teachers from fulfilling curricular requirements of Advanced Placement and dual-enrollment US history courses offered at the high school level. In July, after Abbott signed the bill into law, the AHA issued a statement expressing alarm over how this bill would affect state history institutions that engage with the public. “By hindering the professional development of public historians and restricting funding,” the statement says, “this law would prevent state-owned agencies and facilities from presenting accurate views of Texas history, and would hobble fundraising efforts crucial to the vibrant state-sponsored public-history sector.” As of August 9, 28 organizations have signed on to the statement.

The rapid and expansive nature of the debate in Texas is representative of what's happening nationwide.

Individual historians, too, can play an important role in these advocacy issues. Gonzales, who has been involved with Texas state-level education advocacy for nearly a decade, argues that historians bring three important levels of expertise to these arenas: content knowledge, experience in the teaching of history, and their own scholarship on these topics. The content knowledge is an obvious plus, as historians can talk about the topics under debate and point out factual errors. As the professionals standing in front of a history classroom, teachers at both the K–12 and higher education levels are essential to the process. They can describe the nuts and bolts of what goes on in the classroom when both teachers and students engage with sensitive topics. As practitioners and

researchers, historians help state legislators by producing fact sheets and other information that can be used to educate the public and other legislators. For example, Democratic legislators had questions about slavery in Texas leading up to the War of Texas Secession. Gonzales and other historians were able to provide some background, preparing the legislators with important knowledge for their tool kit during debates on the floor.

With K–12 education the primary focus of much of this legislation, *Perspectives* also spoke with the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) about how these debates are affecting history teachers and their academic freedom. NCSS is focusing its efforts on reminding Americans that teaching complex topics is what an educator does. As NCSS executive director Lawrence Paska said, topics like the history of US slavery are not new to classrooms. As historians and history teachers, “we’re not indoctrinating kids into hating their country by talking about slavery. It’s an institution that was here, part of our fabric as a nation.” And in fact, teachers find that students embrace discussing such difficult topics. “Kids love that. They want to hear they’re in a place where they can make a difference, that there are problems they can help solve,” Paska says.

NCSS president Anton Schulzki, who teaches high school history in Colorado, thinks that one of the major problems is that legislators are focusing on the history they learned in their youth as the correct way to learn history. With 37 years in the classroom, Schulzki has seen the ways that social studies curricula have broadened to include new stories and new perspectives on US history. In fact, he says that the students themselves *want* these expanded histories. “More and more students want to hear stories about themselves and the people who look like them.” Using both primary and secondary sources, teachers are bringing these

The AHA offers grants to help graduate students and early-career historians attend the annual meeting.



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The deadline for all grant applications is November 1.
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stories to the classroom, giving them to students, and asking them to draw their own conclusions from both historical and 21st-century perspectives. While this approach may be different from what legislators were taught decades ago in their own K–12 education, it's neither indoctrination nor malpractice. It's how the discipline of history has evolved.

Teachers find that students embrace discussing such difficult topics.

NCSS has primarily been focusing on the ways it can support educators adapting to changing requirements. With many of these debates playing out over summer vacations, teachers are

unsure about how new policies will affect what they can teach this fall. NCSS is working on resources for teachers. From webinars to resource sharing, as Paska says, "We're fighting for just good social studies in every K–12 grade every day, and ensuring there's a space for educators to collaborate and grow together, and for kids to get strong opportunities for powerful civic learning."

Like NCSS, NCH is working on how to provide information to those who need it. White sees the coalition's role as a "clearinghouse of information" and is working to compile information about the status of these bills in various states, the op-eds from the media, statements put out by historical and other relevant organizations, and more. Such work is a critical step in supporting advocates for

fact-based history education at the local and state levels.

NCH and NCSS are just two of the 147 organizations that have signed on to a joint statement, written by the American Association of University Professors, the American Historical Association, the Association of American Colleges & Universities, and PEN America in June, that registered "firm opposition" to these bills. As the statement explains, "Knowledge of the past exists to serve the needs of the living. In the current context, this includes an honest reckoning with all aspects of that past." We can only hope that American students continue to encounter such honest reckonings in their classrooms this fall. **P**

Laura Ansley is managing editor at the AHA. She tweets @lmansley.

ADVOCACY BRIEFS

AHA Responds to Voting Restrictions and Proposed Limits on Curricula

In recent months, the AHA has authored or co-authored seven letters and statements detailing opposition to so-called “divisive concepts” legislation, advocating for tenured faculty, and promoting openness and diversity in history curricula and public discourse. The AHA also signed on to several letters and statements opposing government overreach into classrooms and in support of increased federal funding for international education and foreign language studies.

AHA Issues Letter Regarding Proposed Termination of Tenured Faculty Members at Salem State University

On April 7, the AHA wrote a letter to the president and provost of Salem State University, strongly discouraging them from proceeding with the reportedly proposed termination of four tenured members in the history department. “This drastic reduction in faculty would severely diminish the department’s ability to maintain the impressive pedagogical and research standards that the department sets for itself . . . along with its striking level of engagement with local communities,” the AHA wrote.

AHA Signs On to Amicus Curiae Brief on Records Release

On April 19, the AHA signed on to an amicus curiae brief in *Lepore v. United States* regarding the release of the records

of two 1971 Boston, Massachusetts, grand juries that investigated the Pentagon Papers leak. Although grand jury records are usually kept under seal in perpetuity, the AHA supports the court’s original position that these records can be released as a matter of exceptional historical significance, a precedent the government is working to overturn. Relevant to this case is the AHA’s comment on Rule 6(e).

AHA Signs Joint Letter Registering Alarm about Georgia Voting Restrictions

On April 27, the AHA and nine other scholarly societies sent a letter to convention bureaus in Georgia to “register our alarm and disappointment about the passage of SB 202” and its voting restrictions. “The grave concerns we share about this legislation,” the letter reads, “force us to reconsider whether we can in good conscience bring our meetings to your state. . . . As it stands, it will be difficult for us and our members to consider coming to Georgia in the future should the law remain in place.”

AHA Endorses Letter for Congressional Title VI Enhancements

In April 30, the AHA signed on to a letter from the Coalition for International Education to Senate majority leader Chuck Schumer and minority leader Mitch McConnell. The letter expressed

support for the bipartisan reauthorization of the Higher Education Act and the inclusion of enhancements to Title VI in the bill.

AHA Signs On to MESA Statement on Florida Bill

On May 11, the AHA signed on to a Middle East Studies Association statement opposing a Florida bill (HB 233), approved by both houses and awaiting the governor’s signature, that would allow “students to record in classrooms without the consent of their professors” and mandates “the State Board of Education and the Board of Governors to conduct an assessment of the ‘intellectual freedom and viewpoint diversity’ at every institution in the Florida College System.” The statement notes that the proposed law “constitutes a legislative intrusion that will have a chilling effect on the free exchange of opinions it claims to enhance” and would limit “students’ abilities to express their views freely in an open environment.”

AHA Endorses Letters for Increased Funding of International Education and Foreign Language Studies

On May 14 and July 1, the AHA signed on to two letters from the Coalition for International Education to Representatives Rosa DeLauro and Tom Cole and Senators Patty Murray and Roy Blunt, respectively. The letters supported

increased funding for the US Department of Education's international and foreign language education programs and strongly endorsed a bipartisan letter from 116 House members recommending increased funding for International Education and Foreign Language Studies, including for HEA-Title VI and Fulbright-Hays programs at their FY 2010 levels as adjusted by inflation.

AHA Issues Letter Objecting to Texas Bill

On May 20, the AHA wrote a letter to Texas Lt. Gov. Dan Patrick and the members of the Texas Senate registering strong objection to Texas House Bill 3979, urging them to “reject this misguided, harmful, and unnecessary piece of legislation.” “The actual purpose” of the bill, the AHA writes, “is about whitewashing American history, keeping to the margins (or excluding altogether) such central issues as slavery; forced removals of Native Americans; inequalities based on race, gender, or other characteristics; and other aspects of our past likely to inspire the vigorous discussion that characterizes a good history class. . . . To deny Texas students the opportunity to discuss these issues openly and freely is to deny them their rightful place as citizens of the United States, and of the world.”

National Coalition for History Issues Statement Opposing “Divisive Concepts” Legislation

On May 24, the National Coalition for History (NCH) released a statement opposing the passage of so-called “divisive concepts” legislation under consideration in numerous state legislatures. NCH “deplores the intent of these bills to foment confusion and have a chilling effect on teachers,” the statement said. “We denounce such bills as thinly veiled attempts to place limits on a curriculum which fosters a comprehensive and

critical look at our history from a variety of perspectives.” The NCH provides leadership in history-related advocacy. The AHA is a member of the coalition, and AHA representatives serve on its executive committee.

AHA Releases Statement on LGBTQ+ History Curriculum

In response to recent legislative efforts and existing anti-LGBTQ+ laws in several states, the AHA released a statement on May 26 opposing “efforts to restrict the teaching of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer history in elementary, middle, and high schools.” “The failure to teach LGBTQ+ history,” the statement argues, “distorts the historical record, harms LGBTQ+ students specifically, and prevents all students from receiving a complete education.” The AHA supports “expanding access to LGBTQ+-inclusive history curricula and greater protections for history teachers who include LGBTQ+ history in their classrooms.”

AHA Releases Joint Statement on Legislative Efforts to Restrict Education about Racism in American History

On June 16, the American Association of University Professors, the AHA, the Association of American Colleges & Universities, and PEN America authored a joint statement stating their “firm opposition” to legislation, introduced in at least 20 states, that would restrict the discussion of “divisive concepts” in public education institutions. As of August 16, 147 organizations have signed on to the statement. See page 7 for the full statement.

AHA Issues Statement on Threats to Historical Integrity in Texas

In a July 8 statement on the recently enacted Texas House Bill 3979, the AHA

“view[ed] with alarm several provisions” in the so-called “divisive concepts” legislation, including those affecting state institutions that present history to the public. “By hindering the professional development of public historians and restricting funding,” the statement says, “this law would prevent state-owned agencies and facilities from presenting accurate views of Texas history, and would hobble fundraising efforts crucial to the vibrant state-sponsored public-history sector.” The legislation “clearly violates” the AHA’s *Standards for Museum Exhibits Dealing with Historical Subjects* and “will adversely affect not only K–12 students, but all Texans and visitors who want to learn more about the state’s complicated past.” As of August 16, 28 organizations have signed on to this statement. **P**

Rebecca L. West is the operations and communications assistant at the AHA.

REPAIR AND RECONNECTION

The New “Back to School”

Teachers mark time in class periods, bell schedules, semesters, and even holiday breaks. August and September are months on the calendar, but for teachers, they are shorthand for “back to school.” However, after the pandemic upended so many of our classroom routines, what will “back to school” mean this fall?

We in the Teaching Division represent a state university, a liberal arts college, a community college, and a high school, and we each had our own unique pandemic teaching experience. But this column is neither a chronicle of what we endured nor an advice or best-practices piece. Rather, we want to share our reflections on what “going back” might mean this year, and in so doing, we hope to continue some of the candid conversations that teachers have already started about their values and classroom practices. We have been separated for well over a year—by six feet, by masks, and by our fears. We have found connection in Zoom squares, often imperfectly but sometimes remarkably effectively. Who are we after this rupture? What is the work of repair and reconnection in our classrooms with our students? What is this work with our colleagues? What did the pandemic expose about the way we work, the pace of our work, and the ongoing difficulties of balancing the professional and personal?

First, we acknowledge that “back to school” means very different things for our membership. Some of us have not been in a classroom since March 2020, while others have been teaching masked and in person, or in hybrid form, moving between human faces in physical spaces and human faces on Zoom. Others have been teaching online with success for years, well before COVID-19 forced the rest of us to “pivot to digital.” We know the pandemic was not as disruptive—at least professionally—for colleagues who are online veterans. The challenges and benefits of their teaching contexts are newly visible to those of us who primarily teach face-to-face. This diversity reminds us that all teaching is hyperlocal. We work in districts, cities, counties, and states that had different infection rates and, in some cases, vastly different political and public-health responses to fighting the pandemic. The national effort to vaccinate Americans has brought us closer to our prepandemic lives, but it is clear that the autumn of 2021 will not be postpandemic. Educators will continue to confront and solve their challenges locally.

Although it has dominated our thoughts for the last 18 months, COVID-19 may not be the main challenge facing teachers this fall. Budget cuts could affect teachers’ access to ongoing professional development at a time when they want and need it most, especially because

they are yearning to process lessons from the past year with trusted colleagues and mentors—in person or online. There may be staffing cuts and departmental “reorganizations,” which will hamper the ability to deliver a quality curriculum. In many states and across all levels in education, teachers are facing new or intensified political scrutiny aimed at restricting their ability to discuss complex histories, including slavery and LGBTQ+ issues. Navigating this political climate amid the many other question marks of the fall return will not be easy for teachers.

**We acknowledge that
“back to school”
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membership.**

The physical return to classrooms might be rusty and awkward for both teachers and students. COVID-19 protocols reminded us that teaching and learning can be deeply embodied experiences. All of us lack practice in sustaining real face-to-face conversations; teachers and students need to get used to fluid classroom routines again. Few of us have had the chance to cooperate as members of physical groups for over a year. Although we could see our students on Zoom, we could not make genuine eye contact. Many of us long

to see a full face again. Masked or on Zoom, we lost the subtleties of the physical learning exchange—the myriad facial expressions and body-language cues of a learner; the hand gestures that could help us explain or enliven a concept; and the need to move, to walk away from a lectern or dive into the scrum of student group work. Some of us are craving the smell of markers and the sensation of writing on a whiteboard. At the same time, the material things of our teaching practice carry new meanings. The cherished textbooks on our bookshelf, the visual aid, or the prop we used may now seem strangely outdated.

How can we keep our memories of the past year alive without being burdened by them? Maybe we start by acknowledging that we do not have to pretend everything is normal this year. The empathy and awareness we

prioritized during the pandemic have yielded new teaching methodologies and technologies that may well follow us back to the face-to-face classroom.

How can we keep our memories of the past year alive without being burdened by them?

Indeed, many educators have said they want to adopt permanently the changes COVID-19 precipitated. The more widespread use of online conversation technologies, for example, has allowed more students to share their thoughts without physical presence. What will “presence” mean for students this fall as high schools and colleges respond to students’ diverse needs and preferences?

Finally, what will “back to school” mean for us—the educators in all corners of K–12 and higher education? Talking about teaching requires us to talk about teachers, including acknowledging the treasured colleagues we lost to the pandemic and continue to mourn. The pandemic exposed the complexities and stresses of our own lives as we tried to be present not only for our students but for our families and friends. Many of us had to do our paid teaching work while serving as unpaid teaching assistants for our children’s remote classrooms. Many of us felt pressure to continue to conduct research and publish, advise graduate students, and serve on myriad committees. New PhDs entered an even more uncertain academic job market. Many of our colleagues were laid off, or released and then rehired, and it is still too early to know what the labor landscape will look like this year. The empathy and awareness we



What will “presence” mean for students this fall as high schools and colleges respond to students’ diverse needs and preferences?

Kojo Kwarteng/Unsplash

developed for our students' struggles need to be extended to ourselves too.

Apart from being a challenge for educators, this year has brought refreshingly forthright conversations about teaching: how best to reach students; how to build community in online, hybrid, and in-person classrooms; how to teach difficult histories at a time of great national loss; and how to value teachers' work. While none of us long to spend more time on Zoom, we have cherished these frank discussions and want to keep them going. The locality of our teaching conditions means we cannot reach for national one-size-fits-all solutions, but the Teaching Division would love to serve as teachers' thought partner. We invite your responses in the form of new ideas for panels and roundtables for the 2023 AHA annual meeting in Philadelphia. We will find our way back to one another, starting in New Orleans at the annual meeting in January. We welcome your comments, suggestions, and feedback.

Coda: This article was written during the early summer months of 2021, when vaccinations and associated optimism were both increasing. Communities anticipated or already were returning to some semblance of normal. As we put the finishing touches on our syllabi, thoughtfully integrating new skills learned in the last 18 months and gleefully resurrecting tried and true methods of our face-to-face teaching of the Before Times, infection rates, driven by the Delta variant, are once again climbing.

K-12 and higher ed institutions are now wrestling with reinstating masking and other social distancing policies for face-to-face teaching, considering offering virtual courses once again, or mandating vaccination. The whiplash, both intellectual and emotional, is real. The quick pivot to move courses online, the quarantines after classroom exposure, balancing child and elder care, the financial upheaval, the disease itself—it is all

poised to come roaring back. On the one hand, we know how to navigate all of this because we have done it before. On the other hand, the knowledge of just how hard it was brings its own new and exhausting dread. We note all of this to acknowledge that, as of press time, planning to teach this fall means planning for myriad contingencies. We once again encourage our readers to avail themselves of the many teaching resources provided by the AHA. And, finally, as teachers, learners, and lovers of history, we reaffirm our belief that we will soon be together again. **P**

Shannon Bontrager is professor of history at Georgia Highlands College; he tweets @STBontrager. Alexandra Hui is associate professor of history at Mississippi State University. Katharina Matro teaches at Walter Johnson High School in Bethesda, Maryland; she tweets @katharinamatro. Laura McEnaney is vice president for research and academic programs at the Newberry Library.

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JOSEPH D. MARTIN

MOTIVATE, SITUATE, EVIDENCE, ILLUSTRATE

Teaching beyond Primary and Secondary Sources



Students are better served by faculty bringing the complexities of the primary source–secondary source distinction into the light earlier in their education, as well as more often.

Ying Ge/Unsplash

LIKE MOST HISTORIANS who teach first-year courses, I confront the challenge of explaining the difference between primary and secondary sources. It's a slippery beast for a simple distinction so central to historical practice. Is that down to my limitations as a teacher, I've wondered while watching students struggle, or does the distinction's apparent simplicity belie the complexities baked into it? Surely some of the former is to blame, but I'm convinced that the difficulty owes much to the latter. Once students absorb the primary-secondary distinction, it tends to fade into the background of classroom discussions. Perhaps, though, we might better serve students by dragging its nettlesome complexities into the light earlier in their education, as well as more often.

Good historical methods textbooks complicate the distinction thoroughly and usefully. John Tosh's *The Pursuit of History*, for instance, gives the example of Thomas Babington Macaulay's *The History of England* (1848), which could be used as a foundational secondary source or a primary window into Victorian political and intellectual life. When I first started teaching historical methods, I took to heart the lesson that sources could sometimes be both primary and secondary; I now believe that such qualifications don't go far enough.

This is partly because beginning history students can be easily misled by historians' offhand way of talking as though the primary-secondary distinction differentiates types of sources. But it doesn't really. When we classify sources, we are more properly identifying, or trying to identify, the different ways sources relate to arguments. Broadly speaking, secondary sources *motivate* and *situate* arguments, whereas primary sources *evidence* and *illustrate* argument—but, crucially, neither has a monopoly on any of these roles. When students struggle with the distinction, it's often because they're tempted—despite Tosh's caution that some sources can be both—to see “primary” and “secondary” as intrinsic properties of sources, because they're still finding their grip on the mechanics of historical arguments and still learning to think through how sources relate to them.

I've adjusted my teaching by rethinking how I introduce the identification, evaluation, and classification of sources. Students typically have a rough-and-ready sense of how to sort primary from secondary sources. A small-group brainstorming session can fill the blackboard with two impressively comprehensive lists. But it will also highlight areas of overlap—newspaper articles, oral history interviews, textbooks. Sources that we can list in both columns on the board create an opportunity to point out that we can't meaningfully classify *any* source until we know what our question is and how we want to approach it.

Once I've primed students in this way, I suggest that we ask a question more useful than “Is this source primary or secondary?” We can ask how a source relates to a historical argument. To drive home this point, and to offer practice engaging critically with the sources other historians use, I ask students to comb through a short journal article and identify what kind of work each cited source is doing. I suggest they look for sources falling into four general categories:

Motivational Sources

When making historical arguments, we need to explain why it's necessary to make them; we need to answer the “So what?” question. One common strategy is historiographical. Historians review other scholars' stances on similar topics or themes and suggest that the material they have unearthed can benefit those discussions—for instance, through an expansion, a qualification, a confirmation, or a counterexample. But they might also latch on to an issue of contemporary political or cultural interest, or appeal to matters of timeless importance. They might identify an oddity that, on its face, demands an explanation. Think of a current newspaper headline that resonates with past events, or a historical diary entry that reveals a remarkable attitude. Each of these strategies calls for different types of sources but uses them similarly to motivate an argument.

When we classify sources, we are more properly identifying, or trying to identify, the different ways sources relate to arguments.

Situational Sources

If motivational sources answer the “So what?” question, situational sources answer the “What's new?” question. Historians must convince readers that their work meaningfully expands historical understanding. To do so, they often reference larger historiographical discussions or broader historical contexts. They establish the connections between our topics—and our claims about them—and the wider historical and historiographical currents that we expect our readers to be familiar with, suggesting how the study at hand might illuminate them. Historians propose that their insights might apply to other national contexts or eras or that they could be pertinent to other theoretical framings. Situational goals might overlap with motivational goals, but distinguishing the two helps students tease apart the immediate interpretive stakes of an argument from its looser connections to related but distinct discussions.

Evidential Sources

Some sources support historical arguments directly. They provide evidence that historians' claims about the past are accurate—the government document that records policy decisions, the letter that reveals the character of a personal relationship, the artifact whose features indicate how it was used. This seems obvious, but making it explicit sets up productive questions about the nature of historical evidence. Does the source provide the kind of support the author claims it does? Is it strong evidence? Is it the *only* evidence, or does it represent a set of examples that might be invoked in its place? These are all questions we would like students to consider eventually, but introducing them in the context of the range of roles sources play helps students learn to ask those questions of the right sources.

This approach focuses student attention on the source–argument relationship in a way that better scaffolds the basic skills of historical practice.

Illustrative Sources

Historians reserve some sources for when they are confident that they have otherwise established an argument. These sources have rhetorical value but might be too flimsy to bear evidential weight on their own. Against the background of a well-argued case, however, they can snap that case into focus. Such sources often appear in epigraphs or brief opening or concluding vignettes—perhaps a pithy quote from an oral history interview or a short, self-contained story cobbled together from archival materials. These might contribute to describing the wider historical context in which readers should understand the central story. They often do not bolster the argument on their own (although might play a small role), but they do focus readers' attention and make them more receptive to the sources that do the heavy lifting.

When my students complete this assignment, they often find sources straddling boundaries or evading classification. I emphasize that this is not a fixed system of categories but merely one pragmatic way of classifying sources. The discussions sparked by this approach have been invaluable, principally because these categories correspond to tasks that good historical argumentation should accomplish: it should explain why the argument matters, describe its contribution to our understanding, establish its plausibility, and drive

home its message. Students probing whether a source does one or another of those things are learning how to read critically—to diagnose when an author is situating without motivating, or illustrating without evidencing, and to ward off such vices in their own writing. Deemphasizing the staid and not altogether coherent primary–secondary distinction focuses student attention on the source–argument relationship in a way that better scaffolds the basic skills of historical practice.

If my students' questions are any indication, this approach works. When I focused on driving home the primary–secondary distinction, students embarking on independent projects would often ask whether one source or another was an appropriate primary or secondary source, or wonder how many of each type of source they should cite. They understood the distinction but had trouble using it to unsnarl the tangle of sources they encountered in the wild. When we discuss sources in terms of their relationship to arguments, however, students tend to ask questions I can answer more constructively: Is this source good evidence for this claim? What range of sources should I discuss to give a good historiographical motivation? These questions offer a better basis for constructing a successful historical argument.

We shouldn't eliminate the primary–secondary distinction entirely. Despite its limitations, it is deeply entrenched, and it is useful as a rough differentiator. But I would advocate dislodging that crude binary from its privileged place in history pedagogy. Presenting it as just one possible way to classify our sources can encourage students to ask more-productive questions.

The standards of historical argumentation were a black box to me when I was a beginning history student. I'd heap claims atop sources and adjust my expectations based on what seemed to please my professors, developing my instincts through laborious trial, error, and feedback. My students exhibit those same uncertainties when they ask, "How many primary sources do I need?" The strategy presented here can't erase that uncertainty. It can't confer the feel for sources that comes only with experience. But reframing our discussions of sources in terms of their role in building arguments *can* change that question into something like "How can I tell when my sources are good enough?" If this strategy accomplishes that, then it has done useful work toward initiating students into the historian's craft. **P**

Joseph D. Martin is associate professor of history of science and technology at Durham University.

KATHARINA MATRO

TEACHING CONTENT, TEACHING SKILLS

What I Learned in My First Five Years in the High School Classroom



Katharina Matro (center) tried something new in her ninth-grade world history class. She brought historians into her class discussions as scholars, writers, thinkers, doubters, and humans themselves.

Caitlin Taylor, courtesy Stone Ridge School of the Sacred Heart

WHEN I READ through the results of the AHA and Fairleigh Dickinson’s “Surveying the Past” study, one set of answers stood out to me. Across all age groups, respondents indicated that they associated high school history classes with the teaching of “names, dates, and other facts,” while their college classes tended to be “about asking questions.” In other words, adults think high school history is about “content knowledge,” while college history is about critical thinking skills.

I have to believe that future respondents to this survey will answer differently. High school history lessons today, the ones I have seen and taught myself, emphasize critical thinking, reading, and writing skills. After five years of teaching, however, I know that treating content knowledge and historical thinking skills as separate does not serve students best.

When I started teaching ninth-grade world history in a private school five years ago, I knew little to nothing about cuneiform, ziggurats, or Hammurabi’s Code, of oracle bones or the Shang dynasty. That did not concern my department chair, however. Colleagues reassured me that all I had to do was “be a chapter ahead of the students” and that my main task was to teach them “skills.” As one senior colleague put it, “They need to learn how to read and write critically, how to take notes, how to follow instructions, and how to stay organized. You know how to teach all that. The content doesn’t matter so much.”

While I humbly accepted that I had much to learn about teaching in a high school classroom, I felt increasingly uneasy about the de-emphasis of “content expertise.” I did not feel confident standing in front of my students to teach a lesson about Sumerian cities with barely any content knowledge under my belt. I knew I could be an enthusiastic and witty teacher, deftly entertaining students’ questions and critical commentary, prodding them to think more deeply, and pushing their inquiry in new directions—when I knew my material well.

I am sure my students noticed when I was unable to answer their questions confidently. I could also sense that they were frustrated by the amount of time I spent on critical reading and writing “skills,” leaving little time for studying “real history.” In response to a survey I distributed halfway into my second year, one of my most engaged students wrote, “I really wish we could go deeper into the cultures and really learn about the people instead of sometimes just glossing over a time period with the major events. Maybe as the year goes on, we could spend

less time with writing workshops and learning how to analyze sources, etc. and really get into the really rich and interesting parts of history.” In other words, this student wanted more content and fewer skills.

I resolved to fix things. I began reading scholarly histories about the topics I taught. If I was confident about teaching the subjects I had studied in graduate school, I figured I needed to approach the subjects I was teaching now more like my oral examinations; I was going to read lots of books, become familiar with scholars’ questions and arguments, and know their source base. I made *some* progress. When I shared anecdotes from a book on ancient Eridu and described how the author had handled different pieces of evidence to make her argument, students retained more information. Similarly, reading several histories of the Silk Road allowed me to guide students through different historical arguments about globalization in the ancient world—a lesson they enjoyed and valued. Still, I realized that I could not acquire graduate-level expertise in every topic I was expected to cover while also planning lessons and grading.

The skills-versus-content debate rests on a false dichotomy.

But my wide reading in global history reminded me of how exciting I find it to watch historians work: to see their questions take shape, follow them into the archives, and watch them piece evidence together into a consciously crafted narrative. What I needed to do, I realized, was bring into my classroom not only the scholarly content but also the scholars, as writers, thinkers, doubters, and humans themselves. Making their work visible would deliver more comprehensive content to the students, while also providing an opportunity to study and practice the skills most historians agree are important.

When I shared my classroom experience in a conversation with Bob Bain, professor of educational studies and history at the University of Michigan, he stressed that the skills-versus-content debate rests on a false dichotomy. We cannot separate content knowledge from the thinking processes that have produced that knowledge, he said. That kind of separation makes the history we teach seem artificial.

In the spring of 2021, I tried something new. For a unit on the history of immigration to the United States, I had students read Erika Lee’s *America for Americans* and

reverse-engineer it. My favorite moments in graduate school had been my professors talking about their work: sharing sources from their archival trips or being open about arguments they were struggling with. For my own research, I read dissertations and learned just how many decisions separated a finished thesis from a published book. The textbooks my colleagues and I were using obscured all this historical work, and I wanted to share these processes with my students. We spent a long time discussing Lee's preface, including her motivations for writing the book. In order to get to know her and how she works, we looked at her acknowledgments and list of archival sources. Then I sent students to some of the online archives Lee used to support her arguments. I asked them whether they would have written about other sources instead. I also asked if they could imagine different interpretations of the sources Lee used. We examined Lee's narrative choices: What did it mean, I asked them, that she'd chosen to begin her account of the long history of US xenophobia with a quote by Benjamin Franklin? Finally, I solicited students' views on the merits of Lee's argument. When I surveyed them at the end of the unit, they said they were surprised by how the author's questions had managed to make them reevaluate a story they thought they knew well.

Students were not aware that historians had relied on historical thinking to produce their textbooks.

Students' experiences reading Lee differed significantly from their experience reading textbooks (which they read for content only). Through her work, students got to know Lee as a person. They realized that the content they read was produced by someone they could relate to. And they appreciated how much she seemed to care about the present and used history to illuminate an issue that was also important to them. In contrast, they shared that they had rarely thought about the fact that their textbooks were written by "real people" as well. In other words, they were not aware that historians had relied on historical thinking skills to produce their textbooks in the first place.

Their reaction to Lee's interest in the present made me think of another false dichotomy that Bain highlighted in our conversation: most students experience the "content" in history class as completely divorced from the present in which they live, when instead teachers should be open

about the fact that how we tell the stories about the past influences our present and helps us make sense of it. I had managed to bridge that gap between past and present by sharing one scholar's recent work.

And this may be the answer to my five-year struggle trying to balance the teaching of skills and content: high school teachers can and should bring active scholars and their work into their classrooms to the extent they can. While not all teachers have the time to spend an entire unit on a scholarly text as I did, shorter texts by historians that describe their processes are available and might be paired with collections of primary-source excerpts that an author used for their research. The *Journal of American History's* "Teaching the *JAH*," for example, combines primary sources and classroom exercises with recent scholarship.

And scholars can help. Academic historians should not expect simply to share content expertise with teachers; they should make visible how they arrived at that content: How did they think of their research questions? What were their most frustrating research experiences? What parts of their texts did they enjoy writing? What parts were difficult to write? And importantly, why should young people care?

In addition to recognizing the false dichotomy of "content knowledge" and "skills," scholars and teachers should aim to bridge the institutional divides that separate us and become aware of the goal they share: helping students gain a usable knowledge of the past to comprehend their present. **P**

Katharina Matro teaches history at Walter Johnson High School in Bethesda, Maryland, and is a member of the AHA Council for the Teaching Division; she tweets @katharinamatro.

ON TO NEW ORLEANS

The 2022 Annual Meeting at a Glance

The 135th annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held Thursday through Sunday, January 6–9, 2022, in New Orleans. The online program will be posted on the AHA website in mid-September at historians.org/program, and members can look forward to receiving the printed program in mid-November. A meeting app will also be available for smartphones and tablets. Annual meeting sessions and events are scheduled at the New Orleans Marriott and the Sheraton New Orleans. The hotels are right across the street from each other.

Preregistration begins in mid-September at historians.org/myaha. The lower preregistration rates will be in effect through December 15; after that, the higher onsite rates apply. Registration will be available online from September 15 until the end of the meeting, and in person beginning at 11:00 a.m. on January 6 in the Mardi Gras Ballroom of the New Orleans Marriott.

Admission to the Exhibit Hall requires a 2022 meeting registration badge.

Hotel reservations: Attendees will make hotel reservations for both standard rooms and suites through the AHA's housing service, Maritz Global Events. In addition to the Marriott and Sheraton, discounted rooms will be available at the JW Marriott New Orleans and the Hotel Monteleone. See the AHA's website at historians.org/hotels for detailed information. Beginning September 15, reservations can be made online or by calling a toll-free number. AHA rates are available three days before and after the meeting dates, depending on the number of rooms available.

The last day to make or change reservations through the housing service is December 10, 2021. After that date, rooms will be available at the AHA's convention rates on a space-available basis, and all reservations, changes, and cancellations must be made directly with the hotels. Hotel no-show policies will apply for reservations not canceled at least 72 hours before the first night's stay.

Health and safety: The AHA and our meeting hotels are working together to follow Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) guidelines to make attendance at the meeting as safe as possible. We expect that all attendees will be vaccinated at the time of the meeting. Attendees should comply with all mask and social distancing rules and guidelines established by the AHA, which will follow the guidance of the CDC, as well as any additional requirements set by the conference hotels and the local government. We will regularly update members on health and safety guidelines via our website.

Transportation information will be available online at historians.org/hotels and in the annual meeting program.

Group meetings and reunions: Societies and groups that have not already made arrangements to hold receptions or other meetings should send requests for room space as soon as possible to annualmeeting@historians.org.

Resolutions for the **business meeting** must be submitted to the executive director by November 1, to allow time for publication. They must be in proper parliamentary form; must be signed by members of the Association in good standing and by at least 2 percent of the total Association membership as of the end of the previous fiscal year (235 people); must not be more than 300 words in length, including any introductory material; and must deal with a matter of concern to the Association or to the discipline of history. Such resolutions must be in accord with the Association's *Guiding Principles on Taking a Public Stance* at historians.org/public-stance. Resolutions submitted by the deadline, and meeting the criteria for consideration, shall be published in the December issue of *Perspectives on History*. For complete information about business resolutions, please consult the AHA Bylaws at historians.org/constitution.

Refund policy: Advance registrants who are unable to attend the meeting may request a refund of their registration fee. Refund requests must be emailed to ltownsend@historians.org by December 15, 2021, and will incur a \$20 fee. *Refunds will not be processed after that date.*

Hotel and Rate Information

		SINGLE	DOUBLE	TRIPLE	QUADRUPLE
1	New Orleans Marriott (hdqtrs.) 555 Canal St.	\$179	\$199	\$219	\$239
2	Sheraton New Orleans (co-hdqtrs.) 500 Canal St.	\$179	\$199	\$219	\$239
3	JW Marriott New Orleans 614 Canal St.	\$184	\$204	\$224	\$244
4	Hotel Monteleone 214 Royal St.	\$169	\$169	\$199	\$209

Rates are subject to hotel occupancy tax and will be honored three days before and three days after the official meeting dates of January 6–9 based on availability. Information on booking a room at the discounted rate is available at historians.org/hotels.



Dates and Deadlines

SEPTEMBER 15	Preregistration opens.
SEPTEMBER 15	Housing opens.
SEPTEMBER 30	Deadline to submit membership dues and address changes in order to receive the program in the mail.
NOVEMBER 2	Program mailed to members.
DECEMBER 10	Last day to make hotel reservations through the housing service. Subsequent reservations taken on a space-available basis at the convention rate.
DECEMBER 15	Last day for preregistration pricing.
DECEMBER 15	Deadline to submit registration refund requests.
JANUARY 6, 2022	Annual meeting opens at 11:00 a.m. at the New Orleans Marriott and Sheraton New Orleans. Exhibit Hall opens Friday, January 7, 2021, at 9:00 a.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the New Orleans Marriott.

Meeting Registration

Take advantage of reduced rates by preregistering for the conference. Make sure your membership is up to date so you can enjoy member pricing at each level. Register online at historians.org/myaha.

	MEMBER		NONMEMBER	
	PREREGISTRATION	AFTER DEC. 15	PREREGISTRATION	AFTER DEC. 15
Attendee	\$183	\$220	\$298	\$358
Speaker	\$183	\$220	\$183	\$220
Student	\$84	\$101	\$128	\$155
Un-/Underemployed	\$45	\$56	\$140	\$168
Retired	\$87	\$106	\$149	\$180
K-12 Teacher	\$65	\$78	\$125	\$150
Bring your Graduate/ Undergraduate/K-12 student discount	For members only. Add students to your registration for only \$15 each (\$30 onsite). Bring as many high school, undergraduate, and graduate students as you want for only \$15 each!			

Advance registration must be completed by midnight EST on December 15, 2021. Thereafter, onsite rates will apply. Everyone attending the meeting is expected to register. Admission to the Exhibit Hall requires a registration badge. Special note for speakers: All US-based historians presenting on AHA sessions must be AHA members, and all participants must register.

ASL Interpretation at the 2022 Annual Meeting

The AHA offers complimentary sign interpreting service upon request to our attendees.

Please notify the AHA of the sessions you plan to attend and register for the meeting by November 1, 2021. This service is also available upon request for the presidential address and business meeting.

Requests should be submitted to annualmeeting@historians.org by November 1, 2021.

A SNAPSHOT OF THE PUBLIC'S VIEWS ON HISTORY

National Poll Offers Valuable Insights for Historians and Advocates

The teaching of history has become a political football in recent years, resulting in efforts by those on both ends of the political spectrum to regulate what appears in classrooms across the country. Lost in this legislation, grandstanding, and punditry is how the American public understands the past, a measurement that was last taken systematically by historians Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen in their 1998 landmark study, *The Presence of the Past*. For that reason, the AHA and Fairleigh Dickinson University, with funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities, sought to take America's historical pulse anew and assess the impact of the cultural changes over the intervening two decades.

In the fall of 2020, we conducted a national survey of 1,816 people using online probability panels. With approximately 40 questions, sometimes our poll results surprised us, but other times they confirmed what we had suspected. The following represents a sampling of what we learned, with the full data set available on the AHA website.

First, our respondents had consistent views on what history is—and those views often ran counter to those of practicing historians. Whereas the latter group usually sees the field as one offering explanations about the past, two-thirds of our survey takers considered history to be little more than an assemblage of names, dates, and events. Little wonder, then, that disputes in the public sphere tend to focus on the “what” of history—particularly what parts of history are taught or not in schools—as opposed to how materials can be interpreted to offer better explanations of the past and present. And even though 62 percent of respondents agreed that what we know about the past should change over time, the primary driver for those changes was believed to be new facts coming to light. In sum, poll results show that, in the minds of our nation's population, raw facts cast a very long shadow over the field of history and any dynamism therein.

We also learned that the places the public turned to most often for information about the past were not necessarily

the sources it deemed most trustworthy. The top three go-to sources for historical knowledge were all in video format, thus being a microcosm of Americans' general predilection for consuming information from screens (Fig. 1). More traditional sources, such as museums, nonfiction books, and college courses, filled out the middle to lower ranks of this hierarchy. (Note that respondents were asked to report on their experiences reaching back to January 2019, so these results are not simply artifacts of the pandemic.) Perhaps this helps explain why 90 percent of survey takers felt that one can learn history anywhere, not just in school, and why 73 percent reported that it is easier to learn about the past when it is presented as entertainment.

Two-thirds of our survey takers considered history to be little more than an assemblage of names, dates, and events.

But while the most frequently consulted sources of the past were those within easy reach, views were mixed on their reliability to convey accurate information. Whereas fictional films and television were the second-most-popular sources of history, they ranked near the bottom in terms of trustworthiness. Although museums were of only middling popularity, they took the top spot for historical dependability (similar to the results in Rosenzweig and Thelen's original study). College history professors garnered a respectable fourth position as reliable informants, even though the nonfiction works they produce, let alone the courses they teach, were infrequently consulted by respondents. Similar inversions occurred for TV news, newspapers and newsmagazines, non-Wikipedia web search results, and DNA tests. Social media, the perennial *bête noire* of truth aficionados, turned out to be a neither popular nor trusted source of historical information.

Some much-welcome news is that the public sees clear value in the study of history, even relative to other fields. Rather than asking whether respondents thought learning history was important—a costless choice—we asked instead how essential history education is, relative to other fields such as engineering and business. The results were encouraging:

84 percent felt history was just as valuable as the professional programs. Moreover, those results held nearly constant across age groups, genders, education levels, races and ethnicities, political-party affiliations, and regions of the country. Much has been written in *Perspectives on History* about the dismal history-enrollment picture at colleges and universities.

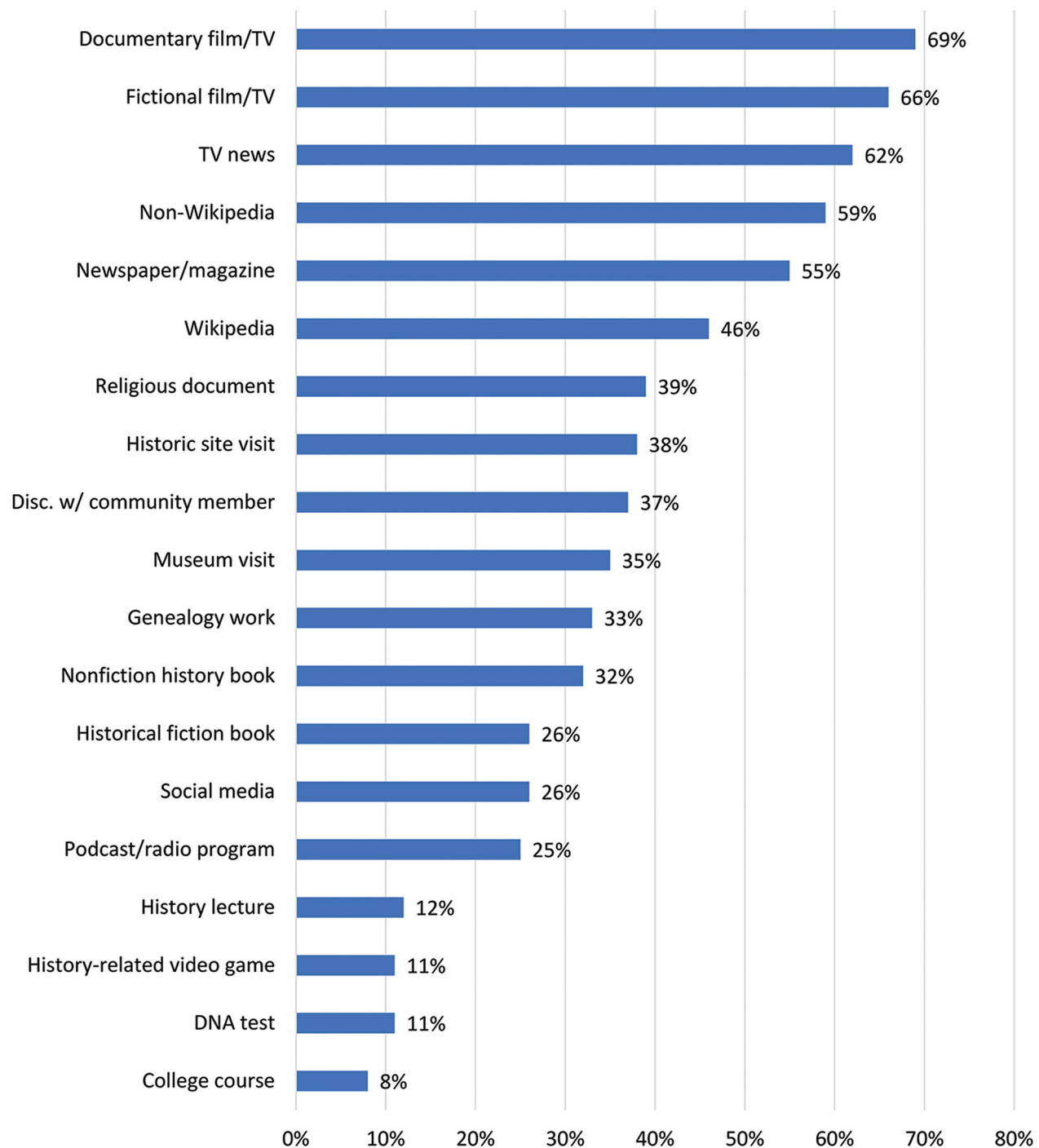


Fig. 1: Percentage of respondents reporting utilization of sources of the past since January 2019. (Ns varied from 1,253 to 143 per response.)

Although we acknowledge that work and even see it manifested in our teaching experiences, our survey results suggest this is not for want of society's value of understanding the past.

Over three-fourths of respondents said it was acceptable to make learners uncomfortable by teaching the harm some people have done to others.

To better understand this apparent appreciation for learning history, despite the decline in college enrollments, we gathered a tremendous amount of data on the public's experiences with learning history at both the high school and college levels. Society's predominantly facts-centric understanding of history is perhaps partially explained by our educational findings. At the high school level, over three-fourths of respondents reported that history courses were more about names, dates, and other facts than about asking questions about the past. Despite that, 68 percent said that their high school experiences made them want to learn more history. Even for college courses, 44 percent of respondents indicated a continued emphasis on factual material over inquiry, but this was a turnoff to fewer than one-fifth of

them. Not all data were so sanguine. One particularly sobering finding was that 8 percent of respondents had no interest in learning about the past.

Whether respondents' classroom experiences emphasized history as facts turns out to be an important leading indicator in people's interest in the past. Some of our more interesting cross-tabulations correlated respondents' conceptions of history with their interest in learning about foreign peoples and places (Fig. 2). Only 17 percent of those who viewed history as facts showed great interest in such matters, while double that number of history-as-explanation respondents did. Those trends held steady, though to somewhat lesser degrees, for curiosity about the histories of people perceived as different and about events from over 500 years ago. If wider interests and greater empathy are desired outcomes of history education, then educators might need to rethink the content-mastery versus inquiry environments they foster.

Yet historical inquiry of any quality cannot proceed without content. We therefore provided a list of topics and asked which ones were perceived as being over- or underserved by historians (Fig. 3). Such traditional subjects as men, politics, and government were most likely to be seen as receiving too much attention, but they were joined in that sentiment by LGBTQ history. Interestingly, LGBTQ history also ranked third in needing more attention, and it

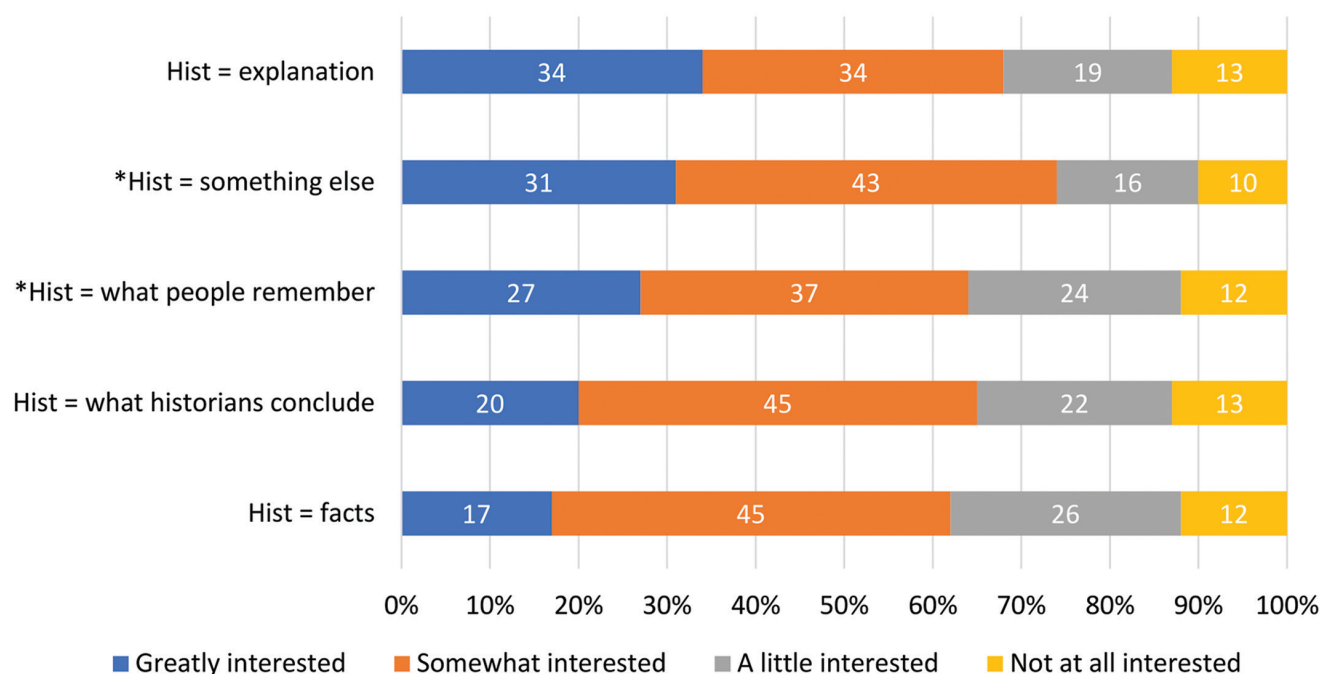


Fig. 2: Interest in learning more about the histories of foreign peoples and places as a function of perceptions of what history is. (*Fewer than 100 responses.)

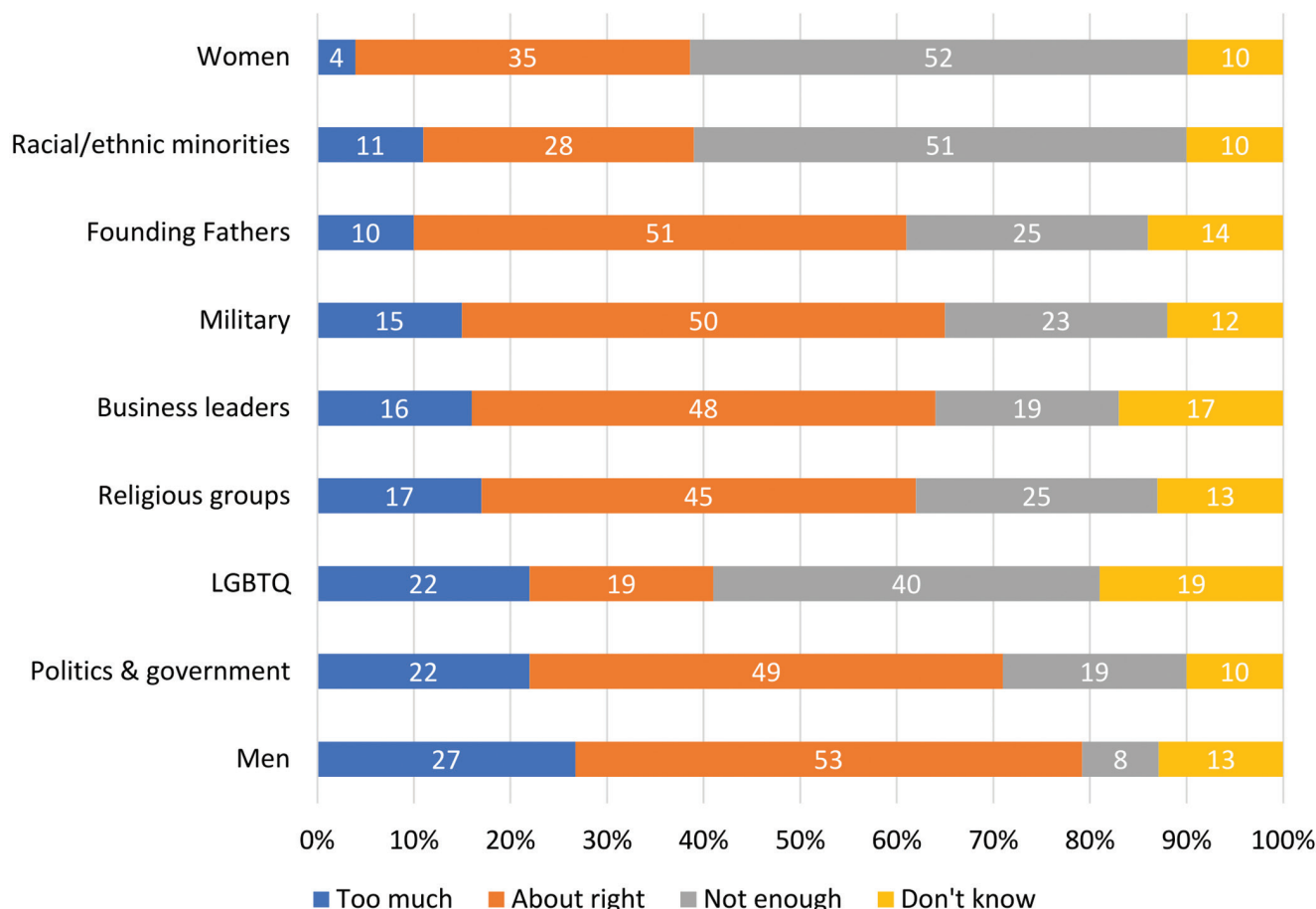


Fig. 3: Perceived attention paid to various subjects by historians. (Ns ranged from 1,800 to 1,806 per response.)

had the fewest respondents indicating historians' interest devoted to it was about right. This topic's perception as both over- and underserved suggests that LGBTQ history remains a polarizing area of inquiry in the public's collective mind. Respondents also said the histories of women and racial or ethnic minorities were most in need of greater consideration. Furthermore, over three-fourths of respondents, regardless of age group, education level, gender, geographic location, or political affiliation, said it was acceptable to make learners uncomfortable by teaching the harm some people have done to others. The clear call for *more* investigation of racial and ethnic subgroups, as well as the acceptance of teaching uncomfortable histories, undercuts putative justifications for recent legislative efforts to limit instruction on these topics.

We understand that public perceptions might not be supported by other objective measures, but we argue that those in the historical discipline benefit from the knowledge of such public attitudes. Moreover, findings from our survey

hint that approaching polarizing topics as a form of inquiry as opposed to a body of facts is more likely to resonate with learners.

Surveys like ours have their limitations. They are snapshots in time, they cannot easily answer logical follow-up questions, and they might sometimes elicit responses that are more aspirational than reflective of reality. This is why we hope AHA members will both explore and build on our data, contextualizing results for topics of special interest, convening focus groups to put flesh on our findings, and starting conversations about better education and engagement with the public. Let the joy of inquiry begin. [P](#)

Pete Burkholder is professor of history at Fairleigh Dickinson University. Dana Schaffer is deputy director of the AHA.

NURTURING THE REMARKABLE ENERGY OF HISTORY

An Interview with Mark Philip Bradley, AHR Editor

Mark Philip Bradley (Univ. of Chicago) takes the helm of the *American Historical Review* during a transformative time for the journal. In addition to its recent shift to a quarterly publishing schedule, the journal will feature a new cover and design aesthetic starting in 2022—its first design update in 50 years. When his appointment was announced in July 2020, the then AHA president Mary Lindemann expressed her confidence that Bradley “will meet the challenge of guiding the *AHR* in its mission to rethink the value of history today and for the future, while continuing to advance the journal’s goal of welcoming all historical fields and perspectives.”

Bradley is the Bernadotte E. Schmitt Distinguished Service Professor of International History at the University of Chicago, where he also serves as deputy dean of the Social Sciences Division and the faculty director of the Pozen Family Center for Human Rights. A historian of 20th-century US international history, postcolonial Southeast Asia, and human rights, he earned his PhD in history from Harvard University in 1995. In addition to numerous journal articles, he is the author of *The World Reimagined: Americans and Human Rights in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2016), *Vietnam at War* (Oxford Univ. Press, 2009), and the prizewinning *Imagining Vietnam and America: The Making of Postcolonial Vietnam, 1919–1950* (Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2000). He is currently working on a history of the Global South supported by a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship. The four-volume *Cambridge History of America and the World*, for which he serves as general editor, will be published this fall. He will remain in Chicago during his editorship, while journal operations will continue at Indiana University Bloomington.

Bradley’s five-year term as editor began on August 1, 2021. Over the summer, *Perspectives* connected with Bradley to discuss his earliest interest in history, plans for the *AHR*, and his love of fiction.



Mark Philip Bradley began a five-year term as editor of the *AHR* in August 2021.

Ilsa Bradley

How did you first become interested in history?

It goes back pretty far and largely has to do with my parents. Both were teachers—my dad was interested in the politics of newly decolonizing states, and my mom taught writing and literature, with a side interest in contemporary art. Their teaching careers took us around the world, and until I was about 10 years old, I spent as much time in Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, Phnom Penh, Saigon, Jakarta, Rangoon, Sydney, and London as I did in the United States. Even though I was young, those experiences really stuck with me. There was a lot of history being made in Southeast Asia in those years! When I went to college, majoring in history felt inevitable. And I never looked back.

What excites you the most about assuming the editorship of the *AHR*?

This is a remarkable moment for history in the public life of the United States and around the world. I can't think of a time in the recent past when history and historians have been so present in the most pressing debates of the moment, whether it be the legacies of imperialism and slavery, what it means to be a democracy, the nature of inequality and the place of structural racism in it, LGBTQ+ rights, or the future of the biosphere. At the same time, the history discipline has opened up to exciting and innovative methods, approaches, and topics that are bringing new vigor and relevance to our work. And perhaps most importantly, the number of those who see the importance of doing the work of history in and out of the academy continues to expand. One of our challenges at the *AHR*, and a great one to have, will be harnessing these diverse perspectives in ways that nurture and further develop the remarkable energy of history as a discipline in the 21st century.

The *AHR* is getting its first design update in 50 years. What prompted that, and what can readers expect from the redesign?

The journal took its current form way back in February 1971. Fifty years on feels like a good moment to undertake a transformation of how it looks and reads. Historians of material and visual culture will appreciate how important design can be and the ways in which form and content are necessarily intertwined. Our goals with this project are ambitious. The aim is to position the *AHR* as the most visually arresting scholarly journal in the world. We want to do so in a way that signals our commitment to open up the pages of the journal to a diverse and inclusive set of scholars and readers and to reflect the plurality of spatial, chronological, conceptual, and methodological approaches that shape contemporary historical practice. We have a wonderful partner in this process, Pure+Applied. Led by Paul Carlos, P+A is a New York-based design studio that has worked with a variety of publishers, libraries, scholarly organizations, and museums, including the *New York Times*, the Museum of Modern Art, the Center for Jewish History, and the Library of Congress. Readers should look for an entirely redesigned print and digital journal starting with the March 2022 issue.

I know you're also rethinking what the "middle of the journal," the pages between the typical articles and reviews, can do. What do you have planned for that section?

I envision the middle of the journal as a laboratory space to rethink historical content, form, and method. Over the next five years, this section will be driven by a single question: How can the *AHR* help reimagine the practice of history in the 21st century? That new space will be called the *AHR* History Lab. We will invite teams of scholars and practitioners to develop projects centered on pressing historical issues that thread over multiple issues of the journal and make substantial interventions into research and teaching, while at the same time speak to expansive audiences. These spaces of experimentation are intended to open up the pages of the journal, and the discipline, to the diverse work of practicing historians today.

I can't think of a time in the recent past when history and historians have been so present in the most pressing debates of the moment.

I imagine this space not so much as a conversation about what we might do as historians but rather as a showcase of the work historians and historical practitioners do when they operate beyond the conventional boundaries of the discipline. Collectively, the projects will engage with faculty, K–12 teachers, and practitioners outside the academy, including museum curators, filmmakers, writers and poets, musicians and composers, archivists, visual artists, photographers, and architects. To get the lab started, I am talking to a variety of potential teams about topics including monuments and engaged history, artificial intelligence and machine learning, the history of smell, exhibitions and performances with historical resonance, and the place of the *AHR* in the construction of public discourse on race. At some point in 2022, we will also open a call encouraging teams to pitch lab projects.

How do you see the role of the *AHR* changing in coming years?

In many ways, these new initiatives build on existing strengths. The *AHR* has long been the most widely read and influential journal in the discipline. Much of that visibility comes from the analytical power of the prizewinning articles that appear in its pages. I want to maintain that kind of impact as we move forward, but I also want to further deepen and thicken the spatial, temporal, and methodological reach of the articles we publish.

To help us do so, the AHA Council recently agreed to add five new slots to the *AHR*'s Board of Editors. I am delighted

that we are adding representation for early Africa, Southeast Asia, and digital history—all firsts for the board. We are holding back two additional slots for a year or so to strategically gauge the uses we want to make of them. The *AHR* is fortunate to have an excellent group of continuing and new board members who are at the center of the rigorous peer-review process for our articles.

I imagine this space as a showcase of the work historians and practitioners do when they operate beyond the conventional boundaries of the discipline.

When you're not editing, teaching, or writing, what do you do for fun? Any hobbies or hidden talents that *Perspectives* readers should know about?

I like to bike, and I like to garden. I am also a big fiction reader. I just finished Viet Thanh Nguyen's great new novel, *The Committed*, a follow-up to his Pulitzer Prize winner, *The Sympathizer*. It opens up a diasporic perspective on the afterlives of the Vietnam wars, reshaping how we think about empire and its epigones. I've got to figure out a way to get him involved in the *AHR* History Lab! **P**

This interview has been edited for length and clarity.

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



For his new project on the histories of the global south, Mark Philip Bradley (left) interviewed artist Heri Dono (right) in his studio in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, in July 2019.

Mark Philip Bradley

MARK PHILIP BRADLEY

FROM WATER AND RADICALISM TO ARCHIVAL FRIENDSHIPS

In the September Issue of the American Historical Review

I am delighted that the September 2021 issue of the *AHR* will be the first of my tenure as editor, as it conveys the chronological, methodological, and spatial reach that has become a hallmark of the journal in recent years. Even though my name is on it, I acknowledge that this issue really belongs to my predecessor, Alex Lichtenstein, and is a testament to his expansive vision for the journal. I thank Alex for his support over this transition and for the marvelous work he did as editor of the *AHR*. My thanks, too, to the fabulous Bloomington-based staff who pull every issue together so seamlessly.

Our lead article, **Colin P. Elliott's** (Indiana Univ.) "The Ecology of Exchange: The Monetization of Roman Egypt," offers a critical historical case study of the ways in which ecology intersects and inflects politics, economics, and culture. He argues that the riverine geography and ecology of the Nile valley and the rhythmic nature of its agricultural cycle shaped the meanings inhabitants attached to money, including the invading coins of Greek and Roman polities. The significance of water also hovers over "World History and the Tasman Sea" by **Alison Bashford** (Univ. of New South Wales). She recasts James Cook's 1770 trip less as a significant first contact between Englishmen and Indigenous Australians and more as a meeting of three peoples who held radically different perspectives on the passing time: the Polynesian Tupaia, the Englishman James Cook, and a variety of Aboriginal peoples whose names we still do not know. Bashford shows us how on either side of the Tasman Sea lie human histories of almost incommensurably different temporal orders, separate for several centuries, and suddenly connected in 1770.

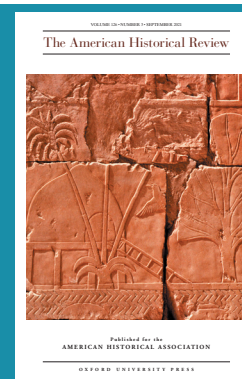
Two articles push on the more familiar ways in which historians have seen emancipation and minority peoples. **Adriana Chira** (Emory Univ.), in "Freedom with Local Bonds: Custom and Manumission in the Age of Emancipation," urges readers to reconsider established genealogies for emancipation by exploring how African-descended rural

communities across Latin America in the first half of the 19th century forged freedom from below in the shadows of highly exploitative extractive economies. Through manumission and legal actions to defend freedom, peasants of African descent on the margins of the global economic system grounded their rights in state structures as local custom. In "Capitulations Redux: The Imperial Genealogy of the Post-World War I 'Minority' Regimes," **Laura C. Robson** (Penn State Univ.) argues that minorities' treaties with various Balkan, eastern European, and Middle Eastern states had little to do with European concern for actual minority populations. Rather, they represented a new iteration of an imperial vision that reinscribed relations between the Ottoman Empire and various European powers.

The September issue of the *AHR*
conveys the chronological,
methodological, and spatial
reach that has become a
hallmark of the journal.

Three other articles offer fresh perspectives on the histories of 20th-century communism and radicalism. **Asif Siddiqi** (Fordham Univ.) offers a framework for understanding the circulation and regulation of knowledge in late-period Soviet society in "Soviet Secrecy: Toward a Social Map of Knowledge." By investigating the domain of Soviet science, Siddiqi sheds light on the work of institutions such as Glavlit, the state's censorship authority, which supported its goal to maintain the contours of secrecy as a static category. **Winston James's** (Univ. of California, Irvine) "To the East Turn: The Russian Revolution and the Black Radical Imagination in the US" offers a more global perspective on the Soviet Union, joining a burgeoning scholarship on Black radicalism in the United States and abroad. James analyzes the responses of US-based Black radicals to the

The cover illustration of the September 2021 issue of the *AHR*, drawn from the walls of the 15th-century BCE Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahri in Egypt, offers a critical piece of evidence supporting the larger claims that Colin P. Elliott makes in "The Ecology of Exchange: The Monetization of Roman Egypt." Depicting what were ubiquitous papyrus reed huts in the Nile marshlands, the relief helps readers visualize the autarkic elements of economic life based on foraging, fishing, nomadism, and reciprocal exchange that continued to flourish separate from, or at least ancillary to, the authority structures and monetary system of Egypt's Roman rulers. Photograph by Hans Bernhard (CC BY-SA 3.0).



outbreak of both the February and October Revolutions of 1917 up to Vladimir Lenin's death and examines the policies of the Bolsheviks, especially as articulated through the Comintern, that proved particularly compelling to Black radicals. **Koji Hirata** (Monash Univ.) takes us in "Made in Manchuria: The Transnational Origins of Socialist Industrialization in Maoist China" to the state-owned enterprises in Manchurian heavy industry that served as a symbol of the "socialist industrialization" in the early years of Mao's China. He traces industrial Manchuria's transformation before and after the communist revolution, pointing to how China's socialist industrialization was decisively influenced by the global spread of state-directed developmental visions and the fundamental interconnectedness between capitalist and socialist practices over much of the 20th century.

Three articles in the issue offer fresh perspectives on the histories of 20th-century communism and radicalism.

Method and sources are the subjects of "Critical Digital Archives: A Review from Archival Studies" by **Michelle Caswell** (Univ. of California, Los Angeles) and **Itza Carbajal** (Univ. of Washington). They urge historians to pay more attention to discussions surrounding digital records and archival practices emerging from the realm of archival studies, identifying key themes and corresponding debates about digital records in contemporary archival studies scholarship. As Caswell and Carbajal suggest, deeper knowledge of digital archival theory and practice is not ancillary to historical work, but provides important context to do digital history better.

The widely lauded History Unclassified is back in the September issue with three intriguing pieces. **Caroline**

Grego's (Queens Univ. of Charlotte) "The Search for the *Kayendo*" recovers traces of a hand-carved wooden shovel in the archives, museums, and fields to reveal the West African origins of Carolina Lowcountry rice cultivation. In "Finding *Amica* in the Archives," **Susan McDonough** (Univ. of Maryland, Baltimore County) and **Michelle Armstrong-Partida** (Emory Univ.) are inspired by their own collaboration and the pressures of the pandemic to call for historians to consider participating in strategic collaborations, mapping out how the discipline could accommodate and reward these initiatives. "Losing an Archive," a contribution from **Catherine Dunlop** (Montana State Univ.), asks how climate change will affect place-based historical research and reflects on her experiences of researching France's mistral wind while simultaneously feeling its powerful gusts.

Along with our usual reviews of books, the issue offers a reappraisal of African historian Luise White's writings by **Kenda Mutongi** (Massachusetts Inst. of Technology) and featured reviews of five new works of historical fiction that range in subject and place from the era of late slavery in Britain and Jamaica, rescue operations for Jewish intellectuals in occupied France, and the early struggles for independence in Palestine, to a multigenerational epic set in Zambia, as well as a fictional Abbie Hoffman and his young son liberating the Central Park Zoo.

I want to close with a challenge to readers. We as readers often open the new *AHR* issue and go right to an article in our own field. Given this issue's considerable breadth, I encourage you to roam a bit. Try an article totally out of field. I guarantee it will be rewarding intellectually. **P**

Mark Philip Bradley is editor of the American Historical Review.

ACTIONS BY THE AHA COUNCIL

January 2021 to June 2021

Through email conversation from January 6 to May 26, 2021, and at teleconferences on June 8–9, 2021, the Council of the American Historical Association took the following actions:

- Approved a statement condemning the report from “The President’s Advisory 1776 Commission,” which failed to engage a rich and vibrant body of scholarship that has evolved over the last seven decades.
- Sent a letter requesting the California State Legislature amend the list of exceptions to AB 1887 to permit state-funded travel for research and educational initiatives related to the discipline of history, broadly conceived, including LGBTQ culture, health, law, and politics.
- Sent a letter of concern to the University of Evansville regarding the proposed removal of the history major and termination of two tenured history professors.
- Sent a letter urging the University of Kansas to reject a Kansas Board of Regents policy that would “temporarily allow public institutions of higher education to terminate or suspend employees, including tenured faculty, without declaring a financial emergency.”
- Signed on to an American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) letter to the University of Kansas Board of Regents.
- Approved the nominations of Erin Greenwald (Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities) and Karissa Haugeberg (Tulane Univ.) to co-chair the Local Arrangements Committee for the 2022 annual meeting in New Orleans.
- Approved a statement opposing a policy issued by India’s Ministry of Higher Education that requires Indian scholars and administrators to obtain approval from the Ministry of External Affairs to convene online or virtual international conferences, seminars, or trainings.
- Signed on to an Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies statement calling for an end to the trial of historians Jan Grabowski and Barbara Engelking, who had been charged with libel for their 2018 co-edited book, *Night without End: The Fate of Jews in Selected Counties of Occupied Poland*.
- Sent a letter to President Andrzej Duda and other Polish leaders calling for an end to the trial of historians Jan Grabowski and Barbara Engelking.
- Approved a statement expressing alarm regarding the San Francisco School Names Advisory Committee’s process in proposing changing the names of 44 public schools.
- Signed on to a Middle Eastern Studies Association statement regarding the attacks on the integrity of higher education in Turkey by the Erdoğan regime.
- Sent a letter to the University Press of Kansas Board of Trustees expressing alarm about financial cuts and the press’s possible elimination.
- Endorsed the Educating for American Democracy initiative, a multi-institution, cross-partisan initiative funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the US Department of Education and involving hundreds of historians, K–12 teachers, education policymakers, and museum educators.
- Sent a letter to President János Áder of the Republic of Hungary, expressing “deep concern about recent government actions against the Institute of Political History.”
- Endorsed the reintroduction by Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-MA) of a Resolution Recognizing the Centennial of the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre.

- Signed on to a letter sent by the ACLS to members of the Iowa legislature and Gov. Kim Reynolds encouraging lawmakers to oppose House File 496 and Senate File 41, which would remove the status of tenure for professors and discontinue the practice at Iowa's three public universities.
- Sent a letter to John Carroll University leadership expressing concern about the recent approval by the Board of Directors of a "budgetary hardship" amendment to the university's Faculty Handbook that would eliminate tenure protections.
- Sent a letter to the City Council of New Orleans expressing support for the consultative work of the New Orleans City Council Street Renaming Commission and praising its final report, "a remarkable document of collaborative historical research."
- Sent a letter to King Mohamed VI and Prime Minister Saadeddine Othmani of Morocco protesting the imprisonment of Maâti Monjib, historian at the University of Mohammed V, Rabat.
- Signed on to an ACLS statement condemning anti-Asian violence.
- Approved a statement deploring recent incidents of violence and harassment aimed at Asians and Asian Americans.
- Signed on to an amicus brief in *Jill Lepore v. the United States* regarding the release of materials from a grand jury proceeding related to the Pentagon Papers.
- Sent a letter to the president and provost of Salem State University protesting the proposed termination of tenured faculty. The AHA also sent copies of the letter to various media in the Salem area.
- Signed on to a letter drafted by Open the Government requesting the reevaluation of the Department of Homeland Security records schedules authorizing the destruction of records of abuse, neglect, and misconduct.
- Joined a group of ACLS organizations in writing a letter to convention bureaus in Georgia regarding our unwillingness to sign future contracts for conferences in Georgia as long as the new voting restrictions remain in force.
- Signed on to a Coalition for International Education letter regarding enhancements to Title VI of the Higher Education Act.
- Signed on to a Middle Eastern Studies Association statement opposing Florida's HB 233, a bill that would allow students in classrooms to record without the consent of their professors; it also mandates the State Board of Education and the Board of Governors to conduct an assessment of the "intellectual freedom and viewpoint diversity" at every institution in the Florida College System.
- Signed on to a Coalition for International Education letter supporting increased funding for the US Department of Education's international and foreign language education programs.
- Sent letters to Messiah University leadership urging against eliminating the history department and merging it with a politics department.
- Sent a letter to Lt. Gov. Dan Patrick and members of the Texas Senate urging them to reject Texas House Bill 3979, which would prevent the teaching of "divisive concepts" in public schools and would likely endanger Advanced Placement and dual-enrollment programs.
- Approved a statement opposing efforts by state legislatures to restrict the teaching of LGBTQ+ history in elementary, middle, and high schools.
- Approved a joint statement, along with the American Association of University Professors, the Association of American Colleges & Universities, and PEN America, voicing "firm opposition" to legislation, introduced in at least 20 states, that would restrict the discussion of "divisive concepts" in public education institutions.
- Adopted the *Policy Regarding the Changing of Authors' Names in AHA Publications*.
- Updated AHA Bylaw 4, Pursuant to Article IV, Section 6.4, to add five new slots to the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review*.
- Approved the following nominations to the *American Historical Review* Board of Editors to begin three-year terms in July 2021: Shelly Chan, Univ. of California, Santa Cruz (East Asia and the Pacific World); Kalani Craig, Indiana Univ. (Digital History/Methodology); Atina Grossman, The Cooper Union (Modern Europe); Joshua L. Reid, Univ. of Washington (19th-Century US); Eric Tagliacozzo, Cornell Univ. (Southeast Asia); and Wendy Warren, Princeton Univ. (Early America and the Atlantic World).

- Approved the operating budget for fiscal year 2022.
- Approved the minutes of the January 2021 Council meetings.
- Approved the interim minutes of the Council from January through May 2021.
- Approved the disbanding of the State Standards Ad Hoc Committee.
- Appointed the following members of the 2023 Annual Meeting Program Committee: Shelly Chan (Univ. of California, Santa Cruz); Sheetal Chhabria (Connecticut Coll.); Craig Coenen (Mercer County Community Coll.); Edward Cohn (Grinnell Coll.); Ruben Flores (Univ. of Rochester); Jessica Johnson (Johns Hopkins Univ.); Rosalind Remer (Drexel Univ. and Lenfest Center for Cultural Partnerships); and Laura Wangerin (Seton Hall Univ.).
- Updated the description of the Equity Awards to streamline the nomination process and clarify language.
- Approved the nominations for the 2021 Awards for Scholarly Distinction (names to be released at a later date).
- Approved the nominee for the inaugural AHA John Lewis Award for Public Service to the Discipline of History (name to be released at a later date). **P**

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COMPILED BY LIZ TOWNSEND

2021 AHA ELECTION RESULTS

Daniel Greene (Newberry Library), chair of the Nominating Committee, announces the following results of the 2021 balloting for officers and committee members of the American Historical Association. The committee wishes to thank all candidates who stood for election; their willingness to serve is much appreciated.

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James H. Sweet, University of Wisconsin–Madison

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Edward W. Muir Jr., Northwestern University

Vice President, Teaching Division
Kathleen M. Hilliard, Iowa State University

Councilor, Professional Division
Laura E. Hostetler, University of Illinois at Chicago

Councilor, Research Division
Sandra E. Greene, Cornell University

Councilor, Teaching Division
Karen Marrero, Wayne State University

Committee on Committees
Slot 1: Julie Hardwick, University of Texas at Austin
Slot 2: Franziska Seraphim, Boston College

Nominating Committee
Slot 1: Lisa Leff, American University and US Holocaust Memorial Museum
Slot 2: Philip Thai, Northeastern University
Slot 3: Melissa N. Stuckey, Elizabeth City State University

Liz Townsend is manager, data administration and integrity, at the AHA.



Walter F. LaFeber

1933–2021

Historian of US Foreign Relations; AHA 50-Year Member

Walter F. LaFeber, the Andrew H. and James S. Tisch Distinguished University Professor emeritus at Cornell University, died on March 9, 2021, in Ithaca, New York.

LaFeber was born on August 30, 1933, in Walkerton, Indiana. He earned a BA from Hanover College in 1955, an MA from Stanford University in 1956, and a PhD from the University of Wisconsin in 1959. At Wisconsin, he was a student of Fred Harvey Harrington and William Appleman Williams and became a proponent of a revisionist version of US diplomatic history that emphasized economic motivations over security, power, and morality as the main driver of American foreign policy. LaFeber joined the faculty at Cornell University in 1959, remaining until his retirement.

LaFeber was the author or co-author of 20 books, including *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860–1898* (Cornell Univ. Press, 1963), winner of the AHA's Albert J. Beveridge Award; *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945–1966* (Wiley, 1967); *The Panama Canal: The Crisis in Historical Perspective* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1978), credited with convincing the United States to approve the Panama Canal Treaty; *The Clash: US-Japanese Relations throughout History* (W. W. Norton, 1997), which won the Bancroft Prize; and *Michael Jordan and the New Global Capitalism* (W. W. Norton, 1999), which combined his love of basketball with a cogent analysis of US economic power on a global stage. In 2013, he was given the AHA's Award for Scholarly Distinction. LaFeber's influence on scholars was no less important than his influence on scholarship. Many of his students went on to become leaders in the fields of diplomacy and national security, and many kept their class notes long after they left college.

LaFeber believed unwaveringly in the importance of the unfettered discussion of competing points of view on college campuses. In 1969, he resigned as department chair in protest, after what he felt was the capitulation of Cornell's president to the demands of a group of armed students who

had taken over the student union. Although he agreed with many of the students' aims, he thought that introducing force into a university's decision-making compromised the free exchange of ideas in a dangerous way.

When I arrived at Cornell in 1970, LaFeber was already a campus legend. He was the first recipient of Cornell's Clark Distinguished Teaching Award in 1966. His History of US Foreign Relations course was so well attended by both students and visitors that it often met in a concert hall that held over 1,000 people. His lectures were mesmerizing. He would walk in, write an outline of four to five lines on the board, and then speak without notes and without hesitation for 50 minutes. He seamlessly wove together the influences of decision makers, domestic politics, intellectual theory, popular culture, and historical relationships in both the United States and other nations. His lectures often earned a reaction similar to what audience members might give the rock bands that appeared in the same venue—cheers and a standing ovation. In honor of his retirement, LaFeber gave his last lecture in 2006 in the Beacon Theater in New York City to more than 3,000 colleagues and former students, who, fittingly, gave him yet another standing ovation at the end of his talk. Since his death, Cornell University has established the Walter F. LaFeber Professorship in his honor.

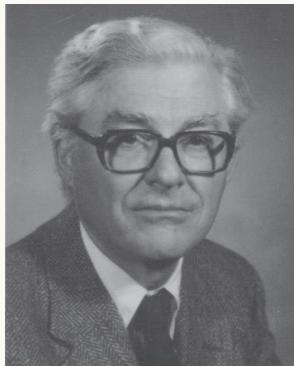
Walter LaFeber was a mentor to me and countless others in the truest sense of the word: an adviser, a consultant, a cheerleader, and a friend. He cared about his students not just academically but as people. He proved that you could be a brilliant innovative thinker, a mesmerizing speaker, and a prolific writer and still be a wonderful human being. Discussions with Walt ranged from foreign affairs to baseball to family to politics. Well into his ninth decade, he had a breathtaking intellectual curiosity, and he remained engaged in studying, writing, and thinking.

Professor LaFeber is survived by Sandra Gould, his wife and partner of over 65 years; children Scott and Suzanne; and three grandchildren.

Alison Dreizen

Carter Ledyard & Milburn LLP and
AHA General Counsel

Photo courtesy Lindsay France, Cornell University



Maurice Lee Jr.

1925–2020

Historian of Scotland;
AHA 50-Year Member

Maurice Dupont Lee Jr., the Margaret A. Judson Professor of History emeritus at Rutgers University and a pathbreaking historian of early modern Scottish political history, died on July 12, 2020.

Born in 1925, Mo (as his colleagues knew him) was educated at the Hotchkiss School and, as both an undergraduate and graduate student, at Princeton University. He served in the US Navy at the end of World War II and earned his PhD in 1950. After teaching at Princeton and the University of Illinois, he joined the history department of Douglass College at Rutgers in the mid-1960s. When he arrived, Douglass was the largest women's college in the country, and he was an important advocate for the college and for women's education, helping to establish and support an array of important initiatives, programs, and student awards. He went on to chair the Douglass department (before Rutgers consolidated the college departments in the early 1980s), and he remained deeply committed to Douglass's mission. He was a legendary teacher who used skills honed during his Hotchkiss student-theater days to deliver stylish lectures seemingly without notes, though he'd in fact composed them in full and memorized them. In 1987, Lee was appointed to the Margaret A. Judson Professorship, named after his distinguished predecessor in Tudor-Stuart history at Douglass, and in 1994, he received an honorary doctorate from the University of St. Andrews.

Over the course of 60 years of prolific research, Lee helped transform the historiography of early modern Scotland. The core of Lee's scholarly achievement was a sequence of five major books published between 1953 and 1990 on Scottish political history during the reigns of James VI and Charles I, which established a foundational analytical narrative from the deposition of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the outbreak of the Prayer Book Rebellion of 1637. Using official papers, diplomatic correspondence, contemporary histories, and memoirs, Lee reconstructed the process of state formation in a small but complex early modern

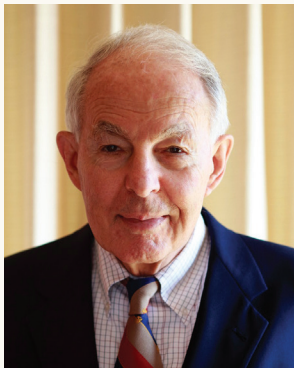
kingdom. He argued that James VI defused the threats to monarchical authority from a radical kirk and assertive aristocracy, brought order to the kingdom's lawless regions, and reconceptualized the ideological basis of Scottish kingship. Moreover, James was able to consolidate and even advance these projects after he became king of England, and Lee presented James's London-based Scottish rule as an example, almost unprecedented in early modern Europe, of successful long-distance governance.

Lee thus contributed significantly to broader efforts to rehabilitate James VI and I, and the case studies he published in *Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I in His Three Kingdoms* (Univ. of Illinois Press, 1990) persuasively insisted that James had to be analyzed as a British—and not merely an English—king. Lee's account of the unmaking of the Jacobean achievement by Charles I appeared in *The Road to Revolution: Scotland under Charles I, 1625–37* (Univ. of Illinois Press, 1985), which focused on Charles's inability to manage the religious and political tensions his father had navigated so well. The result was a revolt that sparked a cascading crisis that destroyed Charles's kingship not only in Scotland but across the British Isles. Lee's work thus provided an essential starting point for the new "British" history that emerged in the late 1980s. As historians grasped how deeply early modern English history was intertwined with the histories of Scotland and Ireland, they turned to Lee not only for his reconstructions of Scottish politics but also for his identification of the crucial paradigmatic questions for a properly archipelagic approach to Britain's 17th-century crises.

Lee retired in 1996, but he continued to teach occasional classes and to pursue his research, publishing a 2004 collection of essays and *Dearest Brother: Lauderdale, Tweeddale and Scottish Politics, 1660–1674* (John Donald, 2010). Helen, his wife of over 50 years, died in 1999, and Mo is survived by two children, five grandchildren, three great-grandchildren, and his partner Laurine Purola.

Alastair Bellany
Rutgers University

Photo courtesy Rutgers University History Department



Robert Middlekauff

1929–2021

Historian of Early America; AHA 50-Year Member

Robert Middlekauff, a dedicated teacher and leading scholar of early American history, died peacefully on March 10, 2021, in Pleasanton, California, at the age of 91.

Born in Yakima, Washington, Bob grew up in the Pacific Northwest and received his BA and, after war service in Korea, MA at the University of Washington, where he worked with Max Savelle. He then studied at Yale University under the supervision of Edmund Morgan, receiving his PhD in 1961. He took up an appointment at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1962, where he taught until his retirement in 2000, except from 1983 to 1988, when he served as director of the Huntington Library, Art Gallery, and Botanical Gardens, and one year spent as Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth Visiting Professor of American History at Oxford University in 1996.

Working with Morgan turned Bob's scholarly interests to New England's history. His first book, *Ancients and Axioms* (Yale Univ. Press, 1963), was a short but deeply researched account of the region's secondary education in the 18th century. Later came *The Mathers: Three Generations of Puritan Intellectuals, 1596–1728* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1971), a major reassessment of Puritan belief and practice through study of the powerful and prolific Boston family of clerics. Through reading the huge corpus of their printed and manuscript writings, Bob challenged the traditional picture of Puritanism's declension and pointed to how the Mathers, especially grandson Cotton, led their congregations toward more pietistic, affective, and socially engaged forms of religion. Eloquent written and deeply considered, *The Mathers* received the Bancroft Prize in 1972.

As a rock of stability and trust during Berkeley's turbulent years, Bob served as provost, dean of the College of Letters and Science, dean of social sciences, and, for three separate terms, department chair. He took on immense responsibilities when he became director of the Huntington Library in 1983. All the while, he was a member—and often chair—of

numerous committees, councils, and editorial boards elsewhere, especially at Williamsburg's Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture.

Notwithstanding, he was able to turn back to scholarship when invited to contribute to the prestigious Oxford History of the United States. The resulting 700-page volume, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763–1789* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1982, 2005), provided a compelling and accessible narrative of these crucial founding years. It particularly excelled in providing the transatlantic political context of the rise of colonial protest and resistance, and then in describing the conduct of the Revolutionary War, both its battles and the motivations and experiences of those who fought in them. From this turn in interest to the last years of British America came two further books, *Benjamin Franklin and His Enemies* (Univ. of California Press, 1996) and, the great project of Bob's retirement, *Washington's Revolution: The Making of America's First Leader* (Knopf, 2015), a probing study of the evolution of George Washington's character and leadership skills. At his death, Bob was still at work, researching the historiography of the revolutionary period and the papers of Mark Twain held in Berkeley's Bancroft Library.

An award-winning undergraduate lecturer, Bob most cherished the free-flowing intellectual exchange and participation of the seminar. One of his—and this writer's—fondest memories was the occasion when his graduate seminar on the seemingly sober subject of the Great Awakening aroused concern from neighboring faculty offices because of its level of hilarity and debate. Bob directed (or, more accurately, facilitated) some 25 doctoral dissertations on a wide range of subjects. Those he worked with loved and revered him, as evidenced when they gathered in large numbers to mark his retirement from active teaching. Bob is survived by Beverly, his wife of 68 years; their children, Sam and Holly; and three grandchildren.

Richard R. Johnson
University of Washington (emeritus)

Photo courtesy Terry Carroll



Linda Hunter Rowe

1945–2020

Public Historian

Linda Hunter Rowe, a historian for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation who retired in 2017 after 50 years of service, died on October 23, 2020.

Unlike many public historians today, Linda “apprenticed” in the field. Immediately after earning a BA in English literature from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro in 1967, she obtained a position at Colonial Williamsburg in historical research. She moved from research assistant to research associate in 1985 and earned her MA in American studies at William & Mary in 1989. Her thesis, “Peopling the Power Structure: Urban Oriented Officeholders in York County, Virginia, 1699–1780,” was an outgrowth of her involvement with the York County Project, a six-year National Endowment for the Humanities-funded study of the urbanization of Yorktown and Williamsburg. She was promoted to historian in 1994.

Linda’s specialties included women’s history, African American history, and the history of religion. She took an early and continuing interest in Williamsburg’s religious history. A congregant at Bruton Parish Church, Linda assisted with developing the church’s Heritage Center exhibits and producing the definitive transcription of the parish register, which dates to 1662. At the time of her death, Linda was updating Bruton Parish’s published guide to its churchyard burials.

Beginning in the 1980s, Linda worked closely with the congregation of First Baptist Church, a historically African American church founded in the 18th century, to discover as much as possible about the church’s founding, growth, and endurance. Her biography of its early minister Gowan Pamphlet, “Gowan Pamphlet: Baptist Preacher in Slavery and Freedom,” was published in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* in 2012. She served on the board of directors of First Baptist’s Let Freedom Ring Foundation. Her work with Bruton Parish Church, First Baptist Church, and other local historical places of worship has produced a much deeper understanding of Williamsburg’s 18th- and 19th-century religious landscape.

Linda was also a principal contributor to Colonial Williamsburg’s interpretation of African American history for the last 41 years, including the areas of education and religion. Her research formed the basis of the Bruton Heights School permanent exhibit focusing on the segregated school’s role as educational and community center and resulted in her report “A History of Black Education and Bruton Heights School, Williamsburg, Virginia” (1997).

As with most public historians, Linda’s research was disseminated more through museum programming and publications than through academic journals. She assisted in developing training, site plans, and interpretive plans. She mentored interpreters. She was an assistant editor, editor, and contributor to the *Colonial Williamsburg Interpreter*, a publication written by research staff and interpreters to disseminate new findings internally and to other museums. She also wrote for the *Colonial Williamsburg Journal*, predecessor to the current popular publication *Trend & Tradition Magazine*.

At the time of her death, she was still consulting for the foundation, providing historical context for the archaeological excavation of the Nassau Street site of First Baptist Church. Colleagues have described her as knowledgeable, kind, helpful, and gracious. Cary Carson, retired vice president of the foundation’s Research Division and director of the Department of Historical Research, wrote of Linda, “Professional historians who work for museums are a breed apart. Linda Rowe was one of the best. She cultivated her special skills over a long career in the Colonial Williamsburg research department. Her knowledge of place—early Virginia—and period—the 18th century—was deep and rich.” That expertise will be missed among her colleagues at Colonial Williamsburg.

Linda had purchased a home shortly before her retirement and was enjoying working on it. She organized lunches with former members of the research department. She was a devoted cat-mom. Linda was the daughter of G. Nathan Hunter Jr. and Eloise P. Hunter of Columbus, Georgia. Her parents, husband Virgil E. Rowe, and brother John P. Hunter predeceased her. She is survived by her companion Rain Selby, niece Lauren, nephew Tymes, two grandnephews, and a grandniece.

Cathleene B. Hellier
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

Photo courtesy Colonial Williamsburg Foundation



Hermann Wellenreuther

1941–2021

Historian of the Early Modern Period; AHA Life Member

Hermann Wellenreuther, emeritus professor of early modern history at the Georg-August University of Göttingen, died on April 3, 2021, from the effects of the COVID-19 virus.

Born in Freiburg im Breisgau on June 23, 1941, Wellenreuther grew up in Aglasterhausen in northern Baden. He studied at the University of Heidelberg but transferred to the University of Cologne, where he joined a new Anglo-American seminar under the direction of Erich Angermann. Wellenreuther earned his doctorate with his dissertation *Glaube und Politik in Pennsylvania 1681–1776* (Kölner Historische Abhandlungen, 1972). A Harkness Fellowship brought him to the United States in 1965 for research and observation at Yale University and Tulane University. He returned to Cologne to teach and research his second dissertation, *Repräsentation und Grossgrundbesitz in England 1730–1770* (Klett-Cotta Verlag, 1979).

In 1983, he was called to the University of Göttingen, where he served a term as dean and where he spent the remainder of his career until his retirement in 2006. Wellenreuther founded the Krefeld Historical Symposia, dedicated to exploring German-US relations. Conducted in English and named for the town from which some of the first German-speaking emigrants departed for Pennsylvania, the symposia drew colleagues from both Europe and North America.

Wellenreuther planned to write on the relationship between the Society of Friends and the Moravian Brethren in early Pennsylvania but foundered on the division of Germany after World War II that made the Moravian Archives in Herrnhut inaccessible. He wrote a brief history of the first British Empire and the North American colonies, while also writing with his students a history of Göttingen and the relationship of the university to the townspeople and the Electorate of Hanover.

By 1995, Wellenreuther was able to pursue his interest in the Moravian Brethren. With the aid of his student Carola

Wessel, he edited and published part of the diaries of the Moravian missionary David Zeisberger, which would be translated into English. Spending 2002 as guest professor at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, he won a German Research Fellowship that enabled him to continue research at the Huntington Library in California, as well as in Pennsylvania archives while serving as guest professor at Penn State University. Between 1999 and 2016, Wellenreuther published his four-volume *Geschichte Nordamerikas* (LIT Verlag), a history of North America from the first European settlements to the end of George Washington's presidency.

In 2003, Wellenreuther was honored with the Schurman Prize for American History, given by the University of Heidelberg in recognition of the scope and impact of his professional accomplishments. In retirement, he published three books in English: *The Revolution of the People* (Univ. Göttingen, 2006); *Jacob Leisler's Atlantic World in the Later Seventeenth Century* (LIT Verlag, 2009); and *Citizens in a Strange Land: A Study of German-American Broadships and Their Meaning for Germans in North America, 1730–1830* (Penn State Univ. Press, 2013). A member of the International Pietism Commission, Wellenreuther researched the Lutheran pastor Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, publishing his own analysis of the transfer of knowledge and Atlantic networks among German-speaking Lutherans in 2013. He co-edited and published that same year a volume of essays, *The Transatlantic World of Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg in the Eighteenth Century* (Verlag der Franckischen Stiftungen).

Wellenreuther's first wife was Marie-Luise Frings-Wellenreuther, herself an Angermann-trained historian. After her death, Wellenreuther married historian Claudia Schnurmann. Schnurmann survives him, as does his daughter from his first marriage, Susanne Wellenreuther.

Colleagues and his students were the recipients of warm hospitality, engaging conversation, and the deep personal interest Wellenreuther displayed throughout his career. A partial bibliography of his scholarship and his commitment to students appeared in an interview by the late William Pencak in *Early American Studies* (2004) and in *Atlantic Understandings*, a 2006 volume of essays co-edited by Schnurmann and Hartmut Lehmann. For those interested in Atlantic history and the relationship of Germany to North America, his death silences a voice that has shaped and informed our work and enriched our lives for over 50 years.

A. G. Roeber

Penn State University (emeritus)

Photo courtesy Claudia Schnurmann

AHA CAREER CENTER

Positions are listed alphabetically: first by country, then state/province, city, institution, and field.

Find more job ads at careers.historians.org.



NEW YORK UNIVERSITY ABU DHABI

Abu Dhabi, UAE

NYUAD Institute/Humanities Research Fellowships for the Study of the Arab World.

The NYU Abu Dhabi Research Institute invites scholars who wish to contribute to the vibrant research culture of NYUAD's Saadiyat campus to apply for a residential fellowship, starting September 2022. The institute welcomes applications from scholars working in all areas of the humanities related to the study of the Arab world, its rich literature and history, its cultural and artistic heritage, and its manifold connections with other cultures. This includes, among others, Islamic intellectual history and culture, any areas of particular relevance to the MENA region, as well as projects thematically connected to existing research projects and initiatives at NYUAD's divisions of Arts & Humanities and Social Sciences (see <https://nyuad.nyu.edu/en/research.html>). Both distinguished scholars with an established reputation and promising scholars who are at the beginning of their career can apply for a research fellowship. The program awards one-year senior fellowships and one- / two-year postdoctoral fellowships. Each fellow receives a competitive stipend commensurate with experience, housing, health insurance, work/office space on campus, full access to NYUAD's library facilities (with close connections to NYU's main library in New York), research allowance, an opportunity to host a

small workshop funded by the Research Institute, and support for travel to and from Abu Dhabi. We expect successful candidates to commence their appointment on September 1, 2022, pending final approval. The fellowship program is hosted by the NYU Abu Dhabi Research Institute. For more information, please visit <https://nyuad.nyu.edu/en/research/centers-labs-and-projects/humanities-research-fellowship-program.html>. Applications are due October 1, 2021. For questions, please reach out to Alexandra Sandu, assistant program director, at alexandra.sandu@nyu.edu.

UNITED STATES



CALIFORNIA

CLAREMONT MCKENNA COLLEGE

Claremont, CA

Assistant Professor of South Asian History. The History Department at Claremont McKenna College invites applications for a tenure-track assistant professorship in South Asian history, period and research specialization open. The department is particularly interested in scholars whose research and teaching interests situate South Asian history within a larger regional and global context. The successful candidate must be able to offer a range of courses, including broad overviews and topical colloquia on key themes of South Asian history, and will be expected to participate in the History Department's thematic tracks and in the Claremont College consortium's program

on Asian Studies. The teaching load is two courses per semester. Candidates must have PhD in hand at the time of the appointment and demonstrate a clear trajectory for research contributions to the field. The appointment commences July 1, 2022. We seek a historian committed to excellence in both scholarly research and undergraduate teaching. We especially welcome a candidate who adopts an inclusive pedagogy and can mentor a diverse population of students drawn from Claremont McKenna and the broader Claremont consortium. Please upload a cover letter addressing your research interests and teaching experience, CV, three confidential letters of recommendation, three brief descriptions of possible courses, and an article-length writing sample or dissertation chapter at https://webapps.cmc.edu/jobs/faculty/faculty_opening.php. Applicants must also submit the names and email addresses of three references; an email will be automatically sent to them with a link to upload their confidential recommendation letter. Review of complete applications will begin on September 15, 2021, and will continue until the position is filled. Questions about the search should be sent to the chair of the search committee, Heather Ferguson at hferguson@cmc.edu. CMC is a highly selective institution ranked among the top liberal arts colleges nationally. CMC is a member of The Claremont Colleges, which also include Pomona, Scripps, Pitzer, Harvey Mudd, the Claremont Graduate University, and the Keck Graduate Institute for Applied Science. Collectively, The Claremont Colleges constitute an academic community of over 40 historians and 6,000 students. Claremont is located 35 miles east of downtown Los Angeles. Claremont McKenna College is an EOE. As Claremont

McKenna College continues the work necessary to enrich its academic environment and provide equal educational and employment opportunities, the department actively encourages applications from members of historically under-represented groups in higher education. Claremont McKenna hires and promotes individuals on the basis of their qualifications, without regard to race, color, religion, gender, pregnancy, national origin, ancestry, citizenship, age, marital status, physical disability, mental disability, medical condition, or sexual orientation. Inquiries may be directed to the Director for Human Resources, 528 N. Mills Avenue, Claremont, CA 91711-4015, (909) 621-8490.

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, EAST BAY

Hayward, CA

Assistant Professor of Diversity and Diasporas. California State University, East Bay is a comprehensive university serving the San Francisco Bay Area/Silicon Valley. It is known for award-winning programs, expert instruction, its diverse student body, and a choice of more than 100 career-focused fields of study. With an enrollment of approximately 15,000 students and 900 faculty, CSUEB is organized into four colleges. The university offers bachelor's degrees in 49 fields, minors in 52 fields, master's degrees in 34 fields, 16 credentials programs, 18 certificate options, and 1 doctoral degree program. California State University, East Bay has a mission to support a diverse student body through academically rich and culturally relevant learning experiences. The successful candidate

AD POLICY STATEMENT

Most job discrimination is illegal, and open hiring on the basis of merit depends on fair practice in recruitment, thereby ensuring that all professionally qualified persons may obtain appropriate opportunities. The AHA will not accept a job listing that (1) contains wording that either directly or indirectly links race, color, national origin, sex, gender, gender expression, gender identity, sexual orientation, marital status, ideology, political affiliation, age, or disability to a specific job offer; or (2) contains wording requiring applicants to submit special materials for the sole purpose of identifying the applicant's race, color, national origin, sex, gender, gender expression, gender identity, sexual orientation, marital status, ideology, political affiliation, veteran status, age, or disability.

The AHA does make an exception to these criteria in three unique cases: (1) open listings for minority vita banks that are clearly not linked with specific jobs, fields, or specializations; (2) ads that require religious identification or affiliation for consideration for the position, a preference that is allowed to religious institutions under federal law; and (3) fellowship advertisements.

The AHA retains the right to refuse or edit all discriminatory statements from copy submitted to the Association that is not consistent with these guidelines or with the principles of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The AHA accepts advertisements from academic institutions whose administrations are under censure by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), but requires that this fact be clearly stated. Refer to www.aaup.org/our-programs/academic-freedom/censure-list for more information.

For further details on best practices in hiring and academic employment, see the AHA's Statement on Standards of Professional Conduct, www.historians.org/standards; Guidelines for the Hiring Process, www.historians.org/hiring; and Policy on Advertisements, www.historians.org/adpolicy.

will bring with them expertise and openness to creating a welcoming and supportive environment for all students. The history department offers a range of lower- and upper-division undergraduate courses to majors pursuing the BA in History, General Education students, prospective middle and high school teachers in the Single Subject Matter Preparation Program in Social Science, and Public History Certificate students. The department also offers an MA degree program, in which faculty teach seminars in their specialties. We seek a specialist in the history of diversity and diasporas, with teaching and research interests in communities of color in modern US history. The new faculty member would teach a variety of courses, especially supporting our Social Justice and Citizenship concentration. A tenure-track hire would teach courses in both our BA and MA programs. A PhD in history, public history, or related field is required. We seek a specialist in the history of diversity and diasporas, with teaching and research interests in communities of color in modern US history. Preference given to candidates with expertise in Black/African American history. Special consideration given to candidates interested in applied history and community engagement in the Bay Area. Candidates should demonstrate experience in teaching, mentoring, research, or community service that has prepared them to contribute to our commitment to diversity and excellence. Additionally, applicants must demonstrate a record of scholarly activity. This university is fully committed to the rights of students, staff, and faculty with disabilities in accordance with applicable state and federal laws. For more information about the university's program supporting the rights of our students with disabilities see <http://www20.csueastbay.edu/af/departments/as/>. Experience in online teaching or interest in developing online coursework is desirable. Please note that teaching assignments at California State University, East Bay include courses at the Hayward, Concord, and Online campuses. In addition to teaching and research, faculty are expected to assume the responsibilities of advising, assist the department with administrative duties, and participate in campus-wide committee responsibilities. Salary is dependent upon educational preparation and experience. Subject to budgetary authorization. Date of appointment: Fall 2022. Review of applications will begin September 15, 2021, position remains open until

filled. Please submit a letter of application addressing the qualifications noted in the position announcement, along with a complete and current CV, a writing sample, three letters of recommendation, and a one-page diversity statement that addresses how you engage a diverse student population in your teaching, research, mentoring, and advising. Apply at <https://careers.pageuppeople.com/873/eb/en-us/job/501319/assistant-professor-of-history-diversity-and-diasporas>. California State University, East Bay hires only individuals lawfully authorized to work in the United States. All offers of employment are contingent upon the presentation of documents demonstrating the appointee's identity and eligibility to work in accordance with provisions of the Immigration Reform and Control Act. A background check (including a criminal records check and prior employment verification) must be completed and cleared prior to the start of employment. As an EOE, CSUEB does not discriminate on the basis of any protected categories: age, ancestry, citizenship, color, disability, gender, immigration status, marital status, national origin, race, religion, sexual orientation, or veteran's status. The university is committed to the principles of diversity in employment and to creating a stimulating learning environment for its diverse student body.



FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Miami, FL

Associate or Full Professor of Modern African History. The Department of History at Florida International University invites applications for an associate or full professor of modern (19th and 20th century) African history. This is a joint appointment in the Department of History and the Program in African and African Diaspora Studies. The successful candidate will contribute a transnational and interdisciplinary perspective to the department and program, maintain a strong research profile and international reputation, and demonstrate a commitment to graduate mentorship. All regional specializations and topics of study will be considered. We strongly encourage historically underrepresented minorities and people with experience in teaching diverse student populations to apply. Florida International University is

Miami's public research university, focused on student success. According to *US News and World Report*, FIU has 42 top-50 rankings in the nation among public universities. FIU is a top US research university (R1), with more than \$200 million in annual expenditures. FIU ranks 15th in the nation among public universities for patent production, which drives innovation, and is one of the institutions that helps make Florida the top state for higher education. The Next Horizon fundraising campaign is furthering FIU's commitment to providing students Worlds Ahead opportunities. Today, FIU has two campuses and multiple centers, and supports artistic and cultural engagement through its three museums: Patricia & Phillip Frost Art Museum, the Wolfsonian-FIU, and the Jewish Museum of Florida-FIU. FIU is a member of Conference USA, with more than 400 student-athletes participating in 18 sports. The university has awarded more than 330,000 degrees to many leaders in South Florida and beyond. For more information about FIU, visit <http://www.fiu.edu>. Qualified applicants should apply to Job Opening ID 523754 at <https://facultycareers.fiu.edu/>. Please include in a single .pdf file a CV and a cover letter discussing your teaching expertise and pedagogical innovations, scholarly profile and position within the field, externally funded projects, and how you envision your work enhancing the department's strengths. Florida International University is dedicated to the goal of creating a more diverse, equitable, and inclusive campus community. Applicants' cover letters should therefore also speak to their demonstrated commitment to this goal or describe how they envision advancing equity and inclusion if hired at FIU. For more information visit <https://dei.fiu.edu/>. Three letters of reference will be solicited from finalists at a later date. Please send a second copy of all application materials to history@fiu.edu. All applications and required materials received by the deadline of October 15, 2021, will receive full consideration. Review will continue until the position is filled. The salary will be commensurate with the candidate's previous career and achievement. Email questions to Dr. Okezi Otovo, committee chair, ootovo@fiu.edu or call (305) 348-2328. For more information on the FIU History Department, visit <https://history.fiu.edu>. FIU supports interdisciplinary programs related to African studies, including the African and African Diaspora Studies Program. For more information on

AADS visit <https://africana.fiu.edu>. Our Wolfsonian Public Humanities Lab, an emerging preeminent program at FIU, has just received two multi-million-dollar grants that shall emphasize oral histories involving Miami's African diasporic communities, race relations, and environmental inequities in Florida. The successful candidate will have the opportunity to contribute to them. FIU is a member of the State University System of Florida and an AA/EOE. All qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, color, religion, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, national origin, disability or protected veteran status.



UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Chicago, IL

Assistant Professor of Middle Eastern History. The Department of History at the University of Chicago invites applications for a tenure-track assistant professorship in modern Middle Eastern/North African history (loosely defined, 18th-20th centuries) to start on or after July 1, 2022. We welcome applicants with any specialization within that broader field. 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/91017> and include a cover letter, a CV, a research statement, a teaching statement, a dissertation abstract, an article or chapter-length writing sample, and three letters of reference. Consideration of applications will begin on September 1, 2021. 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.

Assistant Professor of Modern Japanese History.

The Department of History at the University of Chicago invites applications for a first-term tenure-track assistant professorship in modern Japanese history to start on or after July 1, 2022. We particularly welcome applications from ABDs and recent PhDs who are working on the social, political, and economic history of Japan from a transnational perspective that examines the movement of institutions, people, knowledge, technology, and practices across borders and regions, including those who work on the Japanese empire and postcolonial issues. 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/90750> and include a cover letter, a CV, a research statement, a teaching statement, a dissertation abstract, an article or chapter-length writing sample, and three letters of reference. Consideration of applications will begin on August 20, 2021, 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.



INDIANA

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

Notre Dame, IN

Assistant Professor of Latinx History.

The Department of History of the University of Notre Dame invites applications for a tenure-track position in Latinx history at the rank of assistant professor. All subspecialties are encouraged to apply, including Afro-Latinx history. Applicants will be expected to participate in the intellectual life of and contribute to the curriculum of the Institute for Latino Studies. Candidates should submit a letter of application, CV, and three letters of recommendation at <https://apply.interfolio.com/90443>. The University of Notre Dame is using Interfolio's By-Committee to conduct this search. Applicants to this position receive a free Dossier account and can send all application materials, including confidential letters of recommendation, free of charge. The closing date for receipt of applications is October 1, 2021. Please address any inquiries or nominations to Prof. Robert Sullivan, Search Committee Chair, Robert.E.Sullivan.158@nd.edu. Information about Notre Dame is available at <https://facultypositions.nd.edu/why-notre-dame/> and about the department at <http://history.nd.edu/>. The University of Notre Dame seeks to attract, develop, and retain the highest quality faculty, staff and administration. The university is an EOE, and is committed to building a culturally diverse workplace. We strongly encourage applications from female and minority candidates and those candidates attracted to a university with a Catholic identity. Moreover, Notre Dame prohibits discrimination against veterans or disabled qualified individuals, and requires affirmative action by covered contractors to employ and advance veterans and qualified individuals with disabilities in compliance with 41 CFR 60-741.5(a) and 41 CFR 60-300.5(a).



MASSACHUSETTS

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE

South Hadley, MA

Open Rank Professor of Native American History.

The Department of History at Mount Holyoke College invites applications for an

open-rank tenure-track position in Native American history to begin Fall 2022; geographic region open. Areas of specialization may include environmental history and traditional ecological knowledge, material culture, Indigenous epistemologies, political systems and governance, colonization, disease, intercultural relations, women and gender, Atlantic or Pacific worlds, Indigenous borderlands. The successful candidate will contribute courses in North American history and participate in a vibrant Five College Native American and Indigenous Studies intellectual community. We seek candidates with a demonstrated record of authentic engagement with Native American and Indigenous communities. This position is part of a Five-College cluster hire in Native American and Indigenous Studies. Mount Holyoke College is a member of the Five College Consortium, whose campuses are undertaking significant efforts aimed at expanding academic offerings in Native American and Indigenous studies, and embedding Native and Indigenous epistemologies, methods, and content across the curriculum. This work includes curriculum development, faculty hiring, and student engagement, supported in part by generous funding from The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Additional information on Five College NAIS is available at <https://www.fivecolleges.edu/natam>. Please submit a letter of application, CV, graduate transcripts, sample syllabuses of a Native American history survey course and a course in your field of specialization, a short writing sample, and statements covering research interests, teaching philosophy, and the mentoring of a diverse student body. The successful candidate should be able to demonstrate excellence in teaching and mentoring students who are broadly diverse with regard to gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, sexual orientation, and religion. Review of applications to begin September 15, 2021. Applicants should also arrange to have three letters of reference submitted on their behalf. Instructions and application portal are found at <https://careers.pageuppeople.com/1024/cw/en-us/job/492652/open-rank-professor-of-native-american-history>. Mount Holyoke is an undergraduate liberal arts college with 2,200 students and 220 faculty. Over half the faculty are women; one-fourth are persons of color. Mount Holyoke College is located about 90 miles west of Boston in the Connecticut River valley, and is a member of the Five College Con-

sortium consisting of Amherst, Hampshire, Mount Holyoke, and Smith Colleges and the University of Massachusetts. Mount Holyoke College is a women's college that is gender diverse. The College is committed to providing equal access and opportunity in employment and education to all employees and students. In compliance with state and federal law, Mount Holyoke College does not discriminate on the basis of race, ethnicity, color, genetic information, sex, national or ethnic origin, religion, age, physical or mental disability, marital status, sexual orientation, pregnancy, gender identity or expression, ancestry, veteran or military status, or any other legally protected status under federal, state or local law. The college does not discriminate on the basis of gender in the recruitment and admission of students to its graduate program. All offers of employment are contingent upon the finalist successfully passing a background (including criminal records) check.



OHIO

MIAMI UNIVERSITY

Oxford, OH

Assistant Professor of African American History.

The Department of History at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, seeks applications for a tenure-track assistant professorship in African American history, to begin in the fall of 2022. Duties include teaching undergraduate and graduate courses, including participation in survey teaching. Requirements include PhD in history by date of appointment for appointment as assistant professor; ABD in history for appointment as instructor. Promising research agenda in any area of African American history. Ability to teach surveys of American history, upper-level curriculum in African American History, and courses in area of specialty. Willingness to serve the department and university. Submit cover letter, CV, evidence of teaching effectiveness, and writing sample. Evidence of teaching effectiveness may include teaching evaluations, sample syllabi, and/or a statement of teaching philosophy. Apply at <https://jobs.miamioh.edu/cw/en-us/job/498976/assistant-professor>.

SHERRI SHEU

BIG MOUTH BILLY BASS



In a telling scene from the 2008 Pixar film *WALL-E*, the newly arrived EVE robot discovers a singing fish on the wall of the titular robot's home, representing a fallen civilization. Viewers knew exactly the time period the fish referenced. That fish was Big Mouth Billy Bass, a novelty toy turned cultural phenomenon that reached its peak frenzy during the 2000 holiday shopping season. Armed with a motion sensor, the animatronic largemouth bass could turn its head and sing "Take Me to the River" or "Don't Worry, Be Happy" to startled passersby. Billy Bass became so popular that Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom reportedly kept one on a grand piano.

On first glance, Billy Bass might be considered mere kitsch, but dismissing this singing fish would ignore some critical linkages between culture and environment. To understand Billy's unique cultural resonance, we need to dig deeper into the historical processes that enabled Billy's flesh-and-blood counterparts to become the most popular sport fish in the United States.

In 1881, James Henshall published *Book of the Black Bass* to spur interest in bass fishing and worked to propagate the fish across the nation. Bass gained popularity with recreational anglers and secured legal protections in turn. As early as 1926, amid outcry from anglers about commercial fishermen depleting bass stocks for consumer markets, Congress passed federal laws that effectively rendered the black bass a recreational species.

Large-scale human changes to American environments also helped bass prosper. When the United States entered a wave of dam and reservoir building beginning in the 1930s for hydroelectricity and flood control, bass gained millions of acres of aquatic habitat. Reservoir managers eagerly stocked lakes with bass, a resilient and adaptable species that took well to the new ecosystems. These waterways, combined with increased leisure time and the development

of new fishing technologies, such as novice-friendly spin-casting fishing reels, helped make bass the most popular recreational species in the country.

When toy designer Joe Pellettieri decided to create a singing fish, he chose bass because they had held the title of the most popular recreational species in the nation for decades. To ensure that Billy would look the part, Pellettieri consulted a taxidermist. Bass Pro Shops, a popular retailer of fishing and hunting gear, and Cracker Barrel, a restaurant chain of southern cooking and country-themed gift stores, sold the new Billy Bases several months before Walmart, Target, and other general retailers stocked them.

Thus, the first people to buy and receive Billy Bases did so because it was already a familiar fish for them. They might have displayed taxidermied fish in their homes and offices. While a mounted fish serves as a trophy, Billy Bass first served as a signifier of a group's ability to poke fun at itself, with the appeal coming from their affection for the species. Billy Bass remains funny because it is a singing fish, but its success had much to do with the fact that it is very specifically a bass fish. Yet Billy was much more than just rubber skin, plastic skeleton, recorded songs, and motor movement—it represented cultural and environmental histories that stretched back more than a century. **P**

Sherri Sheu is a PhD candidate at the University of Colorado Boulder and an at-large member of the AHA Council.

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