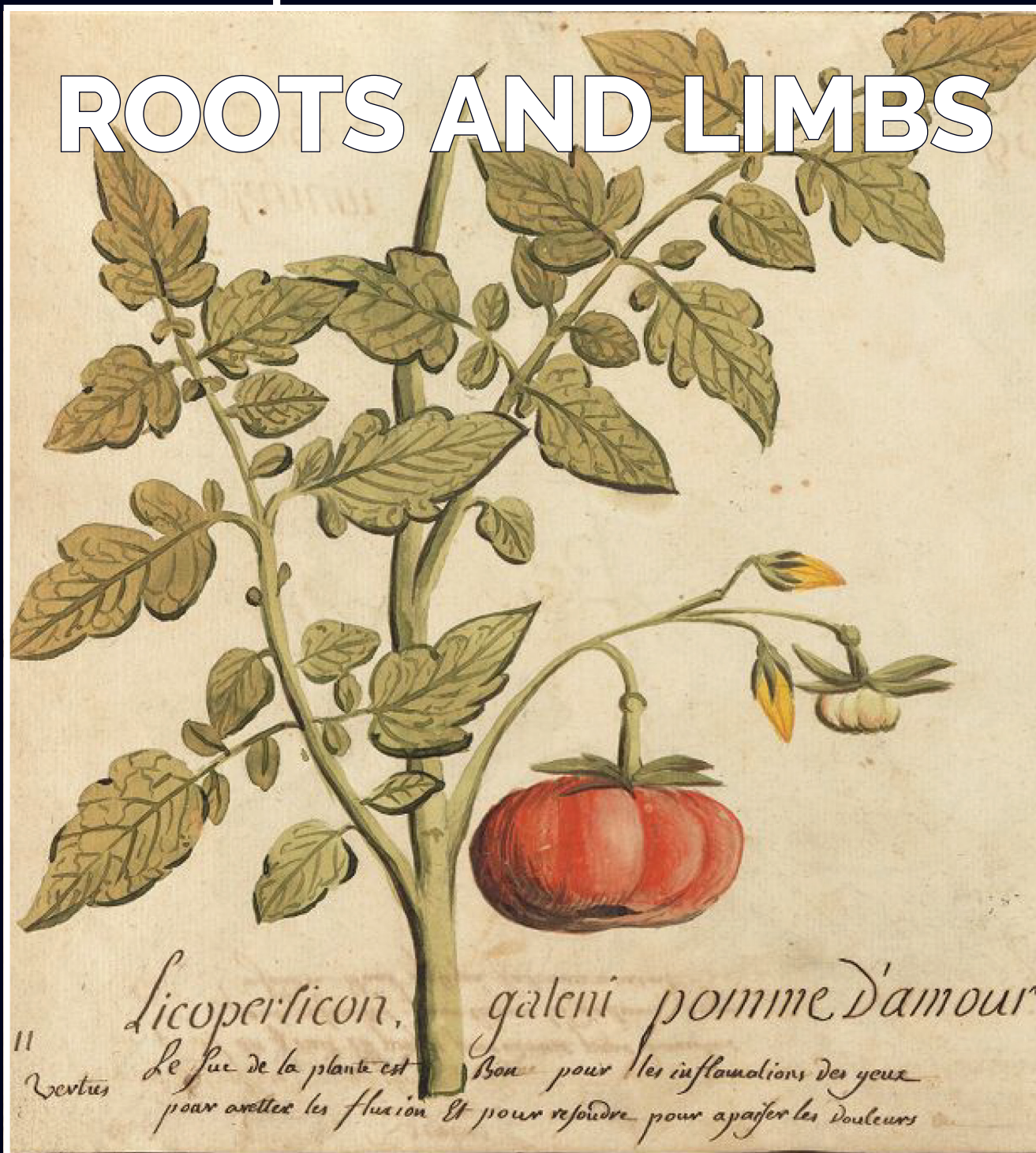


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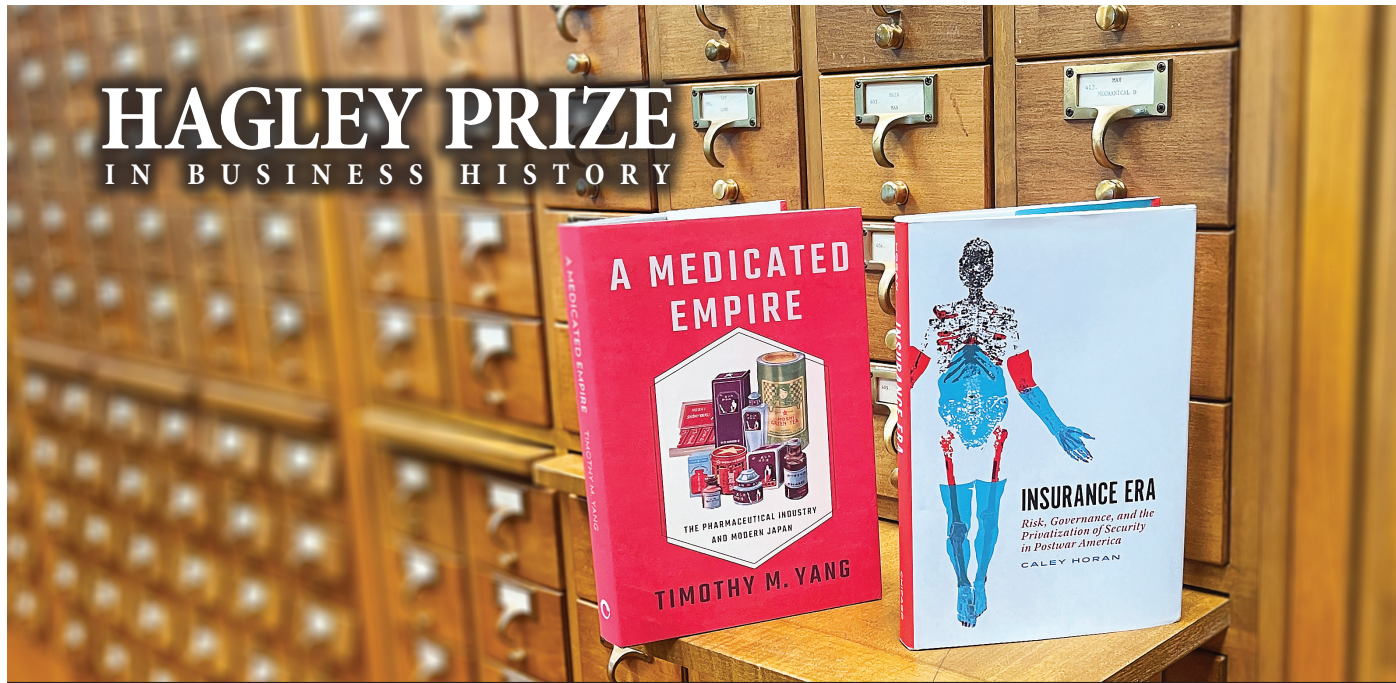
# PERSPECTIVES ON HISTORY

Volume 60: 7  
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## ROOTS AND LIMBS







Hagley Museum and Library and the Business History Conference are pleased to announce the 2022 co-winners of the Hagley Prize 2022: Caley Horan, *Insurance Era: Risk, Governance, and the Privatization of Security in Postwar America*, The University of Chicago Press and Timothy Yang, *A Medicated Empire: The Pharmaceutical Industry and Modern Japan*, Cornell University Press. Hagley Museum and Library and the Business History Conference jointly offer the Hagley Prize awarded to the best book in Business History (broadly defined) and consists of an award of \$2,500. The prize was awarded at the Business History Conference annual meeting held in Mexico City, April 6-9, 2022.



The prize committee encourages the submission of books from all methodological perspectives. It is particularly interested in innovation studies that have the potential to expand the boundaries of the discipline. Scholars, publishers, and other interested parties may submit nominations. Eligible books can have either an American or an international focus. They must be written in English and be published during the two years (2021 or 2022 copyright) prior to the award.



Four copies of a book must accompany a nomination and be submitted to the prize coordinator, Carol Ressler Lockman, Hagley Museum and Library, PO Box 3630, 298 Buck Road, Wilmington DE 19807-0630. The deadline for nominations is November 30, 2022. The 2023 Hagley Prize will be presented at the annual meeting of the Business History Conference to be held in Detroit, Michigan, March 9-11, 2023.



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## FEATURES

### THE SARAJEVO ASSASSINATION THAT DIDN'T HAPPEN .....17

*The Ironic Relevance of a "Nonevent"*

PAUL MILLER-MELAMED

### CULTIVATING HISTORY ..... 20

*The Plant Humanities at Dumbarton Oaks*

YOTA BATSAKI AND JULIA FINE

### HISTORICIZING HISTORIANS ..... 23

*Debating Gay Studies in the 1970s*

MARC STEIN



### ON THE COVER

Tomatoes: it is sometimes shocking to remember that their ubiquitous presence in global cuisine is a purely modern phenomenon. Italy without red sauce on pasta? Dante never dined on ragù Bolognese when composing *The Divine Comedy*. It's almost inconceivable, so deeply is the plant tied to the culture. The tomato thus serves as a gateway to deep histories, ones which explore the use of plants as the product of trade often conducted with violence. And while looking at such strange truths, one might also wonder: What would the world have looked like if the tomato never left the Americas?

*Illustration: [Botanical manuscript of 450 watercolors of flowers and plants], ca. 1740. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, DC. Image cropped.*

### 3 | FROM THE EDITOR

Townhouse Notes

LELAND RENATO GRIGOLI

### 4 | LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### 5 | FROM THE READERS

Responses to "Is History History?"

MALCOLM FOLEY AND PRIYA SATIA

### 9 | FROM THE PRESIDENT

Our Letter-Writing Culture

JAMES H. SWEET

### 11 | FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The National History Center and the AHA

JAMES GROSSMAN

### 13 | CAREER PATHS

*Sic et Non*

VANESSA R. CORCORAN

### 27 | AHA ANNUAL MEETING

Bodies of Knowledge

SAMUEL J. REDMAN

### 33 | AHA ACTIVITIES

New Faces at the AHA

LIZZY MEGGYESY

Nominations Invited for AHA Offices, Terms Beginning January 2024

LIZ TOWNSEND

### 39 | IN MEMORIAM

### 44 | AHA CAREER CENTER

### 48 | EVERYTHING HAS A HISTORY

WAR Dolls

KRISTA GRENSAVITCH

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LELAND RENATO GRIGOLI

# TOWNHOUSE NOTES

Boo

I have an affinity for useless information. The less practical or applicable it is, the more it sticks in my brain. Can I remember almost every line from *The Pirates of Penzance* because I worked a show as lighting crew in seventh grade? Sure, I have information vegetable, animal, and mineral, and I certainly know the kings of England and can quote the fights historical. Do I remember where I put my house keys yesterday afternoon? No, no I do not. My mom still calls me “the *Jeopardy!* kid,” but I’ve never tried a game show, since it would make all the little bits of trivia I’ve collected useful and I would, as a consequence, forget them immediately.

Of all the factoids I have acquired, two in particular haunt my brain. The first of these is a delightful irony. *Factoid*, in its first use in print in 1973, meant “a statement assumed to be fact because of its appearance in print or other authoritative media.” The suffix *-oid*, after all, means “similar to” — an android is that which is like a human (*andro-*) in form and movement. But *factoid* was used so often in authoritative media to mean “small nugget of information” that its meaning has changed. If you’re keeping score at home, yes, that was a factoid about *factoid* being a factoid.

The second is perhaps a bit more in the spirit of the upcoming holiday, stretching to cover the entire autumnal spooky season. *Boo* is not just a noise pulled from the ether and assigned to ghosts. It’s a Latin verb. *Boo*, *boare*, *boavi*, *boatus*, to give its dictionary form, means “to cry aloud, bellow, roar; call loudly upon.” And since *boo* is the first person, singular, indicative active form of that verb, if a ghost were to pop up at you with a “Boo!” it’s actually saying, “I am shouting!” In response, you might try “*Salve, amice, sed si tibi placet, vox secreta*” (Hello, please use your inside voice). Or run away screaming.

I’d probably run away screaming, if I’m honest.

That a ghost might not use their inside voice is understandable. What is a ghost, after all, but a historical trauma, some

unfinished business made inescapably present but untouchable. As I suggested in May when I described the topics that will be threaded through this year’s *Perspectives*, many such historical specters are with us today. From old, totalizing historiographies to unaddressed institutional legacies, we are all haunted by histories universal and particular, unquiet pasts that torture the present.

The easiest way to get rid of a ghost is to give it what it wants — vengeance, or justice, or reparations, or absolution — and to find out what a ghost wants, you need to know its history. This is our trade as historians; our tools are specifically honed for the task. But we must also put the resulting wisdom in the hands of those who might help us perform the exorcism — politicians, activists, boards, educators. This has proven difficult, to say the least. Some accuse the ghost of being overly dramatic. Others refuse to believe that a given ghost exists at all, though the rest of us clearly see it booing in their ear, demanding an acknowledgment of its presence.

And as long as I’m elbow deep in the metaphor, I’ll also say this: some ghosts can’t be banished, or at least not at present. Maybe they themselves don’t know what they want, or we can’t figure out how to give it to them. Whatever the case, they can’t be left shouting, “I am shouting!” in our faces. We must learn to live with them, to invite them into our company and seek their conversation. This, too, is our trade as historians; our tools are honed for this task as well. **P**

*Leland Renato Grigoli is editor of Perspectives on History. He tweets @mapper\_mundi.*





## TO THE EDITOR

I believe AHA president James H. Sweet's thoughts in "Is History History?" (September 2022) to be simultaneously deep, partially mistaken, and risky.

They are deep because he, quite rightly, says the study of history should be more than just the deployment of data points for the political exigencies of the moment—that we should “interpret elements of the past not through the optics of the present but within the worlds of our historical actors.” He cites *The 1619 Project* and its detractors as examples, but we could equally point to other recent work (in my own field, on the history of race in the Middle Ages) as having a strong, but to my mind not unwarranted, presentist bias.

He is partially mistaken because the questions we ask of our sources and our interpretation thereof will always be overshadowed by our own biases. We do not present amalgamations of primary sources; we interpret, and in so doing, we always impose our own metahistorical narrative on the facts. Likewise, we write for an audience (even if a limited one of our professional colleagues), and so our ideas, no matter how “true,” or grounded in fact, gain currency only if they are also “truthy”—that is, if they reflect current pieties.

Finally, his thoughts are risky because, continuing on my second point above, he comes off as a detractor of *The 1619 Project* and similar initiatives and thus as against social justice. In the neoliberal university, where utility is the primary virtue, this weakens the historical profession's standing even more.

 KEN MONDSCHIEIN  
Northampton, Massachusetts

## MESSAGE FROM JAMES H. SWEET

My September *Perspectives on History* column has generated anger and dismay among many of our colleagues and members. I take full responsibility that it did not convey what I intended and for the harm that it has caused. I had hoped to open a conversation on how we “do” history in our current politically charged environment. Instead, I foreclosed this conversation for many members, causing harm to colleagues, the discipline, and the Association.

A president's monthly column, one of the privileges of the elected office, provides a megaphone to the membership and the discipline. The views and opinions expressed in that column are not those of the Association. If my ham-fisted attempt at provocation has proven anything, it is that the AHA membership is as vocal and robust as ever. If anyone has criticisms that they have been reluctant or unable to post publicly, please feel free to contact me at [president@historians.org](mailto:president@historians.org).

I sincerely regret the way I have alienated some of my Black colleagues and friends. I am deeply sorry. In my clumsy efforts to draw attention to methodological flaws in teleological presentism, I left the impression that questions posed from absence, grief, memory, and resilience somehow matter less than those posed from positions of power. This absolutely is not true. It wasn't my intention to leave that impression, but my provocation completely missed the mark.

Once again, I apologize for the damage I have caused to my fellow historians, the discipline, and the AHA. I hope to redeem myself in future conversations with you all. I'm listening and learning.



MALCOLM FOLEY AND PRIYA SATIA

## RESPONSES TO “IS HISTORY HISTORY?”

A HA president James H. Sweet’s September column for *Perspectives on History*, “Is History History? Identity Politics and the Teleologies of the Present,” generated controversy and discussion in venues ranging from social media to the op-ed pages of major newspapers and the academic press. *Perspectives* has invited two critics of the piece, Malcolm Foley and Priya Satia, to respond.

### HISTORY AS LOVE

MALCOLM FOLEY

I’m glad that James H. Sweet wrote this column. It did what he intended it to do: it opened a particular conversation about how we “do” history, something that Sweet, in his apology, noted as his initial wish. There is much to reflect on from his piece, whether it is the continuing redefinition of “identity politics” away from its radical coining or its singling out of *The 1619 Project* as a point of critique. I’d like to widen the conversation, however, and make a suggestion about the relationship between history and politics—namely, that the relationship is a necessary one, and if we flee from it, we do our students and our world a disservice.

As someone who initially intended to do theological work about the influence of early Greek theologians on the Reformation theologian John Calvin, I had very little intention, when I embarked on the journey to become a historian, of uttering the words of the previous sentence. As I learned and imbibed historiographical methods, my own understanding of human activity continued to expand. I became aware of the ways in which religion, economics, and politics shape human and institutional action and change. But one thing that I found most interesting is that there is an idea that binds historians and theologians together: everyone is one, but not everyone is a good one. This also leads to significant academic anxiety: Wherein lies what makes us special? Is it in our language? Our guild is one that relies not on jargon but rather on

intelligibility. Is it in our content? Who has the right to police what is or is not the historian’s content? As Norman Cantor and Richard Schneider said in their framing of the field for undergraduate students, “What a historian does is obtain information about the past and then make judgments about the significance, meaning, importance, and relevance of these bits of information.” The field is lively because we have so many people looking at the past while asking different questions. These historians also make different judgments. But central to the work is the understanding that the past matters today, a truth that every thinking human being assumes and regularly acts in light of. Yet this is also fundamentally a political act, insofar as politics are understood to be the exercise of power by groups and individuals. As Sweet stated, bad history does indeed yield bad politics. The opposite, however, is also true: just history yields just politics.

As the field has expanded, so have the questions.

This is, of course, distinguishable from doing history to justify current political stances and agendas. But the desire to live well is not an agenda; it is something common to the human experience and something we each bring to everything we do. We all ask particular questions and focus on particular data because of what we think is important. A field historically populated by mostly white men writing histories of white male hegemony asked particular questions and was open to particular conclusions. As the field has expanded, so have the questions. An insight that has stuck in my mind from the work of women’s historians such as Catherine Brekus is that history is as much about things staying the same as it is about change. Said another way, when we note that oppressive and exploitative conditions continue, a state of affairs that we only become aware of when we investigate the lives of the exploited and oppressed, we must ask the question, Why do those conditions persist as long as they do? These are some of the questions I ask as a historian of lynching and Christianity

and as a Black man. Who are the ignored voices? In periods of apparent darkness, where are the glimmers of light? When Sweet approvingly spoke of Stephen Breyer's recognition that "historians engage in research methods . . . incompatible with solving modern-day legal, political, or economic questions," he spoke of a conception of historians and their craft that is unnecessarily narrow. Modern-day legal, political, and economic questions and the conversations that surround them are best treated by good history rather than no history. *Abusus non tollit usum*—abuse does not invalidate use.

This returns me to the claim that I made at the beginning of this piece: that history and politics are deeply interwoven. If history is the telling of human stories, not merely the reporting of their stories but an articulation of their meaning, then we as human beings have much to learn from it about ourselves and about our fellow human beings. Most importantly, however, it gives us more resources to love one another well. My historical work is meant not merely to ask interesting questions and get true answers; those elements are incidental. My emphasis switched to racial violence because I saw trends and norms that persisted over time and that led to death. I wanted to study Calvin and the Greek Church Fathers because they were interesting. I studied the brutalities of racialized lynching because my not-so-distant ancestors fled Mississippi pursued by a lynch mob and because the threat of racial violence has never had time to fade from the Black historical, political, and ethical imagination. It is my love of humanity, but especially my love of my Black brothers and sisters, that encourages me to pursue work that enriches their lives. That is no slight against the historians of early modern China, the Roman Empire, or ancient Mesopotamia. It is to make the point that as historians, we are primarily concerned with people in all their complexity, and in our orientation toward them, we regard them not merely as subjects to be studied and experimented on with our hypotheses but as people to be loved and to be justly interacted with.

This, to me, strikes at the core of the anxiety that Sweet alluded to throughout his piece. The issue was his attempt to restrict the work, rather than an invitation to collaborate in it. I am of the opinion that there is no conversation in which a good historian ought to feel unwelcome. Why? Because a good historian knows, when they look at the world around them, that there are very few truly new questions. The author of the biblical book of Ecclesiastes was right in his introductory lament: what has been will be again, what has been done will be done again; there is nothing new under the sun. It is perhaps this point that communicates history's value rather than undermining it or threatening its integrity. Historians have the unique opportunity to show, through

rigorous analysis and argument, how similar or how different our past is from our present rather than assume, a priori, continuity or discontinuity. This openness, humility, and willingness to "follow the sources where they lead," as many are wont to say, ought to be an example to our fellow academics and an example to the academy of what the liberal arts are all about: the moral exercise of freedom. We are indeed free to ask whatever questions we want, but I believe that we will find that the questions our students and our world will find most compelling are the questions and answers that actually set them free. We can observe and study societies and civilizations unlike our own, and instead of assuming superiority or inferiority, we assume humanity and thus seek not to dominate and to exploit but to learn.

History is the telling of human stories, not merely the reporting but an articulation of their meaning.

As much as academic careers can be built on infighting, we daily have the opportunity to bear witness to a different world of possibility: one where historians, sociologists, political theorists, scholars of religion, and others can compare notes and enrich one another's work without the nagging desires to police boundaries. Granted, this may be difficult in the political economy that suffuses current colleges and universities, but the historian knows that those systems are not entirely self-perpetuating; they depend on our complicity. Perhaps it is the subtle resistance against the alienation of our colleagues that is the concrete act of love that we can engage in today. Perhaps that is one way the work of history can be conceived of as the work of love.

*Malcolm Foley is special adviser to the president for equity and campus engagement at Baylor University and director of the Black Church Studies Program at Truett Seminary. He tweets @MalcolmBFoley.*

## THE PRESENTIST TRAP

PRIYA SATIA

My email to the AHA about president James H. Sweet's damaging column elicited an invitation to respond. I felt it a duty to accept, as someone in a secure position and author of a recent history of the discipline's political engagement. But rather than honored, I felt exhaustion at having to explain the harm of Sweet's condescending portrayal of African



Americans' understanding of history and of his attempt, from his influential office, to delegitimize scholarship on essential topics like race, gender, and capitalism (in a manner that has now drawn the approval of white supremacists).

Sitting down to write, I found relief in T. J. Tallie's (Univ. of San Diego) protest, upon being asked to respond to Sweet, against the constant demand that marginalized peoples offer up free labor to defend their own humanity. The appropriate course, he explains, was a retraction and apology. Here, in solidarity, I offer my free labor amplifying Tallie's demand. [As I've finished drafting this, I've learned that Sweet has issued an apology (albeit reaffirming his complaint about "presentism") and that I will receive *Perspectives'* standard \$100 honorarium for this essay.]

Retraction is appropriate because the essay's flaws are pervasive and obvious. It chastises the discipline for producing scholarship that fails to respect the "values and mores of people in their own times" without offering a single piece of evidence. Who are these historians who have betrayed their disciplinary duty? In a column subject to normal vetting, editors would immediately have cried "straw man."

## Who are these historians who have betrayed their disciplinary duty?

The essay blames historians' increasing focus on the very recent past on a culture of "presentism," though we know (partly through the AHA) that the decimation of programs and jobs in premodern periods is shaped by structural factors. The devaluation of the humanities—partly because marginalized people are more visible among them as subjects and practitioners—and the corporate values that hold American higher education hostage render history programs and scholars precarious throughout the academy.

Lynn Hunt's 2002 complaint to which Sweet tethers his own was about a different problem—the feeling of moral superiority over earlier times that had led to a fetishization of "modernity," undermining our openness to possible futures. As Hunt recognized, such presentism (a slippery term) is integral to "modern Western historical consciousness." Indeed, it was at the core of "the Whig interpretation of history," rooted in the Enlightenment understanding of history as a source of moral lessons for the elites who presumed to make history in the present. "History is the school of statesmanship," J. R. Seeley declared. Such unapologetic presentism—applied as much to the study of ancient as recent history—gave historians outsize influence in the making of Western empire.

Hunt's warning came as whiggish narratives of Western empire were again legitimizing American and British invasions. It echoed social historians' earlier admonishments about the "enormous condescension" of the progress narrative of history. E. P. Thompson and other New Left scholars had turned to history from below hoping that "lost causes" of the past might yield insights for their time. This was a different kind of presentism, rooted in an awareness of how earlier historians had served elite political agendas *and* of how the (continuously produced) past lives on in the present, so that the way we study and memorialize it makes different kinds of futures possible.

Sweet's insistence that "history is not a heuristic tool for the articulation of an ideal imagined future" negates this understanding of history's purpose; in exhorting us not to project "today's" antiracism on the past, he adopts the moral superiority toward the past that Hunt cautions against. New Left scholarship challenging the liberal status quo was disparaged as presentist by old-guard historians in the grip of (presentist) Cold War anxieties, as Daniel Steinmetz-Jenkins has explained. Sweet renews a pattern of worry recurring in AHA publications since the 1930s—even as historians are also accused of abdicating their responsibility to the public.

Sweet attacks scholarly work on "race, gender, sexuality, nationalism, capitalism" as driven by "contemporary social justice issues." The mind boggles at having to remind a fellow historian that gender and sexuality existed in the ancient world; race was a concept in the early modern world; when John Stuart Mill said different government styles suited different races, and Indian rebels in 1857 *spelled out their fury at the everyday humiliation of British racism*, race was their contemporary social justice issue.

When we listen only to the voices of the powerful in the past, it appears more of a foreign country than it was. That foreignness was partly a response to resistance by the less powerful, whose values and mores were at times more akin to ours in the very eras whose radical alterity we are asked to respect. The resonance of their values is not the result of scholars' presentism but evidence of the common humanity that is the necessary premise of historical study. If there is change over time, there is also continuity and loss. People of the past were like us and not like us. As Dipesh Chakrabarty explains, humans from any period "are always in some sense our contemporaries," else they would seem unintelligible to us. Writing history "must implicitly assume . . . a disjuncture of the present with itself." Studying race or gender is not an effort to make the past look like the present in a way that forecloses future change, but an effort to recover values that

have been silenced or realities that have been whitewashed so that we might envision alternative futures.

To Sweet, *The 1619 Project*, the only “presentist” book he names, fails as history because it views the past “through the prism of contemporary racial identity.” It is baffling that a journalistic effort stands in for historical scholarship here. Moreover, this kind of popular history is hardly new. What’s new is its pushback against entrenched narratives about the founding fathers and the place of slavery in American history. Why is a popular history that empowers historically marginalized people and centers slavery a more concerning betrayal of the discipline than the whitewashed nationalist myths (propped up by earlier historians) that marginalized them? Would we be better off without such contestation? When has American history, popular and scholarly, not been political?

## When has American history not been political?

Sweet is “troubled” about African Americans making pilgrimages to a slave-trading port that mostly sent slaves to the Caribbean and Brazil, not North America. Sure, we should not lose sight of the trade’s broader Atlantic dimensions, but when have popular historical pilgrimages been about accuracy rather than belonging and connection? Why is such inaccuracy an urgent problem when committed by Black Americans, but not by Americans who visit places like Ellis Island and Plymouth without any personal connection to them? Did I make a historical faux pas when, as a child of immigrants, I found meaning at Ellis Island, though my parents actually landed in Chicago? As Trouillot reminds us, professional historians’ work flows into a vast lake of historical production to which politicians, “popular historians,” museums, novels, TV, films, activists, and innumerable members of the public contribute. Much of that lake is what we would call bad history. As custodians of the past, we must challenge it but cannot presume to control it. But for Sweet, we are damned either way. Historians engaged in *The 1619 Project* on all sides (as Sweet himself is) but thus wrongly lent it “historical legitimacy.”

The other example of presentism Sweet invokes is conservative Supreme Court justices’ recent abuse of history in rulings on gun control and abortion. It is a mystery why their bad history reflects on the discipline—Sweet knows that professional historians (including me) filed briefs countering it. We even warned that history is a red herring in these cases. As David Whitford comments online below Sweet’s essay, “The

criticism . . . of the SC’s misuse of history is . . . to somehow chastise the very historians who have amply demonstrated [that] misuse. . . . Sweet claims with no evidence that this is the result of ‘presentism’ among historians.” Sweet disturbingly equates the “presentism” of Black Americans inspired by *The 1619 Project* and that of conservatives seeking “power to . . . harm others,” Tallie explains.

As historians, we endeavor to understand the past on its own terms and we may find our work relevant to political questions. Some historians speak more about their work’s contemporary relevance than others, but all their work is shaped by their place and time, as future students of history will discern in their historiography papers—a foundational exercise premised on our awareness that the present inevitably shapes our questions, who gets to ask them, the sources available, and the interpretations we offer.

Sweet has contributed to public denigration of the discipline in a time of rampant, politically motivated questioning of humanistic expertise and resource crisis for the discipline. His complaint about a preoccupation with “contemporary social justice issues” offers fuel to attacks on the teaching of crucial subjects like race and slavery. To this injury he adds the insult of leaping into a serious subject without regard for the important work so many have done, in syllabi, essays, and books (including the AHA’s carefully considered advocacy and the AHR’s excellent History Unclassified series), on the relationship between scholarly history and the present. The president of the AHA should model the value of careful study over a hot take. **P**

*Priya Satia is professor of history and Raymond A. Spruance Professor of International History at Stanford University. Her most recent book is Time’s Monster: How History Makes History (Belknap Press, 2020).*



JAMES H. SWEET

## OUR LETTER-WRITING CULTURE

### *Revisiting Recommendation and Assessment*

Some time ago, I received a familiar message from the department chair of Distinguished University: “Our department is considering the appointment of Budding Starr to the rank of Associate Professor with tenure. We would very much appreciate it if you could take the time to write a letter evaluating their scholarly contributions.” I deeply admired Professor Starr’s scholarship, but I had never been asked to write for them previously. It would be a lot of work to evaluate their first book, manuscript in progress, and several multimedia projects. Nevertheless, I eagerly agreed to assess their dossier. I spent a week working through their materials and writing my letter, turning the four-page, single-spaced document around on a quick deadline.

The following fall, Professor Starr was not working at Distinguished University. I failed to realize that Distinguished University’s appointment preceded negotiations for hire. Professor Starr turned down Distinguished University’s offer and stayed at their old job. Consequently, I spent a week crafting a letter that might have improved Starr’s salary but otherwise served no useful professional purpose.

Our profession is dependent on the goodwill of others, but letter writing is time-consuming and frustrating. I learned a lesson when I wrote this particular letter: never agree to write a tenure letter for someone who already has tenure at another institution unless you have a preexisting letter for them. I have had other similar misadventures, like the two times department chairs asked me to resend letters because they lost my originals, or the time a dean informed me that my letter had “inadvertently” been shared with the candidate. The message that all of this carelessness and waste of people’s time conveys is that letters of assessment really don’t matter all that much.

The year I wrote the letter for Professor Starr, I produced nearly three dozen others for faculty, graduate students, and undergraduates. The majority asked me to tailor multiple versions to fit varying requirements. Services like Interfolio helped alleviate some of this burden (though at some expense to the applicant—no small consideration), but I wrote over a hundred letters that year. The situation with Distinguished University was the last straw. I was devoting far too much

time and energy to letters that seemed superfluous or unnecessary. I needed some boundaries.

There are two genres of academic letters, each with its own sets of problems—the letter of recommendation and the assessment letter, usually for tenure and promotion. Letters of recommendation for fellowships and jobs are the most straightforward. We also recommend undergraduates for graduate and professional schools. Those are generally the easiest for me, but early in my career, I had a difficult time saying no even to students I barely knew. I wrote for students whose only class with me was a 200-person survey graded by a TA. I did so because I was once an undergrad making similar requests. I now urge those students to approach professors with whom they took smaller seminars who can write more knowledgeably about their strengths.

I was devoting far too much time  
and energy to letters.

Recommendation letters for colleagues or graduate students are more time-consuming. We write these out of friendship, mentorship, and professional obligation. At their best, these letters amplify contributions to research and teaching, providing insights not readily apparent to hiring committees. However, explaining the innovative nuances of one’s research or teaching is the candidate’s primary job, and the strongest candidate files render recommendation letters redundant. Conversely, there are applications where recommendation letters make a better case than the candidates’ own materials. In either case, there isn’t a strong basis for taking letters seriously, and both waste the referees’ time.

Some might argue that recommendation letters provide insights into potential flaws. Hiring committees can scour letters looking for coded language that signals mediocrity without considering that the writer might simply be a mediocre referee. Moreover, universities and departments measure the success of their graduate programs by student job outcomes. For many referees, the personal and



institutional incentives to support students in their careers rightly trumps any concerns for their own reputation.

We must cease with these laborious cat-and-mouse games. Let's treat letters of recommendation like our British colleagues traditionally do: two or three short paragraphs verifying our relationship to the candidate, endorsing their research and teaching broadly, and recommending them for the position. Rather than viewing the letters as valuable tools in the assessment of candidates, we should see them primarily as a box to tick for human resources. I confess that I don't have the courage to change our letter-writing culture alone. The AHA already encourages hiring committees to require letters from candidates only after initial screening. For now, my obligation to colleagues overrides my frustration, but I keep asking myself: If a historian's body of work speaks for itself, what more can I add?

Unlike letters of recommendation, assessment letters for tenure and promotion are critical diagnostic tools for evaluating a scholar's contributions to the field and the discipline. Assessment does not imply a recommendation. Assessment demands that we compare, contrast, and critique. A good assessment letter engages a colleague's research deeply, illuminating novel contributions, while asking tough questions and even disagreeing. Constructive critique is a sign of the utmost intellectual respect. An assessment letter absent of critical insights is little more than hagiography. Nevertheless, many assessment letters fall into this category. Referees shy away from honest critique, even if only by way of the historiography. Why?

First, reading through a candidate's materials and crafting a careful evaluation is labor intensive, taking me around a week. Yet I am asked to write a half dozen such assessments per year. I made a conscious decision years ago to limit myself to two assessments per year; I would rather write two letters well than six haphazardly. I suspect some faculty believe it is their duty to write whenever asked. Given the unevenness in the quality of these critical letters, perhaps it is time we adopted new strategies of assessment.

Second, there has been a cultural shift in how we read critique. Letter writers don't want to be complicit in drumming anyone out of the discipline. This has almost always been true, even in the most obvious cases where tenure should not be granted. But today there is less room for contingency or shades of gray in our assessments. This renders both reading and writing letters of assessment much more difficult. If a referee provides a strong critique of another scholar's work, is the candidate's scholarship unacceptable, even if the referee balances critique with praise and ultimately recommends tenure? Assessment letters should be read in their fullness and for what the referees actually conclude about tenureability, but the confusion over engaged critique versus the takedown muddles the process.

The category of assessment letter that I most dislike is the letter for promotion to full professor, which raises another set of systemic problems. Many universities treat these as tenure letters on steroids, requiring that the referee review the candidate's entire career. A few years ago, a university requested that I write a letter for promotion to full for a candidate for whom I had written a letter of recommendation when they took the job, an assessment letter for tenure, and a recommendation letter for an internal university award. If breadth of scholarly assessment and objectivity are valued, why request recommendation *and* assessment letters from the same scholar four times over?

I have mostly stopped writing letters for promotion to full professor. By the time candidates go up for promotion, most departments already have made an internal decision about the outcome based on their own criteria, which is exactly as it should be. These criteria vary across the discipline. The research, teaching, and service demands on associate professors at public universities are different from the demands for those at select private universities. The demands on tenured people of color and women with regard to committee work and mentoring are often higher than the demands on whites and men. Acknowledging these differences, among others, is crucial in determining who should be promoted. It is not one-size-fits-all.

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whites and men.

My department and many others do not require letters of assessment for promotion to full. The completion of the second monograph is still the clearest path, but we consider a range of other types of publications, service, and public outreach. Research still takes precedence, but that research can be disseminated through the wider set of outlets that often open after tenure. We generally look for a tipping point in the research progress, an indication that the second monograph or its equivalent is clearly forthcoming and will make a significant contribution to the field.

Other historians have discussed the labor of writing letters—including in helpful *Perspectives* articles from Guido Ruggiero in 2007 and Council member Suzanne Marchand in 2018. But I don't think we have ever been as fatigued by both recommendation letters and letters of assessment at all levels. I know they won't go away, but I sense that people are beginning to push back. If we all push together, perhaps we can create a uniform set of reasonable expectations for referees and readers alike. **P**

*James H. Sweet is president of the AHA.*



JAMES GROSSMAN

## THE NATIONAL HISTORY CENTER AND THE AHA



Photo: Sophia Gerner

At its August 12, 2022, meeting, the Board of Trustees of the National History Center voted to “consolidate the work of the Center into the current and future activities of the AHA.” This decision will have structural implications, but it will not affect the actual work that the National History Center has been doing over the past few years.

The Center currently focuses on three activities: the book-based Washington History Seminar, which is currently online and tremendously successful as measured by attendance; Congressional Briefings, currently on hiatus because of insurmountable obstacles to in-person events within the Capitol Complex and compelling evidence that the briefings are ineffective in a teleconference format; and the History and Policy Education Program, which currently lacks funding and therefore has no staff time allocated to it.

This issue of time lies at the heart of the revision of the relationship between the Center and the AHA. The National History Center has never been able to raise enough money to pay even a small honorarium to the director. For a while, idiosyncratic institutional arrangements with home universities have generated time for a director to do the things required to maintain a viable nonprofit organization: coordinating the work of a governing board (more time than most people realize), cultivating donors, writing grant proposals, managing finances, mobilizing volunteers, creating programming, engaging collaborators, and more. Volunteers, generally board members, can help with some of this. But the buck stops at the desk of the director. The Center has been fortunate to have directors who have combined the generosity of their home institutions with their own flexibility and commitment to generate the time necessary for all this—though usually also with considerable allotments of time from the AHA executive director. Small grants have funded a part-time assistant director.

This isn’t viable. That conclusion led to consideration of the Center’s origins, goals, and mission, and whether an

ambitious vision has just not had the right conditions to make substantial progress toward fruition. Sometimes even good ideas just don’t work out.

The original purpose of the National History Center is formally stated in its articles of incorporation:

The purposes for which the corporation is organized are: The study of history, the diffusion of historical knowledge through writing, teaching, and discussion, and related activities for presenting historical knowledge to scholars and students—all in the interest of education and enlightening people about the past.

The Center has been fortunate to have directors who combined the generosity of their home institutions with their commitment to generate the necessary time.

This overlaps considerably with the current work of the AHA itself. For example, the Center’s unstaffed History and Policy Education Program—an excellent idea developed by a previous assistant director, which has previously had several successful implementations—requires focused attention. This is more likely to come from the AHA’s history education programming than from a thinly staffed Center with no current expertise in this area. Similarly, the Center has organized annual meeting sessions, which can easily be generated from other sources. Indeed, because of the time constraints faced by the Center’s director, there have been fewer sessions and fewer opportunities to provide leadership to volunteers who helped with planning and organizing in the past. With the AHA’s evolution over the past decade as a highly visible public advocate for the study and teaching of

history, evidenced in *Perspectives on History*, the AHA website, and numerous mainstream media outlets, a separate entity focused on this work is no longer necessary.

There were, however, other purposes envisioned at the founding of the Center. There was an ambition for a building—an actual National History Center—that for legal and other reasons would need to be administered by a separate 501(c)(3) entity. There was some hope that a governing board separate from the procedures of a membership organization could generate new fundraising opportunities. Despite the efforts and commitment of the Center's founders, however, neither of these goals materialized. Attempts to move toward these goals in different ways also proved unsuccessful. Indeed, the only reason the small subsidy from the AHA has been sufficient to maintain (barely) the Center's viability has been the generous energy of its volunteers and directors. We're back again to *time*.

By incorporating the Center into AHA operations, the new arrangement will enable the Center's director, Eric Arnesen, to focus on the Washington History Seminar, relieving him of the substantial duties of a nonprofit executive that have become unnecessary. With the Center's work incorporated into the mainstream duties of the AHA, that infrastructural work will no longer exist. Even the Washington History Seminar can now benefit more efficiently from new efforts and resources directed toward online programming at the AHA. The Center's part-time assistant director, Rachel Wheatley, has joined the AHA staff full-time as program assistant, and Arnesen will continue to donate his time as the co-organizer (along with Christian Ostermann at the Wilson Center) of the seminar.

With the Center's work  
incorporated into the duties of the  
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no longer exist.

The AHA has benefited not only from the work of the National History Center but from the ideas, energy, and enthusiasm stimulated by that work. I was involved early on, in collaboration with Stanley Katz, through a project on rethinking the undergraduate history major—in a way a precursor to the AHA's more recent Tuning the History Discipline initiative. The Center's longest ongoing program, the Decolonization Seminar, brought together a cohort of emerging scholars who have helped to shape the last decade

of scholarship. The AHA remains grateful to the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for supporting those convenings, in addition to the Congressional Briefings that have reminded congressional staff that everything has a history and making policy requires knowing that history.

My predecessor, Arnita Jones, and her collaborators Wm. Roger Louis and James Banner, Jr. deserve recognition and applause for their vision in creating the Center and their dedication to making it a reality. Nothing would have happened, however, without the tireless efforts of the Center's assistant and associate directors: Miriam Hauss Cunningham, Marian Barber, Amanda Moniz, Amanda Perry, Jeffrey Reger, and Rachel Wheatley. The Center's most recent directors, Dane Kennedy and Eric Arnesen, both went above and beyond what anyone could expect from volunteers ready and willing to shoulder the responsibility of institutional leadership. The AHA is proud of the Center's many significant accomplishments, and this structural revision will allow us to continue building on them.

What matters most is the work. The Center describes that work as “provid[ing] historical perspectives on current issues and promot[ing] historical thinking in the service of civic engagement through nonpartisan programs that are intended for the benefit of policy makers and the press, educators, and the public at large. Its initiatives are intended to bring the insights of history and historical thinking to bear on the challenges that confront our nation and the world and to encourage an informed appreciation of the ways the past shapes the present.” This is a large part of what we do at the AHA. Integrating the Center's activities into the AHA's structure and mission will enable us to do this work more efficiently and more effectively. **P**

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

VANESSA R. CORCORAN

## SIC ET NON

*From Medieval Historian to Advising Dean*

**When I was a graduate student, I spent many years immersing myself in a distant and foreign world: reading Christian devotional materials to better understand gendered speech practices in the later Middle Ages. But although my semesters were spent reading ephemera from the distant past, each summer, I worked as the academic dean for the Johns Hopkins University's Center for Talented Youth (CTY) site at the University of California, Santa Cruz, supervising over 30 high school teachers and college professors. I was initially drawn to the program because CTY was essentially a nerd camp for gifted teenagers. Science classes built trebuchets and launched rockets; philosophy classes debated the ethics of physician-assisted death.**

In contrast to my research, my job at the center was immediate and familiar. I enjoyed managing the faculty, and I was good at it. I could run efficient staff meetings, deliver communication in a timely manner, and serve as a listening ear when faculty didn't know how to help students who appeared to be struggling. In other cases, I offered pedagogical coaching as they worked to develop a sense of synergy in the classroom. There were unenviable tasks, of course, such as phone calls to parents when students were struggling academically, or when students' problems at home had carried into the classroom,

and I sometimes had to mediate souring relationships between professors and teaching assistants. "I wouldn't want your job," the teachers often said—they knew that a lot of my days were spent dealing with some aspect of conflict management. But the enormous satisfaction in seeing the students thrive in this inclusive community outweighed these challenges. For many students, this was their one safe place each year, both academically and socially, and I loved being a part of that community. And so, as fascinated as I was by that medieval source material, by the time that I submitted my dissertation proposal, I knew that my career path lay in academic advising.

**"I wouldn't want your job," the teachers often said—they knew that a lot of my days were spent dealing with some aspect of conflict management.**

As I researched jobs like every other soon-to-graduate PhD, I found that all the leadership work I had with CTY had positioned me for jobs in academic support. This meant I could serve as an academic adviser, run a tutoring center,

lead a university's honors program, or work in other positions that blended leadership skills with classroom management. Some of these positions included the opportunity to teach part-time. I could remain immersed in both the foreign and the familiar, teaching and studying medieval history while finding gainful employment in a field that valued my interpersonal skills. I still envisioned a career at a university, but one that looked different from the paths my professors took.

I set off applying for jobs in academic advising, colleges' honors programs, and other areas of academic support. In total, I applied to 37 jobs. The persistence, the networking, and, most importantly, the willingness to keep applying finally paid off. I was offered a position running the tutoring center at my graduate institution, Catholic University, which gave me the experience needed to then apply for a position as an advising dean at Georgetown University.

I was attracted to the position at Georgetown because they were looking for someone with an appreciation for the value of a liberal arts education and an understanding of the school's Jesuit and Catholic identity—values that I shared. At my initial interview, we talked about topics such as Jesuit identity, commitment to pedagogy, and academic advising, and I felt like I was speaking to people with whom I could easily





For Vanessa R. Corcoran, pictured here with her student Matthew Hua, becoming an advising dean was the perfect blend of her skills and interests.  
Vanessa R. Corcoran

connect. I wasn't nervous, only excited at the prospect of joining this office.

It's been nearly four years since I started working with over 300 juniors and seniors majoring in art, art history, global medieval studies, government, history, and women's and gender studies, whom I guide through course selection, career exploration, and navigating all aspects of the academic experience. The research skills I developed while working independently on my dissertation prepared me to manage my portfolio without a lot of day-to-day oversight. The majority of my time now is spent working with students during office hours, offering suggestions and feedback on how they can thrive during their college years. In fact, nearly all of my

experience following my undergraduate degree was good practice for advising. Even the feedback I provided my students when they wrote papers in my history classes parallels the advice I now give to students about time management, organization, and balance.

Graduate school itself gave me many stories that I often share with my students. My advisees often tell me that they feel like they don't belong here, that they're afraid of failure, that their future is unknown—all versions of imposter syndrome that I dealt with. I regularly share personal stories that not only offer a sense of authenticity and vulnerability to my students but prove to them that these seemingly insurmountable obstacles are actually

possible to overcome. And I don't smooth out all the bumps to my stories—I want them to know that there were jagged edges along the way.

The day-to-day experience of advising is, to say the least, not monotonous—you never know what student issues can arise. Some days are spent working with students on organizing their schedules and figuring out the right major for them. Then, on a dime, my workday can completely change. A tumultuous life event—a breakup, the death of a loved one, or a long-term illness that requires them to take some time away from school—brings students to our office to brainstorm possible solutions. During the pandemic, a lot of the conversations I had with my students had to do with experiencing loneliness and managing remote learning. No two conversations were alike. Some students Zoomed in from a closet or even the family car, the one place they could find privacy when everyone was cooped up. Students have cried during our meetings for myriad reasons. Some lost family members because of COVID or were struggling to support their family when parents lost jobs. These students were so vulnerable, and I just wished I could reach through the screen to offer them some reassurance. And I appreciate that my colleagues and I have built up enough credibility that our office is viewed as a one-stop shop for student issues, even when they go beyond the classroom.

The 2021–22 academic year in particular brought unexpected challenges, and I was shocked to see how many students continued to struggle when we returned to in-person learning. The ongoing whiplash of shifting learning modalities, combined with the new COVID variants, disrupted any sense of stability and normalcy that the students had established over the past two years. It was often hard to show

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them that we would eventually find a sense of normalcy and rebuild connections with one another that had faded during the pandemic. My first real sense of “normalcy” (if we can still use that word) came during the history seminar I taught in the spring semester called Mary through the Ages, a course largely inspired by my dissertation research. My job allows me to teach one course a year, which lets me keep one hand in my area of research and work with students in a different capacity. In addition to being an enjoyable part of my job, teaching also helps me to keep an eye on the areas of concern that my advisees bring up. Wearing both hats (professor and adviser) at the same time offers a degree of nuance that I appreciate and my students benefit from.

As part of this class, on the most gorgeous spring day in March, when the sun parted through the clouds and offered the promise of rejuvenation after such a gloomy winter, I took my students on a field trip to the Basilica of

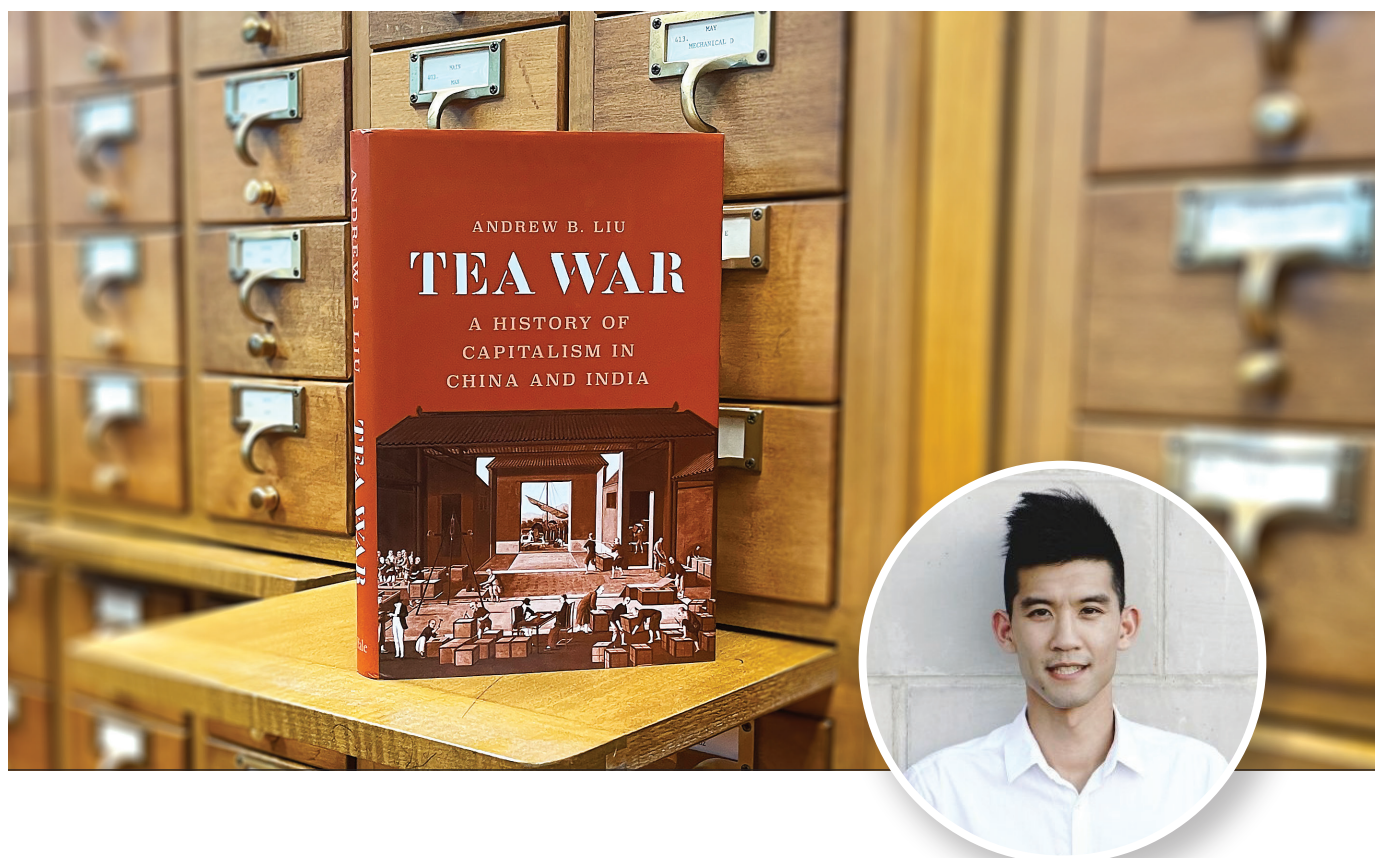
the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, the largest Catholic church in North America and just a short car ride from Georgetown. As we visited the different chapels and took in the breathtaking mosaics and altarpieces, one senior excitedly whispered to me, “This is my first field trip!” Of course, since she had lost so much time to the pandemic, it would make sense that her opportunities for experiential learning had been so limited. It gave me so much joy to see her and the rest of my class soak up this opportunity – it was one of the happiest days of teaching I had experienced in a long time.

**Wearing both hats offers a degree of nuance my students benefit from.**

I know that recently my advisees have felt that sense of relief and excitement about our new normal, especially as

my seniors looked forward to their upcoming graduation. So much of their college experience has been impacted by the pandemic, but as they realize that the finish line is in sight, they’ve come to my office hours to let me know about their capstone presentations, job offers, and other postgraduation plans. It’s incredibly rewarding to help our students, who are facing a variety of stressors and responsibilities, and show them how they can work through these problems. I have a “feel-good” email folder filled with thoughtful messages from students. One recent message came in from a senior: “You were always so helpful and responsive as my dean, and I really appreciate all of the time I got to spend (although a lot virtually) with you.” That’s when I know I made the right career choice. **P**

*Vanessa R. Corcoran is an advising dean and adjunct professor at Georgetown University. She tweets @VRCinDC.*



## The Ralph Gomory Prize

The 2022 Ralph Gomory Prize of the Business History Conference was awarded to Andrew B. Liu, *Tea War: A History of Capitalism in China and India*, Yale University Press, at the Business History Conference annual meeting held in Mexico City, April 5-9, 2022.

The Ralph Gomory Prize for Business History (made possible by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation) recognizes historical work on the effect business enterprises have on the economic conditions of a country in which they operate. A \$5,000 prize is awarded annually. Eligible books are written in English and published two years (2021 or 2022 copyright) prior to the award. The 2023 Prize will be presented at the annual meeting of the Business History Conference to be held in Detroit, Michigan, March 9-11, 2023.

Four copies of a book must accompany a nomination and be submitted to the Prize Coordinator, Carol Ressler Lockman, Business History Conference, PO Box 3630, 298 Buck Road, Wilmington, DE 19807-0630 USA. Email: [clockman@hagley.org](mailto:clockman@hagley.org).

**The deadline for submission is November 30, 2022.**

Information is available at <http://www.thebhc.org/gomory>



[www.thebhc.org](http://www.thebhc.org)



PAUL MILLER-MELAMED

# THE SARAJEVO ASSASSINATION THAT DIDN'T HAPPEN

*The Ironic Relevance of a “Nonevent”*



Emperor Franz Joseph processing through Sarajevo on May 31, 1910, the day of the Sarajevo assassination that didn't happen.  
 Courtesy Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. Call no. Pk 1372, 8a

ON THE BLUSTERY afternoon of May 31, 1910, Habsburg emperor Franz Joseph I of Austria-Hungary peacefully paraded by horse-drawn carriage through the crowded streets of Bosnia's capital city, Sarajevo. Barely a year earlier, the Bosnian annexation crisis had nearly sparked a European war. Although the Habsburg monarchy had administered Bosnia-Herzegovina since 1878, the Kingdom of Serbia coveted the adjacent, south Slavic region as its rightful irredenta, and Russia backed Belgrade's national ambitions in the contested Balkans. Franz Joseph's visit was thus a political affront and a perilous act. Yet no bombs were hurled at him by Bosnian or Serb nationalists, no bullets fired at his regal presence in the empire's newly annexed province of Bosnia-Herzegovina. By all accounts, the 79-year-old emperor of Austria and king of Hungary so thoroughly enjoyed himself in his southernmost Slavic domains that, at one point, he turned to his host, Bosnian governor-general Marijan Varešanin, and exulted: "I assure you, this voyage has made me some 20 years younger!"

In fact, it nearly ended his life more than six years prematurely. Although security was far heavier than it would be when Franz Joseph's nephew and successor, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, made his infinitely more infamous visit to Bosnia and procession through Sarajevo four years later, an armed nationalist named Bogdan Žerajić had twice gotten so close to the kaiser that, as he despairingly told a friend, "I could have practically touched him." Yet out of some combination of fear and fecklessness, the Bosnian student never pulled the Browning pistol from his pocket. It was the Sarajevo assassination that didn't happen. It was just one of several attempts on the kaiser's life that failed to materialize or just failed altogether. It was, one might say, a nonevent.

The term *nonevent* can be understood in two ways: the obvious sense of something that simply did not happen and the more commonplace usage of an anticlimactic occurrence. In the latter case, like a highly anticipated diplomatic summit in which nothing serious gets resolved, a nonevent may be an actual event that's less exciting, or "historic," than expected. This can also work in reverse: our instinctive need for decisive moments in history to be appropriately "eventful" often affects how we remember them. Mussolini's 1922 "march on Rome," where Il Duce arrived by train to tranquilly receive the king's consent to form a government, only became a dramatic "event" through later fascist propaganda. Many of history's seemingly heroic episodes, like the Bolsheviks' "storming" of the Winter Palace (or, more accurately, its wine cellar), have similar lineages. What makes Žerajić's inescapably unheroic attempt on the kaiser's life unusual for a nonevent is that it bridges both these definitions: it didn't happen

(i.e., he never drew his revolver, let alone drew attention to himself as a suspect assassin) and later memory made it more than it ever was. Indeed, Žerajić's failure to fire would become a nonevent of such great pitch and moment that it inspired one of the signal events of the 20th century—the Sarajevo assassination.

As every European history textbook teaches, on June 28, 1914, a young Bosnian nationalist named Gavrilo Princip murdered Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of the Habsburg Empire, in Sarajevo. This event, this Sarajevo assassination as we know it, sparked a diplomatic crisis that only resolved itself in the First World War. Yet Princip probably never even would have had a chance if not for Žerajić's inaction, his nonevent. Would "Emperor" Franz Ferdinand have risked going to Sarajevo in 1914 if his predecessor had been murdered there in 1910? If he did, security arrangements would have been extreme to say the least.

Our instinctive need for decisive moments in history to be appropriately "eventful" often affects how we remember them.

The problem with such hypotheticals is that they are simply endless, and in the end no more useful, or fruitful, than the already existing scholarly contemplations on what if Princip had misfired and Franz Ferdinand, like his uncle before him, had returned to Vienna alive. Everything that occurred between 1910 and 1914 would have been different with Franz Ferdinand on the throne, as he may have faced world war in 1910, or fostered an alliance with his "best friend," Russia, or intervened against Serbia during the Balkan Wars in 1912–13. And why belabor Bogdan Žerajić's specific nonevent when the archduke's actual assassination barely came off?

After all, Franz Ferdinand had received numerous warnings against going to Bosnia in the first place. Assassination attempts were rife in the region, and Habsburg authorities had eventually found out about Žerajić's bungled one. They passed their intelligence on to the archduke, though this nonevent by no means stood out from all the other intrigues the heir was briefed on regularly. Even on the eve of the Sarajevo procession, Franz Ferdinand was forcefully warned by Bosnian officials and men in his own entourage about the dangers of driving through the capital in an open air car on a Serb national holiday (Vidovdan, or St. Vitus Day). Yet it was less his well-known stubbornness than an honorable sense of imperial service that led him to go through with the Sarajevo

program in the first place. “Fears and precautions paralyze your life,” the archduke once told a legal adviser, adding that he would rather put his trust in God than live “in a bell jar” worrying over the next nationalist assassin. Franz Ferdinand’s fatalism in ignoring the warnings was less insane than it seems to us today, since “the Sarajevo assassination that didn’t happen” is just one of a limitless litany of nonevents that assured the archduke to risk the one that did.

But even with the stage set, it was far from a sure thing. Who has not heard of the “wrong turn” taken by the heir’s car after he narrowly escaped a bomb attack that very morning; or wondered why the imperial procession had even continued after the near miss; or pondered how Princip’s first bullet happened to kill the one person the assassin wished to spare: Franz Ferdinand’s wife, Sophie Chotek, the duchess of Hohenberg? There certainly was enough drama on June 28, 1914, to safely ignore the nonevent on May 31, 1910.

God, clearly, was not on the successor’s side on June 28, 1914. Nevertheless, much happened that day that harked back to May 31, 1910, like the little-known fact that five of the seven so-called assassins backed out of the mission in the midst of the procession, and that its organizer tried to call off the intrigue even as he was distributing the weapons. So the question persists: Why dwell on “the Sarajevo assassination that didn’t happen,” besides the obvious attraction of historical symmetry? Truly, there seems little more reason to highlight Žerajić’s inaction in the Bosnian capital in 1910 than such nonevents as the archduke’s near death from tuberculosis in the 1890s; his witnessing of the failed attempt against Spanish king Alfonso XIII during the latter’s May 1906 wedding in Madrid (which left 23 people dead); and the 1913 arrest in Zagreb of one Luka-Lujo Aljionvić for plotting to kill the crown prince — “this rubbish who is restraining our national aspirations.” What there is more of, however, is “actual” history itself.

Žerajić, in short, was not finished, and this is the reason anyone knows about his futile attempt in the first place. Two weeks after losing his opportunity to eliminate the emperor, the 24-year-old fired five near misses at Governor-General Varešanin as he was leaving the newly inaugurated parliament in Sarajevo. His final shot was precise, shattering his own skull and making him a martyr figure for Bosnian freedom from Habsburg rule. The failed assassin of Emperor Franz Joseph had now done something for his country’s freedom that no Bosnian had dared before. The tributes, predictably, were fast and forthcoming — within days of Žerajić’s “heroic” historic event, young Bosnians were doffing their hats at the site of his suicide. The Serbian student review *Zora*

(*Dawn*) reverently kept the would-be assassin’s name on its masthead. Although Sarajevo police furtively buried Žerajić in the vagrants’ cemetery, the site was readily discovered and regularly decorated by Bosnian youth. Free Serbia’s leading daily sang Žerajić’s praises wildly. Yet no one did more for Žerajić’s memory than his school friend and fervent Serb nationalist Vladimir Gaćinović. In February 1912, Gaćinović published the pamphlet *Death of a Hero* in a Belgrade-based Serbian nationalist journal. Scripted literally to “spark revolution in the souls and minds of young Serbs,” *Death of a Hero* bemoaned the absence of “grand, noble gestures” in Bosnia since Žerajić’s attempt. Where, he beseeched, were all those virtuous “men of action”? Who, he wondered, would take up the assassin-suicide’s selfless legacy?

His final shot was precise,  
shattering his own skull and  
making him a martyr.

Gavrilo Princip heeded the call. He had often made the pilgrimage to Žerajić’s grave site, on which he placed a handful of the “earth of free Serbia.” On the evening before murdering Franz Ferdinand, he headed there again to pay final tribute to his martyred hero. And in yet another confounding and contingent nonevent, such obvious warning signs were ignored. The Austro-Hungarian authorities who had informed Franz Ferdinand of Žerajić’s attempt on the emperor neglected to stake out the familiar pilgrimage site and detain Princip until the archduke had departed Bosnia. Consequently, on June 28, 1914, the little-known Sarajevo assassination that didn’t happen came full circle with the legendary one that did. “Glory to Žerajić!” proclaimed Princip at his trial. A nonevent in 1910 had suddenly ascended to a highly relevant, indeed world historical, event four years later. It was an irony and tragedy that would devastate humanity. **P**

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YOTA BATSAKI AND JULIA FINE

# CULTIVATING HISTORY

*The Plant Humanities at Dumbarton Oaks*



When found outside their native environments, plants like the tomato suggest longer histories of colonial entanglements.

[Botanical manuscript of 450 watercolors of flowers and plants], ca. 1740. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, DC.

**LOCATED IN NORTHWEST** Washington, DC, the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection has many branches. History buffs will recall the 1944 Dumbarton Oaks Conversations that prepared the ground for the United Nations; scholars know it as a Harvard University research institute; tourists visit the museum's Byzantine and pre-Columbian collections; horticultural enthusiasts focus on the 16-acre garden. Indeed, as Dumbarton Oaks is a historic garden, we who work here are frequently reminded of the rich cultural and historical significance of plants. So, alongside landscape design and garden history, which have long been notable areas of our research, the past few years have added a new focus to our work: the plant humanities.

Plants are to be found in all corners of Dumbarton Oaks, not just in the gardens: they are in our collection of rare herbals (early modern books on plants), as well as in our Maya pendants from the late classical period that feature the maize god with his signature cob-like hair, Renaissance tapestries depicting the goddess of flowers Flora, and images from excavations in the western Galilee that document sugar production in the Byzantine Empire. Through our new attunement to plants across our living and special collections, we began to see firsthand what historians and anthropologists of science, food, and medicine have long argued: that plants offer an extraordinary lens through which to teach critical subjects, including the histories of imperialism, commodities, and migration, and environmental humanities, as well as the present climate crisis.

## Plants offer an extraordinary lens through which to teach critical subjects.

The *plant humanities*, the term we have adopted for this endeavor, may be new, but the idea behind it is not. Scholars past and present have long recognized the need for interdisciplinary study of the environment and the living beings that inhabit and shape it, and the burgeoning fields of critical and cultural plant studies heeded that call. What we emphasize in our project is the fundamental paradox of plants: they are quite literally rooted to the spot but have immense mobility. Their travels have in turn triggered vast voluntary and involuntary migrations of people. The Columbian Exchange transferred crops from the Americas to Europe, and more recent scholarship has shown how the botanical legacy of Africa shaped the foodways and economy of the United States. When combined with biology and environmental science, this humanistic approach to plants reveals the processes that

helped shape our current cultural, economic, and environmental climate.

Amitav Ghosh writes in *The Nutmeg's Curse* that “taking a nutmeg out of its fruit is like unearthing a tiny planet.” There are so many tiny planets to unearth in the vast variety of plants across the globe, and so the plant humanities offer almost limitless possibilities for exploration. At Dumbarton Oaks, we wanted to help students and scholars incorporate the humanistic study of plants into their own work. We wanted to make sure students—especially during the COVID-19 pandemic, which emerged during the first few years of our project—had access to a variety of primary sources related to plants and their influence on human societies, as well as the support to know how to approach them. To this end, we created a digital humanities platform developed with JSTOR Labs and funded by the Mellon Foundation: the Plant Humanities Lab. The lab narrates the cultural histories of plants and offers scaffolded opportunities for integrating plant-focused primary sources in university and high school classrooms.

We started building our lab by searching for unusual plants that would pique student curiosity. There was the dragon tree that purportedly grew out of the blood of the dragon killed by Hercules, or the elusive North American “tree of life” that cured scurvy. But after speaking with participants in our virtual faculty residency, we realized that teachers are instead looking to bring everyday plants familiar to the students into their classrooms as a pathway to large and complex topics, including colonialism, bioprospecting, and the Columbian Exchange. Take cacao: around the world, many of us today can step into our local supermarket or pharmacy and pick up a packet of processed chocolate. But the ubiquity of cacao tells a larger story. As one of our fellows, Rebecca Friedel, showed by bringing together ethnobotanical evidence and early depictions of cacao from a Mexica herbal known as the Badianus manuscript, cacao went global when Europeans drew on the knowledge of Indigenous communities required to cultivate the plant. Through the long history of cacao, students thus come to understand how networks of knowledge between European imperialists and Indigenous peoples were forged, and how these networks shaped the daily rituals, tastes, and consumption patterns of far-flung communities around the globe.

When we bring these everyday plants with long histories into the classroom, we see robust student engagement. As a captivating digital tool, the lab allows students to dive into primary sources and plant-related topics through the use of linked open data, leading them to develop their own research questions. A student who is interested in black-eyed peas and

their relationship to cuisine in the American South might find themselves learning about aquaculture, Pliny the Elder, the transatlantic slave trade, and colonization in Brazil, all without leaving a single page on the lab site. Rather than view this sort of student curiosity as tangential to our project, we aim to encourage and embolden it. We also aim when possible to embed full-text primary source material from Archive.org directly in our narratives so that once students have viewed the relevant page, they are able to continue reading and exploring.

A student interested in black-eyed peas might learn about aquaculture, Pliny the Elder, the transatlantic slave trade, and colonization in Brazil.

But more than just telling students stories with plants, we want to empower them to create their own. Many of our earliest narratives were created by undergraduate interns and graduate fellows at Dumbarton Oaks. Through their work, we saw firsthand how, when equipped with basic digital humanities tools, students start asking different questions: What is the plant's provenance? How did it travel to different places? How do its biochemical qualities shape its relationship to human societies? Students then worked in teams to develop an engaging and rigorous narrative for the lab and to communicate the fruits of their research to a broad audience. A group of students in our summer program working on the history of cassava wondered how a poisonous plant from Central America became a food staple in Africa. Using archaeological evidence alongside textual sources like herbals, students traced the plant's origins, demonstrated the elaborate processing developed by Indigenous communities in the Americas to purge it from naturally occurring forms of cyanide, followed its travels to Africa and the culinary innovations that sprang there, and tracked how these successfully proliferated back across the Atlantic. Drawing on their new mapping skills, students distilled this complex history into a series of visually appealing maps demonstrating how this processing knowledge spread from Mesoamerica and South America to Africa and elsewhere in the Americas, where further innovations in cassava processing occurred. In other words, the maps highlighted the spread of Indigenous knowledge, as well as the ways colonial powers drew on and appropriated this knowledge in order to feed their burgeoning empires.

Seeing how the use of digital humanities tools enriched our interns' and fellows' understanding of plants, we now aim to equip more students in a variety of institutions with these skills. In addition to our annual summer school, which brings together undergraduate and graduate researchers from around the world to train in and then contribute content for the lab, our postdoctoral fellows have given numerous guest lectures and demonstrations to help professors incorporate lab narratives as class assignments. We are developing videos teaching students how to use the open-source tool that underpins the visual essays. Finally, we are planning a plant humanities reader for college students that will come out of our 2022 conference, in order to make sure interested students have access to these concepts.

Our work with the Plant Humanities Lab is by no means finished—like a digital garden, we hope that the platform will grow and evolve. We are inspired not only by the work of our students and fellows but by developments around the world, such as a recent scoping project in plant humanities by Royal Holloway, University of London, and the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, a literary and cultural plant studies network at the University of Arizona, and a recent conference at Ashoka University's Centre for Climate Change and Sustainability to map out an archive of Indian plant humanities. And we hope that students will take the digital tools they learned through this project and apply them throughout their careers. Like biodiversity hot spots, we anticipate that plant humanities hot spots will spring up around the world, not only in important biocultural collections, gardens, and research centers but also in perhaps more unexpected places. When we equip students with the tools to approach the plant humanities, they will be able to use their research to help construct a deeper engagement with beings that are so distinct from us yet so necessary to our lives and livelihoods, wherever their studies take them. **P**

*Yota Batsaki is the executive director of Dumbarton Oaks and principal investigator of the Plant Humanities Initiative. Julia Fine is a PhD student at Stanford University and a former Plant Humanities Postgraduate Fellow at Dumbarton Oaks; she tweets @juliafine19.*



MARC STEIN

# HISTORICIZING HISTORIANS

*Debating Gay Studies in the 1970s*



In San Francisco and Chicago, the 1973 and 1974 AHA business meetings discussed resolutions in support of gay historians and their work.  
AHA Archives

**I**N 1975, the *AHA Newsletter* (the predecessor to this very magazine) erupted in conflict over whether historians should pursue new “fads.” Two PhD students, concerned about the “drift of the discipline” and critical of a proposal to put the organization on record in support of gay history, imagined scholarship on “hitherto virgin topics,” including the history of consorts, seminary dropouts, unemployed historians, neurotics, wheelwrights, and ugly persons. Declaring themselves “moved to new heights of alarm and despair” by developments that were forcing them to “consort with the harlequins, hucksters, and hobbled persons who largely make up the historian’s trade,” they warned that scholars were “placing a premium upon the odd, the unusual, even the suspect, research angle.” Gay historians in particular were “on the prowl,” joining others who were “shrinking” the discipline’s focus to “the absurdly narrow interests of the faddists.” Responding to two gay historians who had written in support of the proposed AHA resolution, the students asked, “Dare we suggest that the paucity of courses in gay history owes to the obvious fact that the history of this and other ‘sexual minorities’ is unimportant?” They dared.

Six months later, a critic of the critics responded, asking in the newsletter, “What lesser claim does the study of women, of slavery, of neurotics, of wheelwrights, of ugly persons enjoy upon ‘fundamental questions about knowledge’?” The director of the University of Pennsylvania Press also admonished the students: “As Oscar Wilde might have said, jokes are too serious to be left in the hands of the righteous.” After noting that a study of ugliness could be illuminating, he declared that he would welcome manuscript submissions on this topic.

When I first read the students’ antigay screed while working on my new book *Queer Public History*, I laughed. I have published work on what the students might have imagined as intersecting horrors, including unemployed gay historians and queer neurotics, so my curiosity was piqued. Previously, I dated the origins of the AHA’s engagement with gay issues to the 1979 founding of the Committee on Lesbian and Gay History (CLGH, now the Committee on LGBT History), which I chaired in the early 2000s. In fact, the CLGH’s first newsletter mentions an earlier group in 1973, the Committee of Gay Historians (CGH), and an earlier name for the CLGH, the Committee on Homosexuality in History, in 1978. The Committee on LGBT History is often mistakenly identified as an AHA committee, but it is one of many independent organizations that are affiliated societies of the AHA. The AHA did not establish its own Committee on LGBTQ Status in the Profession until 2015. As it turns out, however, minutes from the AHA’s annual business meetings and the *AHA Newsletter* show that the Association actively engaged with gay issues as early as 1973.

At the AHA’s December 1973 business meeting, Dennis Rubini (Temple Univ.), representing the CGH, proposed a resolution that condemned “any form of harassment or discrimination directed at single and gay women and men and members of all other sexual minorities who respect the rights of others,” regardless of criminalization. The references to single people and the criminalization of sex can be situated in the historical moment. Just one year earlier, the US Supreme Court had announced two important rulings on the rights of the unmarried: *Eisenstadt v. Baird*, protecting access to birth control, and *Stanley v. Illinois*, protecting parental rights. Gay activists thought these decisions might have positive implications for them. As for the criminalization of sex, more than 20 states reformed their laws against consensual sex in the 1970s.

### Minutes from the annual business meetings and the *AHA Newsletter* show that the AHA engaged with gay issues as early as 1973.

In response, president Lynn White asked whether the resolution would “place the association in a position of condoning the breaking of laws.” Arthur Warner, co-chair of the National Committee for Sexual Civil Liberties, noted that “the AHA would simply be following in the path of organizations like the American Bar Association, the American Sociological Association, and the American Psychiatric Association.” Two weeks earlier, the APA Board of Trustees had both approved the declassification of homosexuality as a psychiatric disorder and endorsed the repeal of criminal laws against private consensual sex for adults. The AHA resolution passed 129–38.

Rubini then presented a second, more contentious resolution that would condemn “historical bias” based on “sexism in general or homophobia in particular” and call on “all historians to make available to gay people and all others engaging in consensual sexual acts all facets of their historical birthright.” Rubini accepted one amendment that changed “all historians” to “the historical profession,” but he resisted another to delete language criticizing historians for perpetuating the myth that “homosexual acts are unnatural or evidence of sickness.” After the latter was approved 64–60, the resolution passed 76–56.

The business meeting then discussed a third resolution, which called for the AHA to support the legalization of consensual sex. After the AHA president and parliamentarian raised procedural concerns (unspecified in the minutes), this resolution was tabled.



Later the same day, the AHA Council concurred with the business meeting's actions on the first resolution, but not on the second, asserting that "the resolution dictated a particular historical approach to teaching and research." In accordance with organizational procedures, the AHA then conducted a mail-in ballot of its membership, which rejected the second resolution 3,429–928 in early 1974.

The AHA's discussions of gay issues continued in 1974–75. In December 1974, the business meeting adopted a resolution proposed by Rubini and seconded by Martin Duberman (Lehman Coll.) and Charles Shively (Boston State Coll.). This one affirmed "the right of gay historians and others to engage in the research and teaching of the history of single and gay people as well as members of all sexual minorities" and declared that "attempts by colleagues, administrators, and others designed to subvert such research and teaching are to be considered violations of academic freedom." Once again, the Council exercised its right to "nonconcur," which sent the resolution to a membership ballot by mail in 1975.

This resolution affirmed "the right . . . to engage in the research and teaching of the history of single and gay people."

In the *AHA Newsletter*, vice president Jean Joughin explained that the Council had not concurred because the resolution expressed support for a "particular group," rather than upholding the academic freedom of all. Rubini and Duberman responded by highlighting "homophobia among colleagues and administrators who hold unfounded fears of proselytizing in the classroom" and declaring that "an explicit, clear, and singular statement of support is needed for gay historians to be able to teach the history of homosexuality." They also emphasized "the paucity of gay history offerings throughout the country." In another striking demonstration of AHA attitudes, 641 of 808 ballots (79 percent) supported the Council's nonconcurrence, while 164 (20 percent) supported the meeting vote.

This was the context for the *AHA Newsletter's* 10-paragraph essay by the students who called gay history unimportant. The essay's length is noteworthy in part because the students described Rubini and Duberman's two-paragraph resolution as a "manifesto," but also because the newsletter's editorial decisions yielded two paragraphs for the professors and 10 for the students.

While the membership voted against the 1974–75 resolution and there were complaints about AHA program committee discrimination against gay history panel proposals in the early 1970s, the Organization of American Historians (OAH) affirmed in 1975 "the right of historians and others to engage in research and teaching of the history of members of all sexual minorities." The resolution also declared that "attempts by colleges, administrators and others designed to subvert such research and teaching are to be considered violations of academic freedom." When the OAH membership was polled, the vote was 901–389 in favor. It is difficult to know whether the divergent outcomes reflected organizational differences or differences in the wording of the resolutions (the AHA one referred to "gay historians and others" while OAH referred to "historians and others"). The latter explanation is aligned with scholarship on the 1970s that suggests greater popular comfort with restrictions on racial and gender discrimination in general rather than restrictions on discrimination against people of color and women in particular.

What are we to make of these episodes? At a basic level, I am making a common type of historical argument: something thought to have happened first at one time (the late 1970s) actually occurred at a different moment (the early 1970s). We also can use the evidence presented here to consider both continuities and discontinuities between past and present. It is noteworthy to consider a period when gay rights arguments were more aligned with arguments about the rights of the unmarried than the rights of the married. Another standard practice of historians is to conclude an essay by calling for additional research—in this case, I advocate for comparative historical analysis of the sexual and gender politics of academic, disciplinary, and professional organizations. My suspicion is that historical organizations, if compared with associations of anthropologists, librarians, literary critics, and sociologists, were laggards rather than leaders, but I would be pleased to learn that I am wrong.

The AHA's gay debates of 1973–75 have implications that extend beyond these specific issues. I sometimes conclude my classes by highlighting all the "new" subjects we have covered and then encouraging students to remain open to topics that might seem insignificant to us today but that later generations will criticize us for ignoring or marginalizing. We almost invariably will fail to do so because we cannot imagine what we cannot imagine, but who among us wants to be criticized 50 years from now for failing to appreciate the historical importance of neurotic, ugly, and unemployed gay wheelwrights? **P**

Marc Stein is the Jamie and Phyllis Pasker Professor of History at San Francisco State University.

## Call for Proposals for the 137th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association

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

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

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

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

### Session Proposals

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

### Poster Proposals

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

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

### Electronic submission only, by midnight PST on February 15, 2023

Before applying, please review the annual meeting  
guidelines and more information at [historians.org/proposals](https://historians.org/proposals).

#### Questions about policies, modes of presentation, and the electronic submission process?

Contact [annualmeeting@historians.org](mailto:annualmeeting@historians.org).

#### Questions about the content of proposals?

Contact Program Committee chair Amy B. Stanley, Northwestern University ([a-stanley@northwestern.edu](mailto:a-stanley@northwestern.edu))  
and co-chair A. K. Sandoval-Strausz, Penn State University ([sandoval@psu.edu](mailto:sandoval@psu.edu)).



SAMUEL J. REDMAN

## BODIES OF KNOWLEDGE

### *Philadelphia and the Dark History of Collecting Human Remains*

In 2010, I found myself writing a history dissertation while seated at a desk next to a preserved human leg. While researching what would eventually become my first book, I encountered a whole range of remarkable and deeply unsettling situations, but perhaps no city with a legacy of human remains collecting hit me quite as hard as Philadelphia. Since that time, the city and its storied institutions have faced an important reckoning as it relates to historical medical and anthropological collections. These collections, largely built in the 19th and early 20th centuries, reflect scientific racism's profound influence, ideas that pushed people to believe humanity could be divided into an ethnic or racial hierarchy—an imagined reality where white men always came out on top.

Scholars, museum curators, and the public are beginning to fully grasp the vast and diverse array of human remains collections in cities like Philadelphia and how they got there. The century-old human leg I briefly encountered was part of a sizable and historically significant medical collection at the Mütter Museum in downtown Philadelphia. Collectors of all kinds, motivated by a range of factors from scientific curiosity to profit and trophy hunting, all actively gathered remains for decades. Museums in the United States continue to hold hundreds of thousands of human remains in their collections.

The oldest university in Philadelphia, the University of Pennsylvania (Penn), was established in 1740, with a medical school following in 1765. Penn did not start to acquire human remains for “scientific” purposes until later. The school established the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (the Penn Museum) in 1887.

The Penn Museum eventually amassed one of the largest collections of anthropological and archaeological materials in the nation and became a leading institution in coordinating global archaeological expeditions for the benefit of American scholars. The museum also made occasional selective purchases. This included 42 boxes sold to dealers by the

Wetherill family, the famed “explorers” and looters of ancient Indigenous sites in the American Southwest, including the cliff dwellings around Mesa Verde. The human remains the Wetherills absconded with included mummified bodies that were first displayed at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago before being offered for sale. A book serving as a guide to the fair and documenting the temporary exhibits reads, “The visitor was introduced to a large exhibit of the mummified remains and domestic relics of the Cliff-Dwellings, the oldest semi-civilization of the Western Continent.” The fair's exhibit was “so skillfully arranged that the visitor to the displays seemed to be standing in the very midst of the real ruins, and shaking hands, as it were, with the dusty remains of a people who played their part in the drama of the world more than a thousand years ago.”

The human remains the Wetherills  
absconded with included  
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Columbian Exposition.

The boxes shipped to Philadelphia included at least 86 individuals, or *ancestors*, as many Indigenous communities in the American Southwest understand them. The university soon put the mummified remains, including those of both infants and adults, on public display at the museum. “Naturally,” one Philadelphia newspaper reported in 1895, “the most interesting portions of the collection to the average visitor are the exhumed bodies of the wonderful people themselves.” Another newspaper imagined the bodies as “holding a reception” at the exhibition's opening. The Philadelphia media concluded, “Many prolonged visits will be required in the Museum to enable one to become even moderately familiar with all the manifestations of primitive life and industry displayed in the collection.”



Museums that hold collections of human remains from the past face ethical questions today.  
*Elihu Vedder, Studies of Hands Holding Calipers, Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, CC0. Image cropped.*

The Penn Museum also acquired what is arguably the most well-known human skull collection ever assembled, those gathered by physician Samuel George Morton (1799–1851). Morton’s writing about race proved highly influential. Morton sourced remains, especially skulls, from around the globe, writing about them in the book *Crania Americana* (1839). His collection of nearly 1,000 skulls was largely kept intact. The collection was subsequently relocated from the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia to the Penn Museum in 1966. For years, the Penn Museum kept the collection mostly behind the scenes in storage as museum curators frequently assumed, despite their previous popularity, that the public would mostly be reviled by the sight of so many human skeletons on display. During the summer of 2022, the museum announced its intent to rebury 13 of the Black Philadelphians previously held in the Morton collection at Penn.

In her masterful 2010 book, *The Skull Collectors: Race, Science, and America’s Unburied Dead*, historian Ann Fabian details how Morton and others used the human skull to advance theories of racial difference, gesturing toward imagined racial hierarchies in ways that served to uphold the era’s predominant racial ideologies. Not only did the Morton collection work to help prop up scientific racism in the 19th century; scholars later returned to the collection to debate it anew in the 20th

century. Prominent authors examined the Morton collection with antiracist aims, most notably Stephen Jay Gould in *The Mismeasure of Man* (1981), a famed intellectual takedown of Morton’s original ideas that is still debated.

Once such collections were established, they continued to grow over time. Museums focused on medicine, anthropology, and natural history acquired human remains through a wide variety of sporadic means during the 19th and 20th centuries. Some came to museums following archaeological digs, but an extraordinary number were sent to museums following looting and accidental discoveries as well as via exchanges. In researching and writing *Bone Rooms*, I came to understand that scholars have overemphasized the “professional” avenues that pushed remains to museum shelves, while underestimating the shockingly large history of “amateur” collecting, accidental discoveries, and looting, all contributing to the largest collections of human remains in the world, including those in Philadelphia.

Flash forward to 1990. The passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) required two important actions. Cultural institutions were mandated to inventory their collections and, in select cases, return or repatriate these remains to their descendent communities.

While NAGPRA represents an important step forward, recent estimates suggest that only about 30 percent of eligible human remains have been returned. Problems connect to administrative challenges, costs, and the sheer complexity of working through hundreds of thousands of ancestral remains and sacred objects housed in museum collections across the country. Some individuals at Penn, Harvard University, and the Smithsonian have taken action in response to these problems, opening up new platforms for discussion and moving toward change.

Despite this recent history, many were shocked and appalled to learn about the recent use of remains in a livestreamed class at Penn. In the spring of 2021, a media firestorm emerged when articles from *Billy Penn* and the *Philadelphia Inquirer* pointed to the use of human remains in an online biological anthropology course, which drew on the collections at the Penn Museum. During at least one lecture, the instructor used the remains of a victim of a 1985 police action. The 12-year-old girl had been residing with the members of MOVE, a Black liberation group that came under heavy police scrutiny, ultimately leading to the violent deaths of 11 individuals when the police bombed the group's residence, starting a fire that destroyed the surrounding area. Following a brief investigation, the remains were shuttled off to the coroner's office before being turned over to the museum for reasons that remain unclear.

These remains represent a  
physical manifestation of past  
mistakes lingering in  
colonialism's large wake.

The 2021 uproar showed how the historical collection of human remains, and their ongoing use in teaching, display, education, and research, is a point of real and profound hurt for many individuals and communities. These remains represent a physical manifestation of past mistakes lingering in colonialism's large wake, as well as the many desires maintained by those originally bringing these vast collections together. We can do better in working to understand human anatomy and history without the ongoing exploitation of the many remains touched by the legacies of scientific racism and colonialism. Steps forward need to be considered carefully and in close collaboration and consultation with descendant communities. In many more cases than have taken place to date, remains should be justly returned through repatriation.

A wave of major media stories surrounding the Morton collection, the bodies of the formerly enslaved, and MOVE bombing victims has brought the issue of museum collections of human remains back to the spotlight. The Penn Museum recently issued a statement responding to this history and rejecting scientific racism. Others continue to advocate that they have a right to study historical human remains collections, including Native American ancestral remains. Momentum is clearly on the side of those calling for change, but it is yet to be seen whether the recent attention will translate into sustained or permanent action on the part of museums.

Despite this added attention, few fully understand the scope of these collections—they include hundreds of thousands of remains gathered from across North America and around the world. In their recent “Statement on Human Remains,” the Penn Museum estimated its collections include 12,000 individuals. Not only is our contemporary treatment of Native American remains incomplete; we have also failed to fully grapple with the fact that the remains of thousands of Black Americans, including some who suffered under chattel slavery, are presently held in museum collections. Other remains gathered for these collections originated from prisons, almshouses, and hospitals for the poor, all locations where the remains of the recently deceased could be easily exploited.

Historian Daina Ramey Berry and anthropologists Justin Dunnavant, Delande Justinvil, and Chip Colwell have rightly called for an “African American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act,” federal legislation to address the problem of Black remains held in US museums and medical collections. But what about Indigenous remains collected from elsewhere around the world? Existing federal legislation is silent about the moral and ethical implications of these collections. What about the remains of so many others exploited primarily because of their socioeconomic position? We should strive to imagine more expansive solutions to this problem, solutions that truly reflect the vast complexity of the many issues at hand. Museums should be pressed to do more, and we can begin by better understanding the history behind these collections. **P**

*Samuel J. Redman is a professor of history and director of the public history program at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. He tweets @samueljredman.*



## 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](http://historians.org/hotels).



### Dates and Deadlines

<b>NOVEMBER 2</b>	Program mailed to members.
<b>DECEMBER 13</b>	Last day to make hotel reservations through the housing service. Subsequent reservations taken on a space-available basis at the convention rate.
<b>DECEMBER 15</b>	Last day for preregistration pricing.
<b>DECEMBER 15</b>	Deadline to submit registration refund requests.
<b>JANUARY 5, 2023</b>	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](https://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	<b>For members only.</b> 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](mailto:annualmeeting@historians.org) by November 1, 2022.

# Now Available

## *Careers for History Majors*

A new publication from the American Historical Association

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

Elizabeth Lehfeltdt, 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.

Contributors explore the breadth of career options available to history majors and provide tools to help students get the most out of their degree.

The booklet also includes the personal stories of history majors who work in a range of occupations, including data analysis, finance, and the law. You'll find out what employers want and learn about the personal transformations that many history majors experience.

### Contributors

Loren Collins • John Fea • Anne Hyde • Sarah Olzawski • Johann Neem • Claire Potter • John Rowe • Sarah Shurts • Paul Sturtevant • Frank Valadez

Reinforcing the value and utility of a history BA, *Careers for History Majors* is perfect for directors of undergraduate studies, career center advisers, prospective majors, and their parents.

To order copies, visit [historians.org/booklets](https://historians.org/booklets).  
For additional resources, visit [historians.org/whystudyhistory](https://historians.org/whystudyhistory).

AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL  
ASSOCIATION



LIZZY MEGGYESY

## NEW FACES AT THE AHA

*Meet Whitney E. Barringer, Lauren Brand, and Nicholas Kryczka*

The AHA is pleased to welcome Whitney E. Barringer, Lauren Brand, and Nicholas Kryczka, who have joined the AHA as staff to work on Mapping the Landscape of Secondary US History Education, part of the Teaching History with Integrity initiative.

**Whitney E. Barringer** joined the project as a researcher in July. Whit earned all three of her degrees in history, beginning with a BA at the University of Central Arkansas and an MA and PhD from the University of Mississippi. Her dissertation was on the intellectual history of mental illness and mental institutions in Europe and the US South, with a focus on the institutional and political history of Mississippi's mental institutions between 1855 and 1910. Pedagogically, she is interested in the way films and other kinds of art can be used to critically engage with ideas and emotions in US history.

Whit previously worked as a visiting instructor at the University of Central Arkansas and as a freelance history editor. As an instructor, she was engaged and energized by the effort to understand the state of historical education and sought to understand how to better historical education for not just students and educators but the future of democracy in the United States. "The Mapping the Landscape project provided a great opportunity to combine my career trajectory with my deep personal interest in the betterment of historical education through clarifying, substantive, fair analysis," Whit told *Perspectives*.

Whit enjoys playing independent tabletop role-playing games as a way to expand her capacity for imagination and empathy.

Outside work, Whit enjoys exploring cuisines by cooking with flavors and techniques new to her. She also enjoys writing, and playing independent tabletop role-playing

games as a way to improve and expand her capacity for imagination and empathy. In addition, she is "interested in the way role-playing games can be used in the classroom to help students connect with historical education."

**Lauren Brand** also started in July as a researcher. Lauren completed her master's and doctoral degrees from Rice University before working in academic publishing at the *Journal of Southern History* and *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. She was an assistant professor at her undergraduate alma mater, Southern Nazarene University, for five years before coming to work for the AHA. Her primary field of research is the history of Native peoples in the trans-Mississippi west in the 19th century, though she mainly taught first-year world history courses.

Lauren has been interested in the AHA since she was a faculty member advising undergraduate history majors.

Lauren was excited by the opportunity to return to research at the AHA because of the importance of the Mapping the Landscape project. She believes that the project will have a large impact on the conversation about history education in public schools. "The opportunity to contribute to a publication that could bring some empirical grounding to the often-fraught conversations about public history education was too good to pass up," she told *Perspectives*. Lauren has been interested in the AHA since she was a faculty member advising undergraduate history majors. There, she kept a copy of the AHA's *Careers for History Majors* on her desk to share with students so they could see how the history discipline could support their career goals in a variety of ways.



Whitney E. Barringer



Lauren Brand



Nicholas Kryczka

In her free time, Lauren enjoys reading science fiction and fantasy novels, particularly the work of Brandon Sanderson, whom she has read since his first novel, *Elantris*, came out in 2005. She also enjoys cooking meals that allow her to learn new recipes as she transitions to a vegan diet. Yoga and Pilates workouts keep her occupied, as “nothing feels better after a long day hunched over a microfilm machine than a deep yoga stretch.” In addition, she is an avid fan of international television, from British period pieces to Korean and Thai dramas.

### Nick's 10-year career as a teacher in Chicago public schools piqued his interest in Mapping the Landscape.

In April, **Nicholas Kryczka** joined the AHA as research coordinator for the Mapping the Landscape project. Nick earned his history PhD from the University of Chicago in 2019, where he subsequently worked as a postdoctoral teaching fellow in the social sciences. His research focused on urban space, racial ideology, and education policy. His work has been published in *History of Education Quarterly*, the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, and will appear in forthcoming edited volumes from the University of Illinois Press and Oxford University Press.

Before his doctoral studies, Nick earned his BA in political science from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and his teacher licensure and MA in history from Northeastern Illinois University. His 10-year career as a high school

social studies teacher in Chicago public schools and subsequent experience developing a K–12 history curriculum for the Newberry Library and the Chicago Collections Consortium piqued his interest in Mapping the Landscape. “With a career that has spanned K–12 social studies and academia, I was especially excited to work on this project,” Nick said.

As a parent of two boys on the northwest side of Chicago, Nick spends much of his free time with his family playing basketball, walking their dog, cooking, directing their Cub Scout Pack, hiking, camping, and exploring the city. In his preparenting days, he took multiweek backpacking treks with friends worldwide. “Traveling remains a passion that I try to share with my kids,” Nick told *Perspectives*.

Together, Whit, Lauren, and Nick bring a wealth of knowledge and experiences to the AHA and the Mapping the Landscape of Secondary US History Education project. Please extend them a warm welcome! **P**

*Lizzy Meggyesy is research and publications assistant at the AHA.*

LIZ TOWNSEND

# NOMINATIONS INVITED FOR AHA OFFICES, TERMS BEGINNING JANUARY 2024

Under the AHA Constitution and Bylaws (Article VIII, Section 1; Article IX; and Bylaws 11 and 12), the executive director invites all members of the Association to submit, on or before January 8, 2023, recommendations for the following offices:

## President-elect

**Vice President, Research Division** (member of the Council, chair of the Division)

**Councilor, Professional Division**, one position (Council – governance of the organization; Division – responsible for overseeing matters concerning working conditions and practices of historians, primarily by articulating ethical standards and best practices in the historical discipline)

**Councilor, Research Division**, one position (Council – governance of the organization; Division – responsible for promoting historical scholarship, encouraging the collection and preservation of historical documents and artifacts, ensuring equal access to information, and fostering the dissemination of information about historical records and research)

**Councilor, Teaching Division**, one position (Council – governance of the organization; Division – responsible for the Council's work relating to history education, including efforts to promote and improve teaching and learning of history at all levels of education)

**Councilor, At Large**, one position (no divisional responsibilities; a graduate student enrolled in a history program and advanced to candidacy; will represent the interests of graduate students in Council, play a leadership role in organizing participation of graduate students in AHA activities, and disseminate information about AHA activities and initiatives to graduate students in history)

**Committee on Committees**, one position (nominations for large number of Association committees, including book

awards and prizes; member begins serving immediately after election)

**Nominating Committee**, three positions (nominations for all elective posts)

Members of the Council and elective committees *as of January 8, 2023*, are listed below. Positions being replaced in the June 1–July 15, 2023, elections are in bold.

Unless otherwise indicated, terms expire in January of the listed year.

## Presidents

**2024 James H. Sweet**, Univ. of Wisconsin–Madison (Africa, African diaspora, Brazil)

2025 Edward W. Muir Jr., Northwestern Univ. (medieval and early modern Europe, religion, urban, legal and criminal)

2026 Thavolia Glymph, Duke Univ. (slavery, emancipation, plantation societies and economies, gender, women)

## Professional Division

**2024 Simon Finger**, councilor, Coll. of New Jersey (American colonial to early republic, medicine, maritime, labor)

2025 Laura Hostetler, councilor, Univ. of Illinois at Chicago (Qing empire, Sino-European relations, early modern world, cartography, humanities education)

2026 Anne Hyde, vice president, Univ. of Oklahoma (19th-century North American West, Indigenous America, race)

2026 Tony Frazier, councilor, North Carolina Central Univ. (social and legal history of blacks in 18th-century in Great Britain, Atlantic slavery and emancipation, African American)



## Research Division

**2024 Ben Vinson III**, vice president, Case Western Reserve Univ. (African diaspora, colonial Mexico)

**2024 Pernille Røge**, councilor, Univ. of Pittsburgh (18th-century France and French empire, political economy)

**2025 Sandra Greene**, councilor, Cornell Univ. (slavery, biography, Ghana)

**2026 Erin Greenwald**, councilor, Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities (Public Programs; French Atlantic world, colonial Louisiana)

## Teaching Division

**2024 Katharina Matro**, councilor, Walter Johnson High School (modern central and eastern Europe)

**2025 Kathleen Hilliard**, vice president, Iowa State Univ. (informal economies, slavery and emancipation, US South)

**2025 Karen Marrero**, councilor, Wayne State Univ. (early North America and Indigenous, transnational and borderlands)

**2026 Charles Zappia**, San Diego Mesa Coll. (corporatization of higher education, community college historians, transformation of work and the American labor movement)

## At Large

**2024 Sherri Sheu**, Univ. of Colorado Boulder (modern US, environmental)

## Committee on Committees

**7/2023 Leo J. Garofalo**, Connecticut Coll. (colonial Andean cities and markets, Afro-Iberians and African diaspora)

**7/2024 Julie Hardwick**, Univ. of Texas at Austin (early modern Europe, social/legal/gender)

**7/2024 Franziska Seraphim**, Boston Coll. (modern Japan, global and comparative, historical memory, social politics)

**7/2025 Rashauna Johnson**, Univ. of Chicago (Atlantic slavery and emancipation, 19th-century African diaspora, US South, urban and regional)

## Nominating Committee

**2024 Amy M. Froide**, Univ. of Maryland, Baltimore County (female investors and single women, Britain 1500–1800)

**2024 Beatrice Gurwitz**, National Humanities Alliance (Latin American/Jewish history, higher education policy, public humanities)

**2024 Sharlene Sinegal-DeCuir**, Xavier Univ. of Louisiana (African American, New Orleans)

**2025 Lisa Leff**, US Holocaust Memorial Museum and American Univ. (Jews of modern France)

**2025 Melissa N. Stuckey**, Elizabeth City State Univ. (African American migration to Oklahoma, African American history, Black freedom struggles)

**2025 Philip Thai**, Northeastern Univ. (modern China, legal, economic, diplomatic)


**2026 Carlos Kevin Blanton**, Texas A&M Univ. (Chicana/o, education, civil rights, Texas)

**2026 Bianca Murillo**, California State Univ., Dominguez Hills (modern Africa, global capitalism/economies/markets, race and gender studies)

**2026 Kaya Şahin**, Indiana Univ. (early modern Ottoman Empire, history writing, governance, religious/confessional identity, ceremonies and rituals)

Suggestions should be submitted by email to [committees@historians.org](mailto:committees@historians.org). Please specify the academic or other position and the field of the individual, and include a brief statement of their qualifications for the position. Refer to the *Statement on Diversity in AHA Nominations and Appointments* ([historians.org/ahadiversity](https://historians.org/ahadiversity)), which was drafted in the hope that it will encourage members to suggest more individuals from diverse backgrounds for both appointments and nominations. All suggestions received will be forwarded to the Nominating Committee for consideration at its meeting in February 2023.

Schedule for Nominations and Elections of AHA Officers

January 8, 2023	Deadline to make suggestions to executive director.
February 2023	Nominating Committee meets to determine slate.
March–April 2023	Slate published in <i>Perspectives on History</i> and <i>Perspectives Daily</i> .
June 1, 2023	Link to ballot emailed to AHA members.
July 15, 2023	Final deadline to record votes.
August–September 2023	Results announced in <i>Perspectives on History</i> and <i>Perspectives Daily</i> . Committee on Committees elected member begins term of office immediately.
January 4, 2024	Results announced at business meeting during 136th annual meeting in San Francisco.
January 7, 2024	Individuals begin terms of office. 

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

Recently Published Online in *Perspectives Daily*



C. C. Pierce, “Combating Typhus Fever on the Mexican Border,” *Public Health Reports* 32, no. 12, March 23, 1917 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office), 427.

Challenge Complete!

Laura Ansley  
Find out what AHA members, Council, and staff read to fulfill the AHA Summer Reading Challenge.

From Bath Riots to Blocking Asylum

Arabella Delgado  
US border restrictions during COVID-19 reflect a long history of policing migrants for disease.

Where Are the Women?

Amanda B. Moniz  
When women are missing from the history we tell, sometimes it’s because of how their stories were preserved and told in the past.

Plus Member Spotlights, Grants of the Week, and more!  
[historians.org/PerspectivesDaily](https://historians.org/PerspectivesDaily)



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Pedro Ribeiro Simões (CC BY 2.0)





## Kathleen L. Lodwick

1944–2022

Historian of  
Christianity in China

Kathleen L. Lodwick, professor emerita of Chinese history at Penn State University, died in Berks County, Pennsylvania, on July 7, 2022. She was 78 years old.

Lodwick was born to Kathryn E. (Worthington) Lodwick and Algha C. Lodwick on February 7, 1944, in Saint Louis, Missouri. She earned her BA in journalism at Ohio University and her PhD in Chinese history at the University of Arizona. After publication of her prodigious work, *The Chinese Recorder Index* (Rowman and Littlefield, 1986), Lodwick was recognized as a front-runner in the field of China missionary research. Indeed, this exhaustive endeavor is the only research guide to the mission periodicals the *Chinese Recorder* and *Missionary Recorder*, and the entries in the persons index include biographical information, denominational affiliation, spouse names, and the locations and dates of service in China. Other indexes detail the historical contours of the Protestant mission in China: personnel, convert statistics, finances, hospital and school data, and so forth.

This monumental work remains among Lodwick's most consulted and cited publications, but it is by no means her only work that researchers keep near their desks. Books such as *Crusaders against Opium: Protestant Missionaries in China, 1874–1917* (Univ. Press of Kentucky, 1996) and *The Widow's Quest: The Byers Extraterritorial Case in Hainan, China, 1924–1925* (Lehigh Univ. Press, 2003) offer arguments that have had a substantial impact on how historians approach the topic of Westerners in China. She uncovered new details of how missionaries sought to reverse the spate of opium addiction that Britain helped inflict on China, as well as how one American missionary effectively intervened in Sino-American relations to influence judiciary justice. Lodwick's knack for vivid storytelling and insightful analysis are models for historians who both consult her works and remain influenced by her rigor.

Lodwick was among the few scholars who almost single-handedly created an academic subfield. She helped establish the field of China Christianity studies in 1983, when she

founded the China Missions Group (CMG), later the China Christianity Studies Group. With the support of other eminent scholars, such as John K. Fairbank (Harvard Univ.), Jonathan Spence (Yale Univ.), and Frederic Wakeman Jr. (Univ. of California, Berkeley), the CMG was affiliated with the Association for Asian Studies (AAS), and Lodwick directed its annual meetings at the AAS for 31 years. She also served as general editor of the *Studies in Christianity in China* book series at Lehigh University Press.

In 2012, Lodwick retired from Penn State University, where her courses were in great demand. In her teaching, she found the larger image of Sino-Western history in the small details, especially in the individual lives of women missionaries in China. These included Margaret Moninger, subject of her book *Educating the Women of Hainan: The Career of Margaret Moninger in China, 1915–1942* (Univ. Press of Kentucky, 1995), who, like Lodwick herself, transformed lives as an educator. As with the work of many great scholars, her final book, *How Christianity Came to China: A Brief History* (Fortress Press, 2016), represents a retrospective survey of her topic, proving a rich and mature précis of her many decades of research. Though her field has suffered a great loss by her death, her work will endure.

Professionally, Lodwick was a generous mentor and supportive colleague, and personally, she was a passionate advocate of women's rights, equity, and civic duty. Both her professional and personal lives served the same seamless aim to advance cultural friendship and improve the global landscape of social justice. She was keenly attuned to helping exonerate individuals who in have been wrongly convicted, and she was devoted to the reform of the criminal justice system to prevent future injustice. The Innocence Project was among the organizations that she supported throughout her life. Her friends also knew Lodwick to be an avid viewer of BBC mysteries while dedicating additional hours to embroidery. She is survived by her younger brother Laurence N. Lodwick and her daughter Kathryn E. Lodwick-Jones.

Anthony E. Clark  
Whitworth University

*Photo courtesy Kathryn E. Lodwick-Jones*



## Neal Salisbury

1940–2022

Historian of  
Indigenous North  
America

In academia, you are very lucky if your chosen mentor turns out to be not only a loyal advocate but also a steadfast friend and trusted critic. Neal Salisbury, who passed away on May 27, 2022, proved just such a superb mentor and colleague to many. The Barbara Richmond 1940 Professor Emeritus in the Social Sciences at Smith College, Salisbury was long admired for leadership in the field of American Indian and Indigenous history. Embracing a collaborative approach, he advocated for students, scholars, Indigenous communities, and their histories, both in New England and beyond.

Salisbury earned his PhD in history at the University of California, Los Angeles, in 1972; his mentor, Gary B. Nash, would soon recast US history with his 1974 text, *Red, White, and Black*, and Salisbury joined a generation of scholars committed to telling the “new” histories of early America’s diverse groups. The core of his dissertation appeared as the article “Red Puritans: The ‘Praying Indians’ of Massachusetts Bay and John Eliot” (*William and Mary Quarterly*, 1974); he then turned back the clock, focusing on Indigenous societies at the dawn of French, Dutch, and English colonization.

His book, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500–1643* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1982) remains a standard; Lisa Brooks (Amherst Coll.) has called it “visionary, far ahead of its time. It anticipated the continental and Atlantic-world perspectives that now undergird the #Vast-EarlyAmerica approach.” Other works include a field-defining textbook, *The People: A History of Native America*, co-authored with R. David Edmunds and Frederick E. Hoxie in 2007; many edited works; and a host of important articles, all of which broke new scholarly trails. His meticulously edited version of Mary Rowlandson’s captivity narrative, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God, with Related Documents* (1997; 2nd ed. 2018), offers essential insights on late 17th-century New England and King Philip’s/Metacom’s War, while “The Indians’ Old World: Native Americans and the Coming of Europeans” (*William and Mary Quarterly*, 1996) charted an especially important path to decolonizing the field, modeling an Indigenous history that stretches

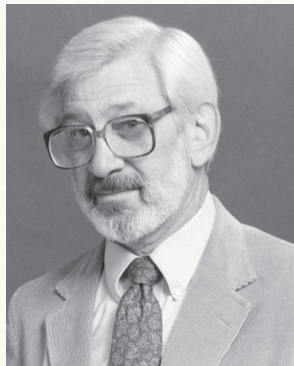
back generations before the invasion by Europeans. Salisbury pursued scholarship that sought to learn as much as to teach. Colleagues, students, staff, and community partners all remember his generosity, understated wit, scholarly acumen, and fierce dedication in rewriting early North American history to include the foundational experiences of Indigenous peoples.

Working at a small liberal arts college, Salisbury nevertheless developed a far-flung web of influence—from the Smith undergrads who went on to other institutions, to Five College Consortium graduate students, to the many others who made pilgrimages to Northampton (as I did). Salisbury took the time to develop the work of others, sending thoughtful letters filled with perceptive critique. He took on heavy administrative and service responsibilities: chairing his department; serving on the Five Colleges Native American and Indigenous Studies Seminar (continuously, from 1989); completing a staggering number of external reviews for journals, presses, and career appointments; leading the American Society for Ethnohistory in many positions, including as its president (1998–99); and serving on the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture Council (2004–07). He was elected to both the American Antiquarian Society and the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and he advised the museums at Historic Deerfield (2000–04) and Plimoth Plantation (1994–2008), now the Plimoth Patuxet Museums, among many others.

In addition to the many prestigious fellowships he held from, among others, the Smithsonian Institution, American Council of Learned Societies, National Endowment for the Humanities, Newberry Library, Warren Center at Harvard University, and National Humanities Center, Salisbury helped design Institutes for K–12 Teachers almost every summer, thus influencing countless generations of students and their understanding of the region’s Indigenous past. His close colleagues stress his unstinting kindness, inclusive spirit, and lack of pretension. Longtime collaborator Barry O’Connell (Amherst Coll.) observes, “Neal was so unsung in so many ways. He did not want to call attention to himself. Yet he was a constant public servant beyond anyone I know. . . . His grace and his modesty [enabled] his deep practice of equality. Unlike many academics, Neal was never presumptuous. But he could be a fierce antagonist to any form of injustice.”

A remarkable husband to Dana for 52 years, a devoted father to Cleo Salisbury (Tony Lobay), and a loving grandfather to Zeke and Niabelle, Neal leaves a tremendous legacy, in both his personal and professional lives. He will be much missed.

Ann Marie Plane  
*University of California, Santa Barbara (emerita)*



## Henry J. Tobias

1925–2021

Historian of Russia  
and American Jewish  
Life

Henry J. Tobias died March 28, 2021, just after his 96th birthday. He was born in Paterson, New Jersey, to eastern European immigrants, who left the Russian Empire in the wake of the failed Bundist revolt of 1905. Tobias said that his parents spoke Yiddish and English with his brother and him but lapsed into Polish when they did not want children to understand. Naturally, Tobias went on to study Russian.

His first love was music. He played drums with the guitarist John Paul “Bucky” Pizzarelli in the Catskills while still a teenager. In 1943, at age 18, he entered the army; his German- and French-language skills got him attached to a general as a translator. He came ashore on the third day at Normandy. Because he was a nonsmoker, his daily ration of American cigarettes made him very well off in France, where cigarettes served as a currency. He found a Jewish cousin who had survived the war in Paris, and she showed him the sights. He recalled that there was no feeling like being part of an army of welcomed liberators, as he was in France.

On his return, the GI Bill allowed him to complete a history BA at Ohio State University. He then moved to Yale University, where he earned his MA under the Russian historian George Vernadsky. He completed his PhD at Stanford under Anatole Mazour. His first book, *The Jewish Bund in Russia: From Its Origins to 1905* (Stanford Univ. Press, 1972), delved into the experiences of Bundists, members of a Jewish socialist revolutionary group who, like his parents, had been disappointed by the failure of that revolutionary moment.

He taught at Elmira College, the University of New Mexico, Kansas State University, and, from 1969 until 1988, the University of Oklahoma, Norman. There he served as chair of the Department of History and as director of the Western History Collections. He began writing about American Jewish history at the request of his colleague, H. Wayne Morgan, editor of the *Newcomers to a New Land* series from the University of Oklahoma Press; the result was *The Jews in Oklahoma* (1980).

Tobias was an affable, encouraging colleague and mentor and a memorable teacher to his many students. He was unfailingly kind and always asked the most probing questions. At the University of Oklahoma, he confessed that once he tried to teach Russian history backward, beginning with the Cold War and stretching back to the Kievan Rus'. He said it was intellectually satisfying, but the students had trouble following, so he did not attempt it again. Retiring in 1988 just before the collapse of the Soviet Union seemed to him in retrospect sensible, since the problems Russia would face differed from what they were in the Soviet era.

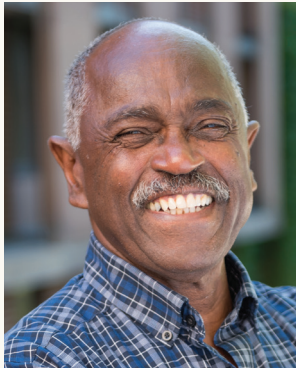
After retirement, he moved back to Albuquerque and continued his research into Jewish and local history, publishing *A History of the Jews in New Mexico* (Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1990). He also began working on projects with the sociologist Charles Woodhouse, co-authoring *Santa Fe: A Modern History, 1880–1990* (Univ. of New Mexico Press, 2001) and *Jews in New Mexico since World War II* (Univ. of New Mexico Press, 2008). He was in demand as a lecturer for Jewish groups interested in communities' pasts. He noted that American history was so much easier to research than Russian history because of the ease of access to materials, particularly the US Census.

Married and divorced twice, he is survived by three daughters, who remember that he entertained them with his love of music and literature and with very silly jokes.

Daniel C. Snell  
University of Oklahoma, Norman

Photo courtesy Western History Collections,  
University of Oklahoma Libraries, OUEMP 86348





## Louis E. Wilson

1939–2022

Historian of Africa  
and African  
Americans

With the death of Louis E. Wilson on July 10, 2022, the fields of history, African American studies, and African studies, as well as Wilson's family, students, and colleagues, lost an extraordinarily graceful, talented, and generous person.

Born in Longview, Texas, on March 1, 1939, to Rebecca McKenzie Wilson and Essie Wilson, he moved with his family to California as part of the Great Migration and grew up in the neighborhood known today as South Central Los Angeles. After graduating from California State University, Los Angeles, he went on to graduate school at the University of California, Los Angeles, where he earned his MA in 1973 and his PhD in 1980, with a dissertation advised by Christopher Ehret. Supported by funding from the National Defense Education Act, the Fulbright Program, and the Ford Foundation, his research resulted in *The Krobo People of Ghana to 1892: A Political and Social History* (Ohio Univ. Center for International Studies, 1991). One reviewer hailed it as "a definitive social and political history of the Krobo, a small but important Adangme people of southeastern Ghana." Another reviewer credited it as a book with "a good feel and grasp of subtle issues such as family networks, biased oral traditions, and the impact of conflicting Christian and traditional values."

Wilson taught at the institution now known as University of Massachusetts Dartmouth (1975–76), today's Claremont McKenna College (1976–80), the University of Colorado Boulder (1980–89), and Smith College (1989–2010). Along the way, he had visiting professorships or fellowships at the University of Ghana (1983–84), Brown University (1994), the University of Cape Town (1999), and the University of Hamburg (2006), and throughout his career he lectured widely in the United States and Africa.

Not long after he arrived at Smith College, both his teaching and his scholarly writing turned increasingly to US history. He contributed "The Springfield of Channing Lewis, a Colored Man" to the widely assigned collection *Love across the Color Line: The Letters of Alice Hanley to Channing Lewis* (Univ. of

Massachusetts Press, 1996). With others, including the late Gary B. Nash, he was responsible for a series of K–8 textbooks, mostly in US history, first published by Houghton Mifflin in 1994. With titles such as *Some People I Know*, *From Sea to Shining Sea*, and *This Is My Country*, the texts have been widely adopted, especially in California. His publications with Houghton Mifflin continued with *The Americans*, a textbook for grades 9–12 that remains in use across the nation. He participated in workshops for teachers using these books and made appearances before school boards considering adopting them.

In recent years, he developed a sustained and passionate interest in the history of African Americans in the Revolutionary and Civil Wars. He built an extraordinary database that charted their military service in southern New England, which attracted support from the DuBois and Hutchins Centers at Harvard University and the attention, often appreciative, of the Daughters of the American Revolution. He played a role in the latter's project *Forgotten Patriots—African American and American Indian Patriots in the Revolutionary War: A Guide to Service, Sources, and Studies*. His dedication to this project, on which he often delivered compelling lectures, underscored his insistence on the important roles African Americans and Native Americans played in American history.

He is survived by Alona Cooper Wilson, whom he married on November 30, 2002; by his sons, Bennett (Jennifer Gorman and their sons, Lee and Graham), a veterinarian practicing in Maine, and Mark (Meaghan Brady and their sons, Maxwell and Masalee), a Foreign Service officer with USAID, serving mainly in Africa; and Judy Wilson, his former wife and the mother of his sons.

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Daniel Horowitz  
Smith College (emeritus)

Photo courtesy Smith College





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## CALIFORNIA

### CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, DOMINGUEZ HILLS

Carson, CA

**Latin America/Mexico.** The Department of History at California State University, Dominguez Hills invites applications for a tenure-track position in Latin American/Mexican history at the rank of assistant professor (academic year) with the appointment starting in fall 2023. At CSUDH, we celebrate and respect diversity in all forms that include every race, religion, gender, ethnicity, veterans, people with varied abilities, and members of the LGBTQ+ community. CSUDH is seeking applications from candidates who can demonstrate experience in teaching and working with individuals from diverse backgrounds and contribute to the University's mission, vision, and core values. For more information, see <https://www.csudh.edu/president/strategic-planning/mission-vision-values>. The position is open until filled. Review of applications will begin in October. For full consideration, please submit your completed application with the required materials no later than October 10, 2022, to <https://careers.csudh.edu/en-us/job/517503/assistant-professor-latin-american-mexican-history>. Required Qualifications: Applicants must have experience in teaching and working with colleagues from diverse age, socioeconomic, cultural, and

academic backgrounds. PhD in the discipline of history. Degree must be in hand at time of appointment. Evidence of at least four semesters effective teaching as instructor of record. Demonstrated training/experience to teach Latin American, Mexican history, and world history. Demonstrated record of effective teaching and student mentoring in culturally diverse academic environments. Evidence of research/scholarship in Latin American or Mexican history. Preferred Qualifications: Expertise in the colonial period in Latin American or Mexican history preferred. Experience with high-impact practices and pedagogies that promote student success, retention, and graduation. Record of scholarly interest and achievement in ethnohistory are also preferred.

### UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

Los Angeles, CA

**History of Medicine.** The UCLA Department of History invites applications for a tenure-track position at the rank of assistant professor in the history of medicine. The chronological and geographical range are open but we especially welcome candidates whose work includes a transnational or global dimension, who are interested in the technological and material aspects of medical practice, broadly construed, and who think in an integrated way about the history of science, technology and medicine and their place in a history department. The deadline for receiving applications

and required documents is November 1, 2022. Applications will be reviewed immediately thereafter. All candidates must have completed their PhD in history or related field no later than June 30, 2023. The department welcomes candidates whose experience in teaching, research, or community service has prepared them to contribute to our commitment to diversity and excellence. All qualified applicants are encouraged to apply online at <https://recruit.apo.ucla.edu/JPF07754> to upload their information for this position. This position is subject to final administrative approval. Documents should include a letter of application, CV, writing sample; statements of teaching and research, and three letters of recommendation. A statement addressing the applicant's past and/or potential contributions to equity, diversity, and inclusion is also required. Please visit the UCLA Equity, Diversity and Inclusion website for Sample Guidance for Candidates on the Statement of Contributions to Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion at <https://equity.ucla.edu/programs-resources/faculty-search-process/faculty-search-committee-resources/sample-guidance/>.



## MASSACHUSETTS

### MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE

South Hadley, MA

**African American History.** The Department of History at Mount Holyoke College invites applications for a tenure-track assistant professor position in 20th-century African

American history to begin fall 2023. Possible areas of specialization include the Black Power Movement and Civil Rights Movement, perhaps with special attention to topics such as gender and sexuality, the carceral state, black economies, the Great Migration, and black internationalism. The successful candidate will teach an introduction to African American history, the second half of a two-semester introduction to American history, and courses within their expertise, including at least one research colloquium or seminar. The teaching expectation is four courses per academic year. Applicants should have teaching experience, and a PhD in hand before August 2023. This position is part of an initiative to hire three faculty members in Africana Studies at Mount Holyoke College. Exemplifying Mount Holyoke's commitment to nurturing a diverse and inclusive learning community led by an accomplished faculty, the cluster hire is intended to enhance collaboration among departments and to increase opportunities for interdisciplinary exchange across teaching, research, and public engagement efforts. It will strengthen curricula as the College launches a new major and department in Critical Race and Political Economy. Building on long-standing efforts to hire persons who are Black, Indigenous, or people of color, the cluster hire initiative will also deepen community and strengthen faculty retention. Please submit a letter of application, CV, graduate transcripts, two sample syllabuses (an introduction to African American history and a course in your field of specialization), a short

## 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](http://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](http://www.historians.org/standards); Guidelines for the Hiring Process, [www.historians.org/hiring](http://www.historians.org/hiring); and Policy on Advertisements, [www.historians.org/adpolicy](http://www.historians.org/adpolicy).



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/493161/assistant-professor-of-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 October 24, 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.

**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 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.



## MISSOURI

### WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN ST. LOUIS

St. Louis, MO

**Race/Ethnicity/Migration in 20th-Century US.** The History Department at Washington University in St. Louis invites applications for a tenure-track assistant professorship in the history of race, ethnicity, and migration in the fall of 2023. The successful

candidate's scholarship and teaching will focus on migrations that transformed the 20th-century US, including the transnational forces that shaped those migrations and multiple identities that emerged from them. The Department welcomes scholars of race in the most capacious sense. Preferred areas of expertise include comparative race and ethnic studies, comparative migration studies, and/or public history. The successful candidate will teach assigned classes, advise students, be active in research and publication, perform university service, and contribute to a growing community of faculty interested in related fields. These include an incoming hire in race, ethnicity, and migration in modern Europe, and existing scholars working in African American history and Black diasporas, as well as anti-Semitism and the Holocaust. Among the classes to be taught will be an introductory course on global forces that created multicultural, multiracial, and multiethnic societies in the US context. This position is also part of a university-wide cluster hire focused on race and ethnicity. For more information, see <https://provost.wustl.edu/2022-cluster-hire/>. A PhD in hand by August 1, 2023, and strong evidence of scholarly potential are required. Please send a cover letter and CV via <https://apply.interfolio.com/111329>. Applications should be received by October 3, 2022. Washington University is an AA/EEOE. Diversity and inclusion are core values at Washington University, and we seek to create inclusive classrooms and environments in which a diverse array of students can learn and thrive. Each year Washington University publishes a Safety and Security brochure that details what to do and whom to contact in an emergency. This report also publishes the federally required annual security and fire safety reports, containing campus crime and fire statistics as well as key university policies and procedures. You may access the Safety and Security brochure at <https://police.wustl.edu/clery-reports-logs/>.

**Race/Ethnicity/Migration in Modern Europe.** The History Department at Washington University in St. Louis invites applications for a tenure-track assistant professorship in race, ethnicity, and migration in modern Europe to begin in the fall of 2023. Preferred areas of expertise include comparative race and ethnic studies, comparative migration studies, or public history. The successful candidate will

teach assigned classes, advise students, be active in research and publication, perform university service, and contribute to a growing community of faculty interested in related fields. These include an incoming hire in race, ethnicity, and migration in the 20th-century US and existing scholars working in African American history and Black diasporas as well as anti-Semitism and the Holocaust. Among the classes to be taught will be an introductory course on global forces that created multicultural, multiracial, and multiethnic societies in the European context. This position is also part of a university-wide cluster hire focused on race and ethnicity. For more information, see <https://provost.wustl.edu/2022-cluster-hire/>. A PhD in hand by August 1, 2023, and strong evidence of scholarly potential are required. Please send a cover letter and CV via <https://apply.interfolio.com/111329>. Applications should be received by October 3, 2022. Washington University is an AA/EEOE. Diversity and inclusion are core values at Washington University, and we seek to create inclusive classrooms and environments in which a diverse array of students can learn and thrive. Each year Washington University publishes a Safety and Security brochure that details what to do and whom to contact in an emergency. This report also publishes the federally required annual security and fire safety reports, containing campus crime and fire statistics as well as key university policies and procedures. You may access the Safety and Security brochure at <https://police.wustl.edu/clery-reports-logs/>.



## NEW JERSEY

### PRINCETON UNIVERSITY Princeton, NJ

**Race/Ethnicity in North America.** The Department of History at Princeton University invites applications from scholars who specialize in the history of race and ethnicity in North America. We especially encourage candidates who work on the history of African Americans and/or the African diaspora in the 20th century. The search will prioritize scholars who enhance existing thematic strengths in the department, including but not limited to race and power, comparative and transnational history, gender and sexuality, environmental history,

Afro-Latinx history, and racial capitalism. The candidate should be prepared to offer an undergraduate lecture course on race and ethnicity in North America, as well as upper-level undergraduate courses and graduate courses on the specialized aspects of this history. Review of files will begin October 1, 2022, and continue until the position is filled. Applicants should provide a cover letter, CV, a research statement outlining the dissertation or book as well as other relevant projects, and one chapter- or article-length writing sample. At least three referees should be entered into the online system, which will automatically generate requests for their letters. For candidates who do not yet have a PhD, the recommendation of the principal advisor must include precise information on the present status of the dissertation and the likelihood of completion by summer 2023. We seek faculty members who will create a climate that embraces excellence and diversity, with a strong commitment to teaching and mentoring that will enhance the work of the department and attract and retain a diverse student body. Applicants are welcome to include a brief description of how they would contribute to this goal in their cover letter. This position is subject to the University's background check policy. Princeton University is an EOE and complies with applicable EEO and affirmative action regulations. All qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, color, religion, sex, national origin, disability status, protected veteran status, or any other characteristic protected by law. Apply online at <https://www.princeton.edu/acad-positions/position/26941>.



#### BINGHAMTON UNIVERSITY Binghamton, NY

**Race/Inequality in the US.** Binghamton University's Department of History seeks to hire a historian of race and inequality in the United States from any time period from the colonial era to 1945 whose research focuses on African American, Latinx, and/or Indigenous populations. This hire will add to a network of scholars who are committed to conducting research related to race, racism, ethnicity, social justice, power, and structures of

inequality. Possible thematic focuses of interest to the department that build upon its strengths include environmental justice, public health, public history, immigration/migration, gender and sexuality studies, transnational studies, and/or social movements. This hire will be part of the Harpur College of Arts & Sciences' new multi-year cluster hire in the thematic area "Critical Studies in Race and Inequality." Harpur seeks to build a network of scholars who are committed to conducting research on race, racism, ethnicity, social justice, power, and structures of inequality in their diverse fields of specialization. The College is particularly interested in appointing faculty members who are deeply connected to and integrated into the communities that they study, as a means to build on the strong tradition of engaged scholarship at Binghamton University. More information about the cluster hire can be found at <https://www.binghamton.edu/harpur/faculty/cluster-hire.html>. The State University of New York is an AA/EOE. It is the policy of Binghamton University to provide for and promote equal opportunity employment, compensation, and other terms and conditions of employment without discrimination on the basis of age, race, color, religion, disability, national origin, gender identity or expression, sexual orientation, veteran or military service member status, marital status, domestic violence victim status, genetic predisposition or carrier status, or arrest and/or criminal conviction record unless based upon a bona fide occupational qualification or other exception. As required by title IX and its implementing regulations, Binghamton University does not discriminate on the basis of sex in the educational programs and activities which it operates. This requirement extends to employment and admission. Inquiries about sex discrimination may be directed to the University Title IX Coordinator or directly to the Office of Civil Rights (OCR). Contact information for the Title IX Coordinator and OCR, as well as the University's complete Non-Discrimination Notice may be found at <https://www.binghamton.edu/diversity-equity-inclusion/policies-and-procedures/title-ix.html>. Pursuant to Executive Order 161, no State entity, as defined by the Executive Order, is permitted to ask, or mandate, in any form, that an applicant for employment provide his or her current compensation, or any prior compensation

history, until such time as the applicant is extended a conditional offer of employment with compensation. If such information has been requested from you before such time, please contact the Governor's Office of Employee Relations at (518) 474-6988 or via email at [info@goer.ny.gov](mailto:info@goer.ny.gov). Binghamton University is a tobacco-free campus effective August 1, 2017. Applicants will submit a letter of application, CV, research statement, academic writing sample (dissertation chapter or article), and the names and contact information of three recommenders at <http://binghamton.interviewexchange.com/jobofferdetails.jsp?JOBID=152548> by October 1, 2022. The committee will review and screen applications for an initial virtual interview and then subsequently bring a selection of candidates to campus. Please direct any questions to the Chair of the Search Committee, Prof. Anne Bailey ([abailey@binghamton.edu](mailto:abailey@binghamton.edu)). Candidates should have the PhD in hand or have completed all the requirements for the PhD by summer 2023. Applicant must be a US citizen or permanent resident at the time of hire. *The following statement is required by the AHA Council. It is not part of the actual position description submitted by the employer. The administration of this institution is on the AAUP censure list. Please refer to <http://aaup.org/AAUP/about/censuredadmins>.*



#### UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA Philadelphia, PA

**African American History.** The School of Arts and Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania invites applications for a position in African American history at the rank of assistant professor (tenure-track) or associate professor (with tenure). The successful candidate will be appointed in the Department of History. The Department seeks a dynamic scholar with a record of innovative research in African American history. Temporally, applicants may specialize in any period(s) from the Civil War era to the recent past. All candidates should have publications appropriate to rank, and a deep commitment to teaching undergraduate and graduate students. Applicants should apply online at <http://apply.interfolio.com/111744>. Applications should include a cover letter, research statement, teaching

statement, CV, and a writing sample no longer than 20 pages. Candidates for appointment at the rank of assistant professor should also submit names of three references. The search committee will solicit letters of recommendation as needed through Interfolio. Review of applications will begin on October 10, 2022, and continue until position is filled or search is closed. The Department of History is strongly committed to Penn's Action Plan for Faculty Diversity and Excellence, and to creating a more diverse faculty; for more information, see <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/volumes/v58/n02/diversityplan.html>. The University of Pennsylvania is an EOE. Minorities, women, individuals with disabilities, and protected veterans are encouraged to apply.



#### UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT Burlington, VT

**African American History.** The University of Vermont's Department of History in the College of Arts & Sciences invites applications for a full-time, tenure-track or tenured faculty member in African American history at the rank of either assistant or associate professor. Period and area of specialization are open. For associate level candidates a PhD in history is required. Assistant professor candidates should hold a PhD in history or be an advanced ABD in history. Opportunities to participate in a range of interdisciplinary programs exist at the University of Vermont, depending on the successful candidate's research and teaching interests. The position will start in fall 2023. The successful candidate will possess an ability to develop a vigorous research agenda and to publish in peer-reviewed journals and author historical monographs. The successful applicant may also pursue other forms of scholarship including digital scholarship and public history projects. Engaging classroom practices that excite and inspire students in the study of history, as well as the ability to teach courses at the introductory (including the US survey) and advanced undergraduate and graduate levels, are also expected. Our institution is an educationally purposeful community seeking to prepare students to be accountable leaders in a diverse and changing world. We are especially interested in candidates who can contribute to the

diversity and excellence of the academic community through their research, teaching, and/or service. The College of Arts & Sciences has a strong commitment to diversity and inclusive excellence; more information can be found at [www.uvm.edu/cas](http://www.uvm.edu/cas). The University of Vermont is an AA/EOE. All qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, color, religion, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, national origin, disability, protected veteran status, or any other category legally protected by federal or state law. Candidates are asked to apply online at <http://www.uvmjobs.com/>. Candidates will be asked to submit a CV; the names and emails of three referees (who will be contacted for their letters electronically); and a letter of interest that outlines the candidate's teaching and research interests and experience, including a statement on how the candidate plans to contribute to inclusive excellence at UVM. Candidates will be asked to submit writing samples and sample course syllabi following an initial review of applications. The review of applications will

begin on October 17, 2022. For more information on the position, please visit <https://www.uvmjobs.com/postings/56507> where candidates may view the full job ad and apply for the position.



#### SEATTLE UNIVERSITY Seattle, WA

**Medieval/Early Modern Mediterranean World.** The History Department at Seattle University invites applications for a tenure-track assistant professor in the medieval and early modern Mediterranean world starting September 2023. The successful candidate will be responsible for teaching, maintaining an active program of scholarship, and performing university and college service. The ideal candidate will have a primary teaching and research field in the medieval and early modern Mediterranean world (c. 500-1600) broadly defined. There will be opportunities to teach in a variety of programs, including History, the

University Core Curriculum, the Honors Program, and in Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies or other interdisciplinary programs. A specialist in the medieval and early modern Mediterranean world will support the department's curriculum emphasizing social justice issues such as the historical roots of inequality and marginalization, and interpreting the diversity of human experience across world regions. The specialist would also help contribute to the vision of both College and University for equity, justice, and centering the margins. The preferred candidate must have a PhD in history at time of appointment. ABDs will be considered. Founded in 1891, Seattle University is a Jesuit Catholic university located on a beautiful campus of more than 50 acres in the dynamic heart of Seattle. Our diverse and driven population is made up of more than 7,200 students enrolled in undergraduate and graduate programs within eight schools and colleges. Seattle University is an EOE. In support of its pursuit of academic and scholarly excellence, Seattle University is committed to creating a

diverse community of students, faculty, and staff that is dedicated to the fundamental principles of equal opportunity and treatment in education and employment regardless of age, color, disability, gender identity, national origin, political ideology, race, religion, sex, sexual orientation, or veteran status. The university encourages applications from, and nominations of, individuals whose differing backgrounds, beliefs, ideas, and life experiences will further enrich the diversity of its educational community. Applicants should submit applications online at <https://www.seattleu.edu/careers/> including a cover letter, CV, statement of teaching philosophy, evidence of teaching effectiveness, writing sample of scholarship, and contact information for three references (letters may be solicited upon submission of application). Application deadline is October 1, 2022. For further information please email the History Department Chair, Dr. Haejeong Hazel Hahn ([hahn@seattleu.edu](mailto:hahn@seattleu.edu)).



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KRISTA GRENSAVITCH

## WAR DOLLS

When you're a history instructor, one of the best things you can have in your toolbox is a collaborative relationship with your institution's archivist. In 2018, my colleague Abigail Nye at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries brought to my attention a set of four dolls created in the early 1980s by Women Against Rape (WAR), a Milwaukee-area grassroots organization. In the semester that followed, my students and I examined the dolls, placing them in historical context and within a timeline of US feminist activism.

The WAR dolls are handmade from materials typically found in craft supply stashes: cloth, batting, yarn, beads, and thread. Their size is striking; each about three feet tall with articulated arms and legs, they have the height and heft of a toddler. They wear robes with the letters WAR emblazoned in sequins across the back. Underneath, their bodies feature external genitalia representing primary sex characteristics that adhere to an assigned-sex-at-birth dichotomy: female and male. WAR made two sets of dolls: the first pair, crafted with dark brown cloth and sporting short curly hair, were critiqued as having “stereotype features”; the other two, named Ms. Orange Pumpkin and Mr. Green Johnboy by their creators, reflected WAR’s recommendation that dolls be made, instead, “in fantasy skin tones.”

The WAR dolls were intended not as classroom playthings but rather to serve a function in a new sex education curriculum created in collaboration with Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS). Titled *The Four Elements of Prevention: An Abuse and Assault Prevention Program for Children and Adults*, the lesson plans were piloted in Milwaukee-area community spaces in 1983. The dolls make only a brief appearance in the first lecture to teach children “the names of the private parts” by showing them on what WAR described as “anatomically correct dolls.”

More broadly, WAR sought to end sexual assault, violence, and rape; the group saw education as the primary means to ensure systemic change, and, to do so, employed second-wave feminist organizing tactics: consciousness-raising and direct action.

Ling Meng, Archives Department,  
UW–Milwaukee Libraries



Its actions also reflect broader concerns about children’s welfare in the 1970s and 1980s. Signed into US federal law in 1974, the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act provided funding for identifying and preventing child abuse. Zooming out, then, we see simultaneous top-down and grassroots efforts to address child abuse and its causes. WAR hoped to expand its community education arm but was denied state funding. Without such resources, WAR disbanded in 1984, and neither its curriculum nor its dolls made it to MPS classrooms in any meaningful or long-lasting way.

As a historian, I’m struck by how progressive, at times, WAR’s curriculum feels. For example, while both “victim” and “survivor” appear in their flyers and literature to refer to people who have experienced abuse, the opening pages of *The Four Elements of Prevention* includes “NOTE: We use the word survivor to designate someone who has been attacked.” This choice challenges the parlance of the day and even anticipates present-day language trends. *Victim*, a term that emerged from victims’ rights efforts in the 1970s, is still used in the criminal legal system today. However, *survivor* did not significantly take hold until the early 2000s, and, even then, typically in domestic violence advocacy and nonprofit circles.

As an instructor who focuses on bringing material culture into higher education classrooms, with the WAR dolls, I was able to address an advanced aspect of material culture theory—investigating an object’s life span. My students learned how the dolls’ purpose changed over time: from education tools for children in the 1980s, to items accessioned by and available to all in a public archive, to a classroom source for studying systems of power and resistance and how policy and activism shape those systems. As a group, we reflected on these shifts, acknowledging that imagination and empathy, especially, were required as we worked to learn through, with, and about the WAR dolls. **P**

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# American Historical Review

## Call for Proposals for the *AHR* Special Issue on Histories of Resilience

**The *American Historical Review* seeks proposals for a special issue of the journal on histories of resilience.**

This issue will inaugurate a new digital-only special issue of the *AHR* designed to advance innovative themes, approaches and methods to the past that can contribute to reshaping contemporary historical practice.

We invite scholars (as individuals or collaborative teams) working in any time period and place to propose projects for the special issue that speak to capacious historical audiences on questions of resilience.

### **Procedures for Submission:**

Proposals should convey (in no more than 250 words) the subject, its larger significance, and the format. Invitations to submit a full version of the proposed submission for peer review will be announced in January 2023.

**We encourage submissions in a wide variety of textual and visual forms.**

### **Proposals are due on November 21, 2022**

Before submission please review the submission guidelines at [historians.org/publications-and-directories/american-historical-review](https://historians.org/publications-and-directories/american-historical-review)

**Questions should be directed to [ahrassistant@historians.org](mailto:ahrassistant@historians.org)**