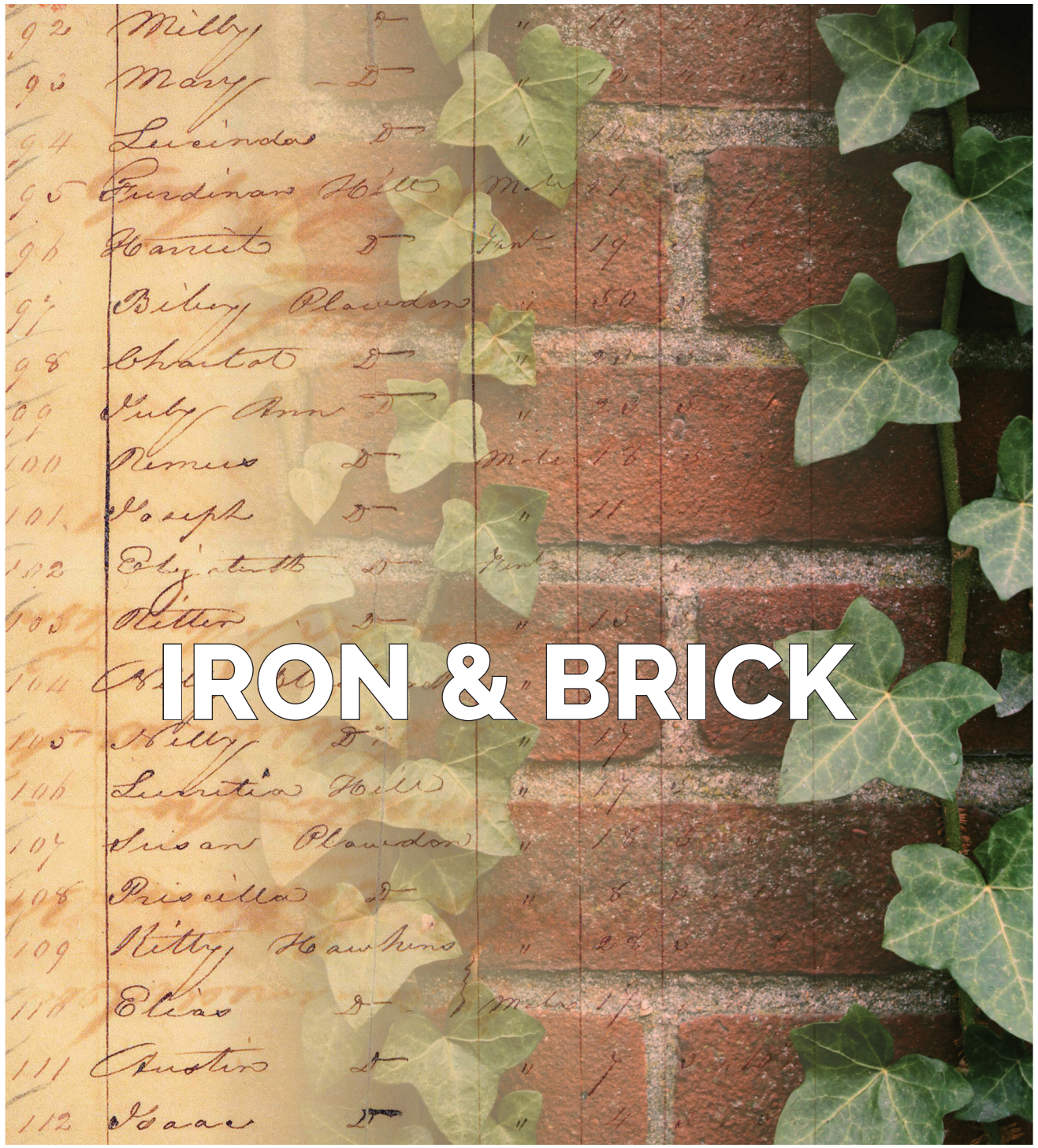


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PERSPECTIVES ON HISTORY

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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/ahr-special-issue

Questions should be directed to ahrassistant@historians.org

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ON THE COVER

The United States is world-renowned for its universities; an American degree is valued currency in every country. Beginning with Brown University's creation of a Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice in 2003, it has becoming increasingly clear that America's oldest academic institutions need to acknowledge that they and their members were complicit with and often participated in the sale of humans. The feature articles in this issue examine several universities' efforts to address their roles in enslavement. What comes next?

Document: "Slave Manifest of the Katherine Jackson of Georgetown," National Archives and Records Administration, 46756382, public domain; Photo: Moregane Le Breton/Unsplash.

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SIMON P. NEWMAN

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LELAND RENATO GRIGOLI

TOWNHOUSE NOTES

Alma Mater

I came to Brown University not knowing much about the history of the place. I just knew that there were multiple faculty members with whom I was excited to work and a generous stipend. Of course, once I arrived, it was hard not to step on all the bits of institutional history scattered around. At the time, the ongoing legacy of the 2004 National Labor Relations Board decision, which prohibited Brown graduate students from unionizing—a decision overturned in 2016—was the most obvious to me, but there were others.

The history department itself was split into two buildings. Peter Green House, a Victorian-style mansion that provided offices for most of the senior faculty, was festooned with old black-and-white photographs of white men in academic regalia and dark oil paintings of various (white, male) notables. I could feel their eyes following me wherever I went. The building was always dead quiet, but the floorboards creaked up a racket as I walked, announcing my intrusion into the space.

That sort of institutional legacy was, however, slowly being disassembled, starting in the early 2000s when Ruth Simmons became president of the university and the first Black woman to run an Ivy League institution. She didn't exactly have large shoes to fill—Brown undergraduates still voice their opinion of her predecessor by naming the Spring Weekend concert porta-potty line in his honor. Instead, she had her own shoes made to fit and let others worry about filling them.

One of Simmons's most notable initiatives was the establishment of the University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice, the subject of Anthony Bogues's contribution to this issue. But other echoes of her legacy also dot the campus—sometimes quite literally, like the memorial to “Africans and African-Americans, enslaved and free, who helped build our university, Rhode Island, and the nation,” which was installed on the campus green the year before I arrived. Others were bureaucratic, like the Diversity and Inclusion Action Plan (DIAP). I put in the work for a DIAP designation for my courses—not always an easy task for a historian of medieval

Europe. But it expanded my own horizons and brought in the most motivated and engaged students.

Still other remnants of Simmons's time at Brown were more like a change in mood or butterfly effects. After my first year, a department chair, hired during her tenure, began to replace those gloomy portraits of old white men with other kinds of art, and the space became brighter and more vibrant because of it. Thanks to a generous donor (and a recalcitrant local historical commission), the two department buildings have become one, and senior faculty now make awkward small talk with junior faculty and graduate students at the copy machines.

The old buildings weren't demolished, though. One was picked up and moved, and then both were incorporated into a new structure. The architects even made sure to keep the three pieces visually distinct. And if you walk into the bit that used to be Peter Green House, the floorboards still creak.

Brown is far from the only university for which creaking floorboards are still an issue. Institutions accrete buildings over time, and some pieces of those edifices exist forgotten—until someone steps on them. Such creaks and groans are the subject of this issue. They manifest as statuary, legends, and skull collections, as in VanJessica Gladney's article, or appear, as Cassandra Berman relates, in hard-to-reach corners of an archive. More recently, the histories they represent are being memorialized, as Jody Lynn Allen describes, and those who wish to do work in locations or institutions with troubled legacies have, as Elizabeth Ellis and Rose Stremlau detail, started to work through ethical and moral frameworks in which to do so. Many other creaks, groans, and bits of dry rot and mold abide in the structures of universities both in the United States and, as Simon Newman shows, abroad.

Time to take up carpentry. **P**

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





TO THE EDITOR

I loved the well-written article “Is History History?” (September 2022) from James H. Sweet, since it seemed to be based on speaking the truth, and I was very disappointed that Sweet inserted an apology at the front of the article.

I encourage Dr. Sweet to continue to speak the truth so that the truth can prevail. The article seemed to be based on facts and not asserting a political viewpoint. I agree that when political viewpoints start to be leveraged as facts then we are in a world of hurt. What is most shameful is that when others attempt to perform this act, they do not have to write any sort of an apology associated with their work since it becomes acceptable for some people to be empowered to substitute facts with political viewpoints.

Excellent job, Dr. Sweet; keep up the good work.

 SCOTT GREEN
Swisher, Iowa



TO THE EDITOR

Whether intentionally or not, AHA president James H. Sweet’s misguided critique of “presentism” in historical study (“Is History History?,” September 2022) plays into the hands of “presentist” politicians who are censoring the teaching of history.

Like Sweet, the right-wing politicians who would erase racial issues from American history have assailed both identity politics and *The 1619 Project*. Texas and Florida have banned outright the teaching of *The 1619 Project*; since 2020, 35 states have enacted or proposed laws that broadly restrict our teaching about the history of race in America. Former president Donald Trump’s 1776 Commission’s report on guidelines for teaching American history devotes four of its 40 pages to a diatribe against “identity politics,” which Trump denounced as “toxic propaganda.” In a statement co-signed by 47 other organizations, the AHA itself condemned the commission for failing “to engage a rich and vibrant body of scholarship that has evolved over the last seven decades.”

Despite these right-wing attacks on history, Sweet devotes but one brief paragraph to right-wing efforts at controlling history teaching. He fails to balance his lengthy critique of *The 1619 Project* with a single word on the 1776 Commission.

The only white person targeted (briefly) in his statement is US Supreme Court justice Samuel Alito. Shockingly, but not surprisingly, white nationalist leader Richard Spencer praised Sweet’s statement as “reasonable in the extreme.” Sweet further creates a false equivalence between a privately produced study—*The 1619 Project*—and politicians dictating our teaching by law. In a preface to the 25th anniversary edition of his iconic book, *Orientalism*, Edward Said warned about the dangers of state censorship. “Above all, critical thought does not submit to state power,” he wrote.

Sweet subtly blames the victim for right-wing censorship, writing, “Conservative lawmakers decided that if [*The 1619 Project*] was the history of slavery being taught in schools, the topic shouldn’t be taught at all.” Yet conservative attacks on alleged left-wing bias in education long predate the project’s emergence in 2019. John K. Wilson wrote 27 years ago in *The Myth of Political Correctness* about conservatives who claim they “are the victims of a prevailing leftist ideology in American universities, oppressed by radical students and faculty determined to brainwash them.”

In a purported apology, Sweet does not retract anything from his statement. Instead, in a deflection typical of politicians, he apologizes for his audience’s reaction: “I take full responsibility that it did not convey what I intended and for the harm that it has caused.” He never explained what he really intended or how and why it was misunderstood. In a thinly disguised version of the old chestnut that “some of my best friends are Black,” Sweet says, “I sincerely regret the way I have alienated some of my Black colleagues and friends.” Sweet implies that he offended only Black colleagues. I am not Black and am profoundly offended.

 ALLAN J. LICHTMAN
American University

CAREERS FOR HISTORY MAJORS

A publication from the American Historical Association

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

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REBECCA L. WEST

ADVOCACY BRIEFS

AHA Highlights Importance of Historians and Historical Perspective in Public Debate

In August and September, the AHA sent letters to the governor of Virginia and the South Dakota Board of Education criticizing the absence of input from qualified historians in discussions about public monuments and history education standards, respectively. The Association also signed an amicus curiae brief for *Haaland v. Brackeen* in order to provide accurate historical perspective to the Supreme Court as it considers the case.

AHA Sends Letter to Virginia Governor regarding Board of Historic Resources Appointments and Confederate Monuments

On August 3, the American Historical Association sent a letter to Virginia governor Glenn Youngkin affirming the “importance of input from qualified historians” in deliberations about monuments in public spaces. “Your appointments to the Board of Historic Resources and other historical institutions fall within that reference to professional qualifications and democratic decision-making,” the AHA wrote. “A productive conversation requires that all participants act in good faith, with an informed understanding of scholarship and a careful and nuanced appreciation of the historical context.” The letter included a copy of the AHA’s *Statement on Confederate Monuments*, which “urge[s] communities faced with decisions about

monuments to draw on the expertise of historians both for understanding the facts and chronology underlying such monuments and for deriving interpretive conclusions based on evidence.”

The *Statement on Confederate Monuments* was released in August 2017 following the tragic events in Charlottesville, Virginia, that reignited the debate about the place of Confederate monuments in public spaces. The statement addresses the role of history and historians in public conversations about these spaces, emphasizing the qualifications of historians to provide nuanced understanding of the historical context around monuments.

AHA Signs Amicus Curiae Brief in *Haaland v. Brackeen*

On August 19, the AHA co-sponsored, along with the Organization of American Historians, an amicus curiae brief in the Supreme Court case *Haaland v. Brackeen*. This brief, based on decades of study and research by professional historians, aims to provide an accurate historical perspective as the court considers the constitutionality of the Indian Child Welfare Act.

AHA Sends Letter to South Dakota Board of Education Opposing Social Studies Standards Revision Process

On September 15, the AHA sent a letter to the South Dakota Board of Education

“register[ing] strong concern regarding the social standards revisions process undertaken by the Board of Education in 2022.” The proposed standards, as well as the process by which they were developed, failed to meet the AHA’s *Criteria for Standards in History/Social Studies/Social Sciences*. “By design, the proposed standards omit any and all forms of historical inquiry in favor of rote memorization. There are no references to the practice of historical interpretation, understanding historical context, or critical thinking,” the AHA wrote. “The AHA’s criteria emphasize that good history education helps students learn to explore issues from various angles; the proposed standards fall far short of incorporating multiple historical perspectives.”

This communication followed letters sent to the South Dakota legislature in February 2022 opposing proposed legislation that would have restricted history education. The legislation did not pass, but similar restrictions against “divisive concepts” and “critical race theory” were put in place through an executive order from Governor Kristi Noem. **P**

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

MICHAEL MURPHY

THE HISTORICAL DISCIPLINE HAS AN ABLEIST PROBLEM

Disability in the COVID Era

Whether it is not knowing the federal legislation that must be followed on campus, not being versed in disability studies, or not fully understanding the realities of having a disability, or too few disabled scholars, the historical discipline has an ableist problem. Throughout academia, and in departments, schools, and associations like the AHA, historians should become more aware of,

knowledgeable about, and accepting of colleagues and students with disabilities, and should engage more with disability history and studies—issues only further emphasized by the pandemic era. However, there are concrete steps the discipline can take to correct course.

In 2011, a joint task force between the AHA and the Disability History Association (DHA) submitted the first and only

report to date on disability in the history discipline to the AHA Council. The task force originated in 2008 “to gather information about the concerns of historians with disabilities and to propose practical solutions for as many of them as possible.” A major focus of the task force was how to make the Association and its annual meeting more accessible. Unfortunately, the task force did not address other underlying issues historians and students with disabilities regularly encounter,



Including disability in the broader historical narrative opens up a wealth of stories across history.
Coal Miner's Prosthetic Leg, Veterans Administration, National Museum of American History, public domain.

but the report did reveal a number of serious matters that we must address.

As part of its information gathering, the committee conducted a survey sent to departments, faculty, and graduate students with disabilities. The results were telling, but not surprising. Concerning upholding Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) accommodations, 20 percent of responding departments provided hiring and search committee and interview accommodations. Of those employed with disabilities, only 23 percent stated that their institutions and departments provided accommodations in the tenure and promotion process. Even more troubling is how little support students with disabilities receive. Of those graduate students with disabilities surveyed, 74 percent held concerns and strong fears related to interviewing and hiring.

My own experiences as a disabled student and historian corroborate the AHA and DHA's findings. Since the end of my undergraduate studies, I have suffered from an acute autoimmune disease that has left me permanently disabled. Like many disabled people, my disability is invisible, not made obvious to the outside observer by a mobility device, a service animal, or other aids. If I disclose it, it is an act of trust or required to ensure my rights are honored. While my experiences disclosing my disability to trusted individuals have been positive, that has not held true for higher education spaces.

For the first few years after becoming disabled, I was able to give myself monthly home injections that came with few side effects. However, during the first year of my doctoral studies, my medication changed to one delivered via intravenous infusion at an outpatient facility over an hour away. To build up the new medication's effectiveness, I had to return for booster

infusions—first weekly, then biweekly, monthly, then finally bimonthly, which remains my schedule to this day. Such infusions can leave you weak, fatigued, and nauseous. To accommodate these side effects, I realized I would have to adjust my coursework. I reached out to my professors about my situation, and most were more than accommodating.

Disability can be folded into the teaching of broader civil rights movements.

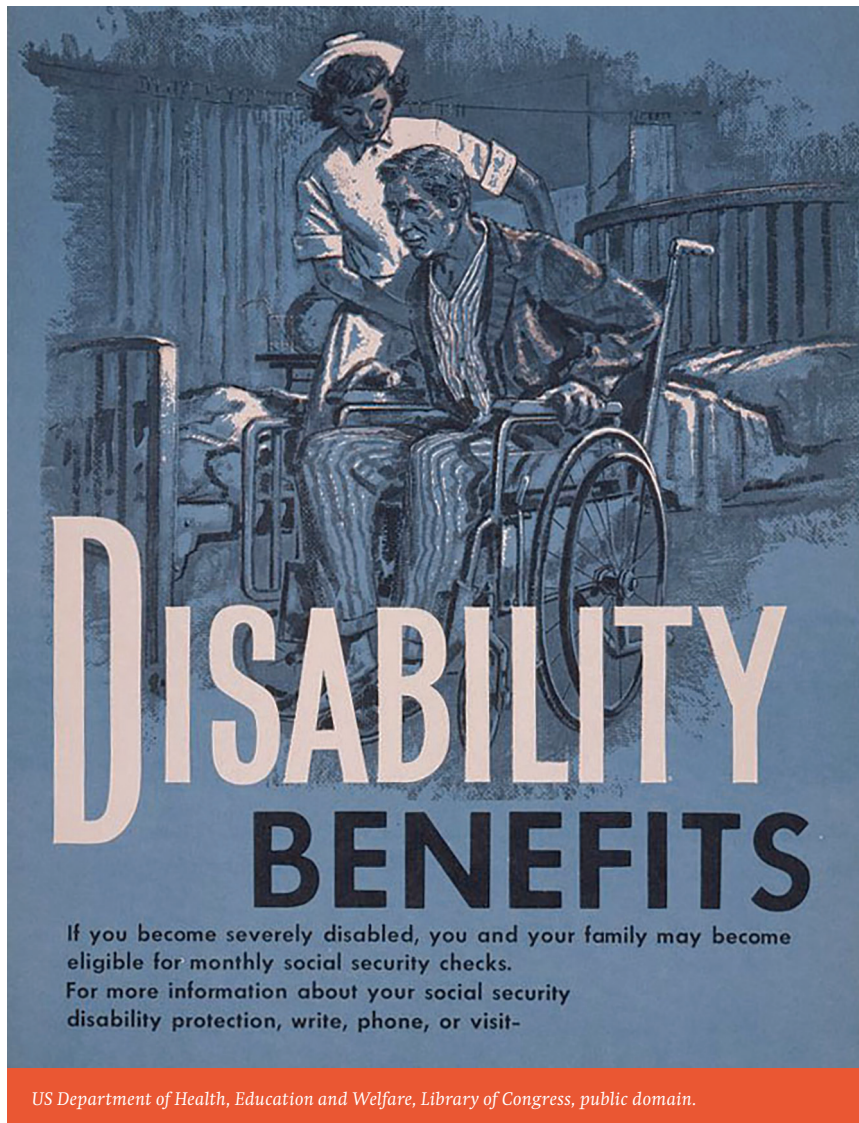
Unfortunately, one professor denied accommodations and insisted that I come to class immediately after my third booster infusion. The professor threatened that if I did not attend, my grade would suffer. I had no choice but to go and hope that I would not vomit or fall asleep in class. I was clearly ill and could not focus enough to contribute much to the discussion, but the professor showed little empathy. In denying me reasonable accommodations, this professor violated not only university policy but also the ADA. To this day, I have mixed feelings about the situation and what I should have done to address it. I regret not reporting the professor to the university, but I was afraid of the possible ramifications.

With time, I have come to realize why I did not speak up. Like other marginalized people who face racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, and a litany of other -isms, I had several reasons why I did not report the incident. I did not and still do not trust the university system to rectify such things or correct wrongs within their ranks, especially concerning tenured faculty who violate policy and law. As we have seen in

several high-profile situations over the years, tenured and tenure-track faculty are rarely held accountable for such violations, and I was not confident my case would be different. And because of the power dynamics between a graduate student and a professor, I feared reprisal or being labeled as problematic in my academic career for advocating for myself when my rights were violated.

The realities faced by people with disabilities, including historians, have largely been ignored. But during the age of social media, scholars with disabilities and those who teach disability history and studies have connected online and have spoken up about their experiences. Many of these groups have formed during the pandemic. The Disabled Academic Collective provides resources for disabled academics and advocates for the importance of accessible classroom designs, fostering inclusive classroom settings, and the possibilities and importance of digital humanities for disabled academics and those who teach disability history or studies. Connecting through the collective's Twitter account, disabled academics can provide mutual aid and support for one another. Disabled in Higher Ed also formed during the pandemic to provide similar support. The organization aims to use social media to "promote discussion, inclusion, and belonging of disability in higher education spaces." Furthermore, they want to establish a safe space to exchange stories like mine anonymously on social media and to discuss the underlying issues disabled academics face.

But disabled scholars cannot fix this problem alone. How do we work toward solving it? First and most obvious is to incorporate disability history and studies into history courses, lesson plans, and book lists. Too often, the inclusion of disability in an introductory US



history course might include Helen Keller, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Medicare, and the ADA. Yet disability histories and stories fit into many of the narratives we already teach in such courses, and disability can be folded into the teaching of broader civil rights movements. For instance, while discussing the 20th-century in the United States, an instructor could include how disability rights were circumvented under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the antipsychiatry movement of the 1960s and 1970s, Ed Roberts and the Independent Living Movement of the 1970s, or the Deaf President Now protest at Gallaudet University in the 1980s.

Furthermore, materials by disabled scholars, on disability history and studies and other topics, should be included on book and reading lists for courses and graduate exams.

Second and more difficult is for members of hiring and grant committees to examine the department or program's record of honoring disability rights and accommodations for applicants. As the AHA-DHA task force's findings revealed, many will have to take an honest look at their current practices and choose to actively honor disability rights and accommodations and to reject ableism. Additionally, akin to

the rights of other marginalized groups, zero-tolerance policies should be enacted equal to those disallowing discrimination against other historically marginalized communities. Hiring committees and universities' human resources departments should reconsider how they post job openings, the language used in the announcements, and the inclusion of disability in their commitment to diversity. For instance, when explicitly conducting a diversity hire search, encourage disabled candidates to apply and include their story in their cover letter or diversity statement. Depositories and archives that provide grants and fellowships can also do a better job encouraging disabled applicants to apply for their funding opportunities and making accommodations for disabled scholars' needs when researching.

As the COVID-19 pandemic evolves, we cannot ignore the issue of disability. It is unclear how many the virus has left disabled or grappling with "long COVID." These individuals come from all walks of life and all forms of employment, including academia, and this increase in disability makes it more essential than ever that we address ableism throughout American society. By incorporating the voices and presence of historians with disabilities, the profession will become more inclusive and diverse.

In a nation where nearly one in five people has a disability, the historical profession clearly lags behind in its commitment to comprehensive diversity. Our discipline will only improve when we welcome historians with disabilities to bring their expertise and experiences to the table. **P**

Michael Murphy is a research assistant professor of African American history at Thomas University.

ANTHONY BOGUES

WORKING THROUGH INJUSTICE

Historical Catastrophe, Living History, and Righting Wrongs at Brown University



Under President Ruth Simmons, Brown University was the first American university to directly address its involvement with slavery. The Slavery Memorial, created by Martin Puryear, is one legacy of her tenure.

Kenneth C. Zirkel/Wikimedia Commons/CC-BY-SA 4.0

WE PERHAPS LIVE in unparalleled times. Nostalgic shadows of a past historical-social world, one in which forms of genocide, colonialism, and racial domination were the order of the day, are now regularly invoked as solutions in a present that to some seems unhinged. The leading headline of the January 1, 2000, *New York Times* proclaimed the new century as “Past, Present and Future in One Stroke,” and that, for this century, the past was prologue.

Yet nearly a quarter century later, we might well ask, Which past? And, even more pointedly, whose past? The Haitian writer Michel-Rolph Trouillot wrote in *Silencing the Past* (1995) that “history as a social process involves people,” thereby making “pastness a position.” We are in the midst of the nostalgic shadows that seem bent on returning to a version of the past in which white racial power held full sway and where elites governed without even murmurs of disagreement—a version where “alternative facts” have the power of mythic truth, having no relationship to occurrences but are structured through power. But there also have been points of light, attempts to grapple with a history in which the past is not prologue but rather shapes how history lives in the present—a living history.

What is this “pastness” in the present?

Over the past 19 years, there have been numerous attempts by universities to grapple with the history that has shaped them. It is not an American phenomenon, since, as I write this, Cambridge University has just published a report on its historic links to transatlantic slavery and British colonialism. Museums around the world are grappling with their ethnographic and art collections as part of a colonial heritage that needs to be confronted and action taken. So one aspect of the moment we are in is that some educational institutions are trying to figure out what to do about the past. What is this “pastness” in the present?

When then-president Ruth Simmons commissioned the Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice’s *Slavery and Justice Report* in 2003—a report to which I and others contributed—she did so, in her words, because she was “seeking the truth, and doing something that was actually good for the University because the process would put to rest questions that some had posed about the corruption of the University, which had hidden the truth of its connection to slavery. So I thought that I was lifting up the University with the truth.” There is a vast historiographical literature about the complex relationship

between history-as-event and the truth, the interpretation of the event. However, the matter becomes more complicated when the event is elided and deliberately hidden, or when its significance and meaning are ignored and relegated to a dim past separated from a present. In such contexts, history as a form of truth telling becomes critical. The issue here is not so much the facts—those can be unearthed through deep archival work. The issue is, what are the significances and meanings of these facts, and how do we confront them in the present?

In such contexts, history as a form of truth telling becomes critical.

In the process of the numerous meetings and debates, the Brown steering committee confronted the historical knowledge that some key members of the university’s corporation, including the Brown family, were involved in the slave trade. Others, like Stephen Hopkins—a signatory to the Declaration of Independence, a governor of Rhode Island, the first chancellor of the College of Rhode Island (which became Brown University), and the author of the important pamphlet *The Rights of Colonies Examined*—owned enslaved Africans. Two questions emerged: How would we name this past we now confronted, and what could we do about it?

In confronting these issues, the committee had to name this history. As the Caribbean novelist and thinker George Lamming noted in a 1956 speech at the Black Writers and Artists Conference in Paris, “A name is an infinite source of control.” So the committee often asked itself, what should we name American racial slavery? The committee decided that it needed to conceptualize American racial slavery as a historical wrong and a “crime against humanity.” This naming of the social system of American racial slavery opened the report to many criticisms, but at the same time, it allowed the report to raise the question of what forms of justice were required in the present to address the structuring legacies of racial slavery. Deciding on a concept of reparative justice, the report developed a series of recommendations, all of which were discussed broadly within the university and resulted in a plan of action. The recommendations ranged from public funds for the Providence public school system, more support for the Brown Africana studies department, a campus monument that addressed how founding members of the university were involved in the transatlantic slave trade, and the formation of a Center for the Study of Slavery and Justice.

The naming of the social system of racial slavery as a “crime against humanity” raised foundational moral and ethical questions about racial slavery and noted that, although support for the system was the dominant norm, there were also abolitionist voices. Racial slavery was not so normalized that there was no abolitionist opposition. Importantly, of course, there was the opposition of the enslaved themselves to the terror and violence that constituted their everyday experience, an experience that the formerly enslaved Olaudah Equiano called “constant war.” Yet if we do not move beyond this specific naming of the social system of racial slavery, and beyond a narrow approach that understands American racial slavery as a thing of the past, we might not fully discern how, as James Baldwin put it, “the great force of history comes from the fact that we carry it within us. . . . It is to history that we owe our frames of reference, our identities, and our aspirations.” Following that line of thought, I would suggest that racial slavery as a social system was a *historical catastrophic* one. Historical catastrophe is a repeatable state of living. It is the persistent reproduction of terror and violence on a population over the *longue durée*. It both leaves structural residues and creates a dominant common sense about ways of life within a society. W. E. B. Du Bois once noted how American racial slavery was about the ways in which a human being was constantly under the “arbitrary will” of another. In human societal terms, we need to ask, When such a social system, despite formal changes, is constantly reproduced and is readapted with its residues, then what are its consequences on the structures of a society as well as on forms of life?

Dominant conceptions of the “history” of a specific historical period operate at the levels of ways of life and of the imaginary.

Today, we acknowledge that structural anti-Black racism is the living heritage of racial slavery, since that social system created not only structures of domination but a racial order embedded within these structures. Social structures are formal ways of life that are reproduced. However, such reproduction also works through forms of representation and discourse that create an imaginary. Dominant conceptions of the “history” of a specific historical period operate at the levels of ways of life and of the imaginary. This is why conservatism today is animated by historical nostalgic shadows.

All this takes us back to history and its presence in our contemporary world. For the Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice appointed in 2003 by Dr. Simmons, we saw one of our tasks as opening up some of the silences in American history, doing what historian Jules Michelet once termed “speaking of what has not yet been spoken.” Yet the committee did not open all silences. After they landed, the settler colonists of Rhode Island and New England first embarked on the colonial project of dispossession of the Indigenous peoples of the region. Brown University is built on dispossessed Indigenous land. So in confronting that historical truth, another question concerning pastness as a position that faces the university is, how does it make repairs with respect to this past? That question now animates a university community that in the early 21st century confronted its history about racial slavery. Dispossession and racial slavery are two distinctive forms of domination, but they relate to each other in the structuring of America. The Brown report did not pay serious attention to Indigenous dispossession. Its absence points to how sometimes our historical gaze operates in silos.

We end where we began. We inhabit a paradoxical moment, one in which there are active currents that want to return American society to an imagined past that they believe can and should exist today. Then there is another current that seeks to confront the past of America as a slave and settler colonial society. In such a context, historical truth matters. **P**

Anthony Bogues is the inaugural director of the Center for the Study of Slavery and Justice at Brown University, where he is the Asa Messer Professor of Humanities and Critical Theory and professor of Africana studies.

CASSANDRA BERMAN

SLAVERY'S ARCHIVE

Confronting Jesuit Slaveholding at Georgetown University



Just because information is available does not mean it is accessible, a problem that staff working with the Maryland Province Archives at Georgetown University have been attempting to address.
Map of St. Mary's County, Maryland, St. Inigo Farms, Archive of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus. Public domain.

IN THE FALL of 2014, Georgetown University's student newspaper, the *Hoya*, ran an article by undergraduate columnist Matthew Quallen titled "Georgetown, Financed by Slave Trading." Published the month after the killing of Michael Brown by police officer Darren Wilson in Ferguson, Missouri, and amid the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement, Quallen's article discussed Jesuit slaveholding and Georgetown's implication in the slave trade—a history he had learned by chance during a campus tour in his first year of college. The article focused specifically on the 1838 sale of 272 individuals who had been enslaved on Jesuit plantations in and around Maryland. The profits from this sale helped the struggling Jesuit college emerge from substantial debt and paved the way for it to flourish into the institution it is today.

This was the first time many people had heard of Georgetown's intimate involvement with the slave trade, and it was galvanizing: student activists led a successful campaign to rename two campus buildings that bore the names of the 1838 sale's architects. In September 2015, the university formed a Working Group on Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation. The *New York Times* published a series of articles examining Jesuit slaveholding and the sale. An organization unaffiliated with the university, the Georgetown Memory Project, began using genealogical research and DNA testing to identify descendants of the 272 individuals sold to slavers in Louisiana. And a robust community of these descendants began organizing, pressing both Georgetown and the Jesuits for information, accountability, and action.

Before the *Hoya* article, the history of Jesuit slaveholding in North America had not in fact been a secret. Members of the Jesuit community had written about the sale, mostly in passing, since the early 20th century, and a handful of non-Jesuit scholars had been scrutinizing it in varying levels of detail since the 1990s. Always meticulous record keepers, the Jesuits of the Maryland Province maintained significant documentation of their slaveholding past: plantation accounts, financial records, personal reflections on the institution of slavery in diaries and correspondence, and sacramental records that documented births, baptisms, and marriages of enslaved individuals. There were also copious papers related to the 1838 sale, including a remarkably detailed census listing the 272 enslaved people to be sold, featuring individuals' names, ages, family relationships, plantation affiliations, and, penciled in later, a numerical code indicating which ship transported them in their forced journey to the South.

These records are part of the Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus. This wide-ranging collection documents the Jesuit presence in North America since the 1600s,

and has been held at Georgetown since 1977, though it remains the property of the Jesuits. Although some materials have been and remain restricted—primarily those created in the latter half of the 20th century—the collection, including materials pertaining to slavery, has been at least nominally available to scholars, students, and genealogists since its arrival at Georgetown.

Even so, the history of Jesuit slaveholding and the story of Georgetown's reliance on the profits of the 1838 sale were too little discussed; the barriers to accessing the archives documenting this history were too great. Materials could only be used on-site by those with the ability to travel to Georgetown. The collection's previous finding aids could be obtuse even to seasoned researchers, and they did not always clearly identify materials pertaining to Jesuit slaveholding. And more fundamentally, archival repositories, whether consciously or not, have often been unwelcoming to members of historically marginalized groups.

This wide-ranging collection documents the Jesuit presence in North America since the 1600s.

Georgetown's Working Group recognized early on that the Maryland Province Archives needed to be a central component of the university's slavery, memory, and reconciliation efforts. In response, history professor Adam Rothman launched the Georgetown Slavery Archive, a digital repository featuring key documents from the Maryland Province Archives, the University Archives, and other collections that illuminated the history of Jesuit slaveholding, Georgetown's relationship to slavery, and the 1838 sale. Rothman and a team of graduate students have combed the Maryland Province Archives to find materials, photographing, translating, and transcribing the slavery-related documents they identified.

This tremendous effort not only made key materials freely available online but also helped researchers from a variety of backgrounds read and understand the often challenging documents. It supported and was bolstered by descendants' and students' organizing efforts. In 2017, in response to pressure from descendants, Georgetown and the Jesuits offered a formal apology—in the form of a Liturgy of Remembrance, Contrition, and Hope—for their role in slaveholding and the 1838 sale. Undergraduates engaged in summer research projects using library materials, helping to fill out a timeline of Jesuit slaveholding and learning more about the Black Catholic communities that remained in southern

Maryland after the sale. Students even led a referendum campaign to establish a fee of \$27.20 per semester to benefit descendants; although 66 percent of students voted in favor, the university has not agreed to implement it.

The Georgetown Slavery Archive was a first, major step toward increasing accessibility to the archival legacy of slavery at Georgetown. But if the Jesuits and the university were to truly commit themselves to making this history accessible, the archival collection itself needed to be revamped. As both regular users and library staff were keen to point out, many found that the online finding aid for the Maryland Province Archives was impenetrable. Worse, it obscured the history of enslavement, with materials' descriptions focused on powerful white Jesuits, and key documents pertaining to slavery were sometimes not noted at all.

In 2018, the Jesuits of the Maryland Province and Georgetown University committed to hiring an archivist and a digital production coordinator to overhaul the arrangement of the collection, create a new finding aid, and digitize the majority of its contents. While the goal was to make the entirety of the collection more accessible, the main objective was to amplify information about slavery. In 2019, Mary Beth Corrigan, curator of Collections on Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation, devised a new arrangement that would divide materials based on the Jesuit administrative structure—a logical approach to organizing a vast and often bureaucratic collection. Later that year, I became the archivist for the Maryland Province Archives; my task was to rearrange materials and create a new online finding aid that clearly identified materials pertaining to slavery. Theodore Mallison began as the project's digital production coordinator, overseeing one of the largest digitization initiatives the library had undertaken.

Several developments have since bolstered the project. First, as other universities have begun examining their institutional ties to slavery, there is a broad recognition of the necessity of making related archives more accessible. Second, the Society of Jesus itself has become increasingly open to examining its deep ties to slavery and has acknowledged that archives are paramount to fostering dialogue with descendants of enslaved individuals. Finally, thanks to a growing call for inclusive description of materials, libraries and archives are more aware of the significance and power of the language used in catalogs and finding aids. All of this has led to greater support for our work to better organize, describe, and make accessible the Maryland Province Archives—and also greater interest from a public that is now more aware that universities participated, directly and indirectly, in the institution of slavery.

The new finding aid now features a more logical organizational structure, and high-resolution digital images are linked directly to folder descriptions. Relevant folders are flagged as containing “materials on slavery” and are accompanied by descriptions of their contents. Users are informed that, despite efforts to make the finding aid more inclusive, they may still encounter problematic language or inadequate descriptions, and that we welcome feedback that will make our collection more transparent and accessible for all.

Once digitization is complete, the Maryland Province Archives, and the history of slavery that it reveals, will be more accessible to a wide range of users—to students, scholars, and especially descendants of the enslaved. Georgetown's archival work is part of a growing movement among universities with ties to slavery, many of which have launched complementary archival projects. Georgetown is part of On These Grounds, a multi-institution digital humanities project using archival documents to create an ontology to describe the lived experiences of enslaved individuals. And almost one hundred universities across the United States, Canada, Colombia, and the United Kingdom are now part of the Universities Studying Slavery consortium, which fosters collaboration and exchange with slavery, memory, and reconciliation initiatives.

We must recognize that the
sources to which we guide users
will always be reevaluated,
reinterpreted, and reframed.

Despite these developments, however, our work at the Maryland Province Archives is far from done. As the project's archivist, I hope that the finding aid will not be static, but will function as a living document that can continually be improved to better meet the needs of those for whom the collection's history is personal. For those of us engaged in archival work related to universities and slavery, we must recognize that the sources to which we guide users will always be reevaluated, reinterpreted, and reframed. How we contextualize our archives must be similarly open to change and improvement. If we truly wish to contribute to memory and reconciliation efforts—if we take seriously the mandate to make the history of slavery accessible to those whose lives it impacted the most—then we must be willing to accept that this work will never really be finished. **P**

Cassandra Berman is archivist for the Maryland Province Archives at Georgetown University. She tweets @BermanCassandra.

VANJESSICA GLADNEY

A BARE AND OPEN TRUTH

The Penn and Slavery Project and the Public



The Penn and Slavery Project has inscribed its message on the university campus with an augmented reality tour.
 Courtesy the Penn and Slavery Project

IN 2006 AND again in 2016, the University of Pennsylvania denied having any connections to the institution of slavery. In 2017, five students under the direction of history professor Kathleen Brown formed the Penn and Slavery Project to investigate those claims, ultimately concluding that Penn both supported and relied on the institution of slavery in its early days. As a Penn undergraduate, I was one of the original five student researchers. After earning my BA in 2018, I served as the project's public history fellow. Now I am a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania and the digital historian for the project, managing the website and helping to develop an augmented reality (AR) mobile application. My many roles within the project have shown me that collaborative efforts to challenge simple narratives can uncover truth and lead to change.

The Penn and Slavery Project began with a focus on slave ownership—who owned whom, and when. After looking at the university's financial records, we concluded that there was no evidence of Penn itself purchasing enslaved people. However, several of the men who founded and funded the university had so much power and wealth that we decided to investigate further. Looking at the tax records and wills of 18th-century trustees and faculty, we identified men who paid taxes on enslaved people and bequeathed them to descendants. We worked to create a bigger picture of these men's lives, their slave ownership, and their contributions to the university. Over time, however, we began to recognize the importance of expanding our view and complicating our understanding of complicity. The connections between Penn and slavery did not stop with some of the university's leaders owning other humans, and neither did our research.

We began to recognize the importance of expanding our view and complicating our understanding of complicity.

Subsequent research into the university's financial records revealed that Penn built its endowment on the backs of the enslaved. Much like Georgetown University, Penn struggled financially and took drastic measures to stay solvent early on. In 1771 and 1772, Penn sent trustees to Jamaica and South Carolina to collect donations from the wealthiest men in the area: slave owners. These two areas were well known for having plantations with a large number of enslaved people enduring murderous working conditions. This brutality was immensely profitable for the enslavers, allowing them to make generous contributions to the university. The donations

collected on these fundraising trips made up about 15 percent of the university's early wealth.

Slave owners' wealth thus allowed the university's doors to remain open; it also allowed medical students to train at Penn's medical school. During lectures, instructors would perform autopsies on bodies of people of African descent, some of them stolen. With these bodies, medical students conducted research and drew conclusions that would support the idea of a biological difference between the races. Their scientific racism produced knowledge that "proved" the intellectual superiority of white people, helped slave owners justify the enslavement of Black people, and legitimized misinformation that still exists in the medical field today.

As our team conducted more research, I started to look at the names on the plaques, buildings, and statues around campus and recognized the men who appeared in our research. Their names, faces, and accomplishments were public knowledge, but their connections to slavery were not. Since the beginning of the project, I understood the importance of gathering information on these connections, but once I knew how the university was honoring these figures, I realized it was crucial that our project fill those gaps in the narrative. And the best way to tell the story of Penn's history would be to project it on top of the story the university was telling about itself.

The Penn and Slavery Project developed an AR mobile application to serve as a "digital addition" to the historical narrative on Penn's campus, sharing the project's research and telling a more complete story of Penn's past. The app guides users on a campus tour, with each of the six stops featuring undergraduate research through an engaging and interactive AR exhibit.

The tour begins at the heart of campus with the Caesar's Story stop (researcher: Dillon Kersh) at the statue of Benjamin Franklin. Caesar was an enslaved man owned by Penn's first English professor, Ebenezer Kinnersley. From 1756 to 1770, Kinnersley received payment from the school for Caesar's labor, which included lighting fires in the school dormitory and ringing the school bell. We imagined a portrait of Caesar and the Kinnersleys that comes to life in front of Penn's most famous founder. This stop's location represents the way Penn and its founders relied on the institution of slavery for their success.

The Slavery's Science stop (researchers: Carson Eckhard, Archana Upadhyay, and Paul Wolff Mitchell) makes public the history hidden within the Penn Museum. At Edward W. Kane Park, across the street from the museum, the AR exhibit spawns a dome that surrounds the user and displays artifacts, images, and terminology that reveal the connections between

Penn's medical school professionals and the scientific racism their research established. The most notable individual in the stop is Samuel Morton, an 1820 Penn medical school graduate. He collected, measured, and categorized hundreds of skulls to argue that Black people were intellectually inferior and thus best suited for enslavement. He used physical characteristics and skull size to create an intellectual hierarchy, placing white people at the top and Black people at the bottom. His collection is still housed within the walls of the Penn Museum.

The Penn and Slavery Project tour does not only correct the record about Penn's connections to slavery. We also strive to center African American stories and amplify Black voices. The Dr. James Henry Wilson stop at the Robert Wood Johnson Pavilion (researchers: Bryan Anderson-Wooten and Dallas Taylor) succeeds on both fronts. Wilson was an African American man who studied medicine at Penn in the 1840s but was denied a degree. He went on to open a medical practice and consulted with some of Philadelphia's most prominent physicians. Wilson's files in the Penn Archive had been incorrectly combined with another Black man named Albert Wilson until undergraduate researchers corrected the record.

Academia and education are forms of generational wealth, and slavery and white supremacy created a racialized gap in that wealth.


The tour ends with the Generations stop, featuring PhD student Breanna Moore's study about her own family's history. Her research revealed that her ancestors were enslaved by a Penn alumnus in 19th-century South Carolina. The exhibit places her family's quilt in front of the Generations Bridge on Penn's campus, which has bricks engraved with the names of donors, alumni. This stop raises questions about whose legacies are remembered and deemed worthy of remembrance. It illustrates how academia and education are forms of generational wealth, and that slavery and white supremacy created a racialized gap in that wealth.

My numerous roles in this project have revealed to me the value of student work. As an undergraduate, I was excited by the opportunity to conduct research and learn more about my own university. And as I took part in bringing this research into the public eye, I saw in real time the impact it had on the university. Some changes were relatively minor. My own research focused on a man named George Whitefield, who began construction on the building that later became Penn's first campus in 1740. Later in his life, he owned a

plantation in South Carolina, helped relegalize slavery in the Georgia colony, and died owning 50 slaves. In 1899, Penn trustees included Whitefield as part of its history and changed its founding year from 1755, when Penn obtained its collegiate charter, to 1740, which made Penn "America's first university." In 2020, the university removed its Whitfield statue because of his strong ties to slavery and his loose ties to the university. Our project also made some major changes. One year after our project began, Penn released a statement recognizing the connections between the university and the institution of slavery and committing to join the Universities Studying Slavery consortium.

Perhaps the most notable change involved the Samuel Morton Cranial Collection. I remember our classroom discussions of the collection during our independent study. I remember sitting in the presentation room and watching a Philadelphia activist, Abdul-Aliy Muhammad, take a picture of the slide about the Morton Collection. I knew then that our presentation had taught someone something they felt was worth sharing. And that was what our team has wanted since the beginning. Shortly after the presentation, Muhammad circulated a petition calling for the repatriation of the collection. We invited activists into conversations about the AR app, hoping to make the project truly interdisciplinary by blending academia and activism. And our collaborative efforts culminated in real change in 2021, when the Penn Museum committed to repatriating the skulls in Morton's collection.

The connections we made with members of the broader Philadelphia community like Muhammad were crucial. The Penn and Slavery Project would not have been successful without public participation. Those who attended our presentations or symposium, visited the website, and downloaded our app have been central to this project's growth. Because of their involvement, what began as an independent study for five students has evolved into a force of change on our campus and in our community. It is a shining example of what can happen when historians use their knowledge to change their institutions and use their academic work as a driving force for activism.

Many American institutions have historic ties to slavery, and it can be tempting to deny those connections. But we must lean into that discomfort. By turning to history, we can see the truth about how our painful past has created problems in the present. Sharing that knowledge leads to collaborative calls for change. And that is the first step toward progress. 

VanJessica Gladney is a PhD student at the University of Pennsylvania and digital historian for the Penn and Slavery Project.

JODY LYNN ALLEN

CHANGING THE LANDSCAPE

Creating a Memorial to the Enslaved at William & Mary



Hearth: Memorial to the Enslaved includes bricks for the enslaved people uncovered through the Lemon Project's work—with room to add new names in the future.
Prakash Patel Photography for Baskervill

IN THE 1930S, William & Mary (W&M) constructed a four-foot brick wall around the oldest section of the campus. Many people in Williamsburg's Black community saw this wall as a reminder that they were not welcome on campus unless they "were pushing a broom." On May 26, 2021, a portion of this wall was knocked down to make way for the memorial to the enslaved.

Fast-forward one year. With over 800 onlookers, W&M dedicated *Hearth: Memorial to the Enslaved*. More than 15 years in the making, the memorial now stands as the rightful acknowledgment of people enslaved by the university or individuals affiliated with it (including faculty, administrators, and parents of students), and enslaved people hired to labor at W&M. The plaque on a nearby wall reads:

William & Mary enslaved Africans and African Americans for over 172 years. This memorial seeks to remember and honor those individuals through the symbol of the hearth which evokes at once the harsh, forced labor of chattel slavery as well as a place of gathering, strength, and community. Indeed, enslaved people made a way out of no way.

In 2007, three students began a campaign to force the university to look at its role as an enslaver.

We often are asked about how *Hearth* came to be. The memorial is part of a movement loosely referred to as universities studying slavery. It is often difficult to determine the date a movement begins, but the genesis of this one is clear: the 2006 release of the Report of the Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice. Established by university president Ruth Simmons, the committee was charged with researching Brown's involvement with slavery.

W&M began its own research 400 years after an English colony was founded at what the Native people called Tsenacomacah. In 2007, three students—Tiseme Zegeye, a Student Assembly senator, and Richael Faithful and Justin Reid, president and member, respectively, of the campus NAACP chapter—began a campaign to force the university to look at its role as an enslaver. What developed was a three-part Student Assembly resolution calling on W&M to research its full history, make the findings public, and establish a memorial to the enslaved. The following year, the Faculty Assembly passed a resolution calling on the university to look at its history with regard to race relations.

In response, the administration invited historian Robert Francis Engs to spend a semester on campus teaching a course and working with a faculty committee and graduate students to ascertain the state of the archives regarding slavery. A historian of the post-Civil War American South, Engs attended Princeton with then W&M president Taylor Reveley and provost Geoff Feiss, all three members of the class of 1965. Reveley and Feiss knew Engs's scholarship and, more importantly, his character. At the end of his appointment, Engs submitted a report to the W&M Board of Visitors (BOV), who used it to develop a third resolution acknowledging that the college had been an enslaver and failed to challenge the legacies of slavery. This lack of challenge translated into the university's adherence to segregation laws and the less formal, but just as insidious, rules of white supremacy. In short, W&M had not been a good neighbor to the African American community.

This 2009 resolution established the Lemon Project: A Journey of Reconciliation. Named after Lemon, a man once enslaved by the institution, the project was intended to be an eight-year archival research endeavor. Now in its 13th year, Lemon Project courses based on research findings remain popular, and the team has developed signature programs, including an annual symposium; Lemon's Legacies Porch Talks, events that bring students, faculty, and community members together to discuss selected topics; and the Donning of the Kente, a rites of passage ceremony during Commencement Weekend.

As important as these events are, community-engaged research is the core of the Lemon Project. While the BOV resolution never referred to reparations, the Lemon Project's work is reparatory, and the goal of building a bridge between the Black community and the institution is paramount. To this end, the Lemon Project team went into African American community spaces in 2010–11 to hear people's concerns and doubts that real change would occur. Community feedback led us to hold the first symposium at the Bruton Heights School (BHS), formerly a segregated high school.

The early symposia featured panels of community members and W&M faculty, staff, and students. We listened and we asked questions in a safe venue where people could share their thoughts. As the research progressed, Lemon Project team members shared findings with symposia participants. For the first five years, all or a portion of the symposium took place at BHS. After we outgrew the space, the symposium moved to campus, and the community moved with us.

By 2014, the Lemon Project began addressing the third request in the student resolution: establishing a memorial to

the enslaved. The first step involved the course Memorializing the Enslaved of William & Mary, which I co-taught with Edwin Pease, a local architect and W&M lecturer. The class included community members, staff, an alum, and undergraduates. Invited guests included the vice president of advancement, the director of the historic campus, an English professor specializing in the impact of trauma, and even the university president, who attended the last class for the students' presentations of their final projects.

The course was the springboard for the establishment of the Lemon Project Committee on Memorialization (LPCOM), which determined three requirements for the memorial: it should be located on the historic campus, the location of the college's first three buildings; the design would be selected via an idea competition; and it must feature the names of the enslaved found to date, with provisions to add names as the research continued.

Within these requirements lay major hurdles to overcome. First and foremost was the proposed location. With the historic campus seen by some as holy ground, they refused outright to even entertain the idea that a memorial to the enslaved be located there, a space they assumed incorrectly had been unchanged for centuries. Some feared that acknowledging W&M as an enslaver would bring disfavor on the university; others liked the idea but repeatedly said, "It will *never* happen."

The winning entry, designed by architect and alumnus Will Sendor, was announced in April 2019.

The idea competition was the second major obstacle. Traditionally, adding new structures to campus involves a request for proposal (RFP), a process that nets professionals. Inspired by Maya Lin, a Yale University undergraduate when she was selected to design the Vietnam War Memorial, LPCOM members wanted everyone to have the opportunity to compete. Initially, this nontraditional approach was unfathomable to procurement staff, but eventually we found a compromise. The idea competition entries would be judged by an anonymous jury, who would present three finalists to the president, who would select one. The competition netted 80 eligible entries representing four continents. "Hearth," the winning entry, designed by architect and W&M alumnus Will Sendor, was announced in April 2019. With the winner announced, the building committee, consisting of LPCOM members, faculty, staff, and students and co-chaired by the

chief diversity officer and the chief operating officer, was selected and began meeting in July 2019. An RFP was issued, and Baskervill architectural and engineering firm was selected to fabricate the memorial. They worked on Hearth from 2021 to 2022, and it was dedicated on May 7, 2022, during the university's first Black Alumni Weekend.

Since the Lemon Project launched, the world has changed, and not necessarily for the better. The murders of Michael Brown, George Floyd, Sandra Bland, Breonna Taylor, Ahmaud Arbery, and others too numerous to list here inspired the urgent cry that Black lives matter. It is also true that Black history matters. A people must know who and where they come from and who their people were, but there is a growing backlash against an inclusive US history. Indeed, some believe that teaching African American history is detrimental because it makes some white people uncomfortable. In this environment, the Lemon Project's work and Hearth take on an urgency not felt in a long time. Colleges and universities can no longer sit back and participate in the miseducation of their students. They must step up and lead the way. As W&M president Katherine Rowe said at the dedication:

Frank acknowledgment of painful facts is powerful and necessary for a healthy, pluralistic democracy. And while we have much work yet to do at W&M, by naming plainly the dehumanization of those enslaved here, and their agency as human beings, this memorial begins to fulfill our collective responsibility to affirm the value of labor that has been invisible and to recover and share stories that have gone untold — here in Williamsburg, in the Commonwealth of Virginia, in our country.

Since the dedication, I have been asked if the work of the Lemon Project is done. The answer is no — there remains much work to do. The Lemon Project will continue to work alongside others at W&M to foster a feeling of belonging in all who join us. It is our hope that when historians write about the early years of the 21st century, they will say that this was a time when W&M and other institutions of higher education acknowledged their complicity in the miseducation of the country and began to address it. Hopefully, they will be able to say, "Job well done." **P**

Jody Lynn Allen is assistant professor of history and Robert Francis Engs Director of the Lemon Project: A Journey of Reconciliation.

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LAND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Helpful, Harmful, Hopeful

Each year, as we approach Native American Heritage Month in November, the flood of email inquiries begins: How do I do a land acknowledgment? Do you know which Native people lived here? We'd like to post/tweet/read a land acknowledgment at our event; can you please provide us with the language? These are seemingly straightforward questions, but treating the practice of land acknowledgment seriously requires more than just getting the names, phrasing, and pronunciation right; rarely are there simple answers.

As the practice of writing, speaking, and displaying land acknowledgments in institutional settings becomes more common, we embrace this opportunity to reevaluate their use, purpose, and limitations, particularly among historians and our professional organizations. This is especially true as many Indigenous communities and scholars have become more critical of the use and performance of these statements by colleges and universities that lack ongoing relationships with and commitments to Native nations in their region or scholars, students, and staff on their campuses. What is the utility of these statements? How and when can they be helpful components of anticolonial pedagogical practice? And what are the pitfalls or outright harms that can be done by them?

For many scholars of settler descent, land acknowledgments are something new, and they experience them as nonintrusive, brief components of events and conferences. This is insufficient. The academy has long appropriated knowledge and practice from Indigenous communities, and it is important to understand the cultural and historical origins of these rituals in Indigenous societies around the globe. In customs common across North America, Native people have engaged in oratorical practices providing listeners with genealogies of relationships interconnecting humans, other-than-human beings, and homelands since long before settlers arrived. These addresses became routine components of international diplomacy around warfare, trade, and land cessions. It is worth emphasizing that these narratives framed possibilities

for interrelationship and solutions for current crises in stories about shared experiences, mutual obligations, and common interests. Land acknowledgments have traditionally emphasized practice and process.

More recently, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement in Canada prompted the widespread formalization and use of land acknowledgments by academic institutions engaged in the complicated work of recognition, reflection, and atonement. As flawed and contested as the process has been (and is), the United States has engaged in nothing comparable. This difference is important, and many academic institutions here have created statements without understanding historical context, Indigenous cultural protocols, or the current political and economic experiences of the peoples to whom they refer. Likewise, many individual scholars and students in institutions lacking formal acknowledgments have crafted their own by appropriating language used elsewhere and created with other Native peoples.

Many academic institutions here created statements without understanding historical context, Indigenous cultural protocols, or the current experiences of the peoples to whom they refer.

As a result, most land acknowledgments no longer resemble the ritual, relational tellings of their origin, and many are deeply problematic. We encounter them as lines in an email signature presented with as much ceremony as office hours. We've heard generic apologies to all Native peoples for unspecified past wrongs that ring with insincerity. We've listened to painful incantations of mispronounced names.

We've cringed at the past tenses working to banish Native peoples to being long disappeared. We've seen Native scholars already overwhelmed by service labor tasked with writing them and Native community members trotted up to microphones to recite them and promptly applauded off the stage and out of our academic spaces. Done poorly, the (mis)performance of land acknowledgment can cause more harm than good. For whom are we saying these words, for what reasons, and with what intended outcome? Rightly so, some of our fellow scholars and many Indigenous people point to some land acknowledgments that are wholly disconnected from the Native communities they reference as the antithesis of white, liberal social justice performativity.

Despite these criticisms and potential shortcomings, land acknowledgments when done well can be powerful opportunities for Indigenous visibility and historical education. Both Liz and Rose teach in parts of the eastern United States where Native American history is not routinely taught in public schools or where Indigenous peoples are covered only as part of America's colonial past. In New Jersey, where Liz works, there are almost no public representations of contemporary

Native people, short of cigar store wooden Indians and vague references to Native participants in the Revolutionary War. In the Carolinas, where Rose teaches, most non-Native people believe the Trail of Tears resulted in the removal of *all* Native people from the region — this despite the presence of federally and state-recognized nations and urban Indian communities in these states.

This erasure of Native pasts and presents means that many of our Indigenous students feel invisible and marginalized in their history classes and on our campuses. Land acknowledgments therefore provide moments to begin conversations about Native histories and the presence of contemporary Indigenous communities and to recognize the continued importance of Native people today. As our students routinely remind us, even these small acts can be deeply meaningful, and they can make these students feel more represented within educational spaces. In this way, when crafted specifically to promote the well-being of Native people who are part of our scholarly communities, land acknowledgments draw from the tradition of relationship nurturing and future building.



Land acknowledgments can be part of an academic culture that facilitates the academic success of Native students.
Courtesy Northwest Indian College


Moreover, as historians, we can treat a land acknowledgment as a tool of historical analysis and an opportunity to educate against Indigenous erasure. We can use this practice to teach about the historic and contemporary Indigenous communities on whose land we work, live, and educate. If you are unsure of whose land you're on, the website Native-Land.ca is an excellent (if incomplete) resource and a good place to start. Combining it with this directory maintained by the National Congress of American Indians, we can, with a few clicks, learn about the past and present of the region in which we teach.

Because Indigenous dispossession and forced removals were messy and incomplete processes, and because many Native nations shared territory or had overlapping land claims in many parts of the United States, there are multiple Native nations who belong to these lands—yes, we often say we belong to the land instead of it belonging to us—and who hold enduring relationships and territorial claims to place. For example, the people of Liz's nation, the Peoria Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma, were forced out of their homelands (some of which overlapped with Potawatomi, Miami, Sauk, and Meskwaki territories) in what is now Illinois, and placed on reservations in Oklahoma on lands that belonged to the Osage Nation. Of course, not all Native American histories are stories of removal, and so sharing land acknowledgments in areas like Davidson, North Carolina, where Rose teaches, also provides opportunities to educate students about Catawbas, Eastern Band Cherokees, Lumbees, and the other Native communities who evaded removal and remain in ancestral homelands. Land acknowledgments that accurately tell pieces of these stories and prompt listeners to further investigate the experiences of peoples whose territories they occupy are therefore powerful opportunities for historical inquiry.

When we advise our colleagues and scholarly communities on this topic, we begin with a definition that clarifies the purpose of this practice: land acknowledgments must be commitments to contemporary Native peoples and to sharing Indigenous histories rather than a rote collection of words. Done correctly, land acknowledgments convey specific obligations to support the well-being of the Native people in relationship with our academic institutions, on and beyond our campuses, now and in the future. For these reasons, best practices include using the specific, accurate names those Native nations use for themselves today; admitting past and current harms caused by the institution; and making specific commitments toward redress and relationship building and to sharing resources and decision-making authority.

Beyond long-term institutional commitments, many scholars also use land acknowledgments at onetime events to signal respect and to highlight Indigenous histories and perspectives. In such cases, land acknowledgments serve to remind participants that they are on Native land, tell small pieces of Indigenous history, and bring attention to the contemporary descendants of these nations. However, when land acknowledgments are delivered as rote statements at the beginning of an event, and when there is no further discussion of these Indigenous pasts and presents, the acknowledgments tend to feel inauthentic and performative. This practice also sidelines conversations about Native history to the role of interesting headnotes or minor asides, and it fails to generate serious engagement with Native pasts or the primary analytical message or social purpose of the event. By contrast, building information about Indigenous history and contemporary Native communities into the presentation itself conveys the same information in ways that integrate Native experiences into the intellectual work of the event itself. This brings us back to the rightful purpose of these statements: to tell stories that connect people so that we can work collaboratively, address historic and ongoing harm, and forge relationships among Native nations and institutions.

Land acknowledgments must be commitments to contemporary Native peoples and to sharing Indigenous histories rather than a rote collection of words.

So rather than asking your Native colleague what to say in a land acknowledgment, better questions are: What do your actions do to support Native people on and beyond campus? What specifically can our institutions do to foster reciprocal, nurturing relations with the local Native people and the Native nations whose land we live and work on? And how, then, can you voice and acknowledge these commitments in your statement? If we have nothing to say, then we should focus on the work before the words. 

The online version of this article includes a list of additional resources.

Elizabeth Ellis (Peoria) is assistant professor of history at Princeton University. Rose Stremmlau is associate professor of history at Davidson College; she tweets @RoseStremmlau.

JAMES H. SWEET

ABSTRACT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE 2023 ANNUAL MEETING

“Slave Trading as a Corporate Criminal Conspiracy, from the Calabar Massacre to BLM, 1767–2022”

As recent debates in American history have centered the legacies of slavery and the slave trade, calls for reparations have taken on new urgency. Yet very few studies trace how individual slaving wealth capitalized over generations to the present day. This presidential address focuses on how one Liverpool slave trader orchestrated an elaborate criminal conspiracy that transformed his family’s wealth and status in the late 18th century. The heirs to that legacy now preside over a multinational company generating revenues of £740 million per year, and the family has been largely successful in erasing their forefather’s criminal ties to slaving. Meanwhile, official corporate histories falsely celebrate the family’s abolitionism as foundational to the

company’s “ethical” mission. A more obvious target for reparations seemingly would be difficult to find. However, the shape those reparations should take is complicated by African complicity in slaving and wealth building, structural inequalities in contemporary legal institutions, and a startling modern-day connection to the Black Lives Matter movement. **P**

The presidential address will take place on Friday, January 6, 2023, from 5:30 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. in the Philadelphia Marriott Downtown, Grand Ballroom Salon E.

James H. Sweet is president of the AHA.



In 2020, activists toppled the statue of Edward Colston into the Bristol Harbor during protests over the murder of George Floyd.
Simon Cobb/Wikimedia Commons/CC0 1.0; Caitlin Hobbs/Wikimedia Commons/CC BY 3.0

Hotel and Rate Information

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

Rates are subject to hotel occupancy tax and will be honored three days before and three days after the official meeting dates of January 5–8 based on availability. Information on booking a room at the discounted rate is available at historians.org/hotels.





Dates and Deadlines

NOVEMBER 2	Program mailed to members.
DECEMBER 13	Last day to make hotel reservations through the housing service. Subsequent reservations taken on a space-available basis at the convention rate.
DECEMBER 15	Last day for preregistration pricing.
DECEMBER 15	Deadline to submit registration refund requests.
JANUARY 5, 2023	Annual meeting opens at 11:00 a.m. at the Philadelphia Marriott Downtown. Exhibit hall opens Friday, January 6, 2023, at 9 a.m. in Franklin Hall at the Marriott.

Meeting Registration

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

	MEMBER		NONMEMBER	
	PREREGISTRATION	AFTER DEC. 15	PREREGISTRATION	AFTER DEC. 15
Attendee	\$187	\$224	\$304	\$365
Speaker	\$187	\$224	\$187	\$224
Student	\$86	\$103	\$131	\$158
Un-/Underemployed	\$46	\$57	\$143	\$171
Retired	\$89	\$108	\$152	\$184
K-12 Teacher	\$66	\$80	\$128	\$153
Bring your Graduate/Undergraduate/K-12 student discount	For members only. Add students to your registration for only \$15 each (\$30 onsite). Bring as many high school, undergraduate, and graduate students as you want for only \$15 each!			

Advance registration must be completed by midnight ET on December 15, 2022. Thereafter, onsite rates will apply. Everyone attending the meeting is expected to register. Admission to the Exhibit Hall requires a registration badge. **Special note for speakers:** All US-based historians presenting on AHA sessions must be AHA members, and all participants must register.

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HOPE J. SHANNON AND EMILY SWAFFORD

FOUR MORE YEARS

A Where Historians Work Update

In 2018, the AHA announced the release of Where Historians Work, an interactive online database that catalogs the career outcomes of all historians who earned PhDs at US universities from 2004 to 2013. A comprehensive study rather than a partial survey, Where Historians Work provided a complete picture of PhD career outcomes, and its publication marked a major milestone in the AHA's Career Diversity for Historians initiative. It allowed us to address a simple but critical question: What careers do historians with PhDs actually pursue with their degrees? Where, exactly, do historians work?

Only by conducting a detailed analysis of *all* outcomes could we make convincing observations about broad, large-scale employment patterns among history PhDs.

The answers provided by the data offered much-needed insight into how and where historians use the knowledge and skills they have acquired over the course of their degree programs. Few PhD-granting history departments maintain complete records of their doctoral graduates' career outcomes, and those who do often exclude alumni working outside the professoriate. The AHA had first tried to answer this question by conducting career outcomes research on a random sample of history PhDs, but it was hard to convince many that the results of a limited survey might apply to them. We realized that only by conducting a detailed analysis of *all* outcomes could we make convincing observations about broad, large-scale employment patterns among history PhDs. The result was the original Where Historians Work data set.

Since this first data set was finished in 2017, we have been gratified by the number of departments that have

incorporated Where Historians Work into student orientations and invited AHA staff to lead data-focused discussions. Where Historians Work has proved an invaluable resource to graduate faculty and students over the past four years, and we are now releasing a long-awaited update to this important database. The update adds four additional years of career outcomes, increasing the number of historians represented from 8,523 to 12,310.

The new data describes the employment of history PhDs who graduated between 2014 and 2017. Although we used the same research methodologies for both studies, changing bureaucratic structures have modified some of the external markers we used to categorize different career outcomes in the intervening period. For this reason, we created a separate dashboard for the 2014–17 Where Historians Work update, rather than add the new data to the original 2004–13 dashboard.

The two data sets should not be read together as a longitudinal study. They represent two snapshots in time—one showing where PhDs who graduated between 2004 and 2013 were employed when we searched for them in 2017 and the second showing where PhDs who graduated between 2014 and 2017 were employed when we searched for them in 2020 or 2021. Further, variations in career outcomes stem from a number of circumstances, including the curricular strengths and extracurricular opportunities offered by a department and its university, the local and professional networks established and maintained by faculty and administrators, and a department's perceived rank and prestige. Career outcomes vary from program to program, and because of these differences, we have found that the data is most useful when deployed in a granular, department setting. Nevertheless, the data we captured at these two moments allows us to observe some important changes over time.

When we released Where Historians Work in 2018, we shared some initial observations about trends we identified in the

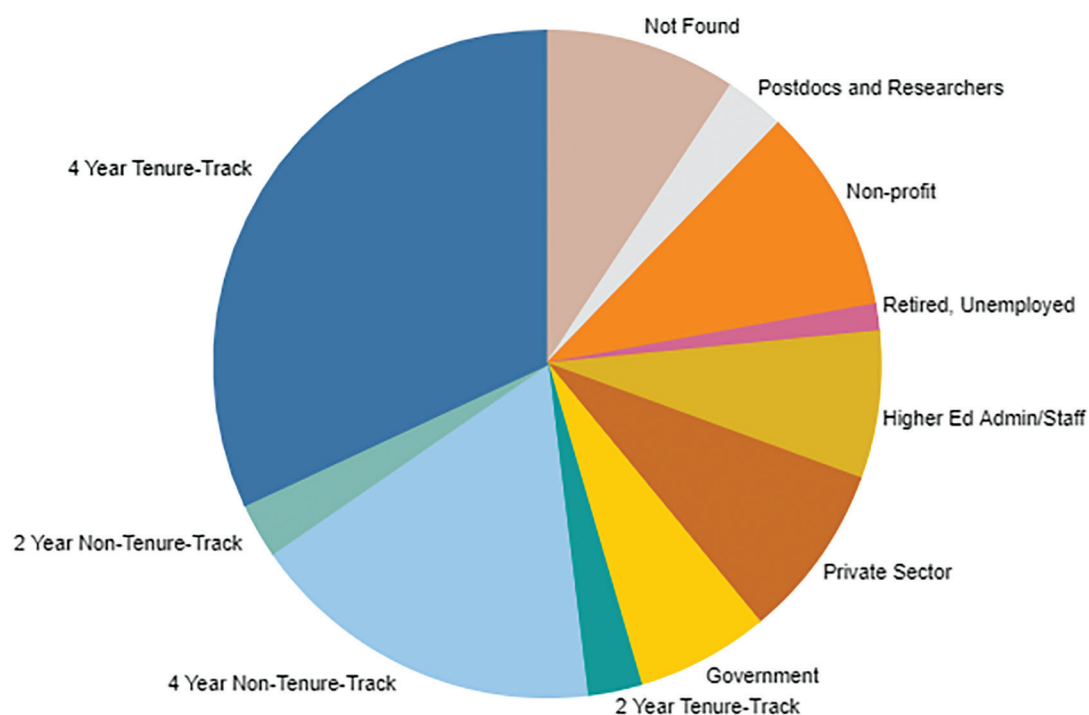


Fig. 1: Employment patterns for history PhDs who graduated from 2014–17 show a continuation of earlier trends.

2004–13 data. Surprising to no one, we noted that “academic jobs for those who graduated after 2008 were more likely to be off the tenure track” than those who graduated before 2008, reflecting the Great Recession’s impact on academic hiring. The data also showed that “graduates of certain institutions stand a greater chance of finding tenure-track positions, particularly at research universities,” and that women were about as likely as men to find employment on the tenure track.

Most of those patterns continue in the 2014–17 data set (Fig.1). The new data confirms what has already been noted in the Humanities Indicators and in “The 2022 AHA Jobs Report”: the number of historians with PhDs who hold tenure-track positions has continued to decline. Of the historians with PhDs who graduated in 2014 and 2015, the first two years of the 2014–17 data set, 55 percent were employed in four-year or two-year teaching positions. Of those, 37 percent held tenure-track positions and 18 percent worked as contingent faculty. In 2016 and 2017, the final two years of the 2014–17 data set, 54 percent were employed in four-year or two-year teaching positions. However, only 32 percent held tenure-track positions and 22 percent worked as contingent faculty. We note here, however, an important caveat: this new data was gathered during the COVID-19 pandemic and therefore includes a period when many colleges and universities canceled or postponed searches and short-run policies

were the norm. In contrast, 66 percent of PhDs who graduated in 2004 and 2005, the first two years of the 2004–13 data, were employed in four-year or two-year teaching positions (56 percent tenure track, 10 percent contingent). The data thus shows a clear decline in the overall percentage of PhD graduates working as faculty in higher education, as well as the percentage of those faculty who work on the tenure track.

The 2014–17 data also indicates that a historian’s degree-granting institution continues to affect potential career outcomes. Historians who graduated with PhDs from prestigious programs were, like their predecessors, generally more likely to work as tenure-track faculty. But the recent downturn has diminished their opportunities as well. The shrinking pool of tenure-track positions affects graduates of all institutions, regardless of past hiring trends.


The 2014–17 data also continues to buck assumptions about the impact of gender on career outcomes. The 2004–13 data contradicted a long-held belief that “women are more likely to be shunted out of the professoriate or into non-tenure-track positions.” Instead, it showed that women had “achieved parity in numbers” among those entering tenure-track employment. The 2014–17 data indicates that women are now slightly more likely to be hired on the tenure track than men. Of all historians with PhDs in the

2014–17 data set, 37 percent of women had secured tenure-track employment (35 percent in four-year positions and 2 percent in two-year positions), while 32 percent of men had secured tenure-track employment (29 percent in four-year positions and 3 percent in two-year positions). This trend persists despite the fact that the Survey of Earned Doctorates records a majority (55 percent) of PhDs were awarded to male students between 2014 and 2017.

Though the two data sets should not be read as a single longitudinal study, we can still draw some broad conclusions about changes between the 2004–13 and 2014–17 data. Foremost are the small changes we see in the industries where historians are employed, which are unsurprising given that the unemployment rate among historians with PhDs has remained stable (1.5 to 2 percent) while the percentage of historians working within the professoriate has declined. The percentage of people working for nonprofits, for example, increased from 6 to 10 percent. The percentages of history PhDs working in higher education administration; local, state, and federal government; and the private sector have seen more modest increases (6.5 to 7 percent; 4 to 6 percent; and 7 to 8 percent, respectively).

There are anomalies and exceptions to these continuities to be found in the data.

These numbers indicate that historians with PhDs continue to use their diverse skill sets in a wide variety of career paths and workplaces. As the chart in the “Careers beyond the Professoriate” section of *Where Historians Work* shows, history PhD graduates are employed as historians and researchers, writers and authors, teachers and tutors, counselors and advisers, analysts, program and grants managers, executive directors and executive officers, librarians, archivists, curators, and project managers and in many other capacities. Of particular note are the variety and breadth of positions held by history PhDs in higher education administration. They advise undergraduate and graduate students; manage centers and institutes dedicated to humanities and the digital humanities, pedagogy and experiential learning, and specialized research; create and test educational materials; and coordinate academic and study-abroad programs, community outreach projects, and fellowship and awards programs. History PhDs are using their knowledge and skills to shape policy within and across college campuses, as well as for the many businesses, nonprofits, and government agencies hiring historians to manage their work.

Our findings only scratch the surface of what can be gleaned from *Where Historians Work*, and we encourage you to explore the data and make your own observations. We have focused here on patterns that persist across both data sets, but there are anomalies and exceptions to these continuities to be found in the data. As historians, we are committed to evidence-based discussion and hope this will add to ongoing conversation about the future of the discipline and the purpose of graduate education. 

Hope J. Shannon is marketing and engagement manager at the AHA; she tweets @HistorianHope. Emily Swafford was director of academic and professional affairs at the AHA and is an incoming assistant dean at the Rackham Graduate School at the University of Michigan; she tweets @elswafford.

MARK PHILIP BRADLEY

ART AS HISTORICAL METHOD

In the September Issue of the American Historical Review

The September issue of the *American Historical Review* presents a set of articles that feature original approaches to empire, decolonization, and religion across a wide expanse of time and space. It also launches a new project in the AHR History Lab, Art as Historical Method, that explores the recent turn by contemporary art practitioners to history, research, and the archives.

The September issue continues the AHR History Lab's Engaged History project. Historian **Alexis Dudden** (Univ. of Connecticut) and graphic novelist **Kim Inthavong** collaborated to produce "Okinawa: Territory as Monument," which excavates the layered dimensions of the Okinawan past as a site of Japanese colonization and American military bases. Inthavong's graphic novella, the first to appear in the AHR, evokes the lived experience of recent Okinawan protests against an American military base currently under construction. Also in the lab is a forum, "The Pandemic and History," that brings together essays by six historians of South Asia, Latin America, East Asia, Africa, Europe, and Indigenous peoples to discuss the COVID-19 pandemic through a historical lens. History Unclassified completes this edition of the lab with **Ariel Lambe's** (Univ. of Connecticut) "Seeing Madness in the Archives," in which she wrestles with the question of whether historians are discovering or creating history when they take issues of identity into the archive.

As a new part of the lab, the Art as Historical Method project moves around the world to examine historically situated works of contemporary art in museums, international expositions, and arts spaces. Some interventions will be in the form of conversations with curators and artists. Others will be deep dives into the content and form of particular works—among them paintings, photographs, sculptures, and video installations—to help readers see how history and historical research shaped their formation. **Zoe Butt** and **Lee Weng-Choy**, leading figures in the contemporary art world, open this new lab project by asking, "So what is it that a historian could want to learn from the way contemporary artists engage with

history?" A companion essay takes readers inside the making of one work Butt and Choy discuss that recovers the lingering impact of empire on the lives of the Senegalese Vietnamese community in Dakar.

The Art as Historical Method project examines historically situated works of contemporary art in museums, international expositions, and arts spaces.

The decolonial as a framework for recovering knowledge and practices suppressed under colonial order is also present in several articles in the issue. In "Decolonizing Renaissance Humanism," **Stuart McManus** (Chinese Univ. of Hong Kong) pushes back on Eurocentric visions of this era to demonstrate that the revival of letter writing in 13th-century Italy had a much wider impact than previously thought. Drawing on a large corpus of little-known texts by Indigenous, African, creole, missionary, and diasporic authors, McManus sees Renaissance humanism as neither purely cosmopolitan and protoliberal nor chauvinistically imperialist and statist. Rather, he suggests, it represented a toolbox of ideas and scholarly techniques that could be put to differing ends while retaining common features that endured well into the age of Enlightenment. **Sebastian Kroupa's** (Univ. of Cambridge) "Reading beneath the Skin: Indigenous Tattooing in the Early Spanish Philippines" explores the early modern encounter between Spanish colonizers and the Visayans, a tattooed Indigenous people of the Philippines. By tracing how Spanish responses to tattooing were negotiated using preexisting and newly emerging terminologies, he suggests there was no fixed framework for interpreting the meanings of skin markings in early modern Europe. Spanish writers sought to use Visayan tattoos to insert their bearers into the Spanish colonial universe, but, as Kroupa shows, the tattooed body challenged

Tuan Andrew Nguyen's 2020 exhibition, *A Lotus in a Sea of Fire*, is self-consciously a work of history. Like many contemporary artists, Nguyen's practice is infused by history both in its subject and its methods. The title of this work recalls that of a well-known 1967 book by the Buddhist monk and peace activist Thich Nhat Hanh and its discussion of self-immolations by Buddhist monks in Saigon to protest the policies of the South Vietnamese state. The concerns that drive Nguyen's work illustrate the recent turn in contemporary art practice to history, research, and the archive that are the subject of a new *AHR* History Lab project, *Art as Historical Method*, that launches in this issue. Courtesy the artist and James Cohan, New York.



imperial framings and colonial categories of naked and dressed, literate and illiterate, savage and civilized.

In "Skull Walls: The Peruvian Dead and the Remains of Entanglement," **Christopher Heaney** (Penn State Univ.) also looks at the body as a site of decolonial history to discuss how and why American anthropologists from the 1820s to the 1920s acquired more human remains of Andean origin than those of any other individual population worldwide. US ethnographic museums, he argues, made "ancient Peruvians" central to their collecting work in order to assert authority over the Americas' racialized past and as a historic set of artifacts against which living Native Americans might be compared. Throughout his analysis, Heaney emphasizes the violent science and grave opening that link the precolonial, colonial, and contemporary moments in both North and South American.

Another set of articles offers new scholarship in religious history. Focusing on a close reading of three Urdu-language *akhlaq* (ethics) texts published between the 1870s and 1930s, **Farina Mir** (Univ. of Michigan) argues in "Urdu Ethics Literature and the Diversity of Muslim Thought in Colonial India" that the genre points to a widespread, everyday, and unexceptional Muslim way of being in the world that placed a high value on ethical striving. In doing so, she expands existing notions of Muslim authority from individuals such as the *ulama* (Muslim clerical class) and institutions such as *madrasas* (religious schools and seminaries) to include literary genres themselves. In "Translating Gods on the Borders of Sovereignty," **Gili Kliger** (Harvard Univ.) examines the rapidly expanding translation of Christian scripture in the 19th and early 20th centuries as a product of both the rise of the modern Protestant missionary movement and the acceleration of British imperial and Anglo settler colonial conquest. She focuses on the contested and multiple translations of the word *God* to provide a window into the cultural and intellectual

dimensions of colonial conflict and to reveal a neglected chapter in the conceptual history of sovereignty.

Andrew Preston's (Univ. of Cambridge) "The Limits of Brotherhood: Race, Religion, and World Order in American Ecumenical Protestantism" puts the history of religion on a global stage to reconsider the political significance of the early 20th-century Protestant ecumenical movement for the making of liberal world order. American ecumenists, Preston argues, contributed to the architecture of international organization and were among the first to promote a global discourse of human rights. They would later sacrifice their desire for racial equality in an effort to protect religious liberty and advance Protestant interests. In a similarly international register, **Joseph Ben Prestel's** (Freie Univ. Berlin) "A Diasporic Moment: Writing Global History through Palestine–West German Ties" draws on previously untapped Palestinian and German documents to reveal the central role that the Palestinian diaspora played in the spread of solidarity movements in Western Europe. From the 1950s into the 1980s, Prestel traces a diasporic moment when stateless actors helped shape leftist politics that bridged Western Europe and the Middle East.

More than 150 reviews close out the issue, including the new featured review format "Authors in Conversation," which brings together **Jan Lucassen** (International Institute of Social History) and **Patrick Manning** (Univ. of Pittsburgh) to review each other's new books on the history of humanity. Additionally, *History in Focus*, the AHR's podcast hosted by **Daniel Story** (Univ. of California, Santa Cruz), offers four new episodes to complement the September issue of the journal. **P**

Mark Philip Bradley is editor of the American Historical Review.



**R. Keith
Schoppa**
1943–2022

Historian of China

R. Keith Schoppa, the Edward and Catherine Doehler Professor of History emeritus at Loyola University Maryland, passed away on June 27, 2022. Keith, who taught at Loyola from 1998 to 2014, played a major role in shaping the university's transition toward a more inclusive, global view of history and economics.

Keith lived and worked on a cotton farm in the Texas Panhandle until he left at age 18 for Valparaiso University. After Keith earned his bachelor's degree in history, a fellowship to the University of Hawai'i's East-West Center introduced him to a new academic interest and led to a master's degree in East Asian history. This was followed by a PhD in modern Chinese history from the University of Michigan.

Although Keith's Texas background seemed disconnected from his scholarly focus on the social and cultural history of China, his deep roots in his boyhood community informed his distinctive scholarship. Through an intensive study of Zhejiang Province, he produced a series of monographs that explored the social and cultural intricacies of modern China. The importance of home and place constituted a central interpretive insight that Keith used to elucidate topics ranging from the cultural significance of landscape to the traumatic experience of refugees uprooted during the Sino-Japanese War. His Zhejiang studies—which included *Chinese Elites and Political Change: Zhejiang Province in the Early Twentieth Century* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1982); *Xiang Lake: Nine Centuries of Chinese Life* (Yale Univ. Press, 1989; reissued 2002 as *Song Full of Tears*); *Blood Road: The Mystery of Shen Dingyi in Revolutionary China* (Univ. of California Press, 1995); and *In a Sea of Bitterness: Refugees during the Sino-Japanese War* (Harvard Univ. Press, 2011)—cemented his position as a leading historian of China. *Blood Road* received the 1997 Joseph Levenson Prize from the Association for Asian Studies. Keith also was a prolific author of textbooks, including *Twentieth Century China: A History in Documents* (Oxford Univ. Press, 2004) and *Revolution and Its Past: Identities and Change in Modern Chinese History* (Taylor and Francis,

2001). His last, and most recent, was also his broadest: *The Twentieth Century: A World History* (Oxford Univ. Press, 2021).

Deeply committed to teaching, Keith chose to make his career at institutions with a focus on undergraduate liberal arts. Keith taught at Valparaiso from 1968 to 1998, where he was the first to teach East Asian history courses and helped to establish an East Asian studies program. He chaired that program for 11 years and served as the history department chair for 19 years. While at Valparaiso, he received the Distinguished Teaching Award in 1990 and was named the 1994 Indiana Professor of the Year by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. At Loyola, he taught a range of courses, including surveys of modern China and Japan as well as a broader survey of modern East Asia (which became the basis for another textbook, *East Asia: Identities and Change in the Modern World*, published by Pearson in 2007). His course *The Vietnam War through Film and Literature* always had a long waiting list; students lucky enough to enroll were typically seniors. But Keith wanted to reach as many students as possible and requested to teach a mix of introductory and upper-level courses. Students praised the passion he brought to the classroom, and colleagues noted Keith's joy when students began to understand the enormity of Chinese history.

Keith flourished at Loyola, enjoying a reduced teaching load and a community of engaged scholars. He retained his friendships from Valparaiso and gained many new ones in Baltimore. Along with his wife Beth, Keith enjoyed fine dining, the arts, and lively conversation. Keith combined uncompromising integrity as a scholar with a modest demeanor. He will be deeply missed.

Thomas R. Pegram
Loyola University Maryland (emeritus)

Elizabeth Schmidt
Loyola University Maryland (emerita)

Matthew Mulcahy
Loyola University Maryland

Photo courtesy Schoppa family

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EMORY UNIVERSITY

Atlanta, GA

Betty Gage Holland Professor of Roman History. The Department of History at Emory University invites applications for the Betty Gage Holland Professor of Roman History at the associate professor or full professor rank. The chronological and geographical scope is defined broadly: the Roman world from 400 BCE to circa 600 CE. We seek areas of specialty that build on departmental strengths and interdisciplinary interests, such as slavery, race-making and concepts of ethnicity, empire, health and medicine, gender, law, and religion. Scholars who use digital mapping and data collection and who are involved in collaborative projects or public facing scholarship are also of interest. The successful applicant will play a critical role in maintaining vibrant programs in ancient history, the ancient Mediterranean, and medieval studies. We particularly encourage applications from individuals who identify as BIPOC, LGBTQ, and disabled, as well as women, protected veterans, and individuals who would bring additional diversity to the university's research and teaching endeavors. Applicants should submit a letter of application, a CV, a writing sample, and a statement explaining their experience and vision regarding the teaching and mentoring of students from diverse backgrounds. Review of materials will begin November 15, 2022. Applications received up to 30 days after the

review begins will be given full consideration. The appointment will begin on September 1, 2023. Inquiries can be directed to the chair of the search committee: Dr. Michelle Armstrong-Partida at marmstrongpartida@emory.edu. Information detailing the Emory College of Arts & Sciences Faculty Responsibilities can be found at <http://college.emory.edu/faculty/documents/faculty/faculty-responsibilities.pdf>. Emory is using Interfolio's Faculty Search to conduct the search. Applicants to this position receive a free Dossier account and can send all application materials free of charge. Apply to <http://apply.interfolio.com/113350>. Emory University is an AA/EOE.



UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, COLLEGE PARK

College Park, MD

Modern East Asia. The Department of History at the University of Maryland, College Park, invites applications for a tenure-track position at the rank of assistant professor in modern East Asian history, focusing on 20th century China, Japan, and/or the Japanese empire. We especially welcome applicants whose work is transnational, transregional, or global in its approach. Teaching responsibilities will include the ability to teach a modern East Asian history survey course as well as specialized courses drawn from the candidate's geographic and thematic areas of expertise. The starting date of this position is August

2023, contingent upon the availability of funds. The application should include a cover letter describing research and teaching interests, a CV, a sample of scholarly research, and three letters of recommendation. For best consideration, applications should be submitted online at <https://ejobs.umd.edu/postings/100064> by November 21, 2022. Inquiries may be sent to the chair of the search committee, Professor Ting Zhang, at tzhang18@umd.edu. We seek candidates whose research, teaching, and service have prepared them to contribute to diversity and inclusion. Applicants are required to summarize their leadership efforts, and past or potential contributions to diversity in a one-page Statement of Contributions to Diversity. Contributions might include leadership in teaching, mentoring, research, or service towards building an equitable and diverse scholarly environment and/or increasing access or participation of individuals from historically under-represented groups. Please upload this document as Supplemental Document 1 in the online application. The University of Maryland, College Park, actively subscribes to a policy of equal employment opportunity, and will not discriminate against any employee or applicant because of race, age, sex, color, sexual orientation, physical or mental disability, religion, ancestry or national origin, marital status, genetic information, political affiliation, and gender identity or expression. Minorities and women are encouraged to apply. This search is contingent upon the availability of funds. Minimum Qualifications: A PhD in hand

by August 1, 2023, and a strong record of research and teaching with a focus on modern East Asia, focusing on 20th-century China, Japan, and/or the Japanese empire.



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 20th-century US to begin 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.

AD POLICY STATEMENT

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

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

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

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

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/EOE. 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

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LEHIGH UNIVERSITY Bethlehem, PA

20th-/21st-Century US and the World. The Department of History at Lehigh University invites applications for a tenure-track faculty position as assistant professor of history with a specialization in the United States and the world in the 20th and/or 21st centuries, starting August 2023. Candidates must have an earned PhD in history or a related field by the date of hire. Department faculty are expected to teach a 2:2 load of courses at all levels of the curriculum. This individual will help strengthen the Department's profile in research, scholarship, and graduate studies, while furthering the Department's tradition of excellence in both undergraduate teaching and service to the University and the profession. The successful candidate will either complement existing strengths in the Department or point the way to future areas of distinction in research and teaching. This individual should come prepared to advance diversity, equity, and inclusion, which are central components of academic excellence at Lehigh. The Department of History features a distinctive graduate program focused on transnational history that offers both the MA and PhD degrees. Our faculty pursue interdisciplinary scholarship and we welcome scholars with international backgrounds. The successful candidate in this search will also have the opportunity to participate in the

College of Arts and Sciences' interdisciplinary programs and research centers, which include Global Studies, Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies, Latin American and Latino Studies, Asian Studies, Health, Medicine, and Society, Africana Studies, and Environmental Studies. Founded in 1865, Lehigh University has combined outstanding academic and learning opportunities with leadership in fostering innovative research. Recognized among the nation's highly ranked research universities, Lehigh offers a rigorous academic community for nearly 7,000 students. Lehigh University has some 5,000 undergraduates, 2,000 graduate students, and about 550 full-time faculty members. Lehigh University is located in Bethlehem, PA, a vibrant and historic area. Over 820,000 people live in the Lehigh Valley, which is in close proximity to New York City and Philadelphia. To apply, please submit a cover letter, CV, an article- or chapter-length piece of scholarship (published or unpublished), contact information for three references, and a statement of contributions to diversity, equity, and inclusion to <https://academicjobsonline.org/ajojobs/22684>. At a later stage of the search, candidates will be asked to submit letters of recommendation, further evidence of scholarship, a teaching portfolio, and a research statement. Review of applications will begin on October 7, 2022, and continue until the position is filled. The department plans to hold semifinalist interviews via Zoom in late November and on-campus visits for finalists in late January and early February. Questions about the position should be directed to the search committee chair, Professor William J. Bulman (bulman@lehigh.edu). Lehigh University is an AA/EOE and does not discriminate on the basis of age, color, disability, gender identity or expression, genetic information, marital or familial status, national or ethnic origin, race, religion, sex, sexual orientation, or veteran status. We are committed to increasing the diversity of the campus community. Lehigh University is committed to a culturally and intellectually diverse academic community and is especially interested in candidates who can contribute, through their research, teaching and/or service, to this mission. In 2020, the University President and Board of Trustees Chair publicly committed to making Lehigh an actively anti-racist institution. Lehigh University is the recipient of an Institutional Transformation award for

promoting the careers of women in academic sciences and engineering. In 2020 Lehigh was named one of "Best of the Best LGBTQ-Friendly Colleges & Universities" by Campus Pride, and it is among institutions of higher education recognized for excellence in diversity with the INSIGHT into Diversity HEED Award. Additional information about Lehigh's commitment to diversity and inclusion is available at <https://diversityandinclusion.lehigh.edu/>. Lehigh University provides competitive salaries and comprehensive benefits, including domestic partner benefits.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA Philadelphia, PA

Haldane Chair in Early Modern British History. The School of Arts and Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania invites applications for a tenured position in British history 1450–1700 at the rank of associate or recently promoted full professor. It is our intention to appoint the successful candidate to the inaugural Isobel Haldane Professorship of British History. The department is open to a wide variety of approaches to British history and is looking for a historian who possesses both a broad conception of the field and a willingness to work closely with colleagues and students in different areas of early modern history. They will have a record of innovative research, influential publications, and a deep commitment to teaching both undergraduate and graduate students. Candidates should apply online at <http://apply.interfolio.com/113584>. Please attach a letter of application, CV, and research and teaching statements of no more than 2,000 words each. The Search Committee will begin reviewing applications on December 2, 2022, and will continue until the position is filled. 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 <http://www.upenn.edu/almanac/volumes/v58/n02/diversityplan.html>). The University of Pennsylvania is an EOE. Minorities, women, individuals with disabilities and protected veterans are encouraged to apply.

Career Center

Visit historians.org/careers to find or post a job today!

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Apply online and create a password protected account for managing your job search

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Save up to 100 jobs to a folder in your account so you can come back to apply when you're ready.

For Employers

Unmatched, Targeted Exposure for Postings

The AHA is the largest professional organization in the United States for historians.

Easy Online Job Management

Enter job descriptions; check the status, renew, or discontinue postings; make payments online.

Resume Database Access

Search the resume database and use an automatic notification system to receive emails when new resumes match your criteria.

Employment Branding Opportunities

Include information about your institution and a link to your website.

Grants for AHA members

The AHA is pleased to support the study and exploration of history through our annual research grants program.

Learn more at historians.org/grants.

The deadline for all research grant applications is February 15.

SIMON P. NEWMAN

THE SHORT TELESCOPE

In the Hunterian Museum at the University of Glasgow is a beautiful Georgian brass telescope. Just over 20 inches in length with a 3-inch aperture and an altazimuth mounting, it is engraved with the name of its creator: "JAMES SHORT LONDON 1743." Fourteen years after it was made, this telescope arrived at the University of Glasgow as part of a donation of an impressive collection of astronomical instruments. The instruments' quality was such that the university built an observatory, and King George III created the Regius Professorship in Practical Astronomy; both were the first of their kind in Great Britain. The Short telescope thus symbolizes the impact of the Enlightenment on a university that, in the mid-18th century, was home to such figures as Joseph Black, Adam Smith, and Francis Hutcheson. But it was slavery and colonialism that had funded the Short telescope and the scientific research it made possible.

The Short telescope was given to the university by alumnus Alexander Macfarlane, a fellow of the Royal Society. Macfarlane had built a home in Jamaica designed to function as an observatory, and he had communicated astronomical readings to fellow members of the Royal Society, some of which were published in the society's *Philosophical Transactions*. Macfarlane's observations and the future research at the university that stemmed from his bequest were all funded by the labor of enslaved Africans. A wealthy merchant who traded both enslaved people and slave-produced sugar, a judge, and a member of the Jamaican Assembly, Macfarlane owned his townhouse and observatory in Kingston as well as a number of Jamaican estates, including Biscany in St. Elizabeth and Serge Island in St. Thomas-in-the-East. At Macfarlane's death in 1755, his estate was valued at £74,535; 791 enslaved people composed almost half of that wealth.

In 2018, the University of Glasgow published the results of an investigation into the extent to which the institution had benefited from slavery. While Georgetown University and others can name the enslaved people whom the institution owned and



© The Hunterian, University of Glasgow

sold, the Short telescope may be the University of Glasgow's most tangible connection to slavery. At the time of its donation, and for most of the period since, the telescope's connection to slavery was either unknown or ignored. Instead, it was the scientific and academic value of the Macfarlane bequest that commanded attention. It is an artifact that illustrates how the history of enslaved people within Great Britain hides in objects and histories that on the surface have no clear connection to slavery, making the enslaved themselves all but invisible.

The CARICOM Ten Point Plan for Reparatory Justice provides guidance to the reparative justice required by bequests and gifts of this kind, highlighting the need to address the Caribbean's public health crisis, scientific and technological development in the region, and improved educational opportunities. With this in mind, and guided by Sir Hilary Beckles, the University of Glasgow partnered with the University of the West Indies in the creation of the Glasgow-Caribbean Centre for Development Research, committing at least £20 million over two decades to support work that will be of practical benefit to Caribbean communities.

The Short telescope illustrates how slavery helped finance the Scottish Enlightenment at the University of Glasgow. British universities are uniquely positioned to repay the benefits that came to them through slavery by means of research-based engagement with Caribbean institutions and universities in support of health, environmental, developmental, and other initiatives identified by Caribbean citizens as essential to reparative justice. A new enlightenment dawns. **P**

Simon P. Newman is the Brogan Professor of History emeritus at the University of Glasgow.

Join the Conversation at AHA Communities



communities.historians.org

AHA Communities is an online platform for communication and collaboration. Historians can join ongoing discussions on teaching and learning, remaking graduate education, and the annual meeting, or launch their own forum, blog, or project space.

AMERICAN
HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION

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.

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

Contact annualmeeting@historians.org.

Questions about the content of proposals?

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