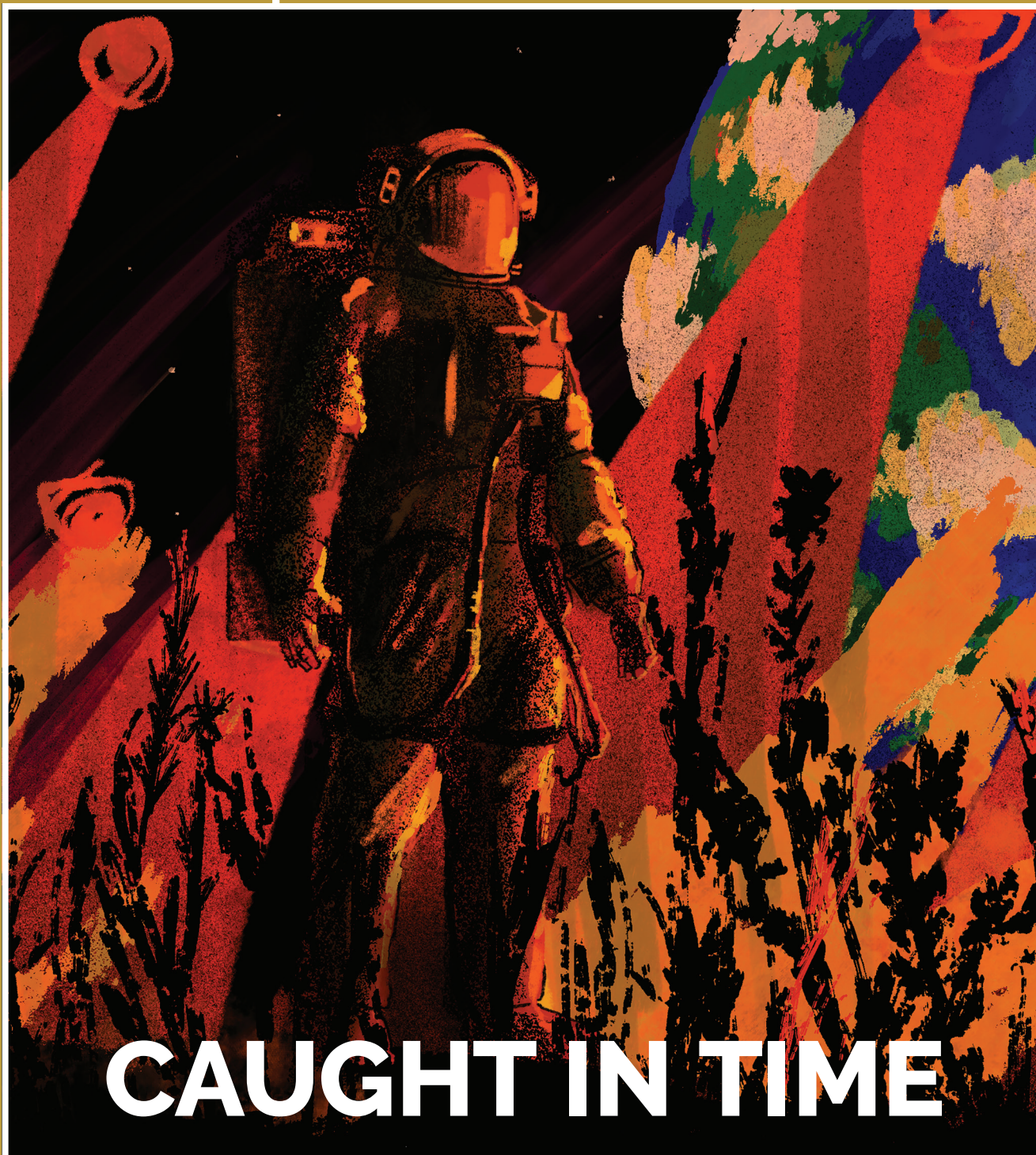


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ON THE COVER

European colonialism and its aftermath dominate modern understandings of time. Its onset forms an indelible boundary between premodern and modern; its crescendo, the boundary between early modernity and recent history. Postcolonial realities circumscribe the memories available to us and the histories, real or fictional, we can write. If not addressed directly and forcefully, legacies of colonialism may even dictate the limits of our possible futures.

Illustration: The Colonial Anthropocene, *Fernando Norat*
(Instagram: @tropiwhat)

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LELAND RENATO GRIGOLI

TOWNHOUSE NOTES

Past, Perfect?

In April, the *New York Times* ran an op-ed interviewing “8 conservative men” who (according to the *Times*’s social media) all came to the conclusion that “this is not the America I remember growing up in.” The so-called newspaper of record had, in other words, determined that these men were subject to what Merriam-Webster calls an “ongoing and indefinitely continuing progress of events and existence.” That *time* exists is apparently newsworthy, at least to the *Times*.

The eight men agreed that things changing over time was Not Good. And if the practice of history is the study and analysis of change over time—I would suggest that it is—what should historians make of the fact that few seem to *like* change over time, at least when it happens to them? Even if many would reject the argument of those eight men and applaud recent changes to cultural attitudes on race and sexuality, they still generally do not appreciate the ever-increasing (or, worse, decreasing) number of gray hairs on their heads. I know I don’t. Further, if the above definition of our discipline holds, then “history” itself is *res gestae*, as it says on my degree—things that have occurred. *Occurred*, perfect tense. A completed action. In addition to stumbling on the concept of time, by declaring the end of what had come before, our *Times* opinion-havers were thus engaged in the very act of making history. They cut “the America I remember growing up in” off from a continuity with the present. It is over, it is past—it is perfect.

If it is often convenient for groups to confuse history with nostalgia, perhaps it is because the space between the two concepts is smaller than historians are comfortable admitting. But the fact that both history and nostalgia are formed through the creation of artificial breaks in the continuous flow of time—by periodizations—is an observation on which I would like to dwell. It is one that is frequently and casually brushed aside. In *That Noble Dream*, Peter Novick calls periodization a “regulatory fiction,” cautions his readers of the “artificiality of periods,” assures them that he himself is aware of their convenient lie, and then lets the subject drop.

Periodizations, a thread *Perspectives* will be examining this year, have become ruts in the road that serve to guide our thoughts. Periodizations help determine the structure of academic hiring practices, of history departments, of which history and whose history students learn and remember. Periodizations can delegitimize and exclude, particularly when coupled with other instruments of oppression. In my own field, some scholars have observed that an insistence on premodern Europe as a white space restricts Blackness to modernity and denies it the “authorizing length and depth” of history. And this observation is predicated on a periodization, a division of European history between modern and premodern that the entire world must observe, and that occurs roughly but inexorably around AD 1500. The regulatory fictions have rules.

When Alice is in Wonderland, Humpty Dumpty scornfully insists to her that when he uses a word, “it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less.” “The question is,” Alice responds, “whether you can make words mean so many different things.” “The question is,” Humpty Dumpty retorts, “which is to be master—that is all.”

As readers, we object along with Alice that Humpty Dumpty’s use of language, making words mean whatever he wants them to mean, is in fact *abuse* of language. As historians, we would react similarly to Humpty Dumpty posting a job advertisement for a “historian of medieval Europe, 1700–1900.” It makes no sense. Was the search committee he chaired trying to please all the king’s horses and all the king’s men, or a dean, or had they simply taken leave of their senses? No matter how eminent that committee, regardless of their book awards, distinguished chairs, or 70-page CVs, the historians on it cannot declare the French Revolution to be premodern. We must then ask the question, Which is to be master, historians or their periodizations? It is wishful thinking to suppose that the answer is “us.” **P**

Leland Renato Grigoli is editor of Perspectives on History. He tweets @mapper_mundi.





TO THE EDITOR

Your recent essays on retirement prompt me to pass along a project I began more than one year ago (I retired, in 2018, after 50 years at my university): thematic essays as autobiography (as opposed to a life narrative). It might be appealing to others.

Both of my parents died in their 50s while I was in my 20s. I had learned bits and pieces about their lives (e.g., my father was an immigrant who came to the United States, at age 19, in 1930; my mother was a second-generation American), but during the following years, my brothers and I had many questions about their lives we had not thought to ask while they lived. Not wanting my sons and grandchildren to have to deal with a similar void and starting at the time of the COVID-19 lockdown, I began to write these personal and revealing essays about as many aspects of my life and experiences as I could think of. Following Oliver Cromwell's "warts and all" request to his portrait painter, I am honest, not holding back even on subjects that are embarrassing. On average, the essays run between three and four typed pages each, single space.

The entire experience (to date, as I'm not finished yet) has been fun and therapeutic, and when it's completed, I will be able to pass along these encounters with my life not only to my sons and grandchildren but to nieces and nephews as well, because this work is also, in part, family history and self-oral history.

 ROBERT BLACKKEY

California State University, San Bernadino (emeritus)



TO THE EDITOR

As one who retired in January 2018, I appreciated the May issue's focus on retired and soon-to-be-retired faculty, especially the thoughts of James Grossman, David MacLaren McDonald, and Allison Blakely. I wondered whether any thought had been given to scholars of early history, given the wide use of the word *emeritus/a* in the essays, for the word in Latin can mean "unfit for service, worn out"—precisely the opposite of the views expressed by many of your writers. In particular, Dr. Blakely's insistence that he remains full of energy is a wonderful rejoinder to those who see retired colleagues as useless and expendable. Three points seemed to be missing from the essays:

Although Professor McDonald mentions a colleague whose decision to retire was partly motivated by the desire to make

way for someone new, this is not always successful. I suspect that more than a handful of us made our decision with this goal in mind, only to find that the university administration used the opportunity to move money elsewhere. As a medievalist, I have seen many of my more senior colleagues elsewhere retire, only to find that the dean or their fellow historians decided that medieval history no longer was valued.

The panelists emphasize that they are still actively engaged in scholarship, and that unlike our STEM colleagues who lose a vital laboratory, humanists can continue to work. But that does not mean that retired humanities faculty do not need resources or provide benefits to their former institutions, resources that are not always available. Retired faculty certainly understand that university space is precious, but providing some for active retired faculty can pay dividends to both retirees and the university.

I saw nothing in any of the essays about the economic plight of faculty (and staff) in retirement. Most devoted decades of service to the institution, frequently at compressed or inverted salaries, but were promised compensatory benefits to be received in retirement. It is both demoralizing and insulting to find that new generations of university administrators look on retirees as irrelevant or, worse, a drag on their economic bottom lines. The primary target heretofore has been health insurance, in which universities across the country have emulated the worst examples in corporate culture to gut policies for retirees precisely when they need them most. In my experience, more than one administrative vice president has announced that retiree benefits will be "scrutinized for 'potential rebalancing.'"

Retirement can and should be a productive and rewarding final chapter in the lives of scholars. Why must American culture and the universities within it edit the text so radically that the conclusion diminishes the entire work?

STEVEN LIVESEY

University of Oklahoma (emeritus)



TO THE EDITOR

As a historian who taught Latin American history from 1968 until my retirement in 2010, and a 50-year member of the AHA, I was especially interested in the May 2022 issue focused on retirement concerns. One aspect that remained unaddressed, however, was what a retired professor, who is no longer doing research, should do with the many books he or she has accumulated over the years. This is an issue I am currently confronting at the age of 81. I have hired a library

science graduate student, who is helping me to organize and make a list of at least 1,000 titles I have amassed over the years. Of course, some are now outdated textbooks, but a large portion is focused on Colombian and frontier history—the two subjects in which I have specialized. I would very much like to find a library, hopefully in Colombia, to donate these books where they will undoubtedly prove useful to young researchers. I have thought of donating them to UMass Amherst, my home institution, but as it is a research institution, it already has copies of most of the books I could offer. As far as I know, the only university that specializes in Colombian material is Vanderbilt, thanks to the efforts of J. Leon Helguera. I have a horror of sending all this material to

the local dump, and feel certain there is a better way to distribute the volumes.

JANE M. RAUSCH
University of Massachusetts Amherst (emerita)

The Editor Responds:

Since Dr. Rausch sent this letter, there has been a robust discussion on this topic in the AHA Member Forum. Those who are pondering this question are encouraged to take a look and to add their own advice and insights.

—LRG

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HISTORY, THE SUPREME COURT, AND *DOBBS V. JACKSON*

*Joint Statement from the American Historical Association and the
Organization of American Historians*

In September 2021, the American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians submitted an amicus curiae brief to the US Supreme Court presenting the relevant history to the *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization* case. We are dismayed that the court declined to take seriously the historical claims of our brief. Instead, the court adopted a flawed interpretation of abortion criminalization that has been pressed by anti-abortion advocates for more than 30 years. The opinion inadequately represents the history of the common law, the significance of quickening in state law and practice in the United States, and the 19th-century forces that turned early abortion into a crime.

The court's decision erodes
fundamental rights and has the
potential to exacerbate historic
injustices and deepen inequalities
in our country.

Historians might note that the court's majority opinion refers to "history" 67 times, claiming that "an unbroken tradition of prohibiting abortion on pain of criminal punishment persisted from the earliest days of the common law until 1973." Our brief shows plentiful evidence, however, of the long legal tradition, extending from the common law to the mid-1800s (and far longer in some American states, including Mississippi), of tolerating termination of pregnancy before occurrence of "quickening," the time when a woman first felt fetal movement. The majority of the court dismisses that reality because it was eventually – although quite gradually – superseded by criminalization. In so doing the court denies the strong presence in US "history and traditions" at least from the Revolution to the Civil War of women's ability to

terminate pregnancy before the third to fourth month without intervention by the state.

These misrepresentations are now enshrined in a text that becomes authoritative for legal reference and citation in the future. The court's decision erodes fundamental rights and has the potential to exacerbate historic injustices and deepen inequalities in our country. We expect that historians will continue to correct the court's misinterpretation about the history of legalized abortion in the US in their own research, teaching, and public speaking, while also addressing the multifaceted dilemmas presented by this decision.

The OAH and AHA consider it imperative that historical evidence and argument be presented according to high standards of historical scholarship. The court's majority opinion in *Dobbs v. Jackson* does not meet those standards and has therefore established a flawed and troubling precedent. **P**

Approved by the AHA Council on July 6, 2022. For a full list of signatories, please see the online version of the statement.

JAMES H. SWEET

IS HISTORY HISTORY?

Identity Politics and Teleologies of the Present

Twenty years ago, in these pages, Lynn Hunt argued “against presentism.” She lamented historians’ declining interest in topics prior to the 20th century, as well as our increasing tendency to interpret the past through the lens of the present. Hunt warned that this rising presentism threatened to “put us out of business as historians.” If history was little more than “short-term . . . identity politics defined by present concerns,” wouldn’t students be better served by taking degrees in sociology, political science, or ethnic studies instead?

The discipline did not heed Hunt’s warning. From 2003 to 2013, the number of PhDs awarded to students working on topics post-1800, across all fields, rose 18 percent. Meanwhile, those working on pre-1800 topics declined by 4 percent. During this time, the Wall Street meltdown was followed by plummeting undergraduate enrollments in history courses and increased professional interest in the history of contemporary socioeconomic topics. Then came Obama, and Twitter, and Trump. As the discipline has become more focused on the 20th and 21st centuries, historical analyses are contained within an increasingly constrained temporality. Our interpretations of the recent past collapse into the familiar terms of contemporary debates, leaving little room for innovative, counterintuitive interpretations.

This trend toward presentism is not confined to historians of the recent past; the entire discipline is lurching in this direction, including a shrinking minority working in premodern fields. If we don’t read the past through the prism of contemporary social justice issues—race, gender, sexuality, nationalism, capitalism—are we doing history that matters? This new history often ignores the values and mores of people in their own times, as well as change over time, neutralizing the expertise that separates historians from those in other disciplines. The allure of political relevance, facilitated by social and other media, encourages a predictable sameness of the present in the past. This sameness is ahistorical, a proposition that might be acceptable if it produced positive political results. But it doesn’t.

In many places, history suffuses everyday life as presentism; America is no exception. We suffer from an overabundance of

history, not as method or analysis but as anachronistic data points for the articulation of competing politics. The consequences of this new history are everywhere. I traveled to Ghana for two months this summer to research and write, and my first writing assignment was a critical response to *The 1619 Project: A New Origin Story* for a forthcoming forum in the *American Historical Review*. Whether or not historians believe that there is anything new in the New York Times project created by Nikole Hannah-Jones, *The 1619 Project* is a best-selling book that sits at the center of current controversies over how to teach American history. As journalism, the project is powerful and effective, but is it history?

This new history often ignores the values and mores of people in their own times.

When I first read the newspaper series that preceded the book, I thought of it as a synthesis of a tradition of Black nationalist historiography dating to the 19th century with Ta-Nehisi Coates’s recent call for reparations. The project spoke to the political moment, but I never thought of it primarily as a work of history. Ironically, it was professional historians’ engagement with the work that seemed to lend it historical legitimacy. Then the Pulitzer Center, in partnership with the *Times*, developed a secondary school curriculum around the project. Local school boards protested characterizations of Washington, Jefferson, and Madison as unpatriotic owners of “forced labor camps.” Conservative lawmakers decided that if this was the history of slavery being taught in schools, the topic shouldn’t be taught at all. For them, challenging the Founders’ position as timeless tribunes of liberty was “racially divisive.” At each of these junctures, history was a zero-sum game of heroes and villains, viewed through the prism of contemporary racial identity. It was not an analysis of people’s ideas in their own time, nor a process of change over time.

In Ghana, I traveled to Elmina for a wedding. A small seaside fishing village, Elmina was home to one of the largest Atlantic slave-trading depots in West Africa. The morning after the



wedding, a small group of us met for breakfast at the hotel. As we waited for several members of our party to show up, a group of African Americans began trickling into the breakfast bar. By the time they all gathered, more than a dozen members of the same family—three generations deep—pulled together the restaurant’s tables to dine. Sitting on the table in front of one of the elders was a dog-eared copy of *The 1619 Project*.

Later that afternoon, my family and I toured Elmina Castle, alongside several Ghanaians, a Dane, and a Jamaican family. Our guide gave a well-rehearsed tour geared toward African Americans. American influence was everywhere, from memorial plaques to wreaths and flowers left on the floors of the castle’s dungeons. Arguably, Elmina Castle is now as much an African American shrine as a Ghanaian archaeological or historical site. As I reflected on breakfast earlier that morning, I could only imagine the affirmation and bonding experienced by the large African American family—through the memorialization of ancestors lost to slavery at Elmina Castle, but also through the story of African American resilience, redemption, and the demand for reparations in *The 1619 Project*.

Yet, as a historian of Africa and the African diaspora, I am troubled by the historical erasures and narrow politics that these narratives convey. Less than one percent of the Africans passing through Elmina arrived in North America. The vast majority went to Brazil and the Caribbean. Should the guide’s story differ for a tour with no African Americans? Likewise, would *The 1619 Project* tell a different history if it took into consideration that the shipboard kin of Jamestown’s “20. and odd” Africans also went to Mexico, Jamaica, and Bermuda? These are questions of historical interpretation, but present-day political ones follow: Do efforts to claim a usable African American past reify elements of American hegemony and exceptionalism such narratives aim to dismantle?

The Elmina tour guide claimed that “Ghanaians” sent their “servants” into chattel slavery unknowingly. The guide made no reference to warfare or Indigenous slavery, histories that interrupt assumptions of ancestral connection between modern-day Ghanaians and visitors from the diaspora. Similarly, the forthcoming film *The Woman King* seems to suggest that Dahomey’s female warriors and King Ghezo fought the European slave trade. In fact, they promoted it. Historically accurate renderings of Asante or Dahomean greed and enslavement apparently contradict modern-day political imperatives.

Hollywood need not adhere to historians’ methods any more than journalists or tour guides, but bad history yields bad politics. The erasure of slave-trading African empires in the name of political unity is uncomfortably like right-wing conservative attempts to erase slavery from school curricula in the United States, also in the name of unity. These interpretations are two sides of the same coin. If history is only those stories from the past that confirm current

political positions, all manner of political hacks can claim historical expertise.

Too many Americans have become accustomed to the idea of history as an evidentiary grab bag to articulate their political positions, a trend that can be seen in recent US Supreme Court decisions. The word “history” appears 95 times in Clarence Thomas’s majority opinion overturning New York’s conceal-carry gun law. Likewise, Samuel Alito invokes “history” 67 times in his opinion overturning *Roe v. Wade*. Despite amicus briefs written by professional historians in both cases (including one co-authored by the AHA and the Organization of American Historians), the court’s majority deploys only those pieces of historical evidence that support their preconceived political biases.

The majority decisions are ahistorical. In the conceal-carry case, Justice Thomas cherry-picks historical data, casting aside restrictions in English common law as well as historical examples of limitations on gun rights in the United States, to illustrate America’s so-called “tradition” of individual gun ownership rights. Then, Thomas uses this “historical” evidence to support his interpretation of the original meaning of the Second Amendment as it was written in 1791, including the right of individuals (not a “well regulated Militia”) to conceal and carry automatic pistols. In *Dobbs v. Jackson*, Justice Alito ignores legal precedents punishing abortion only after “quickening,” concluding: “An unbroken tradition of prohibiting abortion on pain of criminal punishment persisted from the earliest days of the common law until 1973.” This is not history; it is dilettantism.

This is not history; it is dilettantism. |

In his dissent to *NYSRPA v. Bruen*, Justice Stephen Breyer disparagingly labels the majority’s approach “law office history.” He recognizes that historians engage in research methods and interpretive approaches incompatible with solving modern-day legal, political, or economic questions. As such, he argues that history should *not* be the primary measure for adjudicating contemporary legal issues.

Professional historians would do well to pay attention to Breyer’s admonition. The present has been creeping up on our discipline for a long time. Doing history with integrity requires us to interpret elements of the past not through the optics of the present but within the worlds of our historical actors. Historical questions often emanate out of present concerns, but the past interrupts, challenges, and contradicts the present in unpredictable ways. History is not a heuristic tool for the articulation of an ideal imagined future. Rather, it is a way to study the messy, uneven process of change over time. When we foreshorten or shape history to justify rather than inform contemporary political positions, we not only undermine the discipline but threaten its very integrity. **P**

James H. Sweet is president of the AHA.

JAMES GROSSMAN

WHAT ARE STUDENTS LEARNING?

“Divisive Concepts” in History Education

The stated goal of Glenn Youngkin’s first executive order as governor of Virginia, issued on January 15, 2022, was “to ensure excellence in K–12 public education in the Commonwealth.” The initial step along this presumably long and winding road would be “to end the use of inherently divisive concepts, including Critical Race Theory, and to raise academic standards.”

I’m all for excellent public education, and for raising academic standards where necessary. Indeed, Virginia at that very moment was in the midst of considering new—and, yes, raised—standards in American history, serious work that seems not to have crossed the governor’s radar.

There is little evidence, however, that the governor has a clear idea of what his state’s existing standards—at least in history—are. Since the context of his remarks suggests that his concerns lay largely in the teaching of history, and were part of a significant and ongoing national controversy, it’s worth parsing his words with some care. The pledge made frequently during his campaign, “to end the use of inherently divisive concepts,” stood atop an assumption: that those “concepts, including Critical Race Theory” are already in “use” in Virginia classrooms. Otherwise, there would be nothing to “end.”

This assumption also undergirds legislation introduced in 41 states since the beginning of 2021 and passed in 15 states by the end of July 2022. The AHA, in collaboration with PEN America, the American Association of University Professors, and the Association of American Colleges and Universities—and supported by more than 150 other organizations, including all regional higher education accreditors—has publicly opposed such efforts. More than 40 nonpartisan organizations, including associations of school boards and superintendents, have formed the Learn from History coalition to educate Americans on the threats such policies pose to public education, democracy, and civic culture.

As part of its Teaching History with Integrity initiative, the AHA has gone further than most of its coalition partners and other history organizations in actively opposing “divisive concepts” legislation, including writing letters to legislators in states where these bills have a chance of success. Like

other opponents of these legislative initiatives, we have insisted that no such thing is happening in the vast majority of American classrooms. For example, Idaho’s “divisive concepts” legislation, using language that appears frequently elsewhere, prevents public education institutions, including higher education, from teaching:

That any sex, race, ethnicity, religion, color, or national origin is inherently superior or inferior;

That individuals should be adversely treated on the basis of their sex, race, ethnicity, religion, color, or national origin;

That individuals, by virtue of sex, race, ethnicity, religion, color, or national origin, are inherently responsible for actions committed in the past by other members of the same sex, race, ethnicity, religion, color, or national origin.

Like other opponents of these legislative initiatives, we have insisted that no such thing is happening in the vast majority of American classrooms.

This is complicated terrain. History courses *should* address the fact that in the past, students were certainly taught the first of these items and often the second. I would not be surprised if some public school classrooms still sanction, if only implicitly, the normativity of a religion, gender identity, or national origin. But are students in secondary school history classes (in Idaho or elsewhere) being taught that some social groups are superior to others? Or that individuals should be “adversely treated on the basis of” social categories? Legislators clearly assume that these “divisive concepts” (which, when delineated, usually relate to race and racism) are embedded in the curriculum and widely in use by teachers. Their opponents (including the AHA) are equally



Photo: Sophia Gerner

confident that “critical race theory” has almost no presence in K–12 classrooms, and that whatever “divisive concepts” do appear in history curricula depict the realities of US history and lie well within the realm of evidence-driven, scholarly consensus.

But we don’t know. Neither side knows what is actually being taught in history classrooms, or even the broad landscape of what is supposed to be taught. Neither side has sufficient evidence to support its arguments in this debate.

A June 2021 report by the Thomas B. Fordham Institute provides a useful entry point. Fordham researchers examined baseline standards for US history and civics courses in each of the 50 states and the District of Columbia. The report scored each jurisdiction based on the rigor and clarity of its standards but did not explore how those standards found expression in district-level history curricula. Nor did the institute consider how the quality and availability of textbooks or other learning materials might support or impede student learning. Most important for our purposes, the report did not focus attention on the *content* that is the current bone of contention, especially issues relating to the history and impact of racism.

It’s bad enough that so much policy debate in both state and national legislatures is polarized and stretched to extremes. But even those seeking thoughtful debate on common ground don’t have the facts they need to assemble a sensible framework for constructive policy formation.

This is no way to have a useful conversation, one that affects not only students but thousands of teachers, many of whom are feeling the chilling effects that make effective teaching difficult, if not impossible. As one Texas legislator recently explained, if the law stipulates that teachers cannot say one race is superior to another, will they lose their job if they tell students that for more than a century, American textbooks and teachers told students precisely that? Should teachers be expected to take such risks to maintain their professional integrity?

The AHA wants to know the content of state standards, policies, guidelines, rubrics, and assessments. What content is mandated or provided in the 13,588 school districts across the country? What textbooks are in use, and what versions of American history are they presenting? What online materials are teachers using to devise lesson plans and assignments? We will complement this research with targeted surveys of teachers to learn as much as we can about what actually happens in classrooms, which often differs from the prescriptions generated by state and local authorities—though it is these prescriptions that are driving the debate and will be the initial focus of our attention.

I’m not sure what we’ll find. Perhaps we’ll learn that despite all the attention paid to critical race theory and the *New York Times*’s 1619 Project (specifically named and prohibited in

some legislation), secondary school curriculum includes considerable material about Black Americans but little about racism as a continuing influence on the evolution of American institutions and social relations. Perhaps the Turnerian frontier will be more present than recent scholarship on Native Americans or—more likely—attempts at historiographical compromise will have shoehorned that newer scholarship into a framework that descends from Turner’s language and assumptions. I doubt we’ll find much Phillips or Dunning, but bland compromises explaining slavery, emancipation, Reconstruction, and the Jim Crow regime with a passive voice seem eminently possible: noble victims with neither structural nor individual agents of their victimization.

In some states, what constitutes a “divisive concept” is unclear; the *prohibition* on such material, however, is usually explicit and often comes with sanctions directed at individual teachers.

Less than a week before Youngkin announced his first executive order as governor, a member of the Virginia General Assembly introduced HB 781, which stated unequivocally that “no school board or employee thereof”—in other words, no public school teacher—shall “*Teach or incorporate into any course or class any divisive concept*” (emphasis in the original). In New Hampshire, comparable legislation was proposed that prohibited the teaching of “any doctrine or theory promoting a negative account or representation of the founding and history of the United States of America.” In some states, what constitutes a “divisive concept” or “negative account” is unclear; the *prohibition* on such material, however, is usually explicit and often comes with sanctions directed at individual teachers, including termination of employment. In all of this legislation lies the equivalent of a push poll: wording that prohibits a set of classroom activities and curricula in a way that implies such material is already being taught.

We are well aware that the content of secondary school history instruction is highly localized and often complicated. Whatever we find, at least we will finally know what we’re talking about. **P**

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

LELAND RENATO GRIGOLI

THE 2022 AHA JOBS REPORT

A New Normal?

The effect of COVID-19 on academic hiring was swift and brutal. The 2020–21 academic year had the fewest professorial job listings in history since the AHA first started keeping records in 1975. Pandemic-related austerity measures, hiring freezes, and the like were implemented by almost every US university, and the resulting downturn was as expected as it was unwelcome.

The availability of jobs from 2016–17 to 2019–20 had been remarkably stable, as had the relative ratios of tenure-track (TT), non-tenure-track (NTT), and non-teaching jobs (Fig. 1). This period saw an

average of 536 jobs listed per year (standard deviation [SD] 9), of which 312 (SD 11) were TT, 168 (SD 5) were NTT, and 56 (SD 6) were nonteaching positions. Although these numbers were far from encouraging, the consistency was a relative improvement from years of continuous decline following the 2008 market crash.

For the fall of 2021, many held out hope for a similar rebound. COVID-19 mandates eased, administrators took stock of their resources, and some paused searches resumed. Academic job listings did indeed rebound to levels above those seen immediately before the pandemic. This increase is not, however, a sign of renewed

vitality but a partial return to the steady but dismal state of faculty job availability in the late 2010s.

From June 2020 to the end of May 2021, 347 positions were listed with the AHA Career Center, a decline of 29 percent from the year before. Advertised tenure and TT positions fell to a historic low of 167, almost half the number advertised in 2019–20 (316), a decline that must take into account the impact of COVID-19 on budgets and decision-making processes. NTT positions fell 21 percent from 161 to 127. The number of positions listed for non-faculty jobs, primarily nonteaching jobs within colleges and universities, increased from 51 to 80 positions.

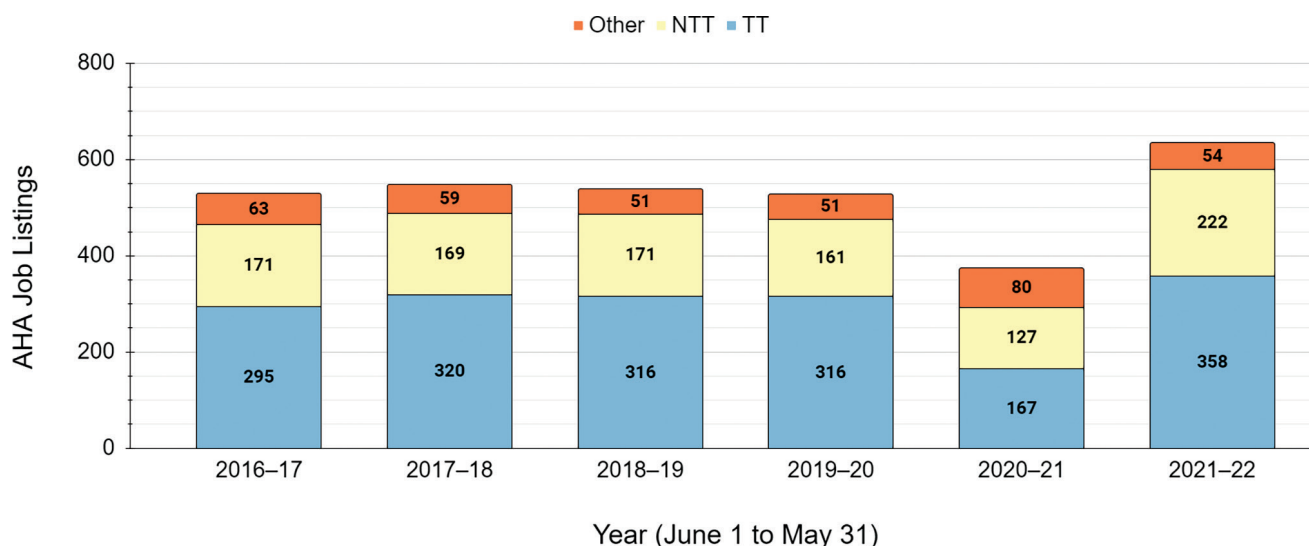


Fig 1: Job listings on the AHA Career Center by type and year from 2016–17 to 2021–22.

The severe impact of the pandemic on the 2020–21 data is underscored by the large increase in listings for the following year. The AHA Career Center listed 634 positions from June 2021 to the end of May 2022. This constitutes a 70 percent increase from the previous year and a 20 percent increase over 2019–20 listings. The majority of the difference was in listings for TT positions. Of those listings, 358 (57 percent of total) were TT, a 114 percent increase over 2020–21 and a 13 percent increase over 2019–20. NTT listings rose more modestly, with 222 advertisements, a 75 percent increase over 2020–21 totals and a 38 percent increase over 2019–20. This increase was largely attributable to listings for visiting assistant professors and postdoctoral researchers. Non-instructional advertisements dropped 33 percent to 54. Finally, H-Net job advertisements provide an external correlation to the spike in listings seen in the AHA Career Center data. H-Net listed roughly 670 jobs in history and area studies for the 2021–22 hiring cycle, a 52 percent increase over 2020–21.

Taken together, the 2020–21 and 2021–22 hiring years look much like the late 2010s.

The data for this past year thus shows a rebound in hiring, but was it enough to compensate for the shock of the pandemic? Taken together, the 2020–21 and 2021–22 hiring years look much like the late 2010s. The two years averaged a total of 505 jobs, a modest decrease (6 percent) in total listings when compared to the prepandemic average of 536. On the surface, then, the 2021–22 cycle balances out the previous year and marks a return to prepandemic levels of job availability.

Year	AHA Job Total	TT Listings	NTT Listings	Other
2016–17	529	295	171	63
2017–18	548	320	169	59
2018–19	538	316	171	51
2019–20	528	316	161	51
2020–21	374	167	127	80
2021–22	634	358	222	54
2020–22 Avg	504	263	175	67

Fig. 2: Job listings on the AHA Career Center by type and year, with the average listing for 2020–22 included.

This apparent consistency conceals a shift within the listings from permanent to contingent positions (Fig. 2). There is a 16 percent drop in the number of TT listings when the 2020–22 average (263) is compared to the average listings for the four years prior to the pandemic (312). Statistically, this is a deviation far from the sort of random fluctuations that might be expected on a year-to-year basis ($p < .01$). The average number of NTT jobs for 2020–22 (175), however, is almost unchanged from the 2016–20 average of 168, while the average number of nonteaching listings has increased 20 percent (56 to 67). Both of these changes are well within expected year-to-year variations ($p > .05$). Therefore, that 6 percent drop in total listings on average for 2020–22 is the result of fewer TT jobs only. Further, the ratio of NTT to TT job offerings—which had remained steady from 2016 to 2020—has shifted decisively toward contingent labor during the pandemic. Universities are delaying or forgoing tenured hires in favor of short-term appointments. The cause of this shift is unclear. Universities could still be compensating for lost revenue, hedging their bets on an uncertain future, hiring to fill sabbaticals deferred during pandemic-era travel restrictions, or simply spending their money on other institutional priorities.

The increase in listings for 2021–22 was also not evenly distributed across fields or in the permanence of the positions

offered (Fig. 3). For example, advertisements for world history jobs and listings categorized as other/open saw similar overall increases, but the majority of world history listings were in contract positions, while those in the other/open category were mostly TT (Fig. 4). Similarly, scholars seeking jobs in Asian and Latin American history saw substantial increases in both permanent and contingent positions, while African historians actually saw fewer NTT listings in 2021–22 than in the previous year. The relatively small number of listings for these fields, however, makes it difficult to judge whether these variations are significant.

In addition to instructional positions and other jobs within the academy, historians are finding other forms of employment, a fact reflecting the AHA's commitment to career diversity. The 2021 Survey of Earned Doctorates, administered to all new PhDs upon graduation, showed that a sizable share (15 percent) of new history PhDs immediately entered positions outside higher education. They were distributed across several areas: government (3 percent), business (3 percent), nonprofit organizations (4 percent), and K–12 or other positions (5 percent).

Completed in the summer of 2021, the most recent edition of the AHA *Directory* provides another useful indicator about how many history PhDs are entering full-time instructional jobs in

	US	Other/Open	Methodological	Africa	Asia	Europe	Latin America	M. East/N. Africa	Multiple	World
2020–21 TT	52	36	18	12	13	10	8	4	5	11
2020–21 NTT	39	48	21	8	4	4	2	4	2	6
2020–21 Total	91	84	39	20	17	14	10	8	7	17
2021–22 TT	93	87	26	27	36	25	24	11	14	15
2021–22 NTT	55	69	36	5	15	7	9	7	5	14
2021–22 Total	148	156	62	32	51	32	33	18	19	29
2020–22 TT Avg.	73	62	22	20	25	18	16	8	10	13
2020–22 NTT Avg.	47	59	29	7	10	10	10	10	4	10
2020–22 Total Avg.	120	121	51	27	35	28	26	18	14	23

Fig. 3: Distribution of jobs listed on the AHA Career Center in 2020–21 and 2021–22, with 2020–2022 averages included.

	US	Other/Open	Methodological	Africa	Asia	Europe	Latin America	M. East/N. Africa	Multiple	World
TT	78.85%	141.67%	44.44%	125.00%	176.92%	150.00%	200.00%	175.00%	180.00%	36.36%
NTT	41.03%	43.75%	71.43%	-37.50%	275.00%	75.00%	350.00%	75.00%	150.00%	133.33%
Total	62.64%	85.71%	58.97%	60.00%	200.00%	128.57%	230.00%	125.00%	171.43%	70.59%

Fig. 4: Percent change in number of listings on the AHA Career Center by subfield and type between 2020–21 and 2021–22.

academia and which schools are awarding their degrees. The *Directory* has some gaps in coverage, especially among two-year colleges and smaller departments and units that are composed of multiple disciplines. And from past research, we know that many history PhDs find professorial positions outside history departments. Nevertheless, the *Directory* provides information on 14,431 faculty members either employed or with emeritus status at a substantial slice of the history departments in the United States.

Among the faculty employed full-time in *Directory* history departments as of fall 2021, 113 of them earned their PhDs in 2019, and another 64 earned their PhDs in 2020. Those 175 PhDs compare to 1,799 history PhDs tabulated by the Survey of Earned Doctorates within that period. Though this data offers a lower bound, there are few compelling reasons to think that more than 15 percent of history PhDs secured TT jobs immediately following graduation during these two years. The

AHA's Where Historians Work survey, which looks at a broader snapshot of time, suggests an upper bound: for those who graduated from a PhD program in 2017, 27 percent (231 of 860) were employed in TT positions four years later in 2021. This contrasts starkly with the data from earlier cohorts. Of those who earned their PhDs in 2013, for example, 54 percent (511 of 944) were employed in TT jobs after four years.

Additionally, the *Directory* data corroborates other studies that have shown that graduates of certain programs have a substantial advantage in the search for a permanent academic job. Of those who graduated from a program in the top 10 of the *US News and World Report* rankings for history departments in 2019 and 2020, 14 percent (47 of 345) were employed in TT jobs by fall 2021. Of those from programs ranked below the top 30, only 7 percent (72 of 967) were employed in TT jobs by that same date. In other words, although neither number is particularly encouraging for

those hoping for a TT position right out of graduate school, those from highly ranked programs were 50 percent more likely than their peers to find TT employment immediately upon earning a degree in 2019–20.

Taken together, these indicators should encourage a continuing focus on maintaining strong and diverse career options for history PhDs at all US institutions. Even with the significant rebound in academic hiring in the past year—at least relatively speaking—finding a permanent faculty position is and will remain extremely difficult for the foreseeable future. [P](#)

Leland Renato Grigoli is editor of Perspectives on History. He tweets @mapper_mundi.

ADVOCACY BRIEFS

The AHA's Summer Advocacy

Over the past few months, the AHA has signed on to letters advocating for foreign language education programming and opposing the closure of the Environmental Protection Agency's digital archive, endorsed the LGBTQI+ Data Inclusion Act, and released a joint statement regarding the use of history in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization*. The AHA also continued to advocate for history educators and students through the Teaching History with Integrity initiative.

AHA Signs On to Letter Advocating for Title VI Funding

On May 31, the AHA signed on to a letter to Congress from the Coalition for International Education urging stronger funding for the US Department of Education's International and Foreign Language Education programs, including HEA-Title IV programs and Fulbright-Hays programs. "Many more programs would be made available to address the nation's critical needs for advanced fluency in foreign languages, world regions and international business," the letter states. "Students from all racial and socio-economic backgrounds would have more opportunities to obtain the international experience and skills in growing demand across a wide range of professional and technical fields impacting our global engagement, security and competitiveness."

AHA Signs On to ASEH Letter Opposing Closure of EPA Digital Archive

On June 14, the AHA signed on to a letter from the American Society for Environmental History (ASEH) opposing the Environmental Protection Agency's plans to sunset its online archive in July 2022. In addition to being "immensely useful to environmental historians," ASEH writes, "[t]he site has provided resources for others working in ecology, biology, toxicology, and other environmental sciences as well as geography, law, sociology, political science, and public health. . . . Not least among those who have relied on the EPA's online archive are those working with and living in more marginalized or environmental justice communities, a stated priority of current EPA leadership."

AHA Endorses LGBTQI + Data Inclusion Act

On June 23, the AHA formally endorsed the LGBTQI+ Data Inclusion Act, a bill that "ensures that lawmakers and federal agencies have the comprehensive data they need to advance policies that better serve LGBTQI+ people." "Full equality and sound policy can only be achieved when we count all members of our community," said Rep. Raúl M. Grijalva (D-AZ), who introduced the legislation. "Lawmakers and agencies are one step closer to finally having comprehensive data to craft better policies to

remedy and address the disparities faced by LGBTQI+ individuals—particularly people of color—to ensure their needs are met." The bill passed the House of Representatives on June 23 and was referred to the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs on July 11.

History, the Supreme Court, and *Dobbs v. Jackson*: Joint Statement from the AHA and the OAH

On July 6, the AHA and the Organization of American Historians issued a joint statement expressing dismay that the US Supreme Court "declined to take seriously the historical claims of our [amicus curiae] brief" in its *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization* decision. "Instead, the court adopted a flawed interpretation of abortion criminalization that has been pressed by anti-abortion advocates for more than 30 years. . . . These misrepresentations are now enshrined in a text that becomes authoritative for legal reference and citation in the future. The court's decision erodes fundamental rights and has the potential to exacerbate historic injustices and deepen inequalities in our country." As of August 1, 30 organizations have signed on to the statement. See page 6 for the full statement.

AHA's Teaching History with Integrity Initiative Adds Multiple Advocacy and Research Missions

The AHA's **Teaching History with Integrity** initiative provides resources and support for history educators facing intensifying controversies about the teaching of the American past. Historians have a crucial role to play as participants in public deliberations about how to engage students in honest and evidence-based inquiry in history classrooms. Teaching History with Integrity includes ongoing advocacy and research initiatives and projects, from writing letters to state legislatures to compiling a comprehensive report on the landscape of secondary US history education.

The **Freedom to Learn** initiative, part of Teaching History with Integrity, educates historians and others on how to advocate for honest history education, responds directly to the “divisive concepts” bills that seek to limit history education, and creates resources to help teachers directly affected by these bills think about how to maintain the integrity of their history courses. As August, the AHA has sent letters to 18 state legislatures and school districts in 2022.

In the AHA-produced videos “**Teaching with Integrity: Historians Speak**,” historians describe how exploring America's past honestly in the classroom benefits the nation's students, and how the freedom to learn also strengthens our shared democracy.

The research portion of Teaching History with Integrity initiative is **Mapping the Landscape of Secondary US History Education**, which will combine analysis of published content standards and curriculum guidelines with interviews and surveys of administrators and educators nationwide at the state and district levels. The resulting report

aspires to provide an accurate picture of the landscape of secondary US history education across the United States.

The AHA also has ongoing partnerships with organizations that emphasize the importance of teaching honest history. The AHA has been privileged to participate in PEN America's series **Flashpoints: Free Speech in American History, Culture, and Society**, which presents the history of free speech in American democracy to public audiences around the United States.

The AHA is an inaugural partner of **Learn from History**, a coalition of 40 organizations that oppose efforts to limit the ability of educators to maintain the scholarly integrity of courses in US history. Among other resources, Learn from History offers toolkits for school

system leaders, parents, teachers, and school board members.

For more information about the Teaching History with Integrity initiative and its projects, please visit historians.org/THWI. **P**

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TRISHULA PATEL

"TWO SEPARATE SOCIETIES, DIVIDED BY COLOR"

Race, Colonialism, and Bridgerton

Dearest Gentle Reader—Historians are only human. Which is why I must confess that I swooned, just a little—maybe a lot—when Anthony Bridgerton declared his love for Kathani Sharma in the second season finale of *Bridgerton*. Kris Bowers's version of the Bollywood song "Kabhi Khushi Kabhi Gham" made my heart sing. Kate, Edwina, and Mary Sharma showed women like me—a person of South Asian origin—characters missing from mainstream period dramas until now.

Regency dramas are a popular form of entertainment in the United States and the United Kingdom, from adaptations of Jane Austen novels to the 2022 film *Mr. Malcolm's List*. They depict Great Britain between roughly 1795 and 1837, often centering themes of foiled romance and constrictive gender roles. In both seasons of Netflix's *Bridgerton*, based on a series of novels by Julia Quinn, a number of roles went to actors of color, characters written as white in the source material. Such diverse casting is typical of executive producer Shonda Rhimes's work, and commentators have celebrated this choice as a refreshing take when period dramas such as



Bridgerton's Lady Danbury and Edwina, Mary, and Kate Sharma participate in high-society activities like promenading through Hyde Park—activities real women of color may not have been welcome to join.

Liam Daniel/Netflix

Downton Abbey have typically ignored race. But other critics denounced the show's creators for imagining a world in which racism does not dominate the treatment of characters of color.

My inner historian kept poking me as I watched, akin to the metaphorical angel (or devil, probably) on my shoulder (a moral quandary some of my readers clearly lack). As a scholar of race and colonialism, I was truly perplexed by the show's sidelining of the history of imperialism that would have, theoretically, brought families like those of the Duke of Hastings, Lady Danbury, and the Sharmas to British shores in the first place.

Historical dramas are rarely historically accurate. For those of you who have the luck to not be a professional historian, this manipulation of fact enables the dramatic turns that make these shows a delight to watch. In highlighting characters of color in the show, its creators do them an injustice by ignoring the histories that would have been a central part of their identity navigating the colonial metropole. In the show's telling, the love match between King George III and a Black Queen Charlotte—whose racial origins have indeed prompted debate among historians—brought two worlds together through racial reconciliation. But *Bridgerton* ignores Britain's involvement in the transatlantic slave trade from 1640 to 1807, which brought enslaved peoples from West African ports to London. Those who escaped bondage became a part of the social life of the city; a few rose to prominence as abolitionists and traders. The show also ignores the colonialism that was central to Britain's modern global identity. Rather than use this history as background, this world glosses over the more uncomfortable elements in favor of a simple celebration of racial equality.

Bridgerton does characters of color an injustice by ignoring the histories that would have been a central part of their identity navigating the colonial metropole.

Enter the Sharma sisters, who arrive from Bombay in time for both the show's second season and the London "season" when the wealthy and powerful seek to make marriage matches for young women like Edwina. Their mother, Lady Mary, was cut off by her family for running off with an Indian merchant who already had a child of his own, a scandal I

do not doubt many of you would revel in gossiping about even today. Kate and Edwina grew up speaking not only English and French but Bengali and Marathi, and they play the piano as well as the sitar. Raised on the estate of an Indian prince who employed their father, they learned the skills required in London society. Yet they retain a distinctly Indian identity. They wear Indian jewelry and put cardamom pods in their tea, as my own mother does with her chai. Before Edwina's wedding day, her mother and sister perform a *haldi* ceremony, smearing her face and arms with a turmeric paste to bless her marriage. They embrace their Indian culture and heritage and display them to the world unabashedly, but they merge them with the English traditions and norms required in elite society.

But it is difficult for me, both as a historian and a descendant of colonized peoples, to see the history that would have brought the Sharmas to British shores completely ignored. Not acknowledging race becomes a way of then ignoring it and dismissing it; instead, *Bridgerton*'s characters do not have to deal with the complexities and conflicts of living in a colonial world. Missing from this narrative entirely is the British East India Company and the role it played in colonizing the Indian subcontinent after the Battle of Plassey in 1757, eventually leading to the establishment of the British Raj in 1858. The events of *Bridgerton* take place in the middle of this process. India became the jewel in the crown of the British Empire, but at the expense of Indian livelihoods and rights; Indian subjects became cogs in the imperial administrative machine. India remained under formal colonial rule until 1947, long after the end of the Regency era and the abandonment of corsets (which, dear reader, none of you attending the Queen's Ball: A *Bridgerton* Experience across the country would survive in for more than an hour).

Does colonialism exist in *Bridgerton*'s world? It had to, to explain the presence of Black and Brown peoples living and promenading around the "ton." But in a real colonial world, the "two separate societies, divided by color" that Lady Danbury says were brought together by Queen Charlotte and King George III would have remained segregated. Colonialism was predicated on the racial hierarchies and the constructed inferiority of nonwhite peoples that became set in legislative stone in the 19th and 20th centuries across the British Empire, justifying the imperial project in the first place. In one scene, Queen Charlotte allows Edwina to hold the Crown Jewels. Many of these jewels, including the Stuart Sapphire, were acquired from early imperial expeditions into South Asia. Handing Edwina a necklace made of gems obtained through the violence of colonialism feels like an unjustifiable wrong

being made right. But it also feels like an erasure of the history that would have made Edwina who she is.

Most period dramas set in a fictional European or American past do indeed ignore the imperialism on which modern states were founded, including *The Tudors* and *Reign*, or sideline it to the shadows of interpersonal and familial relationships, as *The Crown* does. One exception is *The Gilded Age*, which tackles New York's history of racial divisions in a refreshing way for this genre (while still ignoring the history of slavery that brought Africans to the Americas). *Bridgerton* attempts to sideline the contentious foundations of imperial nations by imagining a world in which race exists but is not the defining factor in class and social hierarchies, making the show almost *decolonial* in a sense. It allows viewers like me to revel in the casting of darker-skinned actresses in lead roles and to celebrate the Zimbabwean heritage of actors such as Regé-Jean Page playing the heartthrob of the first season. It suggests a world without colonialism, thereby eliminating the need for rethinking a postcolonial portrayal of Quinn's novels or the domination of white actors in Hollywood. It simply allows these characters to exist as they are, no matter the color of their skin.

Hanging Edwina a necklace made of gems obtained through the violence of colonialism feels like an unjustifiable wrong being made right.

At the same time, the show's representation of characters of color falls into a generalizing trap. Indian critics have pointed to the weird and confusing amalgamation of traditions performed by the Sharma sisters. Within the family, Edwina calls her sister *didì*, a word used in north Indian languages to refer to an older sister, and Kate calls Edwina *bon*, a Bengali term for a sister (the actress playing Edwina, Charithra Chandran, had no idea herself what it meant). And yet they also refer to their parents as *appa* and *amma*, Tamil terms for father and mother. This *mélange* of languages from different parts of the subcontinent glosses over which part of India these sisters actually come from, suggesting the creators did not care to go beyond a simple web search for foreign-language family terms. While the language is perplexing, the use of prominent South Asian historical figures is equally confusing. Most period dramas are not shining examples of historical accuracy, but Edwina asks Anthony Bridgerton if he has read the works of Urdu poet Mirza Ghalib

(mispronouncing his name in the process). We can forgive Anthony for not being familiar with Ghalib (only 16 years old at that time); his work would not have circulated very far beyond India in 1814. But these inaccuracies can be as damaging as pretending certain histories do not exist, alienating the viewers who would otherwise be able to identify with otherwise marginalized characters and cultures. In glossing over the specifics of race and colonialism, the producers of *Bridgerton* create an India that would not have made sense to anyone hailing from the subcontinent then—or now.

Bridgerton's form of decolonization is thus one that can be both celebrated and denounced for its erasure of the very history that British students today are not exposed to in schools, a legacy that suggests that the history of people who look like the Sharma sisters or the Duke of Hastings is not important or relevant in today's world. For a show that challenges patriarchal norms in complex ways, it has not fought the same battle for its characters of color given the history they themselves would have had to fight to be considered British nobility. Postcolonialism and decolonization are predicated on the existence—and persistence—of colonialism and its legacies. Only by acknowledging this violent and uncomfortable history can *Bridgerton* give its characters the complexity in their stories that they truly deserve.

Because, dear reader, there was no greater scandal at the time than that of the violence and oppression committed by the British Empire across the globe, no matter how much some may try to imagine it away. **P**

Yours truly,
Trishula Patel

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KARA DIXON VUIC

THE BETTER *ROE*

The Case of *Struck v. Secretary of Defense*



US Air Force nurses like the one pictured here faced automatic discharge if they became pregnant in the 1960s and early 1970s.
VA061418, George H. Kelling Collection, Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Vietnam Archive, Texas Tech University

ONE DAY IN the spring of 1970, while stationed in Phù Cát, Vietnam, air force nurse Susan Struck felt dizzy. She sat down, wondering what the problem was, and then it hit her: she was pregnant. Struck had joined the US Air Force Nurse Corps partly to avoid the traditional path of marriage and family that many of her friends had followed. She loved nursing, had even volunteered for a war zone assignment, and had no plans to trade her career for a family. But when she realized she was pregnant, she had only two options: face immediate discharge for pregnancy and leave the air force or have an abortion and remain on duty.

Struck decided to have an abortion. At the time, the US military permitted abortions in its hospitals, though the procedure's availability in Vietnam varied, and so Struck planned to ask for permission to fly to Japan for the procedure. But after a dream about her fetus, she drew on her Catholic faith and decided to continue with the pregnancy and surrender the baby for adoption. She also resolved not to be discharged, so she hid her pregnancy for as long as she could. She was about seven and a half months along when her hospital's chief nurse confronted her. The following day, Struck was on an airplane back to the United States, where she began a two-year legal battle to remain in the military.

Since formally admitting women to the armed forces, the US military had imposed regulations that restricted women's sexuality and pregnancy, driven by both prevailing gender norms and a desire to safeguard the women's and the institution's reputations through a public image of heterosexual respectability. But in other ways, policies increasingly reflected a moderate approach to women's concerns, and by 1970, military abortion policies outpaced much of the rest of the nation's.

The Department of Defense (DOD) attempted to standardize its reproduction policies in 1966, a year after the US Supreme Court guaranteed married couples the right to reproductive privacy in *Griswold v. Connecticut*. The DOD ordered that birth control be made available to servicewomen and to the wives and daughters of servicemen worldwide, and it permitted abortion and sterilization "for medical reasons only." Federal law regulated military medical care, but as states passed widely varying abortion laws in the late 1960s, many medical officers were unsure whether state laws applied. In early 1970, the surgeons general sought clarification from the DOD.

In July 1970, DOD chief medical officer Louis M. Rousselot clarified that abortions could be performed in military facilities "when medically indicated or for reasons involving mental health." The policy imposed no gestational time restrictions, but it did require the approval of two physicians and specified

that no medical staff had to participate against their wishes. When the military's surgeons general countered that they preferred that state laws dictate abortion policy, Rousselot held his ground. A practicing Catholic, he was no abortion advocate, but he believed that the armed forces needed a uniform policy, and that reproductive decisions were best made by women and their physicians. By the standards of the era, the DOD abortion policy was among the nation's most liberal, with only four states—New York, Washington, Hawaii, and Alaska—permitting the procedure under less restrictive terms.

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Meanwhile, Struck continued to fight her discharge. By October 1970, she had been sent to McChord Air Force Base, where the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) sued the Secretary of Defense on her behalf and won a series of temporary stays allowing her to remain in the military while her case was litigated. On December 3, Struck delivered a baby girl, who was soon adopted by friends in Nebraska.

Two weeks later, in an effort to draw Catholic voters to the Republican Party, President Richard M. Nixon and his political adviser Patrick Buchanan initiated a plan to publicly reverse the DOD. The military's abortion policies had not drawn much public attention, but the pair seized on the issue to frame Nixon as antiabortion. Characterizing abortion as "an unacceptable form of population control" and citing the "sanctity of human life," in March 1971, Nixon ordered the DOD to follow state, not federal, abortion laws. The move did not go far enough for Rep. Larry Hogan Sr. (R-MD), who proposed the first fetal personhood constitutional amendment in 1973. Servicewomen and dependent women, Hogan understood, could still travel to other locales for the procedure, all at military expense. But Nixon issued no further directives.

Jurisprudence about women's reproductive lives changed rapidly in the early 1970s, and this legal climate framed Struck's efforts to remain in the air force. Her case was first heard at the US District Court for the Western District of Washington, where her attorneys argued that a discharge for pregnancy violated Struck's constitutional rights to equal protection and due process. Her attorneys likened pregnancy to a temporary disability and noted that no other comparable ailment or condition required discharge. Moreover, they insisted that by tethering Struck's employment to her willingness to have an

abortion, the military violated her freedom of religion. The district court disagreed, as did the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Finally, Struck's attorneys appealed to the US Supreme Court, which agreed in October 1972 to hear her case.

At that point, the ACLU's Women's Rights Project joined Struck's legal team, and future Supreme Court justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg prepared to argue the case before the court. Ginsburg's argument rested on three points: air force policies violated Struck's rights to equal protection, privacy, and religious freedom. Struck's decision to carry her pregnancy to term made her case an ideal one for considering reproductive restrictions. Struck's choice *not* to terminate her pregnancy focused the case on the government's ability to regulate reproduction choices of *any* kind, not just abortion. Adopting a tactic she used in other cases, Ginsburg showed how sexual discrimination operated on many fronts, not only in the most obvious of ways. Air force policies that restricted a woman's right to choose birth, Ginsburg argued, constituted sex discrimination as much as policies restricting a woman's right to abortion.

In late 1972, when the Supreme Court agreed to hear *Struck*, several other abortion cases were winding their way through the legal system, including *Abele v. Markle*, *Doe v. Bolton*, and *Roe v. Wade*. Attorneys enlisted various approaches and arguments, but they all did so in an era of swift change. The 1971 *Reed v. Reed* ruling increased the level of scrutiny that the courts applied to cases of sexual discrimination, though they stopped short of treating sex as a suspect classification on par with race. Moreover, after Congress passed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in March 1972, many Americans—including military leaders—assumed that all legal distinctions between women and men were doomed, or at least suspect.

Military officials already knew that change was coming. The feminist movement influenced a generation of servicewomen who fought sex-based policies, including pregnancy and parenthood discharges. And, with the ERA seemingly on its way to ratification and with conscription nearing its end, military officials knew that they had to take women's demands seriously. Convinced that the government would lose its case, the solicitor general persuaded the air force to grant Struck a waiver allowing her to remain on duty. That move rendered her case moot, and the Supreme Court never heard arguments. Military officials used the same tactic in other cases until 1976, when *Crawford v. Cushman* held that the military could not discharge women for pregnancy.


Today, Struck has been overshadowed by another woman who also discovered that she was pregnant in the spring of 1970: Norma McCorvey, the Jane Roe at the center of the

landmark 1973 case. Yet if Ginsburg had had her way, the court would have considered the legal right to abortion through the prism of *Struck v. Secretary of Defense*, not *Roe*.

If Ginsburg had had her way, the court would have considered the legal right to abortion through the prism of *Struck*, not *Roe*.

Nonetheless Struck's experiences and her case remain important for what they reveal about the legal rationale for reproductive rights, as well as about the military's complex reproductive history and its central role in the broader history of abortion politics. Today, military women's right to an abortion is much more restricted than it was in Struck's day. Unless their lives are in danger or their pregnancy resulted from rape or incest, abortion cannot be obtained in military hospitals; servicewomen and the wives and daughters of servicemen must go to a civilian facility instead, at their own expense. Women stationed abroad where abortion is not permitted must return to the United States—again, at their own expense.

The stark realities of the present, however, belie a more complicated history in which servicewomen and the US military stood at the center of national debates about reproduction. In part, *Struck v. Secretary of Defense* is a military-specific story about the ongoing struggles of an institution governed by federal regulation that is geographically located within individual states and foreign countries, with their own sets of laws. That story also highlights the military's continuing need to recruit and retain women (as well as men with wives and daughters) alongside its need to assign service members wherever and whenever they are needed.

But Struck's case also speaks to broader issues facing all women who seek to balance career and reproductive choices within a shifting legal framework limiting their options. It is a story about how cases ostensibly about one issue—here, abortion—are entangled with other threads of meaning and consequence. Perhaps ironically, it was a woman who chose birth, in an institution that prohibited pregnancy but permitted abortion, who most clearly brought questions of women's equality, reproduction, employment, and religion to the fore in 1970. 

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LORENZO KAMEL

THE ANTHROPOCENE

History and Legacy of the Colonial Mindset



As humanity steps into the future, can we learn from the histories that the Anthropocene, with all its flaws, represents?
The Colonial Anthropocene, Fernando Norat (Instagram: @tropiwhat)

THE FIRST RECORDED war in human history took place around 2450 BCE between the Lagash and the Umma kingdoms in ancient Mesopotamia (present-day Iraq). It was triggered by competing claims over water sources and the supply of water. There are good reasons to believe that the last war on our planet will start for the same reasons. Even more so if we consider that, over 4,450 years later, the “majority of climate security risks revolve around water,” which has much to do with the epochal human-related changes that our planet is currently facing.

In light of the extent of such human-caused changes, it is hardly surprising that the current geological era is known to many as the Anthropocene (Greek: “new human era”). The Anthropocene, a term coined by biologist Eugene Stoermer in the 1980s and popularized by chemist Paul Crutzen in 2000, emphasizes how human actions shape the environment in all its physical, chemical, and biological characteristics. There is some disagreement on when the Anthropocene started. A number of scholars have argued that slavery and European colonization define the Anthropocene, while others have noticed that it entailed massive clearings of forests, the introduction of cash crops, the establishment of plantations, and economic exploitation. Thus, most historians and climatologists agree that a definition of the era must mention how some human groups used others to exploit the environment, and that colonialism is therefore a significant factor in its advent.

This idea of the Anthropocene, however, is not only largely inaccurate but also unfair. Generalized patterns of human behavior are no doubt present, but this pertains to certain societies and economies, located in particular in northern Europe, on the US Atlantic coast, and in eastern China. The rest of the world and its inhabitants bear little responsibility for the causes and dynamics related to the Anthropocene, but they share its dramatic effects. For example, climate change is widely regarded as one of the most obvious features of the Anthropocene. But the United States, inhabited by about 5 percent of the world’s population, produced about 30 percent of all carbon dioxide emissions in the 20th century. By comparison, China produced 7 percent of dioxide emissions, India produced 2 percent, and Europe produced 22 percent. The per capita emissions of India and China are still today “50–80 percent lower than the world averages,” and a country like Sri Lanka, whose life expectancy is similar to that of the United States (a year and a half of difference between the two countries), uses about 88 percent less resource than the United States and emits about 94 percent less emissions on a per capita basis. Humans as a species are not changing the environment; rather, a select few of their members are.

Despite the Anthropocene being an imprecise and unfocused concept, one considered a “Eurocentric” and “unnecessary” intellectual posturing by some scholars, the ongoing debates surrounding it are nonetheless igniting a few positive discussions. One is related to the fact that the concept of the Anthropocene itself breaks down the distinction between the natural sciences and the humanities. Perhaps even more relevant, however, is the increasingly broad realization of the actual harmful impact of human beings on the ecosystem of which we are a part. More generally, the Anthropocene is a welcome reaffirmation of the centrality of human beings and their actions as the rise of modern science has diminished perceptions of human importance and agency.

From what planetary scientist Carl Sagan termed “a Cosmos perspective on the world,” the marginal centrality of our planet and its inhabitants had been confirmed by many discoveries made in modern times, discoveries that reduced the significance of human actors. Copernicus (1473–1543), to provide an iconic example, quite literally decentered humanity when he confirmed that the earth revolves around the sun and not the reverse; Kepler’s (1571–1630) telescopes, on the other hand, confirmed for the first time that the earth is only one planet among billions of others. The concept of Anthropocene is the most recent contribution toward tackling modern science’s inherent “perception of marginality” of human beings. More than just impotent apes on a cosmic speck of dust, the Anthropocene gives a new emphasis to the positive and negative impact that we can all exert on our planet.

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Critiques of anthropocentrism developed by scholars in recent years push back against this, proposing ontologies in fields like animal studies that aim to decenter the human. By marginalizing human beings, the idea is to promote humility in the face of nature, to honor and to cultivate mutualistic bonds with nonhuman organisms, without which life is not possible. From the perspective of those supporting these analytical approaches, marginalizing the human is actually a good thing because it prompts awareness of how human activities impact all kinds of life-forms. Amélia Polónia and

Jorge M. Pacheco have offered a middle ground by rightly pointing out the importance of not disregarding “the way ecosystems reacted to the invaders and become themselves builders of different environments” — that is, the necessity of not overlooking “the evolution and adaptability of ecosystems, as well as the adaptation of Europeans to pre-existent environments.”

Both positive constructions and negative critiques of the Anthropocene show that the concept is directly linked to climate colonialism, the human perception of ourselves as dominators of an ecosystem, rather than part of an ecosystem. This is often most evident when examining colonialism itself, which entailed massive clearings of forests and the development of vast plantations of highly sought-after products such as tobacco, cotton, sugar, and coffee. In other words, a number of key features connected to the Anthropocene can be traced back to a relationship to nature that emerged after the European “discovery” of the Americas, one that opposed and supplanted, for example, *sumak kawsay*, the Indigenous Andean idea for a way of living in harmony with the environment.

The Indian Ocean, a strategic transit route between Africa and Asia where modern colonialism profoundly influenced the processes of mass production and economic dynamics that still affect us today, shows a similar pattern. The Malay Peninsula, now politically divided among Burma, Malaysia, and Thailand, serves as a sort of “microparadigm” of this influence. The peninsula was largely converted into a plantation economy geared to the industrial needs of Great Britain and the United States. Such policies were rooted in economic motivations, aimed at meeting the needs—raw materials and new markets—created by the Industrial Revolution. From an intraregional perspective, however, their main effect was to push millions of Malaysian, Indian, and Chinese workers to tackle colonial policies, while, at the same time, pursuing the unsustainable exploitation of the local natural resources (providing a strong contribution also to the deforestation of Borneo) in search for new forms of livelihood. The latter is a scheme that has bound together, in different ways and forms, many postcolonial spaces that are today particularly affected by climate-related dynamics: colonialism, in the words of Christophe Bonneuil and Jean-Baptiste Fressoz, is inseparable from the history “of unequal ecological exchange,” and, one might add, capitalism and its global expansion. In this sense, Olúfẹ́mi Táíwò’s recent claim according to which “colonialism is neither as powerful nor as profound in its impact as our decolonisers proclaim” risks fostering a unidimensional, homogenous understanding of what decolonizing means.

But it would be a mistake to limit these anthropogenic, colonialist dynamics to our planet alone. In fact, the current early stages of space tourism suggest such unequal ecological exchange is poised to repeat: the wealthiest 1 percent are already responsible for around 50 percent of aviation emissions, which orbital tourism only increases. It should be stressed that colonizers have always been motivated by the impression that everything exists for their use. As noted by Ramin Skibba, the widespread attitudes toward space that focus on power and profit appear worryingly similar to the 19th-century mindset of European and American colonial powers and may have similar repercussions in the future of humanity. In this sense, decolonizing the cosmos means that, instead of treating Mars and the moon as sites of conquest and settlement, it’s necessary to develop a new *sumak kawsay* of space exploration. If the Anthropocene is helpful in situating us in history, it might also be a concept we can use to map our possible futures.

In fact, the current early stages of space tourism suggest such unequal ecological exchange is poised to repeat.

Millions of human beings excluded as agents by the Anthropocene—particularly Black, Indigenous, and other people of color in Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, France, Hong Kong, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Malaysia, Pakistan, and the United States, among other countries—are today the bearers of a powerful message that should not be ignored or downplayed. They are disproportionately affected by climate-related dynamics. And so they demand that the energy resources of our planet are used in a more equitable way. They call for rights—more precisely “the right to have rights”—that can undermine the postcolonial and structural discriminations that punctuate their daily lives. Most importantly, they are reclaiming the public space and want to have a role in creating and presenting the narratives and historiographies of humanity’s greatest accomplishments. In other words, they want to be part of the history that has already been written and the one that has yet to come. **P**

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HOLLY MIOWAK GUISE

LISTENING TO ALASKA NATIVE ELDER'S

Oral History and Digital Platforms Expand the US History Narrative



Alaska Native elders experienced segregation, discrimination, and boarding schools meant to "civilize" Indigenous peoples.
Alaska State Library, Fhoki Kayamori. Photographs, ca. 1912–1941, ASL-P55-395

TO THIS DAY, Shirley Kendall is surprised when she steps into a restaurant. “I look around and see, and I’m kinda amazed that I’m in a restaurant with other people, and I’m being allowed to be in there, because it still – apparently it still affects me. My feelings about being in a place like that.” I interviewed Shirley in July 2008. A Tlingit elder, Shirley was born in 1932 in Hoonah, Alaska. Under the law until 1945, and for years after in practice, Alaska Natives lived segregated from the white population in public spaces. Shirley’s experiences with that segregation never fully left her psyche – such is the legacy of segregation that produces racial hierarchies.

I have spent 14 years recording oral histories with Alaska Native elders, engaging as an active listener while believing and validating the stories they share. Many of these elders observed and experienced relocation and segregation in Alaska during World War II and the Cold War. They did so as young children while Western influences attempted to conform their minds in boarding schools.

While growing up in Anchorage, I rarely learned about Alaska Native history in school. The history I learned from my family included stories about the US government’s abuses. As a child, my mother was subjected to radioactive iodine testing of her thyroid during the Cold War. Other stories included family history with education, like the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools where my grandparents were punished by white teachers for speaking Iñupiatun. Although my public education in the 1990s leaned toward inclusive multiculturalism, local Alaska Native history remained largely absent from the curriculum, and multicultural education that included colonial myths of the first Thanksgiving downplayed structures of inequality in favor of an imagined postracial society. This multicultural education sought to sanitize Indigenous history and the histories of other marginalized peoples in favor of narratives that did not question structures of colonization and power – stories more palatable for a widespread audience.

Situating myself in this essay requires acknowledging the role between an interviewer and an interviewee, and my relationship to interviewees as a fellow Indigenous person (enrolled Iñupiaq). Such an acknowledgment fits within methods employed by critical Indigenous studies, where, according to scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou, Māori), research about Indigenous peoples by Western researchers is inherently linked to colonialism and imperialism. Therefore, oral history is my attempt to not only highlight the voices of Alaska Native elders but also enhance our understanding of Alaska history and its relation to a broader history of US imperialism. Most importantly, forming partnerships with community-based organizations became formative in my

research experiences, where I received mentorship from the Alaska Native Policy Center and the First Alaskans Institute.

I became an oral historian my junior year of college while majoring in Native American studies at Stanford University. After reading historian Terrence Cole’s article “Jim Crow in Alaska,” I linked this secondary source to family stories about Alaska’s racial segregation of Native people prior to passage of the 1945 Alaska Equal Rights Act. I thought, “What do Native people themselves have to say about this time period?” I approached my adviser about pursuing such a project, but they declined to advise me and told me to go to ethnic studies. Here is where I learned about disciplinary exclusion and the need for supportive mentors. I emailed Matthew Snipp (Cherokee), who I had taken a course with my freshman year, and he encouraged me to pursue my project while securing research funds through the Community Service Research Internship at Stanford’s Center for Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity. I think of historical contingency often – in this instance, what if I had never taken a class with Dr. Snipp? He believed in my project before I began it, he supported me through advising, and he found research funds for me to travel back to Alaska.

Oral history highlights the voices of
Alaska Native elders but also
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broader history of US imperialism.

That summer, I met with 29 elders from across Alaska, most born before 1940, to talk about racial segregation. Two themes from these conversations resonated with me. Many elders, including Shirley, recalled sitting in separate sections of restaurants. Others described a federal project of total assimilation through cultural genocide. Like my grandparents, these elders recalled being physically and psychologically punished by white teachers for speaking Native languages. With the findings of mass graves at boarding schools in the United States and Canada, such neglect reveals a purposeful genocide of Native children. I wrote my findings into my senior honors thesis, “Rewriting the History of Racial Segregation in Alaska.” After college, I worked in Stanford admissions as a college counselor and an undergraduate Native recruiter, which sent me to various western states and Indian reservations. But eventually I decided to pursue a PhD and continue this history project.

Since I started conducting fieldwork with oral histories, I have viewed history as not only a field that needs decolonizing and

greater inclusion of Indigenous perspectives but also a discipline that could link academia with the public. Oral history provides such a link—not only by integrating Indigenous perspectives missing from Western archives but also by hearing a voice reflect on a specific time period. The listener can connect with a speaker, hear about their life, and perhaps more readily empathize with them. Additionally, the testimonial form of oral history prioritizes the centering of human rights and a component of social justice. One can hardly listen to Unangaʼ relocation survivors without recognizing the gross neglect enacted by the US government, which followed familiar patterns of American Indian enslavement and relocation dating back to removals on the Eastern Seaboard in the 17th century. Here, oral history adds powerful voices otherwise downplayed, disregarded, and muted in more mainstream national US histories.

As I heard and recorded these stories, I saw it as essential to share them. Oral histories are meant to be listened to and learned from. Even when a transcript is available, it is best to listen to the audio, which offers human voice, character, intonation, and the interactions between the interviewer and interviewee. Today, when information is widely available online and recording technology on smartphones is easy to use, websites or YouTube channels allow people to listen to and learn from oral histories from their homes or in a classroom setting, a significant opportunity to disseminate information.

So I created a website of my own during a postdoctoral year at the University of California, Irvine. World War II Alaska allows history students and learners to explore testimonies from survivors of Unangaʼ relocation and internment, to listen to Native veterans who fought for Native rights on their homelands while encountering discrimination, and to try to understand the perspective of Native children during this era. These children saw massive military infrastructure fortifying their homeland, and they also had stories about the boarding schools. In one case featured on the site, Elizabeth Keating (Athabascan) explains that one of her older sisters died of medical neglect at a Native boarding school; her remains were never returned home. Listening to her story provides a necessary human component to narratives of siblings lost at such boarding schools. And she is not unique—other living elders remember siblings and cousins who died at those institutions. The images and news coverage of the mass graves do not always tell that personal story. This website allowed me to design a space for oral histories to be integrated with historical context, maps, and photographs. While at UC Irvine, Sharon Block mentored me and inspired me to bring my website to fruition. I must caution that such projects come with a cost. You must invest time and

resources in learning to make a website, but there is also the expense of website hosting. While some platforms offer free hosting, they might require advertisements—a real trade-off that must be considered.

In addition to my digital history work, I still work with archives to preserve elder oral histories. Since 2016, when I first received funding from the American Philosophical Society (APS) Library, I have been preserving oral histories with their Center for Native American and Indigenous Research and their digital library. APS Library has generously supported dual preservation efforts that allow me also to maintain oral histories at tribal archives in Alaska. Preserving oral histories within tribal organizations supports efforts of Indigenous sovereignty and tribal oversight of community-based research. My oral histories with Unangaʼ elders are preserved at the Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association Heritage Library in Anchorage; the Sealaska Heritage Institute has those with Tlingit elders from Juneau; the Iñupiat Heritage Center and Tuzzy Library have interviews with Iñupiat veterans; and all veteran oral histories are also at the Alaska Veterans Museum. Each organization has its own oral history projects that have aided my research, and for elders who consent to this method of preserving their interview, I am reciprocating information to maintain knowledge in the community.

The images and news coverage of the mass graves do not always tell that personal story.

In my teaching at the University of New Mexico, I emphasize the importance of bearing witness. My students and I discuss oral history content from other historians' digital work, including the websites Japan Air Raids.org and Pacific Atrocities Education, podcasts, and YouTube channels. More recently, many of my students have preserved oral histories from a midterm assignment with the UNM Online Digital Repository. I maintain that oral history is a powerful way to reach out to students, academics, and the public, allowing us to recognize humanity at its core, from the voice of a survivor and the testimony they chose to share with the world. In listening to oral histories, we benefit as a humanitarian collective. Such stories are essential to understanding the human condition and the need to preserve human rights and humanity. **P**

Holly Miowak Guise (Iñupiaq) is assistant professor of history at the University of New Mexico. She tweets @hollyguise.

CAREERS FOR HISTORY MAJORS

A publication from the American Historical Association

We must “uphold at every possible turn the inherent value of studying history.”

Elizabeth Lehfelddt, former Vice President, AHA Teaching Division, *Perspectives*

Careers for History Majors conveys the value of the undergraduate study of history through clear graphs and informal prose. Readers will find hard data, practical advice, and answers to common questions for students and their parents.

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Contributors

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ON TO PHILADELPHIA

The 2023 Annual Meeting at a Glance

The 136th annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held Thursday through Sunday, January 5–8, 2023, in Philadelphia. 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 Philadelphia Marriott Downtown; Loews Philadelphia Hotel; and Notary Hotel, Autograph Collection. The Marriott and Loews hotels are right across the street from one another, and the Notary is around the corner.

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 5.

Admission to the Exhibit Hall requires a 2023 meeting registration badge.

Hotel reservations: Attendees will make hotel reservations for both standard rooms and suites through the AHA's housing service, Maritz. In addition to the Marriott, Loews, and Notary, discounted rooms will be available at the Marriott Residence Inn Center City. See historians.org/hotels for detailed information. Reservations can be made online or by phone, beginning September 15. 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 13, 2022. 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 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 CDC guidance 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 October 1. They must be in proper parliamentary form; must be signed by Association members in good standing and by at least 2 percent of the total Association membership as of the end of the previous fiscal year (232 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* (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 (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 thancock@historians.org by December 15, 2022, and will incur a \$20 fee. *Refunds will not be processed after that date.*

Hotel and Rate Information

	SINGLE	DOUBLE	TRIPLE	QUADRUPLE
1 Philadelphia Marriott Downtown (hdqtrs.) 1201 Market St.	\$169	\$199	\$229	\$259
2 Loews Philadelphia Hotel 1200 Market St.	\$149	\$174	\$199	\$224
3 Notary Hotel, Autograph Collection 21 N. Juniper St.	\$164	\$194	\$224	\$254
4 Marriott Residence Inn Center City 1 E. Penn Sq.	\$169	\$199	N/A	N/A

Rates are subject to hotel occupancy tax and will be honored three days before and three days after the official meeting dates of January 5–8 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 13	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 5, 2023	Annual meeting opens at 11:00 a.m. at the Philadelphia Marriott Downtown. Exhibit hall opens Friday, January 6, 2023, at 9 a.m. in Franklin Hall at the 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	\$187	\$224	\$304	\$365
Speaker	\$187	\$224	\$187	\$224
Student	\$86	\$103	\$131	\$158
Un-/Underemployed	\$46	\$57	\$143	\$171
Retired	\$89	\$108	\$152	\$184
K–12 Teacher	\$66	\$80	\$128	\$153
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 ET on December 15, 2022. 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 2023 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, 2022. 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, 2022.

TELLING STORIES

Historical Modes and the Presidential Sessions of AHA22

The year 2023 will mark the 20th year since the first presidential session debuted at the AHA annual meeting. These panels are a powerful tool through which the AHA president may illustrate a particular argument or highlight specific voices. They are one of the president's final chances in their official capacity to make a case for their view of history and its role in society. In 2022, Jacqueline Jones's presidential sessions on "Modes of Historical Story-Telling" brought historians' interactions with the broader public into the heart of the AHA. The sessions demonstrated the promise of historical storytelling in this challenging moment, and highlighted the work of historians in a variety of professions as they combat pernicious narratives about the past.

Presidents often choose the theme of their sessions based on their presidential address, and this year was no exception. Jones began the conversation with "Historians and Their Publics, Then and Now," in which she used her predecessors' addresses at past meetings to demonstrate the AHA's changing understanding of what constituted the practice of history and its value. These changes echoed a broader shift among historians toward recognizing more nuanced narratives about the past. From this legacy, Jones identified two ongoing opportunities and challenges currently facing history as practice and discipline. On the one hand, as she said, "history is ubiquitous" and democratized. Online access has made stories about the past easier to access than ever. Podcasts, editorials, films, monographs, biographies, musicals, blogs, and a host of other media deliver historically accurate narratives about the past to fascinated audiences in and out of the academy. The messages in these mediums are also shifting, as campaigns for racial and gender justice have centered historians' attention on systemic inequities. Yet the spread of more complex histories placed them in the center of a backlash against social justice initiatives. Attempts to erase more inclusive narratives, like the panic over critical race theory and former president Trump's 1776 Commission, highlight the increasing stakes of sharing stories about the past well. For Jones, this current moment demands that historians take stock of

how history engages the public in the present and imagine how best it can evolve in the future.

To address these changing dynamics, "Modes of Historical Story-Telling" brought together historians working in a range of professions. As Jones told me, the panels were intended to "highlight the richness of the historical enterprise," since thinking about history and its practitioners broadly is key to understanding how to communicate histories to the public and addressing the challenges that historians face. Centering the sessions on how to tell stories about the past "transcends subfields such as time period and region and allows all kinds of historians to compare notes about the most effective ways to tell a good story."

Online access has made stories
about the past easier to access
than ever.

The assembled specialists offered a wide array of perspectives. One session showed how historians use mixed-media art, poetry, and digital platforms to engage with the pasts and presents of Black and Indigenous people living in what is now Louisiana. Another reflected on writing and illustrating nuanced histories for children, while a third explored the use of oral accounts and folklore analysis to interrogate national mythologies from around the Gulf coast. Finally, an AHA Online session discussed using material culture, film, and non-fiction comics to reach audiences in the academy and beyond. Sessions canceled because of COVID-19 were to consider the dynamics of community storytelling for multiple publics, the challenges of discussing traumatic narratives, and the possibilities of sharing expansive histories beyond academia.

The subject and panel composition represented a partial break from those of presidential sessions over the last two decades. With some notable exceptions, previous sessions

tended to center the interests of academic historians and those within their orbit. This trend is unsurprising, given the sessions' original purpose. The AHA Council designed presidential sessions in 2003 "to address member concerns about the relative absence of senior scholars at the annual meetings and the paucity of sessions treating broad historiographical issues." Still, presidential sessions have occasionally gone beyond that original brief. For instance, one 2006 session explored the past and present of truth and reconciliation commissions, a session in 2012 discussed the future of digital humanities and included a Microsoft engineer, and several authors and filmmakers presented at sessions in 2013. Generally speaking, however, the presidential sessions have been composed of institutionally affiliated senior faculty and discussions of academic subjects.

The 2022 sessions were united by more than their diverse participants or their innovative methods of storytelling. Jones's selection of sessions and the discussions within them insisted that interlocutors with the past should center the reality of systemic racism, oppression, resistance, and violence, both past and present. As Ibrahima Seck (Univ. Cheikh Anta Diop of Dakar and Whitney Plantation) argued from his research and museum work, without critical introspection and a commitment to revealing the truth, however ugly, any

narrative will conceal as much as it reveals. The question is not whether to discuss such things with the public, but how. Therefore, any discussion about communicating complex pasts is really a discussion about modes of storytelling.

Sessions focusing on New Orleans and its surrounding area illustrated the possibilities of storytelling to challenge problematic myths, demonstrate how past and future problems connect, and uplift and explore narratives within communities. For instance, filmmaker Monique Verdin described the connected history of environmental destruction and the displacement of the Houma people in southern Louisiana as a narrative about her grandmother and the bayous around her home. Verdin's work consciously entangled past and present with her family and tribal history. She emphasized her points with overlaid contemporary and historical photographs and maps. The result was a powerful story that blended environmental, family, Indigenous, and colonial histories.

The panelists were not insinuating that scholars should abandon their research for nonacademic narratives about the past. Rather, these sessions showed that expert research and historical storytelling depend on each other just as surely as they share the stakes of exploring complex histories. Storytelling about the past relies on serious historical analysis,



2021 AHA president Jacqueline Jones delivers her address in New Orleans this past January.
Marc Monaghan

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whether done by academic or nonacademic researchers. Verdin's documentary work, for instance, combined local stories, personal history, and theory into an approachable and engaging narrative. Others highlighted the exchange between academic and nonacademic work more directly. Author and artist Jonathan Fetter-Vorm's graphic histories, a genre akin to the graphic novel, rely heavily on academic research and expertise to frame his own images and words. Fetter-Vorm aims to prompt his audience to think historically and critically about the past rather than teaching them serious analytical skills. Yet engaging with his creative storytelling may encourage readers to dig deeper into the questions his work makes them consider. In the end, his ambition is to inspire readers to seek out specialist knowledge by consuming scholarly work—or even becoming history majors.

The presidential sessions also showed how adopting some of the modes and ethos of storytelling could deepen academic scholarship. As Ruth Feldstein (Rutgers Univ., Newark) said of her documentary work, storytelling through film can free scholars to consider the importance of emotions and personal investment in the past, allowing "intimacy to become part of the analytical project." This same commitment extends to scholarly monographs. For instance, Ava Purkiss (Univ. of Michigan) described her work on Black women's physical culture as dually invested in historiographic debates and the hope



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to challenge racist narratives of "Black debility." Her focus on bringing readers into her analysis by engaging with a problematic public narrative allowed her to unlock the potential of her sources more fully. In other words, her drive to tell an important story empowered her to critically speculate on what the sources might say rather than only what they clearly did.

In the months since AHA22, Jones has heard many positive reactions to these sessions. She attributes this to the breadth of AHA members who are already open to practicing methods that the sessions highlighted. That is, her insistence that history must be a broad and innovative profession reached a ready audience. At the same time, "Modes of Historical Story-Telling" was not a manifesto dictating how history for the public must be done. Instead, as at past AHA presidential sessions, these sessions brought together experts to refine and reflect on the state of an already strong field. Welcoming diverse specialists into the heart of the AHA reveals just how much history as a field and discipline has evolved in the past few years. Continuing to offer high-profile sessions like these creates a space for historical practitioners of all types to share their work and reflect on how to collaborate better in the coming years. **P**

Thomas P. Stephens is a PhD candidate at Indiana University Bloomington. He tweets @tpstephens12.

REBECCA L. WEST

IMMIGRATION, WARTIME TRAUMA, AND PLANETARY SCIENCE

Meet the AHA's 2022–23 Fellows

The AHA welcomes the 2022–23 recipients of the J. Franklin Jameson Fellowship in American History, the Fellowship in Aerospace History, and the Fellowship in the History of Space Technology. These annual fellowships support full-time research by early career scholars. This year's fellows take us from the expansive history of borders to the personal histories of planetary science and the intersection of social history and technological advancement in understanding wartime trauma.

Sponsored jointly by the AHA and the John W. Kluge Center at the Library of Congress, the J. Franklin Jameson Fellowship in American History is awarded each year to an early career scholar to support significant scholarly research in the collections of the Library of Congress, including up to three months of full-time residence at the Kluge Center. The 2022–23 Jameson Fellowship recipient is **Hardeep Dhillon**, who received her PhD in history from Harvard University in 2021. Dhillon is currently an American Bar Foundation (ABF)/National Science Foundation Postdoctoral Fellow in Law and Inequality at the ABF and will be an assistant professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania beginning in the fall of 2023.

America's Global Borders will connect aspects of immigration law that are often treated as distinct.

During the fellowship, Dhillon will research her current book project, *America's Global Borders: Law, Migration, and the Shadows of Asian Exclusion*, which will illuminate the trans-imperial foundations of modern US immigration and border enforcement through the history of Asian American restriction and inclusion. She seeks to draw connections among Asian American, Asian, and inter-Asian histories at the turn

of the 20th century, as well as examine how relational race formations extending from Asian American communities to white, Black, and Latinx communities affected the development of immigration controls.

Immigration and border controls, Dhillon argues, “unfolded across a series of contiguous, consecutive, and interconnected local spaces that extended beyond American territorial borders to parts of Asia, and internally within the nation by the early 20th century.” *America's Global Borders* will connect aspects of immigration law that are often treated as distinct, including protocols for deterrence and deportation, borderland regulation and incarceration, passport and visa restrictions, and alienage and citizenship. Through her research, Dhillon will focus on the agency of Asian immigrants and the activism of Asian Americans in the early 20th century. She is looking forward to utilizing the resources in the Library of Congress, especially the Asian American Pacific Islander Collection and the US Supreme Court records, to complete her project.

The Fellowships in Aerospace History and the History of Space Technology support advanced research in aerospace history and are funded by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). Their review committees include representatives from the AHA, the Society for the History of Technology, and the History of Science Society. For 2022–23, **Caitlin Kossmann** has been awarded the Fellowship in Aerospace History, and **Jorden Pitt** has been awarded the Fellowship in the History of Space Technology.

Kossmann, a PhD candidate in the Program in the History of Science and Medicine at Yale University with a background in ecology and evolutionary biology, will be working on her dissertation, “The Myth of Gaia: Gender, Ecology, and Community in the Making of Earth System Science.” Kossmann’s project examines the development of planetary ecological thinking through the Gaia hypothesis—an idea originating in the early 1960s that



Hardeep Dhillon



Caitlin Kossmann



Jorden Pitt

theorized that life on a planet can be determined solely by analyzing its atmosphere.

The Gaia hypothesis theorized that life on a planet can be determined solely by analyzing its atmosphere.

Focusing on the “communities of thought and knowledge surrounding Gaia theory,” Kossmann examines the continuous development and redevelopment of the hypothesis and the ideas surrounding it through analysis of personal connections among Gaian thinkers, other scientists, and nonscientific parties, as well as of the theory and its theorists’ relationship to NASA itself. She plans to visit the NASA Headquarters Archives and the National Academy of Sciences archives in Washington, DC, as well as several university archives around the country, in order to gain more insight into the personal and institutional networks that influenced planetary environmental and ecological thinking in the late 20th century.

Pitt is a PhD candidate in American history at Texas Christian University and will use his time as a fellow to work on his dissertation, “The Traumatic Blue Sky: The Psychological Consequences of Aerial Combat in the Twentieth Century.” His research draws connections among the fields of aerospace history, military history, gender studies, disability studies, and histories of mental health to examine the wartime trauma of military fliers from World War I through the Korean War, specifically the ways in which those evolutions “reflected and shaped broader social and cultural developments and changing norms.”

This trauma, Pitt asserts, “is inherently connected to the changing technology of flight and evolving gender constructs.” Between 1914 and 1953, aerospace technology and the medical fields of psychology and psychiatry both saw significant advancements that were spearheaded by the military. Throughout this, a hypermasculine flight culture developed, shaped by social conventions of the eras, and had a significant effect on the psyches in airmen. Pitt is planning to continue his research at the National Archives, as well as archives at the Library of Congress, the National Air and Space Museum, and NASA Headquarters.

Trauma is inherently connected to the changing technology of flight and evolving gender constructs.

Congratulations to our new fellows! We are excited to see the work they do. Applications for the AHA’s 2023–24 fellowships will open in October 2022. **P**

Rebecca L. West is the operations and communications assistant at the AHA. She tweets @rebeckawest.

MOHAMMED S. ALI

NEW FACES AT THE AHA

Meet Tammy Hancock, Lizzy Meggyesy, Sarah Muncy, and Jake Purcell

The AHA is pleased to welcome four new staff members: Tammy Hancock as senior accountant, Lizzy Meggyesy as research and publications assistant, Sarah Muncy as managing editor of the *American Historical Review*, and Jake Purcell as meetings and events associate.

Tammy Hancock joins the AHA with two decades of experience managing accounting operations for nonprofit organizations. She holds an MS in accounting from Strayer University and a BS in business administration with a concentration in accounting from Bowie State University.



Tammy Hancock

Tammy enjoys learning about history and is pleased to contribute her accounting skills to the AHA. She has enjoyed collecting family stories so much that she has “reluctantly become the family historian.” In her free time, she is building her family tree using US Census records from the 1950s.

Lizzy Meggyesy joins the AHA fresh from completing her MA in history at Tulane University, where she also earned dual undergraduate degrees in political science and history with a minor in art history. Her passion for history was nurtured early on thanks to her teachers. “In the fifth grade, I had an amazing social studies teacher that had a knack for storytelling that initially made me love history.”

Studying history gave Lizzy great solace and furthered her view of its importance in understanding the world around her.

Subsequent coursework in European history cemented her enthusiasm for the whole discipline. Lizzy matriculated at Tulane at a time of political soul-searching across the United States, and finished her MA in the midst of the chaos of the COVID-19 pandemic. In these difficult times, she says, “studying history gave me great solace and furthered my view of the importance of history in understanding the world around me.” This led her directly to an interest in contributing to public history and working at the AHA. After graduation, she “really wanted to stay in the field of history however I could.”

When Lizzy is not at work, you might find her scouring thrift shops for cool finds. She enjoys “collecting different knick-knacks to curate my space at home.” She is an avid moviegoer and loves to keep up with the latest trends in popular culture. As a transplant from New Orleans, she is excited to continue her political activism here in DC.



Lizzy Meggyesy



Sarah Muncy



Jake Purcell

Sarah Muncy hails from Dallas, Texas, and her career journey has taken her from academia to publishing. After earning her MA in history from the University of Cincinnati, she joined the University of Cincinnati Press, where she acquired extensive industry experience.

Sarah became interested in history as a high school student because she found that history was unique in allowing her to embrace her intellectual curiosity. “I had a lot of questions [about the world],” she says. “History was a discipline that embraced, encouraged, and fed that inquisitiveness and gave me a place to land as I investigated those ideas and inquiries.” Sarah credits her undergraduate adviser at Texas Tech University, Aliza Wong, for expanding her career horizons to embrace the intersection of historical research and publishing.

Sarah is thrilled to join the AHA because of the opportunities to collaborate with historians daily, in “an environment where historical work [is] at the root.” She is excited to manage the *AHR* in particular: “As a publishing professional, working for the journal of record for the history discipline is an amazing opportunity.”

When Sarah is not at work, you might find her attending a live musical, crafting artwork from recycled books, or reading a historical science fiction novel. An avid reader, she is now enjoying her newfound audiobook time while on the DC Metro.

Jake Purcell intended to major in music performance at Oberlin, but it was the muse Clio, not Euterpe, who had her own plans. Thanks to a required music history survey course, he discovered an unexpected passion for the past. “When the medieval unit rolled around, I was hooked,” he says. History

offered a tantalizing glimpse into a world of universities, choirs, churches, and politics that felt as familiar as it felt strange. It did not take long for him to declare history as a second major.

History offered a tantalizing glimpse
into a world of universities, choirs,
churches, and politics that felt as
familiar as it felt strange..

Jake became interested in working at the AHA thanks to the organization’s professional values, which he absorbed while coordinating an AHA Career Diversity pilot program in 2015–16. “I started to appreciate the AHA’s ecumenical sense of what counts as historical work and who counts as a historian.”

In his free time, Jake enjoys biking around DC or trying out a new recipe at home. “I cook a ton,” he says. He is also an avid DIY-er. As a recent transplant to DC, Jake welcomes “any and all DMV-area recs.”

Together, Tammy, Lizzy, Sarah, and Jake bring a wealth of collective expertise and life experiences to the AHA. Please extend a warm welcome to them! **P**


Mohammed S. Ali is a PhD candidate at Duke University and was a summer research and publications intern at the AHA.

ACTIONS BY THE AHA COUNCIL

January 2022 to June 2022

Through email communications from January 24 to May 23, 2022; at teleconference meetings held on March 11, March 28, and April 11, 2022; and at meetings on June 4 and 5, 2022, the Council of the American Historical Association took the following actions:

- Signed on to a statement from the Middle East Studies Association, Scholars at Risk, and the American Institute of Afghanistan Studies encouraging universities to provide opportunities for the safe and speedy relocation of Afghanistan's students and scholars.
- Sent a letter to Collin College president Neil Matkin expressing concern about the decision not to renew the contract of Michael Phillips, professor of history, after Phillips's request that his students "consider wearing masks to protect their own health and the health of their classmates."
- Approved a statement condemning former president Donald J. Trump's reported extensive and repeated violations of the Presidential Records Act of 1978.
- Approved *Bomb Threats against HBCUs: A History of Domestic Terrorism*, a statement historicizing and condemning the numerous bomb threats received by at least 17 historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) in early 2022.
- The Executive Committee discussed the AHA's policy not to publish anonymous articles in *Perspectives on History*, leaving current policy in place pending full Council discussion.
- Approved a statement, *Historians Condemn Russian Invasion of Ukraine*.
- Signed on to the Coalition for International Education letter to Senate and House leaders expressing gratitude for the inclusion of the "Reauthorization of International Education Programs Under Title VI of the Higher Education Act of 1965" in the United States Innovation and Competition Act of 2021 and the America COMPETES Act of 2022, comprehensive legislation to address 21st-century global security and economic challenges.
- Signed on to a statement by the African Studies Association on discriminatory treatment meted out to Africans, including scholars and students, fleeing the war in Ukraine.
- Signed on to a joint statement from the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies; the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies; and the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages strongly opposing the vilification and exclusion of Russian and Belarusian students and colleagues.
- Sent a letter to the leadership of Iowa State University expressing concern about a pending cumulative 34 percent cut to the Department of History's operating budget and urging the university to reconsider this drastic action.
- Approved the Research Division's recommendation to relocate the *American Historical Review* (AHR) office from Indiana University to the AHA headquarters in Washington, DC.
- Revised the *Statement on the Right to Engage in Collective Bargaining* to note specifically the inclusion of graduate students among that community of historians. The statement endorses the right of all historians to organize and join unions.
- Signed on to a letter from the American Society for Environmental History to the Environmental Protection Agency opposing the agency's plans to sunset its online archive in July 2022.

- Signed on to a letter from the Coalition for International Education to the House and Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies in support of funding for Title VI and Fulbright-Hays for fiscal year 2023.
- Approved the minutes of the January 2022 Council meetings.
- Approved the interim minutes of the Council from January through May 2022.
- Appointed Kenneth Ledford (Case Western Reserve Univ.) for a third term as parliamentarian to begin January 2023.
- Appointed the following members of the 2024 Annual Meeting Program Committee: Sara Abosch-Jacobson (Dallas Holocaust and Human Rights Museum); Leandro Benmergui (Purchase Coll.); Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane (Univ. of Minnesota, Morris); Aparna Kapadia (Williams Coll.); Lerone Martin (Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, Stanford Univ.); Rachel Reinhard (California History-Social Science Project); James Ryan (Hagop Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies, New York Univ.); Lorelle Semley (Coll. of the Holy Cross); and Xiaojian Zhao (Univ. of California, Santa Barbara).
- Approved the FY23 budget, including a dues increase for individual members and a new membership category for members with salaries of \$200,000 or more.
- Approved the nominees for the 2022 Awards for Scholarly Distinction (to be announced in October).
- Approved the nominee for the 2022 John Lewis Award for Public Service to the Discipline of History (to be announced in October).
- Approved limiting the Awards for Scholarly Distinction and the Honorary Foreign Member to nominees solicited by the committee of the three presidents.
- Approved the elimination of the Jameson Fellowship after the 2022–23 academic year.
- Instructed AHA staff to pursue the renaming of prizes named after controversial historical figures, such as the Beveridge and Dunning Prizes.
- Recommended to board members of the National History Center that they consolidate the center’s work into the general operations of the AHA.
- Authorized AHA staff to move toward a digital-only default option for *AHR* subscriptions.
- Approved the reappointment of the following members of the *AHR* Board of Editors for one year beginning in August 2022: Sunil Amrith (Yale Univ.); Ana Lucia Araujo (Howard Univ.); Antoinette Burton (Univ. of Illinois Urbana-Champaign); and Yoav Di-Capua (Univ. of Texas at Austin).
- Approved the appointment of the following members of the *AHR* Board of Editors to begin three-year terms in August 2022: Danna Agmon (Virginia Tech); Emily Greble (Vanderbilt Univ.); and Destin Jenkins (Stanford Univ.).
- Approved the reappointment of the following *AHR* Associate Review Editors for one year beginning in August 2022: Farid Azfar (Swarthmore Coll.); Bradley Camp Davis (Eastern Connecticut State Univ.); and Lorelle Semley (Coll. of the Holy Cross).
- Approved the appointment of the following *AHR* Associate Review Editors to begin three-year terms in August 2022: Alejandra Dubcovsky (Univ. of California, Riverside); David Rex Galindo (Univ. Adolfo Ibáñez); and Sandra Mendiola García (Univ. of North Texas).
- Selected Oxford University Press to publish the *AHR* with a five-year contract beginning in January 2024. 

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July 1, 2021–June 30, 2022

The Association relies on the generous contributions of members and other patrons to support its prizes, awards, and other programs and activities. The following list records—with our considerable gratitude—the many members who made significant gifts to the Association during the past fiscal year.

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COMPILED BY LIZ TOWNSEND

2022 AHA ELECTION RESULTS

Carla Pestana (Univ. of California, Los Angeles), chair of the Nominating Committee, announces the following results of the 2022 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.

President

Edward W. Muir Jr., Northwestern University

President-elect

Thavolia Glymph, Duke University

Vice President, Professional Division

Anne Hyde, University of Oklahoma

Councilor, Professional Division

Tony Frazier, North Carolina Central University

Councilor, Research Division

Erin Greenwald, Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities

Councilor, Teaching Division

Charles Zappia, San Diego Mesa College

Committee on Committees

Rashauna Johnson, University of Chicago

Nominating Committee

Slot 1: Carlos Kevin Blanton, Texas A&M University

Slot 2: Bianca Murillo, California State University, Dominguez Hills

Slot 3: Kaya Şahin, Indiana University 

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



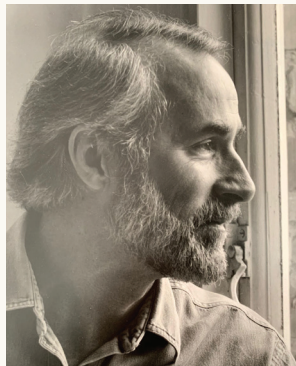
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Richard H. King

1942–2022

Historian of the US South

With the death of Richard H. King on April 19, 2022, the historical profession lost an illustrious scholar of intellectual history and a notable public intellectual. His books—focused on the US South and race—set a high bar in both erudition and sophistication. No brief account can do justice to the quality of his scholarship, the integrity of his character, and his courtesy and regard for others.

Born in Knoxville, Tennessee, on March 2, 1942, King grew up in Chattanooga. He graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1963 and spent a Fulbright year studying at the University of Göttingen in Germany in 1965. King earned an MA in American studies from Yale University and spent 1965–66 teaching at Stillman College in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Committed to remaining in the South, King entered the history PhD program at the University of Virginia, completing his degree in 1971. His dissertation about Freud's influence on post–World War II America was published as *The Party of Eros: Radical Social Thought and the Realm of Freedom* (Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1972). In King's second book, *A Southern Renaissance: The Cultural Awakening of the American South, 1930–1955* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1980), he applied an engaging psychoanalytic framework (the “family romance”) to the works of two generations of southern novelists and poets.

From 1968–81, King taught at the newly established land-grant institution for Washington, DC. His engagement with its students is illustrated by the following story. One afternoon Richard and one of us were boarding a shiny new Metro-rail train at our neighborhood station. We were heading down to teach our history classes at T-1, a wartime temporary building repurposed to accommodate classes at Federal City College (now the University of the District of Columbia). As we found places in the car, a resonant voice came across the train's intercom system: “The Metrorail system is pleased to welcome Professor Richard King to its Blue Line.” It took just a second for Richard to recognize the driver's voice as that of a student. A modest smile flashed across his face, and, in his

east Tennessee accent, Richard quietly acknowledged the greeting.

In 1977–78, a second Fulbright grant took King to the University of Nottingham. There he met his future life partner and wife, Charlotte Fallenius, a Swedish citizen whose interests closely matched his own. While King returned to his teaching, and served as a charter member and eventually co-chair of the DC Humanities Council, Fallenius earned a PhD in literature from American University. In 1983, the couple returned to Great Britain. King made his base at the University of Nottingham, where he helped make its School of American and Canadian Studies among the most admired in the United Kingdom. He served as president of the British Association of American Studies from 1992–95.

King's scholarship continued to build on his interest in race in the South. His next book, *Civil Rights and the Idea of Freedom* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1992), insisted that the preachers, students, and sharecroppers who fought for racial justice expressed ideas that enlarged the definition of citizenship. By evoking the voices of the movement, King claimed that they stretched the boundaries of pluralism. His most ambitious work appeared in 2004. *Race, Culture, and the Intellectuals, 1940–1970* (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, Johns Hopkins Univ. Press) traced how the universalism of the interwar years and midcentury was displaced by particularism, and how identity politics emerged on the ruins of the dream that “racial (and cultural) differences would fade in light of the assumption that all races enjoyed equal capabilities and aspirations.” As early as his Fulbright year in Germany, King had reckoned with the legacy of Hannah Arendt. In his final book, *Arendt and America* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 2015), King emphasized Arendt's principle that politics involves disclosive public action undertaken in the presence of other humans. In that sense, Arendt's work is tied to the tradition of the American Founders.

We never knew anyone among our friends who was better-read and had absorbed himself in books and articles that endowed so much of his life with pleasure and meaning. He died in Nottingham, six weeks after his 80th birthday.

James Herbert

National Endowment for the Humanities (retired)

Stephen Whitfield

Brandeis University (emeritus)

Photo courtesy Charlotte Fallenius



Charles P. Roland

1918–2022

Historian of the
American Civil War
and South

Charles Pierce Roland, Alumni Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Kentucky, died on April 12, 2022, just days following his 104th birthday. For more than a half century, Roland was one of the most distinguished and respected historians of the Civil War and the American South.

A West Tennessee native, Roland earned his history BA at Vanderbilt University in 1938. He received a Purple Heart and a Bronze Star as a combat officer in World War II in the 99th Infantry Division. After the war, he continued his historical training at Louisiana State University (LSU), earning an MA in 1948 and a PhD in 1951. At LSU, Roland worked with Bell Irvin Wiley, Francis Butler Simkins, and T. Harry Williams, all renowned historians of the South and Civil War era. Wiley remembered Roland as one of his best graduate students, in a cohort of men recently discharged from the army who “had had some time to gain perspective; they meant business, they knew what they wanted, and they knew how to go about it.” In 1948, Roland married Allie Lee Aycock, with whom he raised three children. Allie Lee was an extraordinary friend and hostess, over three decades dazzling her husband’s graduate students with the best of New Orleans cuisine. She predeceased him in 2018.

Roland taught for 36 years, divided equally between Tulane University (1952–70) and the University of Kentucky (1970–88). At each institution, he advised nine doctoral students and their dissertations. He also served as the Victor Hugo Friedman Distinguished Visiting Professor of Southern History at the University of Alabama (1977), the Harold Keith Johnson Visiting Professor of Military History at the Army Military History Institute and Army War College (1981–82), and two terms as visiting professor of military history at the US Military Academy (1985–86, 1991–92). So successful were his stints at West Point that Roland received the United States Military Academy Commander’s Medal for Outstanding Service in 1986.

Much of Roland’s success, and his reputation as one of America’s leading scholars, results from his published scholarship.

A dogged researcher, gifted stylist, and keen interpreter of historical questions, Roland published nine books and scores of journal articles and essays. Taken collectively, his work featured skillful phrasing, comparative analysis, and careful attention to irony, paradox, and subtle and nuanced change.

Roland’s books cover three overlapping chronological periods. *Louisiana Sugar Plantations during the American Civil War* (Brill) appeared in 1957, followed by *The Confederacy* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1960) and *Albert Sidney Johnston: Soldier of Three Republics* (Univ. of Texas Press, 1964). Years later Roland explained that his election as president of the Southern Historical Association in 1979 resulted as “the immediate reward” for two books on the South: the fourth edition of *A History of the South* (Knopf, 1972), a work he co-authored with Francis Butler Simkins, and *The Improbable Era: The South since World War II* (Univ. Press of Kentucky, 1975). In 1991, returning to the field of Civil War history, Roland published *An American Iliad: The Story of the Civil War* (Univ. Press of Kentucky), followed by *Reflections on Lee: A Historian’s Assessment* (Stackpole Books, 1995) and *Jefferson Davis’ Greatest General: Albert Sidney Johnston* (McWhiney Foundation Press, 2000). His autobiography, *My Odyssey through History: Memoirs of War and Academe* (Louisiana State Univ. Press, 2004), underscored Roland’s characteristic modesty and his belief in contingency and serendipity. He always credited his many opportunities and successes from accident and chance, not from predetermination or hard work.

Perhaps the most enduring quality of Roland’s impressive oeuvre is its breadth and depth. Few scholars have written as authoritatively about several American eras (two centuries in fact) and have offered as sweeping and incisive commentaries about past and contemporary history. Roland’s range as a scholar is remarkable; so too his graceful, powerful, and terse prose.

Roland will be remembered for his substantial corpus of scholarship on the Civil War and his native South. Years of study, reflection, and “real world” experience convinced him that history “is a vital sustaining force in society.” He found solace in the contradictions, paradoxes, and subtleties of the past. Roland believed, as he titled his final book in 2007, that *History Teaches Us to Hope*.

John David Smith
University of North Carolina at Charlotte

Thomas Howard Appleton Jr.
Eastern Kentucky University

Photo courtesy Roland family

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.



ILLINOIS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Chicago, IL

Sub-Saharan Africa. The Department of History at the University of Chicago invites applicants for an open-rank, tenure-line faculty position in the history of sub-Saharan Africa, beginning on or after July 1, 2023. All time periods and places will be considered, but a focus on eastern Africa is particularly welcome, as is expertise on Anglophone or Lusophone Africa. There is a preference for scholars who employ African languages in their research, and who show a durable, ongoing commitment to the continent. Candidates must have earned the PhD prior to the start of the appointment. Applicants must apply online at the University of Chicago's Interfolio website at <http://apply.interfolio.com/110609> and include a cover letter, a CV, a research statement, a teaching statement, an article or chapter-length writing sample, and the names and emails of three recommenders. Consideration of applications will begin on October 1, 2022, and will continue until the position is filled or the search is ended. 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 773-834-3988 or email equalopportunity@uchicago.edu with their request.



INDIANA

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

Notre Dame, IN

Modern History of Medicine. The Department of History of the University of Notre Dame invites applications for a tenure-track position in modern (post-1800) history of medicine at the rank of assistant professor. All subspecialties in any geographical area are encouraged to apply. Applicants will be expected to participate in the intellectual life of and contribute to the curriculum of the Reilly Center for Science, Technology, and Values (<https://reilly.nd.edu/>). Candidates should submit a letter of application, CV, and three letters of recommendation at <https://apply.interfolio.com/109593>. 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, 2022. Please address any inquiries or nominations to Professor Jon Coleman, Search Committee Chair, Jon.T.Coleman.63@nd.edu. Information about Notre Dame is available at <https://facultypositions.nd.edu/why-notre-dame/> and about the department at <https://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

Native American History. The Department of History at Mount Holyoke College invites applications for a tenure-track position in Native

American history at the assistant professor level to begin fall 2023. In exceptional circumstances, an appointment at the level of associate or full professor may be considered. Geographic region is 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, or 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 (Hampshire, Amherst, Smith, Mount Holyoke Colleges, and the University of Massachusetts Amherst) 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

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.

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 to <https://careers.mtholyoke.edu/en-us/job/493102/assistant-professor-of-native-american-history>. 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 23, 2022. Please include contact information for three references as part of your application. Reference letters will be requested at a later date in the search process. 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. 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.



FOREST HISTORY SOCIETY Durham, NC

President and CEO. The president and CEO of the Forest History Society is a full-time position located in Durham, NC. The successful candidate is expected to provide strategic leadership and executive management

consistent with the strategic plan and the direction of the board of directors. The president and CEO leads the professional staff and day-to-day operations to achieve the Society's mission and leads the Society to a place of credibility in diversity, equity, and inclusion. Responsibilities include developing and nurturing strategic relationships and representing the Society to its supporters, the media, and other publics. The position advances the mission and achieves financial and operational objectives. The president and CEO of the Forest History Society is a dynamic position presenting opportunities to meet with diverse audiences ranging from the leadership of forestry industry companies to academic communities in the sciences and the broad humanities. The position can affect publications in forest and conservation history and create chances for personal research, writing, and publication. Foremost, it is an opportunity to put your mark on a vibrant, growing, and maturing nonprofit that has a bright future. A strong board of directors, competent and professional staff, and a newly approved strategic plan will provide a foundation for success. Applicants should have an advanced degree in forestry, history, library sciences, and/or related disciplines. Certification in association management preferred or willingness to pursue. Preference will be given to applicants with substantial and multi-year experience in a senior executive management position or at the associate/full professor level. Applicants are expected to demonstrate how they would bring external funding to the Society for its core programs in library and archives, research and publications, and education and outreach. FHS is a 75-year-old nonprofit institution recognized as the world's foremost library and archives of forest and conservation history. It operates from its state-of-the-art library, archives, and headquarters, which opened in 2019. It enjoys diverse sources of funding, including an \$8 million endowment. It is a nonadvocacy organization known for its credibility and foundation in absolute integrity in historical interpretation. "The Forest History Society is the preeminent organization supporting research and understanding of how people used and interacted with the forested ecosystems of the planet over the long sweep of human history. Its archives, publications, and outreach programs are indispensable in advancing the knowledge of forest and conservation

history worldwide," said William Cronon, emeritus professor, Department of History, University of Wisconsin-Madison. Durham is part of the Research Triangle Region, which includes the neighboring cities of Raleigh and Chapel Hill, and is known for its research and technology companies and its scholarly institutions. The City of Durham is known as the "City of Medicine," with healthcare as a major industry, including more than 300 medical and health-related companies and medical practices. The area is attractive to many thanks to its fruitful housing market, record low unemployment rate, and exceptional education system. Durham has become one of the most desired places to live in America. Its diverse population of 245,000 enjoys robust opportunities for performing arts, music, sports, recreation, civic engagement, and restaurants. According to the *US News & World Report*, "Raleigh and Durham" ranked 6th nationally in its 2022-23 "Best Places to Live" list. Interested applicants are requested to provide a complete CV or resume describing their professional and academic credentials along with a letter of interest as it pertains to the position. The letter of interest and CV should be emailed to Janet Askew, Assistant Director for Administration, at janet.askew@foresthistor.org. The complete application process can be found on the FHS website at <http://www.foresthistor.org>. Inquiries about the position may be made by contacting Lynn Wilson, Search Committee Chair, wilsonnl2020@gmail.com. For technical questions about the application process or to arrange for a visit to the Society's headquarters, call 919-682-9319.



TEXAS CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY Fort Worth, TX

Africa/Global South. The Department of History at Texas Christian University invites applications for a tenure-track position in the history of Africa/Global South, at the rank of assistant professor, to begin August 2023. We seek applicants whose research is grounded in Africa; time period and regional specialization within Africa are open. The committee welcomes applications from scholars who treat and connect varied regions/nations of the continent, or who tie

Africa to other geographic areas, such as South Asia, the Middle East, and the Caribbean. The Department is especially interested in scholars whose research incorporates non-European languages and sources. Duties include teaching undergraduate and graduate courses in African history, carrying out a scholarly research agenda, and contributing service at the department and university levels. The position carries a 3/2 teaching load, a competitive salary, and internal research support. Candidates must possess a completed PhD in history or in African studies by the time of appointment, with a teaching, publication, and service record commensurate to their academic experience. TCU values diversity, equity, and inclusion, and the department seeks a scholar with demonstrated experience and expertise in these areas. Named for TCU's founders, Addison and Randolph Clark, the AddRan College of Liberal Arts is home to the core academic disciplines of the humanities and social sciences. The College includes approximately 155 full-time faculty members, 11 departments (Criminal Justice, Economics, English, Geography, History, Modern Language Studies, Philosophy, Political Science, Religion, Sociology & Anthropology, and Spanish and Hispanic Studies), and two units of Reserve Officers' Training Corps (Army and Air Force). AddRan College departments confer 15 Bachelor of Arts and six Bachelor of Science degrees, a Bachelor of General Studies, an online master's degree in Criminal Justice, a Master of Liberal Arts degree, and master's and PhD degrees in History, English, and Rhetoric and Composition. Founded in 1873, Texas Christian University sits on 299 acres nestled in a primarily residential part of Fort Worth, just minutes away from downtown. The University includes eight schools and colleges, in addition to the John V. Roach Honors College and the new TCU and UNTHSC School of Medicine, which is operated in collaboration with the University of North Texas Health Science Center in Fort Worth. Currently, TCU enrolls 9,474 undergraduates and 1,490 graduate students. Twenty-six percent of students self-identify as a member of a minority group, 5 percent are international students, and 42 percent are from out-of-state. Our students are supported by more than 2,200 faculty and staff. The University has more than 700 full-time faculty members, 87 percent of whom hold a terminal degree. For nine consecutive years,

TCU has been selected as one of the Great Colleges to Work For. At TCU, diversity, equity, and inclusion are an educational imperative that is tied directly to our University mission and vision. For the second consecutive year, TCU has earned the Higher Education Excellence in Diversity Award, which highlights our ongoing commitment to build a comprehensive DEI strategy that aligns with our core values and to create a campus culture where everyone is respected and feels included. Among TCU's actions this year was approving a resolution to adopt DEI into its core curriculum. Review of applications will begin September 30, 2022, and will continue until the position is filled. Applications should be submitted online through the TCU Human Resources website at <https://jobs.tcu.edu/en-us/job/497422/assistant-professor-of-history-africaglobal-south>. Fill out personal/contact information and voluntary survey and then upload a letter of application, full CV, a statement of research, and one-page statement addressing how the candidate will contribute to diversity, equity, and inclusion at TCU. Please provide the name of three references who may be asked to submit letters of reference on your behalf. Questions regarding the position should be addressed to the search committee chair, Dr. Peter Szok, p.szok@tcu.edu. Questions regarding the application process or uploading documents should be directed to TCU's Human Resources office at hr-talentacquisition@tcu.edu or 817-257-7790. As an AA/EOE, TCU recruits, hires, and promotes qualified persons in all job classifications without regard to age, race, color, religion, sex, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, gender expression, national origin, ethnic origin, disability, genetic information, covered veteran status, or any other basis protected by law.

BAYLOR UNIVERSITY

Waco, TX

Britain and British Empire. Baylor University seeks an assistant professor of Britain and British Empire to start August 2023. The Department of History seeks a specialist in the history of Britain and British Empire, subfield in religion preferred, to teach both undergraduate and graduate courses in this area. The successful candidate will be able to demonstrate a research and teaching agenda

appropriate for an R-1 institution and a willingness to seek external research funding. Candidates should possess an earned doctorate by August 2023 in the appropriate field of study. Apply at <https://apply.interfolio.com/108083>. You will be asked to provide a letter of interest; CV; a copy of the transcript showing the most recent degree conferred (if PhD is in progress, also submit a copy of the transcript showing the PhD hours completed); and a list of three references. Applicants considered for interviews will be asked to provide a response to Baylor's Christian mission. Salary is commensurate with experience and qualifications. Deadline October 1, 2022, at 11:59 pm Eastern. This institution is using Interfolio's Faculty Search to conduct this search. Applicants to this position receive a free Dossier account and can send all application materials, including confidential letters of recommendation, free of charge. Baylor University is a private not-for-profit university affiliated with the Baptist General Convention of Texas. As an AA/EOE, Baylor is committed to compliance with all applicable anti-discrimination laws, including those regarding age, race, color, sex, national origin, pregnancy status, military service, genetic information, and disability. As a religious educational institution, Baylor is lawfully permitted to consider an applicant's religion as a selection criterion. Baylor encourages women, minorities, veterans, and individuals with disabilities to apply.

Lecturer, History. Baylor University seeks two full-time regular lecturers in history to start August 2023. The Department of History seeks two full-time lecturers who may teach Baylor's core curriculum course, The US in Global Perspective, along with upper-level courses in the history of Europe, Asia, or the Middle East. Applicants with specializations in continental Europe, history of the Holocaust, women's and gender history, and history of medicine/science especially encouraged to apply. We are seeking dynamic instructors who are dedicated to teaching history to students at the college level. Candidates should possess an earned doctorate by August 2023 in the appropriate field of study. Apply at <https://apply.interfolio.com/108085>. You will be asked to provide a letter of interest; CV; a copy of the transcript showing the most recent degree conferred (if PhD is in progress, also submit a copy of the transcript showing the PhD hours

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Sub-Saharan Africa. Baylor University seeks an assistant to associate professor of sub-Saharan Africa to start August 2023. The Department of History seeks a specialist in sub-Saharan African History to teach both undergraduate and graduate courses in this area. The successful candidate will be able to demonstrate a research and teaching agenda appropriate for an R-1 institution and a willingness to seek external research funding. Candidates should possess an earned doctorate by August 2023 in the appropriate field of study. Apply at <https://apply.interfolio.com/108082>. You will be asked to provide a letter of interest; CV; a copy of the official transcript for the highest degree conferred (if PhD is in progress, the applicant should submit a copy of the official transcript showing PhD hours completed); and a list of three references. Applicants considered for interviews will be asked to provide a response to Baylor's Christian mission. Salary is commensurate with experience and qualifications. Deadline October 1, 2022, at 11:59 pm Eastern. This institution is using Interfolio's Faculty Search to conduct this search. Applicants to this position receive a free Dossier account and can send all application materials, including confidential letters of recommendation, free of charge. Baylor University is a private not-for-profit university affiliated with the Baptist General Convention of Texas. As an

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ROBERT ANTONY

THE PEACH TREE

In Chinese culture, the peach—its fruit, its pit, and the wood of the tree—is associated with springtime, fertility, and especially long life. Grown in the garden of the goddess Queen Mother of the West in China’s fabled Kunlun Mountains, “peaches of immortality” (*xiantao* 仙桃) ripen only once every few thousand years, conferring eternal life on all who eat them. The white-bearded God of Longevity is usually pictured holding or emerging from a “fairy fruit” (*xianguo* 仙果)—a peach. Today sweet longevity buns in the shape and color of peaches are typically served at the birthdays of elderly people to celebrate long life and are presented in temples as ritual offerings during the birthdays of deities.

Aside from symbolizing longevity, peaches also safeguard health. The fruit is considered good medicine for everything from rheumatism to coughs to evil spirits. Children wear peach stones carved in the shapes of locks around their necks to scare away disease-causing demons. According to the ancient Daoist philosopher Zhuangzi, peach branches are placed on the doors of houses to keep ghosts from entering, and many people still put peach boughs on their doors during the lunar new year. Because the wood of peach trees has potent supernatural qualities useful in exorcisms, the preferred weapon of Daoist masters for slaying demons has always been a peachwood sword. People in south China wear miniature swords of peachwood as amulets or hang them over the doors of their houses to ward off demons that cause epidemics. Since antiquity, Chinese have used peachwood combs to brush away evil spirits that might enter the body through orifices of the head. Such combs are readily available on the internet, with one advertisement asserting that their combs are “used to put down evil things and to protect the health and safety of families.”

The *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo Yanyi* 三國演義) tells the story of the “Peach Orchard Oath” taken by Liu Bei, Guan Yu, and Zhang Fei, China’s ancient warrior heroes. Part history and part fiction, the tale relates how the three men met in a peach orchard, where they sealed their friendship with an oath of brotherhood. Because of the association of peaches with longevity and permanence, it was no coincidence that the

men swore the oath before the gods in a peach grove. The three heroes pledged to aid one another in times of danger and that if anyone violated the oath they would be struck down by heaven. Alluded to as a symbol of fraternal loyalty, the oath later became the prototype for induction into the Triads, a secret society often associated with organized crime.

Peaches and peachwood have always had prominent places in Triad lore and initiation rites. Several of the mythical founders of the Triads have the word *peach* (*tao* 桃) in their names, and the purported earliest Triad gatherings often took place in peach gardens or secluded places surrounded by peach trees. In Triad accounts of the society’s origins, a “precious sword” (*baojian* 寶劍) made of peachwood miraculously appeared to save the five founding Shaolin monks from imminent defeat at the hands of Manchu soldiers. Triad lore also spoke of a peachwood sword engraved with dragons, and borrowing from Daoist practices, at least one early secret society manual conveyed that the sword was to be used ritually to behead demons.

Auspicious and otherworldly, scarcely any other tree or fruit is so deeply instilled with mystic symbolism and miraculous power as the peach. As important elements of Chinese history and culture, peaches and peachwood have always reflected deeply ingrained popular beliefs about magic and the supernatural. **P**

Robert Antony is visiting distinguished professor of history in the Institute of Cultural Heritage at Shandong University.

Otto Wilhelm Thomé, Flora von Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz (1885)
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