The newsmagazine of the American Historical Association

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A Creative and Audience-Focused Assignment

IT'S ALWAYS TIME FOR A CHEEKY NANDO'S20

The Global Journey of an African Cuisine



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L. RENATO GRIGOLI

CITY STRATIGRAPHY

Tracing the Threads in DC's Urban Fabric

edged between the National Mall and the Potomac River, the Washington, DC, Waterfront is not yet a city again. It has the bustle, the nightlife, the commotion and vibrancy of a city, but it lacks the sense that it is truly a place where people live. This is not an accident. A glut of new construction has recently and deliberately erased the historical sediment of human habitation, replacing a Black urban community with a rich white aloneness. Some small bits remain, like the municipal fish market (in operation since 1805), but the new colony on the river shore otherwise lacks those small irregularities in the urban fabric that, as they accrete over time, make a neighborhood feel alive and more than just a collection of buildings. The architecture looks just like any other urban development built to a budget over the past two decades - maybe one day some remaining 5-over-1s and their associated "gentrification aesthetic" will be protected as historic, but the style does not currently spark much joy. The stores and restaurants, from Shake Shack to Hell's Kitchen, are iterations of entities that exist outside their specific locale. From surroundings alone, you could be anywhere.

About a mile and a half east-southeast, another new development sits on the banks of a different river. Once a lively port on the Anacostia River, the actual naval yard portion of Navy Yard shrank and consolidated as shipbuilding moved elsewhere and trade goods came to the city on railroads instead of rivers. Then, in a familiar midcentury tale, urban planners rammed interstates through the city's heart. I-395 and I-695 made the predominantly Black neighborhood unsightly, and rhetoric about crime, poverty, and urban blight soon followed. Robert Moses be praised, the area is now "renewed" with a baseball stadium, swanky eateries, and luxury condos. Recent transplants from more sparsely populated regions of the American empire often land in Navy Yard and find it shiny and fascinating; then they post terrified screeds on the Nextdoor app regarding their neighbors who still live in adjacent blocks of public housing.

Not all tales in the district are quite so grim, at least with respect to the recent and forced relocation of established communities. Alongside the construction of an infill station on one of the city's Metro lines, the run-down warehouses of the NoMa (North of Massachusetts Avenue) and neighboring Near Northeast neighborhoods have given way to an abundance of offices, condos, and hotels and an entire "beer trail" of breweries. The revitalization project has created density close to transportation and federal office buildings, mostly at the expense of surface parking lots-though surface parking lots are, generally speaking, the pavement gravestones of a previous urban fabric and the individuals who inhabited it. And this story is far from complete. Some queer-friendly clubs and music venues that were forced out of Navy Yard landed in the cheap warehouse spaces in Eckington, a neighborhood on NoMa's northern border. As developers keep looking for new projects, these businesses may be forced to move once again.

These are only a few of the more recent stories that define the space where I and others live, work, and play. They are the stories of the space in which I have chosen to build my life, stories that depend or rest on other stories. Those stories are just a few in a multitude of individual and collective stories — histories — that exist in both chorus and discord here. It's stories all the way down.

As was announced in May, over the next year, *Perspectives* is especially (but not exclusively) interested in pitches for articles with something to say about urbanism and rurality, words intended to prompt a reader to ponder the scope of an idea, rather than to mark its borders. Pieces about them may not appear in every issue, but attentive readers will find the thread of a conversation across this year's publication. And as I have invited you to share your stories and histories, so I will continue to share mine.

L. Renato Grigoli is the editor of Perspectives on History. Find him on Threads @mappermundi.

historians.org/perspectives



TO THE EDITOR

In "Journalists and Historians" (April 2023), Edward Muir writes of Volodymyr Zelenskyy going farther than any other fictional history teacher. True, but then there is the real thing.

Lyndon B. Johnson earned a BA in history from what is now Texas State University in San Marcos, Texas. During his studies, he spent nine months teaching Mexican American students in Cotulla, Texas. After college, he taught at Pearsall High School in Pearsall, Texas, and Sam Houston High School in Houston.

Concluding his high school teaching career in 1931, Johnson went to Washington, DC, as secretary to Rep. Richard Kleberg, owner of the King Ranch.

✓ JOHN BUTE

Austin, Texas



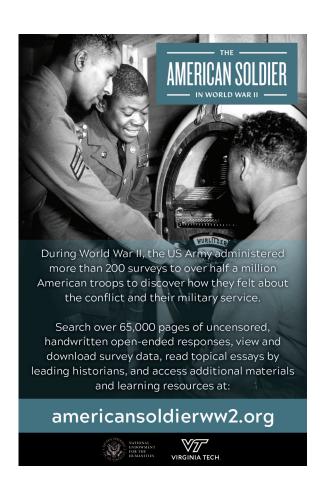
TO THE EDITOR

As a historian of revolutionary France with a background in journalism, I appreciated reading "Townhouse Notes: Editorial Oversight" (April 2023). I also have worked as an editor for many years, and I share your concern about the lack of "critical oversight" in many of today's publications. Editors may indeed be "invisible," but the lack of their oversight remains only too obvious.

Edward Muir's timely article "Journalists and Historians" also called attention to the problems faced in both professions today. Personally, I found that my earlier training in journalism, especially concerning the necessity of checking one's sources and writing clearly, proved beneficial when I began my doctoral studies in history.

Thank you for the timely treatment of two of the most important professions in our nation today.

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AHA STATEMENT OPPOSING EXCLUSION OF LGBTQ+ HISTORY IN FLORIDA

he American Historical Association condemns the Florida Department of Education (FLDOE)'s recent ruling banning educators from "provid[ing] classroom instruction to students in grades 4 through 12 on sexual orientation or gender identity unless such instruction is . . . expressly required by state academic standards." No such mandates appear in current American or world history standards. To comply with this clause, teachers would have to exclude from their curriculum significant aspects of the nation's history.

Neither law nor policy will change the fact that LGBTQ+ people have always existed.

Consider the implications of this radical legislation – radical in the sense of the reach of state government into local classrooms. Extending Florida's so-called "Don't Say Gay" law, the FLDOE would eliminate almost entirely the history of LGBTQ+ people from the Florida social studies curriculum. And to eliminate that history is to compel a distorted and incomplete teaching of the past. Neither law nor policy will change the fact that LGBTQ+ people have always existed. This erasure flattens the story of America's long Civil Rights Movement by ignoring the 1969 Stonewall Riots and the pathbreaking 2015 Supreme Court case Obergefell v. Hodges. It bars students from examining cultures, religions, and societies including Indigenous nations within Florida - that have embraced traditions of gender fluidity and homosexuality as meaningful categories of social identity and organization. Its effort to silence and segregate LGBTQ+ voices cannot but cripple our understanding of the richness and diversity of the human experience.

Historical aspects of "sexual orientation or gender identity" include heterosexual and cisgender peoples, too, and we

wonder how the state might regard historical explorations of womanhood, masculinity, family relations, gender roles, even the marriages of John and Abigail Adams or Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt. As the AHA explained in its 2021 *Statement on LGBTQ+ History Curriculum*, "Students who attend schools that include LGBTQ+ history will therefore not only be better informed citizens but will also be better prepared to engage with the complexities of everyday life." The new policy's distressing imprecision combined with threats of license revocation and termination for those who violate it will chill good history teaching in the state.

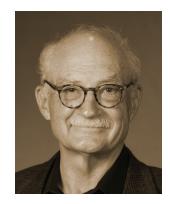
We ask that the FLDOE reconsider its vague and destructive policy of censorship, and instead encourage the teaching of accurate and inclusive histories of the United States and the world. These histories necessarily include LGBTQ+ people. Simple respect for the past in all its complex humanity demands that we give attention to these experiences.

Approved by the AHA Council on May 13, 2023. For a full list of signatories, please see the online version of this statement.

EDWARD MUIR

THE ART OF THE DIAMOND

Baseball and the Renaissance



very summer evening, I play catch with the 12-year-old child in my life and dread the days when school imprisons us both at a computer. As the light fades in the early autumn, I always fear baseball's imminent disappearance, but memories persist of the leathery pop of a ball striking hard in the pocket of a glove. Those memories of the sights and sounds of baseball keep me connected to my own living senses as I enter the musty halls of history.

One of my best memories of the game came from another time of year. In the spring of 1985, I was on research leave in Venice—a sparkling place, but not one known as a baseball town. I was part of a group of American and Canadian scholars who, as the days grew warmer, began to pine for what we missed the most about North America, which was the day for pitchers and catchers to report, spring training games, and then opening day, which is often raining and cold.

In Italy that spring, however, our cohort of researchers tingled with anticipation of warm sunny days and outdoor games. Our group included fans of the Phillies, the Expos, and the Dodgers, and there was an art historian who later gave up a good job in Oklahoma to return to the home of the Mets. Then there was a lost academic couple, a sociologist and an artist, who had given up their jobs in Canada in an attempt to find a psychological refuge in Venice. They arrived complete with their bicycles, which in a canal city without streets made no sense, but that blunder might have been a clue to their desperation to escape something. There was another art historian who had rented an apartment built on top of a house. She and her husband had a marvelous view of Verrocchio's equestrian statue in the campo below, but the unit had no insulation. They, more than any of us, were keen for spring warmth, especially after a winter when the frigid winds blew from the Alps. What drew us together as a group was a mutual love of Renaissance art, baseball, and the tangled histories of both. Art is everywhere in Venice, but where to find a game in a country that plays soccer but not baseball?

By chance, one of us spotted a notice in the local paper. An amateur baseball game was scheduled on a Saturday between two

teams from small towns on the mainland, Mestre versus San Donà di Piave. So we took a morning train to San Donà. We somehow found the unnamed playing field, which was just that—a field. It had been plowed for centuries and retained traces of old furrows that bestowed ground balls with an unpredictability that would have made even Derek Jeter look foolish. Besides our North American contingent, the only other fans seemed to be onlookers who did not understand that a catchable infield pop fly was not something to cheer. The players were skilled athletes who were looking for some fun, but they lacked the instilled history of baseball, those little moves with which kids from Japan to the United States to the Dominican Republic encode their muscles by adolescence.

Renaissance painters attempted to depict the eternal, and baseball had until this past year no time clocks.

The historical concordance between Renaissance art and baseball is not as absurd as it may seem to those who do not contemplate the aesthetics of either. Both rely on precise geometry: the classical golden mean in compositions on canvas and what the late A. Bartlett Giamatti, a scholar of Renaissance literature and Major League Baseball commissioner, called the "fearful symmetry" of the baseball diamond. They both have a sense of the infinite space, as in art the linear perspective takes the eye to the horizon, and in baseball a home run breaks the bounds of space, taking the ball over the wall into infinity. Both fancy the possibilities of freedom from the bonds of time. In their overwhelmingly religious subjects, Renaissance painters attempted to depict the eternal, and baseball had, until this past year, no time clocks. In the perfect game contemplated by the gods, no one will ever get on base as both pitchers throw a "perfect game," which means the game would never end, conveying mundane

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temporality toward transcendence. To casual fans, that boring idea sends them to find a beer. To true lovers of the game, that possibility is thrilling in the abstract, even if they would prefer to wait until paradise for the actual experience. I know. I was once at a game between the Dodgers and the Astros that lasted for 24 innings.

Several scholars of the Renaissance have connected these two history-bound endeavors. In "Quattrocento Baseball," the New Yorker's Adam Gopnik compared, on the one hand, the humble Montreal Expos with the Sienese painters of the 14th century whose old-fashioned images of saints looked holy and, on the other, the big-city Toronto Blue Jays with those fancy-pants Florentines whose new-style linear perspective made saints look realistic. Gopnik, who studied art history at New York University, conjured baseball's sense of historical time: "Each inning alters irrevocably the meaning of every inning that has preceded it: Henry Aaron's first atbat in 1974, as he approaches Babe Ruth's record, suddenly lends an entirely new meaning, an unlooked-for centrality, to some nearly forgotten Aaron home run back in 1959. The significance of every action in the game depends entirely on its place within a history, on our recognition of it as one possibility, one choice, within a series of alternatives. The batter swings freely the way the painter paints, but the swing itself is bound about by the ghosts of every other swing. . . . Just as painting, then, seems able to be better grasped by a historical than a purely critical imagination, so baseball's most inspired observers are essentially historians, and do their best work at a distance." By working at a distance, historians grasp the meaning of the particulars, significances born of contexts in time, and like painting compared to baseball, all history is comparative.

Giamatti, lifelong Boston Red Sox fan and professor of comparative literature, rose from president of Yale University to be president of the National League and then commissioner of Major League Baseball. As he put it, "There are a lot of people who know me who can't understand for the life of them why I would go to work on something as unserious as baseball. If they only knew." Despite his specialty in the European Renaissance, Giamatti saw baseball as quintessentially American - "baseball fits America" - even as it took hold in the Caribbean and Central America. As he evoked the American characteristics of baseball, he noted what baseball owed to the same sources of the European Renaissance: "One cannot underestimate the power, whether derived from biblical images or classical, of the image of the enclosed green space (reified as well in such variety, from the same sources and with the same impact, on our campuses) on the American mind."

In "Baseball as Narrative," Giamatti quoted from the Marianne Moore poem "Baseball and Writing":

Fanaticism? No. Writing is exciting and baseball is like writing.
You can never tell with either how it will go or what you will do.

Historical writing, however, differs from fiction when you read it; if a piece of history has a clear thesis, you know where it is going. Researching history in contrast to reading history, however, is more like baseball. When you begin, you do not know where the research will take you. In that sense, real history is quite unlike the propaganda that masquerades as history. Propaganda begins with the end and then tries to convince you that the end was inevitable. Good history begins with a sense of the ignorance of historical actors about the outcome of their actions. The thrill of history, like the baseball game, comes from following the fits and starts, the sudden shifts of fortune, the unexpected errors, the individual bums and heroes, and the repeated tension created by the action.

The thrill of history, like the baseball game, comes from following the fits and starts.

With Dante, Spenser, and Shakespeare echoing in his head, Giamatti produced the greatest elegy to a baseball season: "It breaks your heart. It is designed to break your heart. The game begins in the spring, when everything else begins again, and it blossoms in the summer, filling the afternoons and evenings, and then as soon as the chill rains come, it stops and leaves you to face the fall alone. You count on it, rely on it to buffer the passage of time, to keep the memory of sunshine and high skies alive, and then just when the days are all twilight, when you need it most it stops." As many of us face the tasks of the academic year, may we keep the green fields and the sound of a child catching a ball alive in our minds.

Edward Muir is president of the AHA.

JAMES GROSSMAN

AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY IN FLORIDA

AHA Response to New Standards of Instruction



he Florida Board of Education approved new standards of instruction in African American history on July 19, 2023. A firestorm of protest erupted immediately from a range of public figures (including the vice president of the United States), a wide and deep set of voices in African American communities, and a broad swath of K–12 teachers and professional historians.

It is important to read the standards themselves before considering the essay below, a version of which was published in the *Miami Herald* (with slight editing differences) and endorsed by the AHA Council as an official statement of the Association. There is much to debate in the standards; there is likely much to debate in the AHA's response.

Until recently, standards have been developed largely through an extended process of consultation with teachers, parents, academic experts, curriculum developers, and other stakeholders.

The loudest and most frequent objections to the Florida Board of Education document targeted standard SS.68.AA.2.3, which asks 6th to 8th graders to "examine the various duties and trades performed by slaves (e.g., agricultural work, painting, carpentry, tailoring, domestic service, blacksmithing, transportation)." This instruction might seem unobjectionable as an isolated statement of fact; enslaved people did perform such work. But then comes what the document categorizes as a "Benchmark Clarification": "Instruction includes how slaves developed skills which, in some instances, could be applied for their personal benefit."

Critical focus on this clarification—and the implication that enslaved people benefited personally from a system that

commodified, brutalized, and sought to dehumanize them—left to the margins the document's other major flaws, which also lay largely within the realm of selection, contextualization, and emphasis. Even the "skills" debate has a glaring omission: Africans brought skills to the Americas that historians have written about for a half century, most notably rice cultivation.

The controversy over the Florida document raises broader issues about state K–12 social studies standards. Until recently, these standards have been developed largely through an extended process of consultation with teachers, parents, academic experts, curriculum developers, and other stakeholders—procedures largely consistent with the AHA's *Criteria for Standards in History/Social Studies/Social Sciences*. The op-ed below focuses on the current controversy in Florida. But the AHA has been keeping close track of educational standards for over a year, has intervened directly in three states, and is now seeking the resources to extend this vital work more broadly. Please help us in this effort by donating to the AHA's new Advocacy Fund at historians.org/donate.

New Florida Standards Misrepresent African American History

Florida schoolchildren learn a definition of *antisemitism* in the 5th grade as part of the state's Holocaust Education curriculum. State standards for high school recognize that to learn about the Holocaust, students must understand the meaning, breadth, and implications of antisemitism. The term itself appears a dozen times in eight pages.

This is as it should be. It is not possible to learn about what happened to European Jews without understanding the concepts of antisemitism and racism and reckoning with their impact.

And yet, according to the Florida Department of Education (FLDOE), the state's young people can learn about slavery,

sharecropping, lynching, Jim Crow segregation, disfranchisement, and ongoing systems and practices of racial discrimination without confronting the concept of racism. The word doesn't appear in the new African American history standards until high school, and then only once in 14 pages.

Recent conversations about the new standards have pointed especially to a reference to enslaved people learning useful skills (indeed, that is a fact). But insufficient attention has been paid to the overall framing, particular contexts in which such skills were learned, and the revolutionary uses to which enslaved people put them. A skilled dressmaker, for instance, stitched the clothing that enabled her escape.

So, yes: enslaved people learned trades necessary to the southern economy based on racial slavery. But that work was forced labor, and an enslaved blacksmith's skills didn't protect him from seeing his wife and children sold. The Florida standards miss the crucial point when it comes to American slavery: the institution was grounded in property rights, and that property was human.

The state's public school students will not see a mention of slavery until they reach the 5th grade.

The goal of the standards document is evident in its repeated failure to place facts in appropriate historical context and its directions to teachers on which facts to select and emphasize. Facts that are cherry picked and lack full context can therefore seem benign. Tellingly the standards document echoes legislation passed across the South and parts of the Midwest: it is forbidden to teach that "with respect to their relationship to American values, slavery and racism are anything other than deviations from, betrayals of, or failures to live up to, the authentic founding principles of the United States, which include liberty and equality." Such requirements, to contextualize slavery only as a "deviation," have two goals: to marginalize slavery and racism in the broad narrative of US history, and to clean slavery up a bit.

These rose-colored glasses help us to understand a comment from a trustee of one of Florida's public universities: "The record of the United States on slavery on a comparative basis is much better than almost anywhere else." Benign contextualization indeed.

Given this perspective within Florida's new educational establishment, it is hardly surprising that the state's public school students will not see a mention of slavery until they reach the 5th grade; until then, the sole focus is on Black Americans' "contributions" to American life. All well and good, but also a history cleansed of oppression or victimization. In high school, the curriculum mentions "contributions" 23 times (55 in the full K–12 document) without one mention of "white supremacy" and only a single reference to "lynching." Students will learn about the exploits of patriotic Black soldiers without learning why *none* of these warriors were awarded the Medal of Honor during World War I or II or why they fought in segregated units.

What is the purpose of denying young people as comprehensive a history of our nation as possible? Why is the FLDOE promulgating a history curriculum that hides central elements of our nation's past and refers to enslaved people as "Africans" even after their families had lived in the United States for generations? These men and women were not Africans; they were Americans.

Students who learn that their forebears enslaved other Americans are unlikely to be inspired by such a telling of the past. But the remedy for discomfort is not to ignore or marginalize the lasting effects of legal, economic, social, and cultural institutions that condoned the buying and selling of humans for nearly 250 years. Our work as historians is chock-full of stories that can inspire students and readers without obscuring essential concepts. All facts and narratives require context; in the United States, slavery and racism are contexts that cannot be dismissed as "mere deviations."

Florida's own governor has said, "You do not distort American history to advance your current ideological agenda."

I am not advocating an education that makes children feel guilty for the actions of their grandparents or their parents. History instruction should grapple honestly with the past so that students can shape their future with an understanding of how we got here and why it matters.

James Grossman is executive director of the AHA. Find him on Twitter @JimGrossmanAHA.

L. RENATO GRIGOLI

THE 2023 AHA ACADEMIC JOBS REPORT

ast year, this report described academic hiring since the 2016-17 academic year as lethargic but stable. The notable exception—a sizable dip in job postings due to pandemicrelated austerity measures in 2020-21—was seemingly balanced out by a relative increase in hiring in 2021-22.

Data from the AHA Career Center for the 2022–23 academic year confirms this hypothesis. Overall, academic job availability in history has indeed returned to the steady but insufficient state of the late 2010s (Fig. 1). However, this general

stability conceals two troubling patterns: (1) the rapidly declining number of jobs for premodern historians and (2) a decrease in the number of jobs that come with the possibility of tenure.

In total, there were 542 jobs listed on the AHA Career Center between June 1,

In total, there were 542 jobs listed on the AHA Career Center between June 1, 2022, and May 31, 2023.

2022, and May 31, 2023. This number is well within the year-to-year variation (2016-22 median: 528, σ: 16) expected with stable hiring practices. However, the relative proportion of tenured and tenure-track (TT) jobs fell sharply, with 274 listed (2016–22 median: 316, σ: 24), making up just over half of all listed positions. Excepting the pandemic year (2020-21), this is the smallest number of TT jobs ever listed in a given year. By contrast, the number of listings for non-tenure-track (NTT) jobs grew to 195 (2016–22 median: 171, σ: 5). Excepting the postpandemic spike in 2021-22, this is the largest number of NTT jobs listed since 2016-17. Similarly, listings

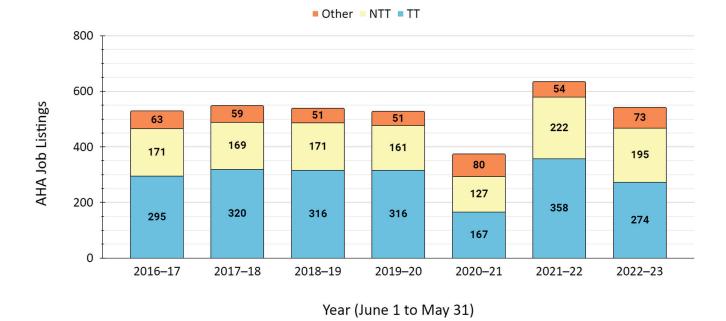


Fig. 1: Job listings on the AHA Career Center by type and year from 2016–17 to 2022–23.

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Region	TT	NTT
Southeast	41	24
Southwest	31	17
West	35	20
New England	42	27
Mid-Atlantic	64	57
Midwest	56	45

Fig. 2: Job listings on the AHA Career center by US region, 2022–23.

for jobs marked by the prospective employer as nonprofessorial increased to 73 (2016–22 median: 59, σ : 7).

Approximately 26 percent of TT listings were open rank (40) or sought to hire senior faculty (31). The AHA has not regularly tracked the number of listings for senior hires, so it is difficult to get a sense of whether or not this constitutes a change. Still, even relative consistency here—combined with a shrinking overall number of jobs—would mean that an increasing percentage of TT listings are unavailable to historians who have not yet found tenured employment.

As might be expected, these jobs were not spread evenly across the country, with just under 40 percent (106 of 274) of TT jobs located in New England or the mid-Atlantic region (Fig. 2). Relative to

their respective populations, Connecticut, Maine, Nebraska, Rhode Island, and Washington, DC, all saw a disproportionate number of jobs listed, while Alabama, Colorado, Georgia, Oklahoma, and Washington were underrepresented. No tenure or TT listings came from employers in five states: Alaska, Delaware, Mississippi, North Dakota, and South Dakota.

Similarly, academic jobs were not uniformly distributed across subfields and specializations (Fig. 3). Some areas were stable; others saw drastic decreases. Hiring in US history remained relatively consistent, with 90 TT jobs and 52 NTT jobs compared to 93 TT and 55 NTT jobs listed the previous year. Job listings for historians of Africa fell dramatically, with 16 TT and 3 NTT listings compared to 27 TT and 5 NTT listings the previous year. Similarly, listings for historians of Asia also saw a steep decline, with 23 TT and 6 NTT listings, down from 36 TT and 15 NTT listings in 2021-22. Because of the relatively small number of listings, it is too soon to tell if these changes are a normal year-to-year fluctuation or representative of a trend.

The growth of NTT positions at the expense of TT jobs affects some fields more than others. Over the past three years, only 22.5 percent of jobs in African history were NTT, compared with 30 percent of jobs in European history and 38.5 percent of jobs in US and Middle Eastern

history. However, job listings defined primarily by a methodological rather than spatial category, listings in world history, and listings with no specification were more than 50 percent NTT.

Perhaps the most notable statistic in the data from the 2022-23 academic year is the handful of listings seeking historians who specialize in periods prior to 1500 CE (Fig. 4). Of the 465 TT or NTT jobs listed, 341 (73 percent) specifically sought a modernist, 87 (19 percent) were open, and only 37 (8 percent) sought a premodernist. In short, jobs for modernists outnumber those for premodernists by a ratio of 10:1. This finding is in line with a recent follow-up to a 2021 report issued by the Medieval Academy of America (MAA), which found an average of 5 TT job listings for medieval historians each year over the past two years, down from a pre-COVID average of 11 to 13 jobs listed per year. Moreover, a disproportionate number of the AHA Career Center's listings for premodernists (15 percent) were for senior hires only, further reducing the already tiny number of jobs available to junior scholars. As the MAA report warns, access to fulltime faculty positions for premodernists is "a job lottery, not a job market."

In a system as complex as the modern US university, it is difficult—perhaps impossible—to identify the precise motive force or forces behind these shifts.

	US	Europe	Africa	Asia	M. East/N. Africa	Latin America	Multiple	Methodological	World	Other/Open
2020–21 TT	52	10	12	13	4	8	5	18	11	36
2020-21 NTT	39	4	8	4	4	2	2	21	6	48
% NTT	42.86%	28.57%	40.00%	23.53%	50.00%	20.00%	28.57%	53.85%	35.29%	57.14%
2021-22 TT	93	25	27	36	11	24	14	26	15	87
2021–22 NTT	55	7	5	15	7	9	5	36	14	69
% NTT	37.16%	21.88%	15.63%	29.41%	38.89%	27.27%	26.32%	58.06%	48.28%	44.23%
2022-23 TT	90	21	16	23	12	14	8	20	14	56
2022-23 NTT	52	12	3	6	6	8	2	25	21	60
% NTT	36.62%	36.36%	15.79%	20.69%	33.33%	36.36%	20.00%	55.56%	60.00%	51.72%

Fig. 3: Job listings on the AHA Career Center by subfield and tenure eligibility, 2020–23.



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But this data provides some hints. The shift toward NTT positions probably derives from a combination of tightened institutional budgets and a desire among university administrators for increased flexibility. This hypothesis is supported by widespread (if anecdotal) testimony from many departments that are finding it increasingly difficult to secure new tenure lines, as well as the higher rates of NTT positions in what have traditionally been breadand-butter subjects (e.g., US and European history). Similarly, open or metho-

	TT	NTT
Modern	208	133
Open	38	49
Premodern	28	9

Fig. 4: Job listings on the AHA Career Center by general period, 2022–23.

dological listings may be intended to offer students variety. Given that most history programs are experiencing decreasing or static enrollments, the desire to hire where students want to learn is understandable.

The desire to hire where students want to learn is understandable.

If there is indeed a movement toward hiring purely with teaching classes in mind, that tendency would also explain the relative (and absolute) dearth of jobs for premodernists. The utility of the study of history—like other humanities and social science disciplines—continues to receive intense (if poorly informed) scrutiny,

and that scrutiny is several orders of magnitude greater for subfields and subjects not immediately connected to current events in the United States—or at least, not in the minds of many legislators, administrators, and students. This perception must change.

It has, after all, been 25 years since academic Cassandras warned that historians must persuade those outside the discipline of the importance of historical subfields not obviously linked to current events. As Kathleen Biddick put it, "Unless scholars try to redescribe their discipline outside its 19th-century parameters, it will die out in the curriculum." That warning was timely when it was first made; it is even more important to heed now.

L. Renato Grigoli is the editor of Perspectives on History. Find him on Threads @mappermundi.

REBECCA L. WEST

ADVOCACY BRIEFS

AHA Advocates for Educators and Academic Freedom, Opposes Harmful Education Legislation

rom April to July, the AHA released six statements, letters, and testimonies as part of the Teaching History with Integrity initiative, speaking out against bills, policies, and proposed education standards that would hinder educators' and students' freedom to teach and learn honest history. The AHA opposed legislation in Texas and North Carolina that would eliminate tenure at public universities. Letters to San Francisco State University and New College of Florida defended history professors' academic freedom. Another to the Museum of the American Revolution opposed the museum's decision to host an event for Moms for Liberty, a group that has promoted the harassment of teachers.

AHA Sends Letter to Ohio Senate Opposing Higher Education Bill

On April 12, the AHA sent a letter to the Ohio Senate registering "strong objection" to Ohio Senate Bill 83, which would "undermine the integrity of education in Ohio's public universities." The level of state oversight described in the bill, the AHA wrote, "smacks less of guaranteeing the ideological diversity cited in the legislation than government surveillance more closely resembling the Soviet Union or Communist China than a public

university system in the United States. . . . If passed, SB 83 would undermine the quality of public higher education in Ohio by preventing qualified instructors from teaching honest and accurate history."

AHA Sends Letter Opposing Proposed South Dakota Social Studies Standards

On April 14, the AHA sent a letter to the South Dakota Board of Education Standards registering strong concern that the social studies standards draft on the agenda for the Board of Education Standards' April 17 meeting fails to satisfy the AHA's Criteria for Standards in History/Social Studies/Social Sciences. "The document's numerous flaws can be traced to a process that was rushed, secretive, and driven by political motives at the expense of the educational needs of South Dakota students," the AHA wrote. "The AHA joins a clear majority of South Dakotans in its assessment of this unabashed attempt to interfere in K-12 social studies education."

AHA Sends Letter to Texas House of Representatives Opposing Legislation to Eliminate Tenure

On April 26, the AHA sent a letter to the Texas House of Representatives opposing SB 18, which would eliminate tenure for new hires at public institutions in the state beginning in 2024. "Tenure helps to protect university classrooms and laboratories as spaces where learning is advanced and new knowledge is created, rather than any given political platform promoted," the AHA wrote. "Were Texas to eliminate 'tenure-track' positions . . . any public university in Texas would immediately become an employer of last choice among scholars who desire an environment amenable to high-quality teaching and research."

AHA Sends Letter to SFSU President regarding "Investigation" of History Professor

On April 27, the AHA sent a letter to San Francisco State University president Lynn Mahoney expressing "deep concern" regarding the university's "investigation" of Professor Maziar Behrooz for showing a drawing of the prophet Muhammad in his course on the history of the Islamic world between 500 and 1700. "Sanctioning Professor Behrooz for showing an image relevant to the course on grounds that it offended a student would constitute a serious breach of the professor's academic freedom," the AHA wrote. "Any attempts to ban the teaching of primary sources on the grounds that they offend religious sensibilities would mean that SFSU would be taking a position on a theological matter-one that is well beyond the purview of institutions of higher education."

AHA Sends Letter to Florida Senate Opposing Restrictive Education Bill

On May 2, the AHA sent a letter to the Florida Senate registering "strong objection" to SB 266, legislation that "proposes to allow the study of the past only through an exceedingly narrow and tendentious frame." As an amended version of House Bill 999, about which the AHA "expressed horror" in March, "the new provisions would serve only to restrict the extent to which history faculty are allowed to introduce Florida students to non-Western civilizations. . . . [T]he bill's repeated emphasis on teaching only a thin slice of history to all students in required courses would hobble students and deprive them of the chance to become global leaders."

AHA Sends Letter to North Carolina House of Representatives Opposing Bill to Eliminate Tenure

On May 3, the AHA sent a letter to members of the North Carolina House of Representatives: the Education-Community Colleges Committee and the Education-Universities Committee. The letter opposed HB 715, which would eliminate tenure for new hires at state universities beginning in July 2024. This, the AHA wrote, was "a short-sighted and ill-conceived policy that would significantly undercut what has been accomplished over decades by the thousands of individuals responsible for building a university system that ranks among the best in the world."

AHA Submits Testimony Opposing Ohio Learning Standards Legislation

On May 9, the AHA submitted testimony to the Ohio House Primary and

Secondary Education Committee expressing "grave concern" about HB 103, which would create a new, politically appointed task force to produce state social studies standards. The legislation, the AHA wrote, "would create an entirely new bureaucratic apparatus as a strategy for overruling an open, democratic, and professional process." Additionally, HB 103 singled out the American Birthright model standards, which emphasize "content in place of critical thinking . . . focus[ing] narrowly on lessons about how students should feel about the United States," as the basis for "a radical overhaul of history and social studies education in Ohio."

AHA Signs On to CIE Letter Urging Title VI Funding for FY 2024

On May 12, the AHA signed on to letters from the Coalition for International Education asking leaders in the US Senate and House of Representatives to approve "robust funding" for HEA-Title VI, International Education, and Fulbright-Hays programs. With this funding, the letter states, "students from all racial and socio-economic backgrounds would have more opportunities to obtain the international experience and skills in growing demand across a wide range of professional and technical fields impacting our global engagement, security and competitiveness."

AHA Releases Statement Opposing Exclusion of LGBTQ+ History in Florida

On May 13, the AHA released a statement condemning the recent ruling of the Florida Department of Education (FLDOE) that bans educators from "provid[ing] classroom instruction to students in grades 4 through 12 on sexual orientation or gender identity unless such instruction is . . . expressly

required by state academic standards." "This erasure flattens the story of America's long Civil Rights Movement . . . [and] bars students from examining cultures, religions, and societiesincluding Indigenous nations within Florida-that have embraced traditions of gender fluidity and homosexuality as meaningful categories of social identity and organization," the AHA wrote. "We ask that the FLDOE reconsider its vague and destructive policy of censorship, and instead encourage the teaching of accurate and inclusive histories of the United States and the world." To date, 51 organizations have signed on to the statement. See page 5 for the full statement.

AHA Sends Letter to Alabama Senate Opposing "Divisive Concepts" Bill

On May 16, the AHA sent a letter to the Alabama Senate opposing SB 247, which would "make it virtually impossible for history educators to help students thoughtfully consider the continuing impacts of slavery and racism in American history." By requiring public schools, colleges, and universities to teach that slavery and racism are solely "deviations from, betrayals of, and failures to live up to the founding principles of the United States," SB 247 "would therefore prohibit teachers from asking students to consider a diverse set of primary sources and wrestle with one of the central academic issues in historical scholarship for more than 50 years: the historical relationship between slavery and freedom. . . . If passed, this bill would result in ignorance of basic facts about American history and undermine the education of Alabama's students, including their ability to perform effectively in advanced coursework, whether in high school or college."

AHA Endorses Senate Resolution Recognizing Anniversary of the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre

On June 5, the AHA endorsed a US Senate resolution "recognizing the anniversary of the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre and honoring the lives and legacies of the nearly 300 Black individuals who were killed and the nearly 9,000 Black individuals who were left homeless and penniless as a result." Executive director Jim Grossman said about the resolution, "Everything has a history, including white supremacy and the many forms of violence, coercion, and cultural practices that have legitimated and enforced it. What happened in Tulsa was extreme, but not unusual. It is part of our nation's heritage. We must acknowledge that heritage, learn from it, and do whatever each of us can to ensure that it is just that-heritage, rather than continuing practice."

AHA Sends Letter Opposing Museum of the American Revolution's Hosting of Moms for Liberty Event

On June 26, the AHA sent a letter to the Museum of the American Revolution asking that the museum "reconsider its decision to rent event space to Moms for Liberty as part of that organization's Joyful Warriors National Summit." "Moms for Liberty has crossed a boundary in its attempts to silence and harass teachers, rather than participate in legitimate controversy. . . . [T]his isn't about politics or different understandings of our nation's past; it's about an organization whose mission is to obstruct the professional responsibilities of historians," the AHA wrote. "We encourage you to reconsider whether this organization should be granted the legitimacy of holding a major event at a museum with the reputation and professional standing of the Museum of the American Revolution."

AHA Signs On to ACLS Statement on Supreme Court Affirmative Action Ruling

On July 5, the AHA signed on to the American Council of Learned Societies statement on the US Supreme Court's ruling that "race-conscious admissions programs at colleges and universities [are] unlawful, thus rejecting widely accepted practices meant to encourage diversity that have been part of US higher education for more than fifty years." "The active participation of diverse people in the scholarly enterprise is the best way to combat historic and systemic inequities," the statement reads. "In partnership with academic societies, scholars, administrators, supporters, and peer organizations, we seek better ways to recruit and retain a diverse community of scholars across all fields of study and to serve a more diverse professoriate. We will continue our collective effort to ignite and advance systemic change within the academy."

AHA Sends Letter Opposing Alabama Legislation Stripping Funding from Department of Archives and History

On July 21, the AHA sent a letter to the Alabama legislature opposing SB 1 and HB 4, "which would strip important supplemental appropriations recently designated for the Alabama Department of Archives and History," the part of the state government "dedicated to identifying, preserving, and providing permanent access to records that tell the story of all Alabamians. Furthermore, the department's Museum of Alabama plays a critical role in making the state's history accessible to its citizens, families, and schoolchildren."

"genealogists, students, historians, [and] journalists" "are essential to how we learn about our individual and collective pasts," the AHA wrote. "Meaningful access to well-preserved archives of government activities is important to a free society and a vital aspect of government accountability."

AHA Sends Letter to New College of Florida Expressing Concern over History Professor's Nonrenewal

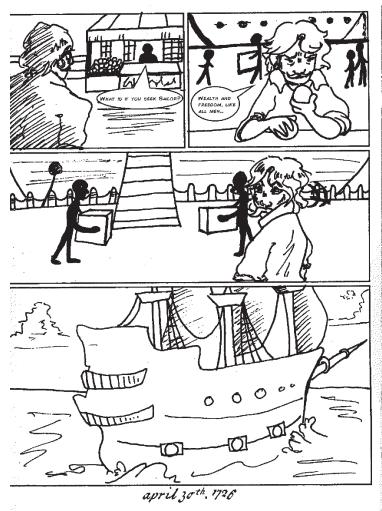
On July 26, the AHA sent a letter to New College of Florida president Richard Corcoran, expressing "deep concern about New College's decision not to renew the contract of Erik Wallenberg, a visiting assistant professor in the Department of History." "Our apprehension stems from evidence that Wallenberg's contract was not renewed because of his politics and his comments about institutional governance, rather than his qualifications or job performance," the AHA wrote. "Indiscreet tweets by a member of the college's board of trustees raise concerns about the possibility of inappropriate governing board interference and a violation of academic freedom." P

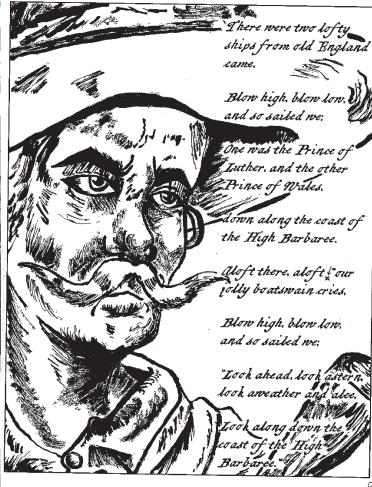
Rebecca L. West is operations and communications assistant at the AHA. Find her on Twitter @rebeckawest.

BRYAN A. BANKS

THE UNESSAY

A Creative and Audience-Focused Assignment





For a world history survey, Sean Hall created a comic that explored mutinies, democracy at sea, and the expansion of mercantile capitalism around the Atlantic Ocean.

Sean Hall

ROM SEWING PROJECTS to art installations, original songs to experimental dance, unessays have become a staple of the historian's teaching toolbox. If you have spent any time on Twitter in the last five or six years, you likely have encountered the unessay, a creative project students complete in place of writing a paper. Emily Suzanne Clark and Christopher Jones were some of the first to popularize the unessay for historians, and ever since, each semester, teachers post their students' projects online for all to see. Jessamyn Neuhaus even organized an entire open-access issue of *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* on the assignment in 2022. But I see the unessay as more than an assignment type. It is a call to arms.

The unessay should ask students to think about the audience in ways that we historians should be doing too. In 2019, an AHA national survey asked where the American public learns about history. More than 50 percent of respondents pointed to documentary film and television, fictional film and TV, TV news, online sources, and journalism as their sources for learning about the past. College courses came in dead last, and academic journal articles did not even make the list. Nonfiction history books, the gold standard for tenure purposes, are in the middle of the pack. If we know how the public prefers to learn about history, then why not teach students to meet these audiences where they are? If the majority of Americans do not consume history by reading, then why do so many history educators still assign a "final essay"? Whether an individual research project or a synthesis of what was learned in the course, essays require students to make an argument using evidence in writing. An unessay has equal potential to lay out an argument and mobilize evidence but allows students to explore other mediums and genres, ones that the American public, at least, may find more appealing.

This assignment intends to undo what some students perceive as the stale essay format, which is still the assessment mode of choice for most history educators. Critics of the way historians teach and interact with the public have boomed in the past decade, in large part because history majors in colleges and universities have been on the decline for some time. This downward trajectory has forced historians to rethink how they present their work, what kinds of audiences they reach, and ultimately how they train the next generation of historians. The unessay is just one step in rethinking what a history education means, and it's a powerful tool to get students to think through the future of the discipline with us.

A naysayer might focus on the perceived lack of "rigor" of unessays. This assumption is fallacious. If done right, the unessay can motivate students to surpass the level of work, critical thinking, and creativity to which a traditional research essay may lead. If one goal of a history course is to foster an interest in history, then tapping into their passions seems obvious. With an unessay assignment, the film major can write a script for a historical nonfiction television episode, paired with a short analysis of the choices they made. If the art major wants to become an animator or illustrator, then why not have them design their own comic book (like Sean Hall created in my World History since 1500 survey). These projects challenge them to think through the purpose of their research in creative ways without sacrificing rigor. If anything, figuring out how to employ a new medium to make a research-based argument means students have to exercise more critical thinking than when writing a paper.

If one goal of a history course is to foster an interest in history, then tapping into their passions seems obvious.

Just as the mode is malleable to the students' interests, so too can the unessay be pliable to the teacher's learning objectives. In intro courses, the goal is to reach students with wide-ranging disciplinary interests, and the unessay has the advantage of leveling the performance playing field for students unfamiliar with the traditional college essay. In a class for history majors, you might limit the types of assignments to a select few. Increasingly, I have focused on the two main career trajectories our majors take - either into the classroom or public history. Students interested in teaching create lesson plans, classroom activities, or playground games to get them thinking about how to prepare and put into practice their content knowledge when they become educators. Those more interested in public history design museum exhibits, memorials, or informative websites; edit Wikipedia pages; or produce podcasts or YouTube video content. In a recent section of my online World History since 1500 course, I asked students to translate their research for a public audience. In a YouTube video, Jiane Louella Rabara examined one of the most infamous cases of cannibalism and what it tells us about the legal cartographies of imperialism. Her project is a case study of a successful and engaging unessay project.

Unessays offer a real opportunity to think about your learning objectives. The history discipline is overwhelmingly concerned with originality and method. The "so what" question, as we often call it, drives students toward innovation, but this often comes in the form of overspecialization or parochialism. The search for lacunas limits the audience in the name of novelty. Unessays give us a chance to leave the lacunas be for a moment

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precisely because the unessay inverts the relationship between the "so what" and "for whom." It is not that students should cease being original thinkers, but rather they need to consider where the audience for history content is. The most successful unessays find ways of using the chosen form to enhance the function of the unessay itself. Instead of writing a paper on African American culture after the Civil War, a student might make a quilt, illustrating their understanding of cultural history using a medium meaningful to their subjects. For my colleague Caroline Newhall's Civil War history class, Janetta Crawford showed how quilting allowed African Americans to tell their family and community's story, making it an ideal medium to unpack the complexities of existing in the Reconstruction era and after. While designing their projects, the students should be asking themselves what the audience will expect to see and learn from such a medium - a question that they usually ignore when writing a traditional paper for their professors.

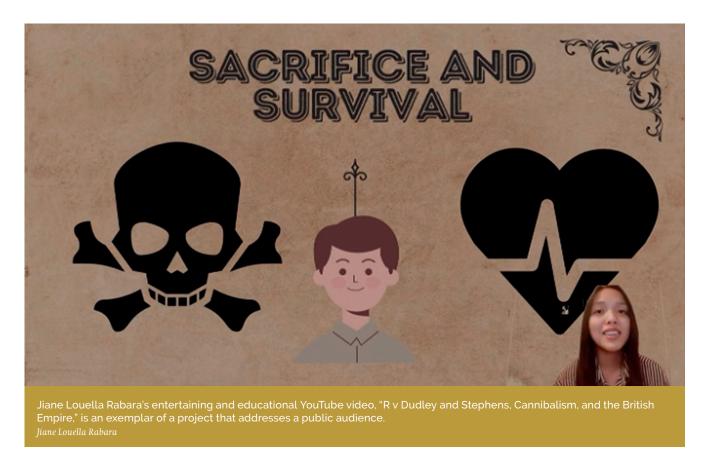
Historians talk about how history education provides transferable skills, so let us give students the chance to transfer their skills with guidance. Structure is key with unessays, just as it is with essays. Just as students often need to have the rules of a primary-source-driven persuasive essay mapped out for them, so too do they need scaffolding to ensure that their unessays meet the instructor's expectations.

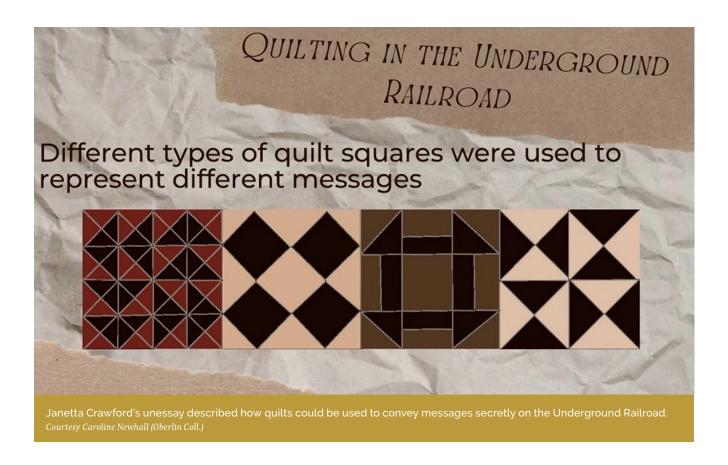
Some might fear that this means the unessay might prove more laborious for the instructor—but teaching writing requires deliberate introductions and guidance through the assignment as well. In designing an unessay assignment, I suggest the following:

While designing their projects, the students should be asking what the audience will expect to see and learn from such a medium.

Make prompts open-ended. The tendency is to start an assignment by describing as the instructor what you would like to see. This limits the creativity of the student.

Have them write a proposal. What students produce or how they deliver it will differ with each student. A written proposal may be sufficient, whereas an oral proposal may be more useful if the student is, for example, preparing a monologue. This step gives you a chance to emphasize early in the process what you see as integral to the success of that unessay and what students think the audience will expect to see.





Provide feedback on "drafts." This step is essential for survey students but still important for history majors. Regular and substantive feedback is key for helping students provide an interpretative unessay that makes an argument and shows their research.

Have students "present" their unessays to the class or outside groups. Not only does this give students more extrinsic motivation to work on their projects, but it also gives them a chance to reflect on just how well they captured their subjects and made their cases in different mediums. For students who suffer from anxiety, instructors should encourage them to develop an unessay that can be "presented" without putting them in an unnecessarily stressful situation.

Reflection is key. If you want students to realize what they did was important for their growth beyond the classroom, they need time to reflect on their work afterward in a guided way. In taking this last step, students will likely connect what they've produced to their greater ambitions. It is a chance to internalize the value of history.

In many ways, assessment is the sticking point for historians teaching with unessays. Most of us were not trained to assess monologues, urban-planning maps, or poetry. Assessment models differ. You might create a general rubric and have the students tell you how they fulfill each requirement. You can do this with a more traditional paper, or you might have students give oral presentations and share their creativity with the class to foster even more reflection. Instead of looking for a thesis statement, identify an argument. Look for the ways that students incorporated their evidence into their unessay. Since attention to detail is just as important in an unessay as grammar is in an essay, ask students to explain how they "edited" their project. If this seems like a stretch beyond your training to the point of discomfort, remember it is okay to decenter yourself in the learning process and rely on the student or students in the class at least during the time spent working on or presenting unessays.

In the end, students should be helping us to move the field forward because they will be the future of the field. In order to do so, they need to learn early on how to engage the public in history on their preferred terms.

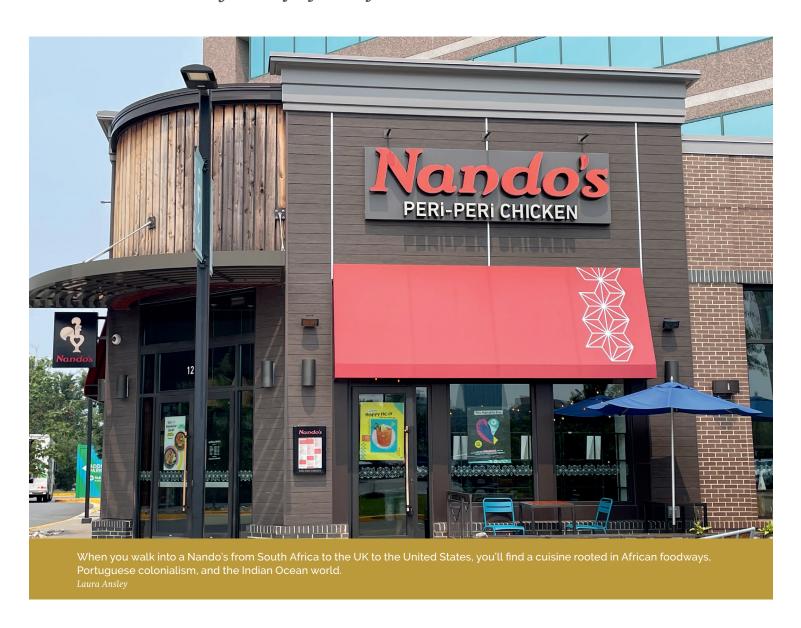
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TRISHULA PATEL

IT'S ALWAYS TIME FOR A CHEEKY NANDO'S

The Global Journey of an African Cuisine



September 2023

20

Y 2012, ZIMBABWEAN and other African migrants in South Africa had been experiencing a slew of attacks for at least a decade. These incidents, often involving both physical assaults and the destruction of property, were a symptom of a broader xenophobic narrative of immigrants coming to "steal" jobs from low-income South Africans. Living up to its reputation for "cheeky" ads that comment on current events, the South African chain restaurant Nando's released a commercial that year pointing out that most people living in South Africa were not "indigenous," irreverently calling on everyone from Afrikaners to Indians to Nigerians to "go home." The South African Broadcasting Corporation refused to air the advertisement, fearing retributive attacks on migrant workers; other networks banned it too.

"Real South Africans love diversity," the commercial's narrator concludes, a sentiment that reflects the cosmopolitan history that led to Nando's popularity in South Africa and its spread around the world. Famous for its version of "peri-peri cuisine" featuring the eponymous pepper, the chain started as a single restaurant in Johannesburg in 1987. By 2012, it had 1,000 restaurants around the world, from Africa and Asia to the United States and the United Kingdom. Nando's is far from the only restaurant to specialize in using the chili pepper, which typically comes from Mozambique, but it is the most global brand and one of the most popular.

Engagement with a larger world beyond its shores brought the peri-peri chili across the Indian Ocean to South Africa.

The success of Nando's restaurants around the world reflects the longer history of peri-peri cuisine and maritime connections in the Indian Ocean world. The cuisine blends different food traditions, ingredients available because of Portuguese and British colonialism, as well as precolonial connections between Africa and Asia. It was this engagement with a larger world beyond its shores that brought the peri-peri chili across the Indian Ocean to South Africa in the first place. The chain's expansion across the Atlantic Ocean world was also a part of South Africa's return to global engagement after apartheid ended in the 1990s.

The region that came to be the nation of South Africa has always been a critical outpost in global trading networks. Before European entry into the Indian Ocean world, monsoon winds enabled Gujarati and Arab merchants to sail to the eastern coast of Africa, setting up trade and migration networks with the Swahili coast that extended farther south. In 1497, Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama led a fleet of four ships from Lisbon around Africa to India and back again, a critical voyage in quests to find a trade route that connected Europe to the subcontinent and from there to the Far East. In the 16th century, Portugal acquired colonial holdings in today's Mozambique and Angola. By 1652, Dutch colonizers had settled at the Cape of Good Hope; their descendants would come to be known as the Afrikaners of South Africa. The British took over the cape in 1806, and the Union of South Africa eventually became a dominion of the British Empire.

South Africa thus always has had an eclectic food history. Before European colonization, the San peoples were foragers. When Bantu speakers migrated to the region, they brought agriculture and pastoralism, including crops and skills learned from engagements in Indian Ocean trade routes. The food that most people eat in South Africa today comes from precolonial food traditions, including pap, a porridge made of maize meal, usually served with vegetables or meat stew. Cattle and meat are a critical part of wedding traditions, including at feasts and in paying lobola (bridewealth). Finding a climate similar to the Mediterranean, European farmers grew products such as grapes and wheat. Initially, the Dutch brought enslaved peoples from their holdings in Southeast Asia to work the land, many of whom intermarried with the local Khoisan peoples. Today known as the Cape Malay population, they introduced an Indonesian cuisine centered on fishing culture and spices such as nutmeg and chili peppers, now often referred to as Cape Dutch food. After the abolition of slavery in 1833, the British brought indentured laborers from India to work on sugar plantations in the Natal. Indian food is such a huge part of local food culture, from curries to bunny chow, that South African comedian Trevor Noah has joked in his stand-up about his expertise ordering food at Indian restaurants.

As these food traditions blended in South Africa, local populations began using the *piri-piri* pepper in their cooking. Also known as the *pili-pili* in the Congo region and *peri-peri* in southern Africa (the spelling of which comes from a Portuguese loanword in African languages), the pepper is a version of the *Capsicum frutescens*, which is genetically related to plants native to Central and South America. In English, it is called the African bird's-eye chili. The pepper's journey encapsulates the Indian and Atlantic Ocean worlds to which South Africa belonged: the Portuguese brought the *piri-piri* from their Latin American holdings to their settlements in Mozambique. It now grows wild across Africa and is produced commercially in Malawi, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

The iconic hot sauce was made originally by mixing the pepper brought over from South America with other spices obtained from Portuguese trade in Asia, and was used as a marinade for meat, especially chicken. The sauce became popular in Africa before it made its way to Portugal, a circular route of food and trade. More recently, Nando's helped the sauce become a household name.

British and Afrikaners were not the only Europeans to settle in South Africa, as Nando's founding story illustrates. After World War II, migrants from Madeira made their way to the region, and after Mozambique and Angola gained independence from Portugal in 1975, many crossed the border into South Africa. In 1987, Robert Brozin, who grew up in a Jewish family in South Africa, and Fernando Duarte, who was Portuguese by way of Mozambique, visited a Johannesburg restaurant called Chickenland. They loved the chicken so much that they bought the restaurant and named it Nando's after Fernando and his son of the same name, integrating into their recipes the beloved sauce from his European homeland made with African chili peppers. Alongside peri-peri chicken, Nando's serves side dishes including mushy peas and chips (fries, to the American readers) like you'd find in the UK, as well as spicy rice, a dish familiar to Hispanic, Iberian, and African populations. For dessert, you'll find the nata (custard egg tarts) developed in the 18th century at a Portuguese monastery. As apartheid wound down - the system of racial segregation predicated on white supremacy ended in 1994 - Nando's blended cuisine was positioned well to represent a new South Africa that embraced its diversity on a global stage.

Today, South Africa's former colonizer, the UK, is Nando's largest market.

Gradually, Nando's expanded not only across South Africa but across the world. During apartheid, the United Nations, led by decolonized countries including India, implemented economic and cultural sanctions against South Africa. After the release of nationalist leader Nelson Mandela in 1991 and his election as president in the first democratic elections held in the country in April 1994, sanctions were dropped, allowing South Africa to engage in global trade and commerce once again. Nando's became one of the first South African chain restaurants to break out into the world. Today, South Africa's former colonizer, the UK, is Nando's largest market. Most recently, the brand was featured as a fictional sponsor of the soccer team AFC Richmond on Apple TV+'s Ted Lasso (for which it was a real-life sponsor).

The popularity of the food served by Nando's, as well as its affordability and spread throughout South Africa and the region, has reflected African, Asian, and Portuguese food traditions that were not erased with the establishment of Afrikaner and British white minority rule. But the public relations and marketing team behind the chain have not confined themselves to just selling their food. During the COVID-19 pandemic, Nando's released an advertisement that read, "Turns out finger licking isn't good. Rather reach for the soap," a not-so-subtle dig at its American rival, KFC, which suspended its "finger lickin' good" slogan in 2020. Closer to home, South African politics have been plagued by allegations of misrule and corruption since 1994, most notably under the notorious president Jacob Zuma. Nando's has called out both African and global leaders in its "cheeky ads." Several commercials have been banned in South Africa and beyond, including one that labeled Zimbabwean leader Robert Mugabe as the "last dictator standing."

And so the history of Nando's is a microcosm of the history of South Africa. The food traditions on which it relies are part of democratic South Africa's integration with the world economy after the end of apartheid and sanctions. But the restaurant also engages with much longer customs of food preparation and trade that extend beyond South Africa's borders. Today, Nando's is particularly appealing to Africans living in the diaspora outside the continent. The chain has most recently spread to Texas, where there is a large African diaspora in the Dallas and Houston metropolitan areas. Its popularity across the United States might be because of its similarity to Hispanic cuisine, connecting the Portuguese empire to its Iberian neighbor Spain.

According to the chain's official history, "Behind most things at Nando's is an extraordinary story." Its place in South Africa's vibrant history is no exception.

Trishula Patel is an assistant professor of history at the University of Denver. Find her on Threads @trishulapatel.



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- Webinars

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The American Historical Association proudly announces

The James G. Stofer Fund

for Community College and Public High School Teachers

Established in 2022, the James G. Stofer Fund for Community College and Public High School Teachers provides grants to support the participation of community college and public high school teachers in AHA activities and programs. Community college and public high school faculty applicants, who are members of the Association, will be considered for the Stofer Annual Meeting Travel Grants, regardless of participation in the program.

The application deadline is November 15. Successful applicants will be awarded travel subsidies of up to \$400 each.

Only community college or public high school faculty who are members of the AHA are eligible to apply for the Stofer Travel Grants.

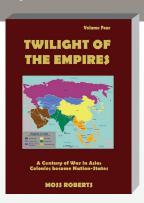
The fund is named in honor of James G. Stofer, who dropped out of a Brooklyn public high school to join the Navy. He entered active duty on December 12, 1940, serving as a Radioman First Class on the USS Portland. While on the "Sweet Pea," he edited the newspaper and served as the ship's historian. He credited his high school teachers for his ability to write and think historically. He was a veteran of the Battles of Coral Sea, Midway, and the Guadalcanal Campaign. When Stofer was honorably discharged from the Navy in 1946, he attended community college at what is now SUNY Plattsburgh, and he finished his education at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

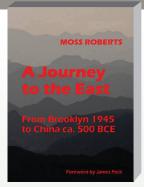
Twilight of the Empires

A Century of War in Asia: Colonies become Nation-States

This four-volume study covers a century of Asian history, tracking the emergence of national sovereignties as they break free of colonial subjugation. The focus is on China, India, and Vietnam as they fought against



and defeated their diverse overlords: British, French, Japanese, and American. The place of Pakistan and Korea is also considered. In this world-transforming process the creative-destructive roles of Russia and Germany are taken into account: their roles in both world wars and the two revolutions the wars brought about.



A Journey to the East: From Brooklyn 1945 to China ca. 500 BCE

The author is a professor of Chinese in the East Asian Studies Department of New York University. This brief memoir (50 pages) recounts his academic and political work over the course of his

time in academia. The memoir begins with a curious anti-Semitic incident in spring 1945 when the author was eight years old, an incident whose meaning and effects he discovered much later in life. The appendix to the memoir includes eight articles on current events published in Asia Times and Settimana News. Both books can be purchased on amazon.com.

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ON TO SAN FRANCISCO

The 2024 Annual Meeting at a Glance

The 137th annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held Thursday through Sunday, January 4–7, 2024, in San Francisco. The online **program** will be posted on the AHA website in mid-September, and members can look forward to receiving the printed program in mid-November. A meeting app will also be available for smartphones and tablets. Annual meeting sessions and events are scheduled at the Hilton San Francisco Union Square and the Hilton Parc 55 San Francisco. The hotels are across the street from each other.

Preregistration begins on September 15. The lower preregistration rates will be in effect through December 15; after that, the higher on-site rates apply. Registration will be available online from September 15 until the end of the meeting, and in person beginning at 11:00 a.m. on January 4 in the East Lounge on the ballroom floor of the Hilton Union Square.

Admission to the Exhibit Hall requires a 2024 meeting registration badge.

Hotel reservations: Attendees will make hotel reservations though the AHA's housing service, Maritz. Reservations can be made online or by calling a toll-free number, beginning September 15. AHA rates are available three days before and after the meeting dates, depending on the number of rooms available. See the AHA website for detailed information.

The last day to make or change reservations through the housing service is December 13, 2023. After that date, rooms will be available at the AHA's convention rates on a space-available basis, and all reservations, changes, and cancelations must be made directly with the hotels. Hotel no-show policies will apply for reservations not canceled at least 72 hours before the first night's stay.

Health and safety: The AHA and our meeting hotels are working together to follow Centers for Disease Control and

Prevention (CDC) guidelines to make attendance at the meeting as safe as possible. We expect that all attendees will be vaccinated at the time of the meeting. Attendees should comply with all mask and social distancing rules and guidelines established by the AHA, which will follow the CDC guidance as well as any additional requirements set by the conference hotels and the local government.

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

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

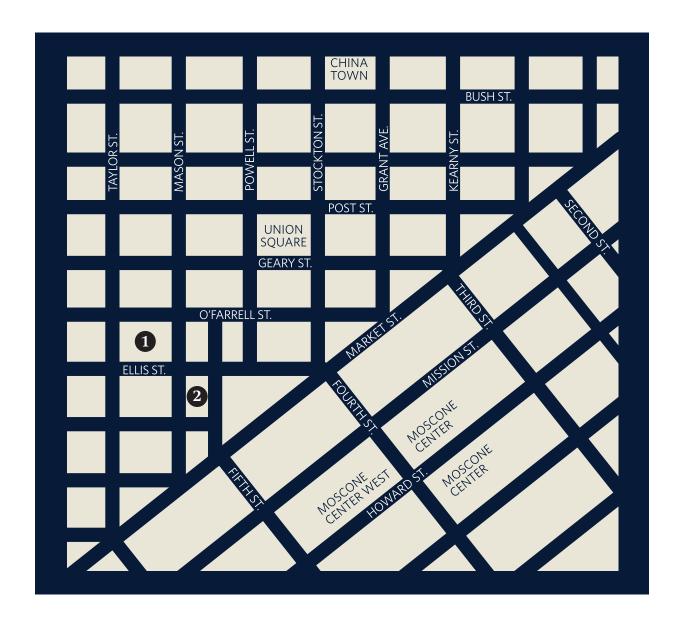
Resolutions for the business meeting must be submitted to the office of the executive director by October 1, to allow time for publication. They must be in proper parliamentary form; must be signed by members of the Association in good standing and by at least 2 percent of the total Association membership as of the end of the previous fiscal year (227 people); must not be more than 300 words in length, including any introductory material; and must deal with a matter of concern to the Association or to the discipline of history. Such resolutions must be in accord with the Association's Guiding Principles on Taking a Public Stance at historians.org/ public-stance. Resolutions submitted by the deadline, and meeting the criteria for consideration, shall be published in the December issue of Perspectives on History. For complete information about business resolutions, please consult the AHA Bylaws at historians.org/constitution.

Refund policy: Advance registrants who are unable to attend the meeting may request a refund of their registration fee. Refund requests must be emailed to ltownsend@historians. org by December 15, 2023, and will incur a \$20 fee. Refunds will not be processed after that date.

historians.org/perspectives

Hotel and Rate Information					
	SINGLE	DOUBLE	TRIPLE	QUADRUPLE	
Hilton San Francisco Union Square (hdqrs.) 333 O'Farrell St.	\$179	\$179	\$199	\$219	
Hilton Parc 55 San Francisco 55 Cyril Magnin St.	\$179	\$179	\$199	\$219	

Rates are subject to hotel occupancy tax and will be honored three days before and three days after the official meeting dates of January 4–7 based on availability. Information on booking a room at the discounted rate is available at historians.org/hotels.



September 2023

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Dates and Deadlines					
SEPTEMBER 15	Preregistration opens.				
SEPTEMBER 15	Housing opens.				
SEPTEMBER 30	Deadline to submit membership dues and address changes in order to receive the program in the mail.				
NOVEMBER 1	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 4, 2024	Annual meeting opens at 11:00 a.m. at the Hilton San Francisco Union Square and Hilton Parc 55 San Francisco. Exhibit Hall opens January 5, 2024, at 9:00 a.m. in Grand Ballroom A&B at the Hilton Union Square.				

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.

	MEMB	SER	NONMEMBER			
	PREREGISTRATION	AFTER DEC. 15	PREREGISTRATION	AFTER DEC. 15		
Attendee	\$200	\$240	\$325	\$391		
Speaker	\$200	\$240	\$200	\$240		
Student	\$92	\$110	\$140	\$169		
Un-/Underemployed	\$49	\$61	\$153	\$183		
Retired	\$95	\$116	\$163	\$197		
K–12 Teacher	\$71	\$86	\$137	\$164		
Bring your Graduate/ Undergraduate/K–12 student discount	For members only. Add students to your registration for only \$15 each (\$30 on-site). Bring as many high school, undergraduate, and graduate students as you want for only \$15 each!					

Advance registration must be completed by midnight EST on December 15, 2023. Thereafter, on-site rates will apply. Everyone attending the meeting is expected to register. Admission to the Exhibit Hall requires a registration badge. **Special note for speakers**: All US-based historians presenting on AHA sessions must be AHA members, and all participants must register.

ASL Interpretation at the 2024 Annual Meeting

The AHA offers complimentary sign interpreting service upon request to our attendees. Please notify the AHA of the sessions you plan to attend and register for the meeting by November 1, 2023. This service is also available upon request for the presidential address and business meeting. Requests should be submitted to annualmeeting@historians.org by November 1, 2023.

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NO SUCH THING AS A BAD QUESTION?

Inquiry-Based Learning in the History Classroom

Historians love questions. As teachers, they try hard to transmit a spirit of curiosity and a practice of inquiry into their pedagogy. Even in their most expository moments, historians frame and speckle their lectures with questions, reenacting the process of investigation and discovery in what they hope students will consume as gripping narrative.

As researchers working on the AHA's Mapping the Landscape of Secondary US History Education project, we've spoken with hundreds of teachers, administrators, and curriculum specialists and reviewed dozens of curricula from school districts nationwide. In education discourse, "inquiry" is everywhere—a broad shorthand for instructional approaches that stress high-level questioning and some program of sourcebased investigation followed by student-authored argumentation. Inquiry is an ascendant emphasis in social studies standards and the product of decades of instructional design practice, curriculum theory, cognitive psychology, school reform, and standardized assessment.

In education discourse, "inquiry" is everywhere.

From textbooks to online resources to homegrown lesson plans, "inquiry-based" curricular units center on "essential" or "compelling" questions. (In some circles, what was once a lesson or a unit is now called "an inquiry" or an "inquiry task.") In the most structured modules, an inquiry curates and scaffolds a set of relevant primary sources with smaller supporting questions, asking students to deploy their readings of those sources as evidence in support of a position—a response to the big question posed at the outset. The big questions are often meant to be debatable—unresolved issues that can spur class discussion or become the prompt for a final assessment.

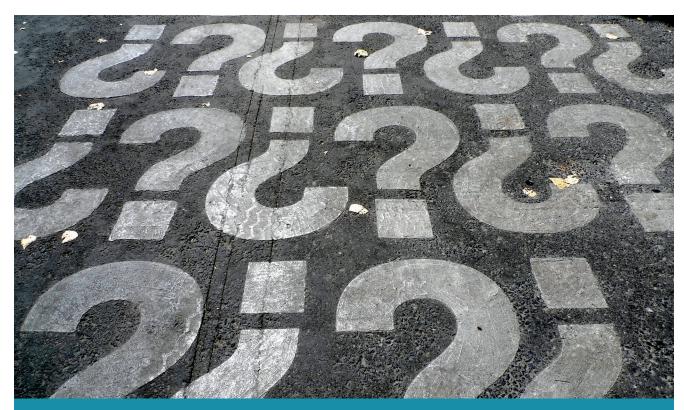
Teachers, administrators, and curriculum specialists across the nation agree that a good history lesson should include a lot of

questions—and so do we. The example questions we discuss are drawn from actual curricular materials in use in US class-rooms. Because we often see strengths and weaknesses with the same curriculum (or even the same lesson), we refrain from singling out any particular provider or locale; good ideas and bad ones can come from anywhere. We offer this commentary as part of a shared endeavor of improving how we pose questions in our history classrooms—whether in elementary schools or graduate programs.

At its best, a passion for questions allows teachers to promote historical thinking. Asking about historical circumstances — how the shift to the factory system affected American workers, or what motivated US policy during the Cold War — encourages an exploration of multiple scales and genres of context. Asking about historical outcomes — whether the American Revolution was avoidable, or why the Montgomery Bus Boycott succeeded, or why the Equal Rights Amendment was defeated — requires students to deal with complex causation in chronological sequence and to think through the structural constraints on historical agency. Educators nationwide are posing good questions like these every day.

Not all questions are created equal, however. Across diverse genres of social studies curriculum, forced choices between moral absolutes, abstract queries of ethical or civic concern, and overly fanciful counterfactuals appear more frequently than they should. Stark and uncomplicated question constructions speed the inquiry process straight to argument, reducing history to a series of positions that one must take and defend. If inquiry is to remain the banner under which history lessons are devised, teachers will need to distinguish good questions from bad ones.

Too many lessons ask students to stake a position on a moral binary, rendering judgment on a past policy or person from the perspective of a national (and present-tense) "we." Questions that ask whether slavery was bad or if American imperialism sacrificed freedom for power seem prebaked to generate only



Promoting students' inquiry sounds like a good idea, but how is it working in practice? Véronique Debord-Lazaro/Flickr/CC BY-SA 2.0

one conclusion — a litmus test to see if students have absorbed the right set of feelings about past events, or an invitation to assume that they would have been on the right side had they lived at the time. Inquiries that ask students to render a verdict on whether the Boston Tea Party or the US-Mexican War was "justified" can spur consideration of causes and consequences, but they privilege lawyerly thinking over historical understanding. Even more blunt are the recurring assignments that require historical figures to be rated as heroes or villains. (Andrew Carnegie and Andrew Jackson often compete in this role.)

The good intentions behind such prompts should not be dismissed. Engaging students with history often begins with indelicate provocation—a hook to awaken their own sense of what feels foreign and familiar about the past. Teachers can indeed encourage students to sit with a sense of moral disgust (slavery was wrong!), psychic connection (Carnegie is my hero!), or policy judgment (the US-Mexican War was not justified!). But these feelings and judgments are reminders that people in the past made choices within particular and peculiar contexts. And they should ideally serve as the preface for bigger, better questions that plumb the past and unsettle the naturalness of our present. When, why, and for whom did slavery become a moral problem? How, when, and why did Americans develop their

taste for rags-to-riches stories? Who was convinced by arguments justifying (and opposing) the US-Mexican War, and why?

In some cases, a compelling question will edit out the historical characters, contexts, and events in order to build headier metaphysical stakes. Asking what it means to be equal or how democracy should work or whether compromise is fair are certainly compelling questions. Within a history class, however, such a prompt sets up a mismatch between philosophical dilemmas and the finite set of historical documents or events under study. As history teachers, we believe (along with many predecessors) that historical inquiry sharpens students' capacities for judgment - capacities that they will ultimately turn toward moral and civic issues. But history alone cannot be expected to resolve such fundamental questions or to speak its counsel to us in aphorisms. In pursuit of more abstract propositions, teachers may need to draw from other disciplinary traditions like moral philosophy and political theory.

Even essential questions based in chronology and causation can stretch beyond the boundaries of good inquiry. Asking students "What if the Confederates won the Civil War?" is not the same as asking how the Confederacy might have won the war, or whether the war would have happened without the Mexican Cession. The first question echoes the worldbuilding of speculative fiction, while the subsequent questions deploy counterfactuals in the way that historians do: to think imaginatively about contingency and to judge the relative strength of competing causal interpretations.

Our desire to get inquiry right expresses our sincere desire to support strong K–12 history teaching at a time when political pressures have redirected attention away from the how and why of historical change and onto questions of how we should feel about history. Most teachers we've spoken to do not face regular politicized objections to their work. When they do, they are far more likely to defend the integrity of history than to run from it. In our research, teachers have consistently voiced their commitment to a strict sense of professionalism; their work demands that they appear neutral, balanced, and politically inscrutable to their students. As most teachers understand this principle, it requires them to forswear political opinion while also asserting their authority over truthful historical interpretation. This authority is ultimately what qualifies teachers to direct the inquiry experience.

In the extreme minority, a few teachers, spooked by activist pressures, confess that they have withdrawn from their role as an interpretive authority in their classrooms. Rather than be caught in the act of teaching a "divisive" or "problematic" lesson, they report that they've chosen inquiries of primary documents so that the sources can "speak for themselves" without teacher interpretation. In these unfortunate cases, inquiry's student-centered and document-centered format allows the teacher to hide from political pressure—and from their obligation to their students as experts in historical content knowledge. Regardless of a teacher's environment and the pressure they face, good inquiry depends on good questions and strong guidance.

With feelings-first approaches to history grabbing the headlines, historians owe it to everyone to stress that historical inquiry doesn't need to be politically urgent or philosophically deep to be compelling. Questions probing the how and why of history acquaint us with the historicized humanity of those who came before us and the contingent surprises that they faced. These truths—that we are human, and that the future will surprise us—are lessons worth learning.

Whitney E. Barringer is a researcher, Lauren Brand is AHR reviews editor and a former researcher, and Nicholas Kryczka is research coordinator at the AHA.



MARK PHILIP BRADLEY

TEACHING AND PEDAGOGY

In the September Issue of the American Historical Review

The new #AHRSyllabus project launches in the September issue of the *American Historical Review*, the journal's first sustained effort at bringing teaching and pedagogy into its pages. This collaborative and collective syllabus project is designed to help teachers and students look "under the hood" at how historians currently practice history. Each edition of the syllabus will feature a practical hands-on teaching module that foregrounds innovative uses of historical method in the classroom. All modules will be freely available to encourage wide classroom adoption.

The #AHRSyllabus project emerged out of a series of focus groups the AHR hosted in partnership with the AHA's Teaching Division involving more than 100 teachers from high schools, community colleges, liberal arts colleges, regional public universities, and Research 1 universities across the country. A strong consensus emerged in these discussions around having the AHR make a pedagogical contribution to the discipline by developing topical teaching modules that help students see how history is made.

Future #AHRSyllabus modules will include teaching with material culture, historical gaming, graphic history, and innovative approaches to historiography.

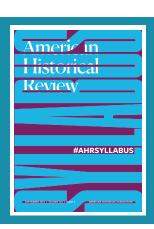
For this inaugural module of the #AHRSyllabus, we invited the interdisciplinary historical smells team Odeuropa to introduce best-practice techniques for teaching sensory history in the classroom. In "Knowing by Sensing," they offer short textual and video presentations that explain approaches to teaching the history of smell and how it can enrich student learning about political, social, and cultural history. The module also provides teachers with a step-by-step guide for

getting historical scents into the classroom and organizing smell walks that allow students, as Odeuropa puts it, "to sniff their way through history." Future #AHRSyllabus modules will include teaching with material culture, historical gaming, graphic history, and innovative approaches to historiography.

This month, the AHR History Lab features another installment in the Engaged History series, "Mismonumentalizing and Decolonizing." Organized by Durba Ghosh (Cornell Univ.), it brings together five essays by academics and practitioners working with groups committed to inclusive historical representation. As Ghosh writes, the contributors "propose ways that public art, campaigns to commemorate urban spaces, and local projects of documenting history honor the past in ways that recognize public attachments to history." The authors of these essays - Jayanta Sengupta (the recently retired director of Victoria Memorial Hall, Kolkata), Mathura Umachandran (Univ. of Exeter), Arielle Xena Alterwaite (Univ. of Pennsylvania), Tawny Paul (Univ. of California, Los Angeles), Thomas J. Adams (Univ. of South Alabama), and Sue Mobley (Monument Lab) – move between a variety of commemorative spaces, from Kolkata, London, and Frankfurt to Los Angeles and New Orleans (respectively), in order to document and understand the entanglements of public history and politics.

Also in the September lab is an interdisciplinary forum led by R. Darrell Meadows (US National Archives and Records Administration) and Joshua Sternfeld (National Endowment for the Humanities) that considers the methodological and epistemological challenges of artificial intelligence (AI) systems for historical practice and provides a primer for applying AI techniques to research in historical newspaper collections. History Unclassified closes out the lab with Kenda Mutongi (Massachusetts Inst. of Technology) and Alan de Gooyer's (Williams Coll.) "African History and Meleko Mokgosi's Your Trip to Africa," which explores how the work of the US-based Botswanan visual artist Meleko Mokgosi offers a powerful lens to rethink the writing of African history.

The #AHRSyllabus project that launches in the September 2023 issue of the AHR marks the first time in its history that teaching has had a significant presence in the journal. It will feature practical hands-on teaching modules for the classroom that foreground innovative forms of historical practice in the classroom. #AHRSyllabus modules are freely available on the AHA's website.



The issue's articles examine Indigenous histories, revolution in the Americas, and transnational histories of the Cold War. In "Escaping Empire," Stephanie Mawson (Univ. de Lisboa) explores the flight of Indigenous communities from the Philippine lowlands into mountain spaces, showing how flight was a frequent and widespread phenomenon in response to Spanish colonization during the 17th century. In dialogue with recent scholarship on colonial frontiers and Indigenous hinterlands, Mawson demonstrates how upland and lowland regions in Southeast Asia that are usually viewed as separate spaces had shared histories of resistance, migration, and trade throughout the colonial period. Jeremy LaBuff's (Northern Arizona Univ.) "Prolegomena to Any Future Indigenous History of the Ancient World" offers a series of case studies from Hellenistic Anatolia to illustrate how the casual use of the term "Indigenous" can lead to serious misunderstandings of imperial and colonial dynamics and Indigenous self-understandings. A theoretically grounded and historically based understanding of indigeneity, he argues, requires reexamination of the logic behind power relations and imbalances, and provides new opportunities for generative comparison with the more familiar colonialism of the modern period.

In "The Arms Trade and American Revolutions," Brian DeLay (Univ. of California, Berkeley) charts how an international arms trade came to bind the revolutions in British North America, Saint-Domingue, and Spanish America in dependent relationships. The decisions of France and Spain to secretly arm and then openly support the British North Americans, he argues, made their revolution a success. North American merchants became the indispensable arms dealers to the hemisphere's later revolutionaries, but the United States never offered terms remotely as generous as those it had enjoyed during its own independence struggle. Haitians and Spanish Americans had to navigate a cutthroat market to

obtain the tools of independence, a development DeLay believes haunted their postcolonial histories.

Two final articles explore international histories of the late Cold War era. Martin Wagner's (Freie Univ. Berlin) "Excoriating Stalin, Criticizing Mao" examines the entangled official reexaminations of the past in the 1950s Soviet Union and in China after the death of Mao. In 1956 and 1978, Nikita Khrushchev and Deng Xiaoping confronted their communist parties with a painful past and reevaluated the leaders' respective legacies. Although they faced similar challenges in dealing with the ramifications of arbitrary rule and cults of personality, Wagner shows how Soviet and Chinese strategies to party history sharply differed and the lasting implications of those differences for the post-Maoist Chinese state. In "Empowering African Girls?," Sarah Bellows-Blakely (Freie Univ. Berlin) focuses on efforts by actors from a pan-African women's organization and the United Nations to create and internationalize frameworks for what they termed girlfocused economic policymaking in the 1980s and 1990s. Exploring the interplay of capitalism, poverty, and the silences of history, Bellows-Blakely combines feminist and postcolonial methodologies to demonstrate how the creation of dominant policy frameworks and the internationalization of knowledge involved not only the diffusion of ideas but also their erasure.

Mark Philip Bradley is editor of the American Historical Review and the Bernadotte E. Schmitt Distinguished Service Professor of History at the University of Chicago.

ACTIONS BY THE AHA COUNCIL

January to June 2023

Through email communications from January 19 to May 13, 2023; at a teleconference meeting held on May 13, 2023; and at meetings on June 3 and 4, 2023, the Council of the American Historical Association took the following actions:

- Signed on to the American Anthropological Association statement Appointees to New College of Florida an Attack on Academic Integrity.
- Sent a letter to the US Department of State regarding the January 24 abduction of Professor Pierre Buteau, president of the Société Haïtienne d'Histoire, de Géographie et de Géologie. Buteau was released by his captors on February 1, 2023.
- Appointed Joel Christenson (Historical Office, Office of the US Secretary of Defense) to the 2024 Program Committee.
- Approved Emily Callaci (Univ. of Wisconsin–Madison) as a consulting editor for the American Historical Review's History Unclassified section.
- Signed on to the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) Statement in Support of Academic Freedom and New College of Florida.
- Revised the criteria for the new publication prize in Middle East history (approved by Council in January 2023) by inserting "since the seventh century."
- Sent a letter to the US Department of State in support of Marc Fogel, a history teacher imprisoned in Russia.
- Signed on to an ACLS statement opposing Florida House Bill 999.
- Approved the Statement Opposing Florida House Bill 999, "express[ing] horror... at the assumptions that lie at the heart of this bill and its blatant and frontal attack on

principles of academic freedom and shared governance central to higher education in the United States."

- Revised AHA Bylaw 4, pursuant to Article IV, Section 6(3) (a)(i) and (c)(i), removing the requirement that at least one member of the executive director review or search committee should be a "resident in the Washington, DC, area" and "familiar with the work of scholarly associations." In the case of the review committee, a member must also be familiar with "the advocacy work of the Association and its relationship to wider contexts."
- Revised AHA Bylaw 4, pursuant to Article IV, Section 6(5) and (6), to reflect recent changes in the operational structure of the *American Historical Review* and clarifying the process for the appointments of associate review editors and consulting editors for the journal.
- Approved LIG Association Health Program as a member benefit. The program will provide AHA members with the opportunity to purchase medical, dental, and other types of personal insurance.
- Sent a letter to San Francisco State University expressing concern regarding its "investigation" of Professor Maziar Behrooz for showing a drawing of the prophet Muhammad in his course on the history of the Islamic world between 500 and 1700.
- Approved appointment of the following members of the American Historical Review Board of Editors, to begin three-year terms in August 2023: Erika Edwards (Univ. of Texas at El Paso); Inger Leemans (Univ. of Amsterdam); Melani McAlister (George Washington Univ.); Crystal Moten (Obama Presidential Center Museum); Shailaja Paik (Univ. of Cincinnati); Kennetta Hammond Perry (Northwestern Univ.); Bianca Premo (Florida International Univ.); Sherene Seikaly (Univ. of California, Santa Barbara); and Benjamin Talton (Howard Univ.).

historians.org/perspectives

- Approved the Statement Opposing the Exclusion of LGBTQ+ History in Florida.
- Approved the minutes of the January 2023 Council meetings.
- Approved the minutes of the March 2023 teleconference.
- Approved the interim minutes of the Council from January through May 2023.
- Approved the creation of two ad hoc committees: one on the impact of artificial intelligence (AI) on history education, and another on the impact of AI on research and publications.
- Appointed the following members to the 2025 Program Committee: Yingcong Dai (William Paterson Univ.); Christine Eubank (Bergen Community Coll.); Annie Polland (Tenement Museum); John T. R. Terry (Westminster Schools); and Baki Tezcan (Univ. of California, Davis).
- Appointed Mary Ann Irwin (California State Univ., East Bay) and Felicia Angeja Viator (San Francisco State Univ.) as co-chairs for the Local Arrangements Committee for the 2024 annual meeting.
- Approved the Finance Committee's recommendation to consolidate the remaining funds in the Oxford Portfolio funds with the AHA's main portfolio with TIAA Investments.
- Approved the FY 2024 budget.

September 2023

- Approved a 3 percent increase for the rates of most membership categories.
- Approved increasing the rate of a life membership to \$4,000.
- Approved the nominees for the 2023 Awards for Scholarly Distinction (to be announced in October).
- Approved the nominee for the 2023 Tikkun Olam Prize (to be announced in October).
- Approved changes to the Guidelines for First Round Interviews to clarify the AHA's position against the recording of interviews without permission.

- Approved the removal of all references to an outdated 2007 American Association of University Professors statement from the Guidelines for Academic Job Offers.
- Approved replacing all references to "thesis" with "dissertation" in the Guidelines for Advising the Doctoral Dissertation Process.
- Approved archiving the statement on Tenure, Promotion, and the Publicly Engaged Academic Historian, which was superseded by the Guidelines for Broadening the Definition of Historical Scholarship.
- Approved the creation of two ad hoc committees, one on peer review and the other on scholarly journal publishing.

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COMPILED BY LIZ TOWNSEND

2023 AHA ELECTION RESULTS

Sharlene Sinegal-DeCuir (Xavier Univ., La.), chair of the Nominating Committee, announces the following results of the 2023 balloting for officers and committee members of the American Historical Association. The committee wishes to thank all candidates who stood for election; their willingness to serve is much appreciated.

President

Thavolia Glymph, Duke University

President-elect

Ben Vinson III, Case Western Reserve University; Howard University as of September 1

Vice President, Research Division

William G. Thomas III, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

Councilor, Professional Division

Kristin O'Brassill-Kulfan, Rutgers University

Councilor, Research Division

Jana Lipman, Tulane University

Councilor, Teaching Division

Jennifer Baniewicz, Amos Alonzo Stagg High School

Councilor, At Large

Pragya Kaul, University of Michigan

Committee on Committees

Julio Capó Jr., Florida International University

Nominating Committee

Slot 1: Anthony Steinhoff, Université du Québec à Montréal

Slot 2: Matthew Restall, Penn State University

Slot 3: Amanda Moniz, Smithsonian's National Museum of

American History P

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





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July 1, 2022-June 30, 2023

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This list aggregates donations received between July 1, 2022, and June 30, 2023. The American Historical Association is grateful to its 417 donors. Because of space restrictions, we can list only donors who have contributed \$100 or more. Please visit historians.org/donate for a complete list of our generous donors.

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Hedva Ben-Israel

Historian of Nationalism

Hedva Ben-Israel, professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (HUJ) and one of the foremost scholars of modern nationalism, died on May 12, 2023, after a long illness she had faced with grace and courage. A prolific scholar and lecturer, and a generous teacher and mentor, her table, always laden with elegant and abundant fare, regularly witnessed warm and vibrant conversation among friends, colleagues, and visiting scholars. She was also the beloved mother of three sons, Oren, Dan, and Irad, and the proud grandmother of 10 adored grandchildren.

Born in Jerusalem in 1925 to a family of Zionist intellectuals, Hedva earned an MA under Richard Koebner at HUJ. She interrupted her studies to serve as a soldier in the British Auxiliary Territorial Service in 1945–46 and in the Haganah in 1947–48 during the siege of Jerusalem and in Haifa and eastern Galilee as a company commander. When she returned to civilian life, she taught history for a year at HUJ.

Hedva was then awarded a British Council scholarship to pursue a PhD at the University of Cambridge. Sir Herbert Butterfield advised her thesis, which was published as *English Historians on the French Revolution* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1968). Hedva cherished these years in England, where she taught Hebrew for the Cambridge University Jewish Society, gave talks in Hebrew over the BBC, made numerous friends, and became an enthusiastic fan of old British films and television serials.

Upon her return to Israel, Hedva began a 37-year tenure at HUJ until her retirement in 1994. Beginning in 1976, she held the Ben-Eliezer Chair for the Study of National Movements, and between 1980 and 1984 she served as head of HUJ's history department. She was also a visiting professor at Tel Aviv and Haifa Universities and abroad at Trinity College, Connecticut; the University of California, Los Angeles; and the University of Munich. In addition, she was granted fellowships at the National Humanities Center in North Carolina (1985–86); the Unit for the History of Ideas in

Canberra, Australia (1989); and HUJ's Institute for Advanced Studies (2004).

In 2000, Hedva joined the team writing and editing the history of HUJ. Her chapter on the Mandate period, documenting the institution's numerous contributions to the Palestine economy, educational system, and medical sciences, acutely analyzed the variety of political opinions among its faculty, staff, and students and the role of its famous chancellor and later president Judah Magnes in the debates over binationalism versus a Jewish state.

For almost five decades, Hedva actively participated in the debates over modern nationalism, which had drawn in historians and social scientists seeking to understand its strength and resilience in the late 20th century. Moving beyond a Eurocentric perspective, in numerous lectures, essays, and articles she stressed the contingency and complexity of this phenomenon and its diverse religious, cultural, historical, economic, and political contexts from India to central Europe, and from Ireland to the Western Hemisphere. With her investigations of the origins of modern nationalism, Hedva affirmed the enduring heritage of ancient groups who, conscious of their separate identity, had resisted foreign control and carried the memory of their homeland into exile. Another signal contribution was her critique of the rigid distinction between civic and ethnic nationalism, insisting on their coexistence in all modern nation states. And as one of the few Israeli historians to place Zionism in a comparative context, Hedva noted the irony that although Theodor Herzl had drawn inspiration for his ideology from European models, aiming to transform the Jews into "a people like the other people," contemporary critics have singled out Israel's inhabitants for their nationalism.

To Hedva Ben-Israel, modern nationalism was a fluid, contingent, and enduring historical reality: a fusion of culture and power. In her most striking piece, "Nationalism: Animal, Vegetable, Mineral, or Cultural?" (*Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 1994), she noted its paradoxical nature: "With its feet of clay, stuck in ethnicity and territoriality, with its misguided notions about the natural division of humanity, with its by now obsolete ideal of the totally sovereign nation-state, [nationalism] still represents one of the many attempts by which . . . the human spirit has attempted to rise above itself . . . and recreate . . . a fraternal community."

Carole Fink Ohio State University (emerita)

Photo courtesy Oren Kidron

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Peggy K.

1927-2023

Historian of Spain and Latin America; AHA 50-Year Member

Peggy K. Liss, a historian of Spain, Latin America, and transatlantic empires, died on March 17, 2023, at 95 years of age. She was a trailblazer for women in the discipline who made groundbreaking contributions to both history and historiography.

Liss attended Syracuse University as an undergraduate and transferred to the University of Chicago. She left before completing her degree for a career in journalism and public relations. In her early 30s, now married with two children and a bustling suburban social life, she returned to school to satisfy a latent intellectual hunger. As she would later reflect, "I was good at chatting about any number of topics, but all of them superficially, none in depth." She chose history because it was "a profession that emphasized rationality, nuance and fairmindedness," and offered insight into the human condition. Liss earned her BA from Beaver College (1961) and her MA (1962) and PhD (1965) from the University of Pennsylvania, where she was mentored by Arthur Whitaker as his only female student. Among other accomplishments, she learned Spanish to pursue archival research. Her dissertation focused on Miguel Hidalgo, the failed Mexican independence leader and subsequent hero.

Having earned her PhD, Liss turned to further research on the Mexican independence movement, which became *Mexico under Spain*, 1521–1556: Society and the Origins of Nationality (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1975). Having explored the Mexican independence movement, she was left wondering about the end of Spanish domination in Mexico. As a result, she broadened her scope with her second sole-authored book, *Atlantic Empires: The Network of Trade and Revolution*, 1713–1826 (Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1983). Liss was an early pioneer in looking at transatlantic trade as an interrelated commercial and cultural ecosystem. The book's contributions are attested to by the scholarly activities it inspired; sessions were held on *Atlantic Empires* at both the 1983 and 1984 AHA annual meetings, and *Choice* selected the book as one of its Outstanding Academic Titles of 1983.

Subsequently, Liss turned her attention to Spain, ready to go "narrower and deeper" into a single topic. With the support of a Guggenheim Fellowship, she wrote her third book, *Isabel the Queen: Life and Times* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1992), which launched a new phase of her career, including further publications (invited book chapters and encyclopedia entries), speaking engagements, and conference presentations. She was awarded the Cruz Oficial de la Orden de Isabel la Católica for distinguished cultural service, bestowed upon her by King Juan Carlos of Spain in 2000.

One of the greatest adventures of Liss's academic career was her work as originator, co-producer, and historical advisor on *The Buried Mirror: Reflections on Spain and the New World*, a five-hour PBS documentary narrated by Carlos Fuentes and sponsored by the Smithsonian as its 1992 contribution to the Columbus Quincentenary. Liss traveled the world with the production crew, putting in long days on and off set to ensure historical accuracy. Completed in 1994, it aired on both PBS and the Discovery Channel and was used as a pedagogical resource in many classrooms.

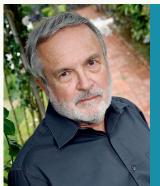
Liss served the historical discipline in a number of roles, including terms as vice president (1986) and president (1987) of the Conference on Latin American History; membership on various boards and committees, including the executive committee of the Conference on Latin American History (1978–82), the AHA Council (1985–88) and Ad Hoc Committee on History and Film (1987–92), and the NEH fellowship selection committee at the John Carter Brown Library (1993). She also served as director of the Project on Historical Documents for Bahamas, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent (1984–85). Liss's papers are archived at Johns Hopkins University.

About five years before her death, Liss reflected on her long life as a historian: "Is doing history—a lifetime spent teaching and writing as accurately as possible about the past—worthwhile? Yes, it is, especially in considering that the human past seems indispensable to anchoring the present, and that without a reliable history, the resulting vacuum inevitably invites nostalgia for a past that never was. The past we know is sloppy; what we historians do is straighten up a selected part of it as best we can."

Liss is survived by her children, Peter Korn and Margaret R. Hawkins, and three grandchildren.

> Margaret R. Hawkins Madison, Wisconsin

Photo courtesy Margaret R. Hawkins



Jeffrey Burton Russell

1934-2023

Historian of Medieval Christianity

Jeffrey Burton Russell, professor of history emeritus at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB), died on April 12, 2023, at the age of 88.

In a 1987 article in *The Historian*, Russell defined his calling: "the purpose of history is to pursue the truth." He found this pursuit to be realized best in the study of the history of concepts. He accepted the discipline of a meticulous historical methodology, yet also taught his students that research to find meaning in the truths of the past is the purest form of self-examination and reflection. In the preface to *The Prince of Darkness* (Cornell Univ. Press, 1988), Russell explained that in examining the history of evil, "I have tried throughout to open myself and others to the understanding that knowledge without love, and scholarship without personal involvement and commitment, are dead."

Russell was devoted to his graduate students, offering seminars that stretched their intellect toward what he called "Truth with a capital T." He challenged, argued with, and inspired students, all while engaging with them in the same polemic struggle to achieve wisdom. He had a passion for teaching and was generous with his time, kind in spirit, and quick to share himself.

Russell's career and accomplishments leave an impressive record. He earned his BA in 1955 from the University of California, Berkeley, and his PhD from Emory University in 1960. He taught briefly at the University of New Mexico, then accepted a position at University of California, Riverside (1961–75), where he served as associate dean of the graduate division (1967–75). From 1975 to 1977, he was the Grace Professor of Medieval Studies and director of the Medieval Institute at the University of Notre Dame. He returned to California in 1977 as dean of graduate studies at Sacramento State University. He then became professor of history at UCSB in 1979, where he was instrumental in developing the medieval European history program. Russell retired in 1998 but joked that he

viewed it as a permanent sabbatical; he continued to be an active scholar.

Russell's many accolades include a Fulbright Fellowship at Université de Liège in Belgium (1959–60), a Guggenheim Fellowship (1968–69), and a Humanities Senior Fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities (1972–73). In 1985, he was elected a fellow of the Medieval Academy of America, a prestigious honor for medievalists. The UCSB Faculty Senate awarded him their highest honor, the Faculty Research Lectureship, in 1990–91.

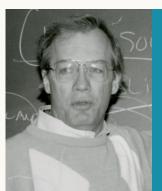
An internationally renowned scholar and prolific writer, he produced 19 single-author books, a plethora of presentations and invited papers, and scores of essays and book reviews, and made multiple radio and TV appearances. Several works were translated into multiple languages, including Japanese, Chinese, and Turkish. He is best known for the five-volume history of concepts opus on the Devil, published by Cornell University Press. Whereas these volumes gained him the most recognition, he enjoyed debunking the Flat Earth myth in *Inventing the Flat Earth* (Praeger, 1991) and expressed that his publication of *A History of Heaven: The Singing Silence* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1997) was the most rewarding of his long career.

Russell married Diana Mansfield Russell, with whom he raised four children. After Diana's death, he married Pamela Russell, who survives him. Also surviving him are his four children, Jennifer (Mike), Mark (Sherry), William (Ky), and Penelope; four grandchildren, Emily, David, Anna, and Trillium; and godchildren Xoco and Sarah. His circle of family, colleagues, students, and friends reflects a life of loving and nurturing relationships.

In sum, Jeffrey Burton Russell was a consummate scholar and friend. He was intensely interested in the intersection of theology, history, and the natural sciences. Instead of contradiction, he sought the integration of belief in God and scientific study. His faith informed his research and inspired his teaching. In the preface to *A History of Heaven*, he emphasized that "the best history must be written without bias and with personal commitment." And for him that endeavor, if done honestly and in the pursuit of truth, results in love of neighbor, nature, and God. "Heaven," explained Russell and echoing Dante, "is the song that God sings to the world out of his silence." Jeff now is part of that song.

Cheryl A. Riggs California State University, San Bernardino (emerita)

Photo courtesy Associated Press



George B. Stow Jr.

1940-2023

Historian of Medieval England

On February 12, 2023, the field of medieval English history lost a significant voice with the death of George Buckley Stow Jr. In 2022, Stow became professor emeritus of history at La Salle University, where he taught for over 50 years. His meticulous research on King Richard II remains a benchmark in the study of the evolution of the British monarchy, while his demanding but compassionate teaching has been the source of student praise and lore for generations. He served as department chair and as founder and longtime director of La Salle's graduate program in history.

Born in Camden, New Jersey, and raised under modest circumstances in Allentown, Pennsylvania, "Buck" once danced on the popular TV program *American Bandstand*. Following high school, he served for three years as a US Army sergeant, which, he noted, gave him the discipline that he exhibited in his academic career. Attending Lehigh University on the GI Bill, he earned a BA in classics (1967) and was inducted into Phi Beta Kappa, followed by an MA from the University of Southern California (1968). He went on to earn a PhD from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (1972), where his studies were supported by a Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Fellowship in 1970–71. While at Illinois, he laid the groundwork for his signature book, an edited edition of *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi* (Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1977).

Through dozens of articles and reviews in prestigious journals such as the *English Historical Review* and *Speculum*, he demonstrated the significance of Richard II. As George later noted, the heroic portrayal of Richard I (Lionheart) and the villainous picture of Richard III have tended to overshadow the more prosaic accomplishments of Richard II. Much of the scholarship in this area has centered on the role Richard might have had in inventing the pocket handkerchief. Far from trivial for George and his scholarly supporters, this innovation represented in microcosm the desire of the king to improve the hygiene of himself and the court as well as to emancipate his reign from the overweening influence of the French—whether in fashion or politics. In his attention to

detail, he embodied the Rankean ideal of the scholar who "would cross an ocean to verify a comma." Almost as a valedictory piece, George's short article on the handkerchief controversy appeared in *Real Clear History* on February 14, just after his passing. For his scholarly work, he was named a fellow of the Royal Historical Society; he was also a member of the Medieval Academy of America.

Over his five decades at La Salle University, George embraced the institution's teaching mission. In the university's ethos of teaching students "where we find them," and a long history of credentialing the working class of the Philadelphia region, George found an agreeable challenge in interesting students in classics and medieval history. Yet he also expanded his teaching expertise to world history, which became a foundation course in the university's core curriculum. Sensing the need for an accessible yet sophisticated world history text, George co-authored (with Peter Von Sivers and Charles Desnoyers) the textbook *Patterns of World History*, now entering its fifth edition with Oxford University Press. In 2003, he won the university's prestigious Lindback Distinguished Teaching Award.

His scholarship, pedagogy, and humanity are summed up in memorial comments by perhaps his most famous student, William Burns, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, former assistant secretary of state, and former ambassador to Jordan and Russia:

George Stow was a remarkable scholar, a wonderful teacher, and a truly decent man. I love[d] his passion for history, his often irreverent style, and his total lack of pretension. He embodied the best of LaSalle education, and I owe him a great deal. I treasured our friendship, and will always do my best to honor his memory.

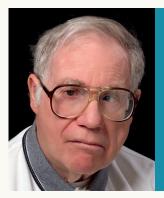
George is survived by his wife Susan, daughter Meredith, and son Jonathan.

John Rossi La Salle University (emeritus)

Charles Desnoyers La Salle University (emeritus)

Photo courtesy of La Salle University Archives

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Ivan M. Tribe

Historian of Country Music

On April 4, 2023, the 82-year concert that was the life of Ivan M. Tribe, a nationally recognized country music historian, concluded its final notes.

The concert began on May 1, 1940, with the first cries of newborn Ivan, one of three sons of Henry and Dorothy Reeves Tribe. Ivan earned his bachelor's and master's degrees from Ohio University and a doctorate in American history from the University of Toledo. His 1976 dissertation, "An Empire of Industry: Hocking Valley Mining Towns in the Gilded Age," became the basis of his first book, Little Cities of Black Diamonds: Urban Development in the Hocking Coal Region, 1870–1900 (Athens Ancestree, 1986). He would eventually author 13 additional books and more than 125 articles for publications including Goldenseal and Bluegrass Unlimited. He also contributed some 200 entries to an online country music encyclopedia, hillbilly-music.com.

Ivan joined the faculty of the University of Rio Grande in 1976, retiring as faculty emeritus in 2007. While at Rio, he taught various introductory courses in American history in addition to upper-level courses such as American Cultural History and Ohio History and an occasional course on Africa and the Middle East. He was a charter member of the Alpha Alpha Delta Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta at the university and was the founder and editor of *Buckeye Hill Country: A Journal of Regional History* (1996–2009). He won various teaching awards during his time at the institution.

If one were to have entered Ivan's office in Wood Hall 247, one would encounter plentiful numbers of books, copies of the *American Historical Review* and the *Journal of American History*, posters of country or bluegrass music concerts, autographed photos of celebrities in frames, and a pile of student papers on the desk. He could often be found at that desk listening to Rush Limbaugh's talk radio program and enjoying a bottle of Ski, a locally bottled soda pop. When it came time for class, he would leave the office carrying the appropriate two-pocket paper folder containing his handwritten lecture

notes on yellow legal pad paper. Between classes, each folder waited in the hard-plastic slots mounted on the office wall.

Outside of the classroom, he and his wife, Deanna, co-produced and co-hosted *Hornpipe and Fugue*, a three-hour weekly educational radio program on Sunday afternoons, concerning country music and its performers from the 1920s–60s. They began this program in January 1983 on WOUB Radio, an arm of Ohio University Public Media. They retired from these duties in December 2022.

Ivan and Deanna often held an annual open house for friends and colleagues, inviting guests to visit what he referred to as the Tribe Archive of American History and Culture. While guests enjoyed light refreshments and heard strains of bluegrass music from a live band, they could tour the large metal outbuilding attached to the Tribes' home and view Ivan's lifelong collection of books, academic journals, LP records, personalized autographed photos of celebrities from the Golden Age of Hollywood and Television, and Masonic items (a 33rd degree Mason, he received his 60-year pin earlier this year). The final open house was conducted in May 2022.

Before Ivan taught Ohio history, he made history of his own. His election as mayor of Albany, Ohio, in 1962 made him the youngest elected Ohio mayor at that time (prior to passage of the 26th Amendment).

Ivan was preceded in death by his parents, brother Gary, and two beloved Siamese cats, Katerina and Katie. He is survived by Deanna, his wife of nearly 60 years; brother Henry; a sister-in-law; two nephews; several great nephews and nieces and cousins: and cats Calista and Carson.

Before the audience at the concert disperses, may they offer a standing ovation and thunderous applause for the outstanding scholar, educator, and gentleman Ivan M. Tribe.

William E. Plants University of Rio Grande

Photo courtesy Mike Thompson



Yuji Ichioka

A Founder of Asian American Studies

A second-generation Japanese American born in San Francisco, Yuji Ichioka was a trailblazing scholar in Japanese American history and a founder of Asian American studies.

Ichioka's family was incarcerated at Topaz in Utah during World War II, and they returned to California following their release to start a new life in Berkeley. Ichioka served the US Army in Europe before earning a BA at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), in 1962. He pursued graduate study in Chinese history at Columbia University, where he met his partner, historian Emma Gee. But he quickly became dissatisfied with academia and dropped out, choosing instead to work as a youth parole worker in New York City.

In 1966, he traveled to Japan, where he first became interested in the history of Japanese immigrants (*Issei*). He subsequently enrolled in the graduate program in East Asian studies at the University of California, Berkeley. There, Ichioka was instrumental in organizing the Asian American Political Alliance in 1968; he and Emma coined the term "Asian American" to unify Asian ethnicities together based on their shared experience under Orientalist US racism.

Recognized as a foremost expert before the field even existed, Ichioka taught the first Asian American studies course at UCLA in 1969 and became the associate director of the Asian American Studies Center. Until his death, Ichioka served as the center's research associate and an adjunct associate professor of history at UCLA.

Ichioka's rise as one of the most important historians of Asian America embodied the field's complex emergence in Eurocentric US academia. Though he was initially shunned by mainstream US immigration historians, Ichioka helped develop archives and new venues for research and publications. The Japanese American Research Project, the nation's best collection of Issei primary sources, could not have existed without his tireless work. Ichioka was among the first historians who insisted on centering vernacular immigrant sources

in documenting their experiences. Virtually all pre-1970s works on Issei were built on the spurious edifices of Orientalism and monolingual English research. Ichioka instead focused on not only immigrants' struggle against racism but also oppression and injustice within the ethnic community. His cutting-edge studies on Issei prostitutes and railroad workers included their entanglements with patriarchal community leaders and co-ethnic labor contractors. With a transnational perspective, he also uncovered how Issei society engaged the Japanese government and how US-Japan diplomacy intersected with domestic race and immigration politics.

In 1988, Ichioka published his pathbreaking monograph, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants*, 1885–1924 (Free Press), which offered the first substantive analysis of *Ozawa v. United States*, the Supreme Court ruling that established Issei as "alien ineligible for citizenship." His rediscovery of the case quickened scholarly interrogations of racially prescribed US citizenship by critical race theorists and others. Although most of his writings focused on the prewar period, Ichioka was the first to critically examine the importance and oppressiveness of the wartime Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study and its archival collection, editing an anthology titled *Views from Within* (UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 1989).

At his death in 2002, Ichioka left a nearly finished second book manuscript, which Gordon H. Chang and I completed for posthumous publication. *Before Internment: Essays in Prewar Japanese American History* (Stanford Univ. Press, 2006) examined the experiences of Japanese Americans in the 1930s, especially their relations to Japan and the question of loyalty—topics that had been taboo until the community in 1988 secured redress for their unconstitutional incarceration. Ichioka's trajectory elucidates his view of scholarly production and its consequence. His research could not be divorced from his concerns for the political effects his works might generate for the communities and causes he served. His career embodies how the field started and how it should continue to promote the goal of social justice and human equality.

As his disciple, I also remember Yuji as an exuberant person, who loved to converse, drink, and play basketball. He was devoted to Emma (who passed away this April), who was his partner in helping found the field of Asian American studies with equal moral conviction and political commitment.

Eiichiro Azuma University of Pennsylvania

Photo courtesy UCLA Asian American Studies Center

AHA CAREER CENTER

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

Find more job ads at careers.historians.org.



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

Los Angeles, CA

Chinese History. The UCLA Department of History invites applications for a tenure-track position at the rank of assistant professor in late imperial Chinese history (Song to Qing). The department welcomes applications considering any theme or methodological approach. The deadline for submitting applications and required documents is November 1, 2023. Applications will be reviewed immediately thereafter. All candidates must have completed their PhD in history or related field by June 30, 2024. The department welcomes candidates whose experience in teaching, research, or community service has prepared them to contribute to our commitment to diversity and excellence. All qualified applicants are encouraged to apply online at https://recruit. apo.ucla.edu/IPF08515 to upload their information for this position. This position is subject to final administrative approval. Documents should include a letter of application, CV, a statement of teaching, a statement of research, the authorization to release information form, and three letters of recommendation. A statement addressing the applicant's past and/or potential contributions to equity, diversity, and inclusion is also required. Please visit the UCLA Equity, Diversity and Inclusion website for Sample

Guidance for Candidates on the Statement of Contributions to Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion: https://equity. ucla.edu/programs-resources/facultysearch-process/faculty-searchcommittee-resources/sample-guid ance/. The posted UC salary scales set the on-scale salary range for this position between \$74,100-92,200+, determined by rank and/or step at appointment. "Off-scale salaries" and other components of pay are offered as needed to meet competitive conditions. The University of California is an AA/EOE. All qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, color, religion, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, national origin, disability, age, or protected veteran status.

THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY, MUSEUM & BOTANICAL GARDENS

San Marino, CA

Editor in Chief. Under broad direction by the W.M. Keck Director of Research. oversees all aspects of the publication of the Huntington Library Quarterly and assists in the scholarly programming of the Research Division. They will demonstrate a background of working directly with people from diverse racial, ethnic, geographic, and socioeconomic backgrounds, using a welcom $ing, inclusive, and \, accessible \, approach. \\$ Serves as the acquiring editor for article manuscripts; oversees refereeing of submitted manuscripts; solicits book reviews; oversees developmental, copy editing, image acquisition and permission, layout, and proofreading of articles and reviews. Develops and maintains database to track article submissions and peer review. Works with the director of research to establish goals and priorities for the HLQ; compiles regular statistical reports on submissions and peer review. Works with Huntington staff as well as visiting fellows and scholars to develop and acquire articles, reviews, and special issues. In consultation with the director of research, identifies and invites scholars to join the HLQ editorial board in order to maintain a robust and diverse board; periodically audits the performance of current board members. Participates in the academic life of the institution, including seminars and conferences sponsored by the Research Division and fellows' events and working group. Attends regional, national, and (where appropriate) international scholarly conferences on subjects related to the focus of the HLQ. Works with the director of research and the Business Office to establish financial goals and prepares annual budget for the publications department; reviews and approves expenses for 59 and P-Card charges for 58 (book project) accounts; works within approved budget. Develops procedures to promote subscriptions to HLQ and increase electronic downloads of articles. Works with the journal division of the University of Pennsylvania Press on contractual and business arrangements. Hires and supervises the work of consultant graphic designer. May perform other related duties as assigned. PhD in a field supported by the Huntington's collections required. Previous experience in

scholarly or museum publishing (three years minimum). Holds or has held a tenured or equivalent position in an academic institution. Outstanding writing and editing skills. Ability to work independently and to meet deadlines. Ability to work effectively with staff, scholars, volunteers, visitors, and outside organizations. We provide competitive compensation, generous benefits and perks for all eligible employees. Pay Range: \$90-100k annually. Negotiable and commensurate on experience. Hybrid remote work schedule available for applicable positions. Considerable paid time off, including annual leave, sick leave, and holidays. Discounts for staff in The Huntington Store and restaurants. Access to the Museums Council pass, which grants free admission to various museums and cultural institutions Free passes each month to welcome family and friends to visit the grounds. Please submit a cover letter and CV/resume as a single PDF attachment to https://huntingtonlibrary.wd1. myworkdayjobs.com/en-US/Hunting tonCareers/details/Editor-in-Chief_ R0000879. You will have the opportunity to submit additional documents on the "My Experience" section of the application.



UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, COLLEGE PARK

College Park, MD

History of African Americans in the Era of Emancipation and Reconstruction. The Department of History

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.

at the University of Maryland, College Park, invites applications for a tenure-track assistant professor position focused on African Americans in the Era of Emancipation and Reconstruction. The successful candidate will be prepared to teach undergraduate and graduate courses in this field of specialization and to share in teaching the introductory-level African American history surveys (pre-1865 and/or post-1865). Applicants should have a broad knowledge of African American history and a demonstrated commitment to scholarly research on African Americans in the Era of Emancipation and Reconstruction, Applicants must have their doctoral degree in hand prior to appointment (August 1, 2024). Applications should be submitted online at https://ejobs.umd.edu/ postings/110114 and include a 3-4page letter of application (describing scholarly research agenda and teaching philosophy and experience, including experience in mentoring undergraduate and/or graduate students); a CV; a writing sample (one article or book/dissertation chapter); and contact information for three recommenders who will be asked to submit their references online. The University of Maryland, College Park, has articulated a commitment to "diversity, equity and inclusion as morally right and educationally sound." As throughout academia, working toward meaningful diversity and inclusion is an ongoing project. We seek candidates whose research, teaching, and service have prepared them to contribute to the History Department's efforts in these areas. Applicants are asked to address in their letter of application their past or potential contributions in teaching, mentoring, research, or service toward building an equitable scholarly environment and increasing access or participation of individuals from historically underrepresented groups. For best consideration, please ensure that all application materials are uploaded by November 3, 2023. Inquiries may be sent to the chair of the search committee, Professor Elsa Barkley Brown, at barkleyb@umd.edu. Applications must be submitted online. 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.



SUKUMAR P. DESAI

Boston, MA

Research Associate. A small team of a physician and an historian seek to collaborate with an additional historian on researching and writing articles for publication in scholarly iournals dedicated to history of medicine/science. This is a remote, paid, freelance position appropriate for academically trained historians, including independent scholars, with a strong publication record. Graduate students without a publication history who can provide writing samples of publishable-quality work will also be considered. Strong candidates will have a demonstrated ability to complete work remotely with little direct supervision and a desire to work collaboratively on research and writing. Interested candidates should provide a CV and cover letter, including ideas for research topics to mvigilfowler@



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, TWIN CITIES

Minneapolis, MN

Immigration History. The Department of History at the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities, invites applications for the Rudolph I. Vecoli Chair in Immigration History. The appointment will be a full-time, 12-month appointment at the rank of either associate professor with tenure or professor with tenure (advanced assistant professors meeting requirements for tenure at the University of Minnesota will also be considered). The appointment will begin as early as August 26, 2024. Rank will depend upon qualifications and experience and be consistent with college and university policy. Responsibilities include half-time service and teaching in history (a total of two courses over two semesters, at the undergraduate and graduate level) and providing primary vision and leadership as Director of the Immigration History Research Center (IHRC), an endowed, interdisciplinary unit in the College of Liberal Arts. We seek candidates with teaching experience and research expertise in US immigration history in any period from the 19th century through the 21st century and demonstrated intellectual breadth in thinking globally about migration flows and patterns. We are especially interested in public-facing scholars who engage questions of racial justice, who connect historical patterns and practices with contemporary debates about immigration, asylum, and refugees, and climate related migration, and whose research has the potential to enter into conversation with other fields of history that are represented in the department, including legal and labor history, histories of race, gender, and sexuality, indigeneity, colonialism, empire, and historical memory. Candidates whose work is interdisciplinary are also strongly encouraged to apply, especially scholars who can engage with our programs in Heritage Studies and Public History and/or Human Rights. The responsibilities of the director of the IHRC include providing intellectual and programmatic leadership to IHRC activities, supervising staff, engaging in community outreach, and fundraising. With these responsibilities in mind, candidates should be committed to community-engaged scholarship and partnership; building upon recent IHRC initiatives; advocacy and response to and the fostering of public dialogue related to immigration and refugees; and working with the IHRC Archives and immigrant and refugee communities to create, preserve, and share their history. The Department of History has a strong commitment to diversity. We encourage scholars from underrepresented groups to apply. We welcome experience working with diverse students, in multicultural environments, and interest in developing curricula and public outreach to diverse populations. The University of Minnesota is a research university serving undergraduate and graduate students and is the only PhD granting institution in the state. Its main campus is in the large, metropolitan area of the Twin Cities, Minneapolis and St. Paul. The Department of History is in the College of Liberal Arts. The University of Minnesota, Twin Cities is located on Dakota land. The Department of History and the IHRC acknowledge that the migration of immigrants and refugees to the US has been part of US settler-colonial practices that displaced and dispossessed Indigenous peoples, and that immigration study and advocacy must acknowledge this and support American Indian Nations and peoples. The Immigration History Research Center (IHRC) and its partner the IHRC Archives are devoted to preserving and understanding immigrant and refugee life. Founded in 1965, they are the oldest and largest interdisciplinary research center and archives in North America. The IHRC promotes interdisciplinary research on migration, race, and ethnicity in the United States and globally, advances public dialogue about immigration and refugees, connects US immigration history research to contemporary immigrant and refugee communities and questions, and develops archives documenting immigrant and refugee experiences. The Department of History is recognized as a prominent community of scholars both nationally and internationallv. Our award-winning faculty are widely acknowledged for their scholarship in a broad range of fields, for their commitment to undergraduate and graduate teaching, and for their commitment to interdisciplinarity and public engagement. The departmental culture is open, generous, and supportive. It is a workshop rich culture with long-running workshops including in American Indian and indigenous studies; comparative history of women, gender, and sexuality; the comparative early modern Atlantic world: legal history; and the graduate workshop in modern history. Faculty scholarship and creative activities range broadly from traditional monographs and original works of synthesis to websites, performances, photo exhibits, congressional testimony, amicus briefs, and expert testimony in court cases. The department has a long and distinguished history of training graduate students who hold teaching appointments at universities and colleges across the United States and around the world, as well as in a broad range of other appointments including in museums, NGOs, historical societies, and as grant writers, historical consultants, and researchers. For more information about the History Department and the IHRC, please refer to the History website (http:// www.cla.umn.edu/history) and the website for the IHRC (http://www.ihrc. umn.edu). Questions may be directed to histsrch@umn.edu. Applications must be submitted online at the Application Page at https://hr.myu. umn.edu/jobs/ext/356783. The posting number is 356783. The following

historians.org/perspectives

materials must be attached to your online application: letter of application, CV; a one-page statement describing your vision for the Vecoli Chair and director of the IHRC that also briefly addresses your administrative experience; and representative body of writing samples. We will seek letters of recommendation for those advancing to interviews. Other additional materials may be requested from candidates at a later date. The priority deadline for application materials is October 16, 2023. This position will remain open until filled. A PhD or foreign equivalent in history or a related field with a focus on history is required. Candidates must show evidence of excellence in teaching, a record of distinguished scholarly publication, and administrative experience. The University of Minnesota shall provide equal access to and opportunity in its programs, facilities, and employment without regard to race, color, creed, religion, national origin, gender, age, marital status, disability, public assistance status, veteran status, sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression.



MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY

Mississippi State, MS

20th-Century US International Affairs. The Mississippi State University Department of History invites applications for a tenure-track appointment with an area of specialization in history of international affairs in the 20th century, beginning August 16, 2024. Teaching responsibilities are two courses per semester. Offerings include a turn in the US History survey and undergraduate and graduate courses in the area of expertise. Of particular importance is demonstrated ability to contribute to the graduate specialty in War, Peace and International Affairs. See https://www. history.msstate.edu/news/whenthree-four/ for further details. The Department of History at Mississippi State University is the editorial home of War in History, Environmental History, Early American History, and the History of Science Society Publications. All applicants must apply online at http:// explore.msujobs.msstate.edu and attach a cover letter, current CV, and teaching statement. To guarantee consideration, applications must be received by November 20, 2023. Please

include email address to facilitate contact, MSU is an EOE, and all qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, color, religion, ethnicity, sex (including pregnancy and gender identity), national origin, disability status, age, sexual orientation, genetic information, protected veteran status. or any other characteristic protected by law. We always welcome nominations and applications from women, members of any minority group, and others who share our passion for building a diverse community that reflects the diversity in our student pop-Website: http://history. msstate.edu. A PhD in the history of 20th century US International Relations at the time of appointment is required. Evidence of successful teaching and publications are preferred.



UNIVERSITY AT BUFFALO, STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Buffalo, NY

History of Africa. The Department of History at the University at Buffalo, State University of New York, invites applications for an open-rank, tenure-track position in African history. open to all fields. Salary and compensation will be competitive, commensurate with rank and achievement. A strong scholarly record and commitment to teaching are expected. This search is part of a cluster of interdisciplinary hires in areas prioritized for investment and expansion by university leadership. Successful candidates will join a collegial and energetic department that is already home to active programs in medical humanities, Disability Studies, histories of race, gender and sexuality, and histories of empire and religion. UB History faculty members are dedicated researchers and teachers eager to work with students in introductory surveys, upper-level undergraduate courses, and graduate seminars. Standard duties for academic-year (10-month) faculty at UB, an R1 University and AAU member institution, include maintaining a strong research program; teaching two courses per semester, including undergraduate courses and graduate seminars; mentoring undergraduate and graduate students, including training graduate students and advising PhD dissertations; and providing service to the department and university. We seek a colleague whose teaching, research, and service have prepared them to contribute to the department and university's commitment to equity and the inclusion of diverse students and audiences in higher education. We are especially interested in a candidate with experience supporting and mentoring a diverse student body. Apply at https:// www.ubjobs.buffalo.edu/postings/ 43484. Review of applications will begin October 2, 2023. PhD in history or closely related field in hand by time of appointment. Candidates should demonstrate clear evidence of scholarship and/or creative professional activity commensurate with academic rank. The following statement is required by the AHA Council. It is not part of the actual position description submitted by the employer. The administration of this institution is on the AAUP censure list. Please refer to http://aaup.org/AAUP/about/ censuredadmins.

History of Science, Health, or Disability, with Focus on Africa. The Department of History at the University at Buffalo, State University of New York, invites applications for an openrank, tenure-track position in African history, prioritizing science, health, or disability broadly conceived, including intersections with religion, environment, gender, sexuality, etc. Salary and compensation will be competitive, commensurate with rank and achievement. A strong scholarly record and commitment to teaching are expected. This search is part of a cluster of interdisciplinary hires in areas prioritized for investment and expansion by university leadership. Successful candidates will join a collegial and energetic department that is already home to active programs in medical humanities, Disability Studies, histories of race, gender and sexuality, and histories of empire and religion. UB History faculty members are dedicated researchers and teachers eager to work with students in introductory surveys, upper-level undergraduate courses, and graduate seminars. Standard duties for academic-year (10-month) faculty at UB, an R1 University and AAU member institution, include maintaining a strong research program; teaching two courses per semester, including undergraduate courses and graduate seminars; mentoring undergraduate and graduate students, including training graduate students and advising PhD dissertations; and providing service to the department and

university. We seek a colleague whose teaching, research, and service have prepared them to contribute to the department and university's commitment to equity and the inclusion of diverse students and audiences in higher education We are especially interested in a candidate with experience supporting and mentoring a diverse student body. Apply at https:// www.ubjobs.buffalo.edu/post ings/43461. Review of applications will begin October 2, 2023. PhD in history or closely related field in hand by time of appointment. Candidates should demonstrate clear evidence of scholarship and/or creative professional activity commensurate with academic rank. The following statement is required by the AHA Council. It is not part $of the \ actual \ position \ description \ submitted$ by the employer. The administration of this institution is on the AAUP censure list. Please refer to http://aaup.org/AAUP/about/ censuredadmins.

History of Science, Health, or Disability, with Focus on South/Southeast Asia or Latin America. The Department of History at the University at Buffalo, State University of New York, invites applications for an open rank, tenure-line faculty position in the history of science, health, or disability, broadly conceived, in South/ Southeast Asia or Latin America. Specialty may be in any time period. Interdisciplinary scholars are welcome to apply. Salary and compensation will be competitive, commensurate with rank and achievement. A strong scholarly record and commitment to teaching are expected. This search is part of a cluster of interdisciplinary hires in areas prioritized for investment and expansion by university leadership. The successful candidate will join a collegial and energetic department that is already home to active programs in Disability Studies and the medical humanities, as well as historians of gender, race, sexuality, empire, and religion. UB History faculty members are dedicated researchers and teachers eager to work with students in introductory surveys, upper-level undergraduate courses, and graduate seminars. Standard duties for academic-year (10month) faculty at UB, an R1 University and AAU member institution, include maintaining a strong research program; teaching two courses per semester, including undergraduate courses and graduate seminars; mentoring undergraduate and graduate students, including training graduate

students and advising PhD dissertations; and providing service to the department and university. We seek a colleague whose teaching, research, and service have prepared them to contribute to the department and university's commitment to equity and the inclusion of diverse students and audiences in higher education. We are especially interested in a candidate with experience supporting and mentoring a diverse student body. Apply at https://www.ubjobs.buffalo.edu/postings/43483. Review of applications will begin October 2, 2023. PhD in History or closely related field in hand by time of appointment. Candidates should demonstrate clear evidence of scholarship and/or creative professional activity commensurate with academic rank. The following statement is required by the AHA Council. It is not part of the actual position description submitted by the employer. The administration of this institution is on the AAUP censure list. Please refer to http://aaup.org/AAUP/about/ censuredadmins.



BAYLOR UNIVERSITY

Early America. Baylor University

Waco, TX

seeks an associate professor to (full) professor of early American history to start August 1, 2024. Details for this position can be found at https:// apply.interfolio.com/126160. begin accepting applications on July 1, 2023. Please submit the following initial materials: letter of interest, CV, an official transcript for the highest degree conferred, and a list of three references with contact information. The application deadline for initial materials is Friday, September 15, 2023. At a later time, applicants considered for interviews will be asked to provide a response to Baylor's Christian mission. Recommendation letters from references will also be requested at this time. Baylor University is committed to making information and resources that are available via the web accessible for all users. If you are a job seeker and need accessibility assistance or accommodation to apply for one of our open positions, please call 254-710-2000. M/F/Vets/Disabled/EOE. The successful candidate will possess a PhD in history or a related field and be a scholar with teaching experience and a research profile commensurate with R1 history departments. Preference will be given to candidates with a record of published scholarship, a demonstrated research agenda, teaching experience, the ability to attract and mentor doctoral students, and a willingness to seek external funding. We especially welcome applications from candidates whose scholarship engages religion and American culture. The successful candidate will be active in the Jewish or Christian tradition. Baylor's Department of History offers both undergraduate and graduate courses.



UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

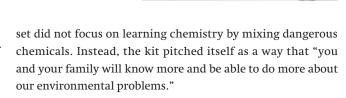
Burlington, VT

Global Environmental History. The University of Vermont's Department of History in The College of Arts & Sciences invites applications for a fulltime, tenure-track member in global environmental history, at the rank of assistant professor. Period and area of specialization are open. Candidates should hold a PhD in history or be an advanced ABD in history. Opportunities to participate in a range of interdisciplinary programs exist at the University of Vermont, depending on the successful candidate's research and teaching interests. The position will start in fall 2024. The successful candidate will possess an ability to develop a vigorous research agenda and to publish in peer-reviewed journals and author historical monographs. The successful applicant may also pursue other forms of scholarship including digital scholarship and public history projects. Engaging classroom practices that excite and inspire students in the study of history, as well as the ability to teach courses at the introductory (including the Global Environmental History survey) and advanced undergraduate and graduate levels, are also expected. Our institution is an educationally purposeful community seeking to prepare students to be accountable leaders in a diverse and changing world. We are especially interested in candidates who can contribute to the diversity and excellence of the academic community through their research, teaching, and/or service. The College of Arts & Sciences has a strong commitment to diversity and inclusive excellence: more information can be found at http://www.uvm.edu/cas. The University of Vermont is an AA/EOE. All qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, color, religion, sex. sexual orientation, gender identity, national origin, disability, protected veteran status, or any other category legally protected by federal or state law. Candidates are asked to apply online at http://www.uvmjobs.com. Candidates will be asked to submit the following: a CV; the names and emails of three referees (who will be contacted for their letters electronically); and a letter of interest that outlines the candidate's teaching and research interests and experience, including a statement on how the candidate plans to contribute to inclusive excellence at UVM. Candidates will be asked to submit writing samples and sample course syllabi following an initial review of applications. The review of applications will begin on October 13, 2023. For more information on the position, please visit https://www. uvmjobs.com/postings/64811, where candidates may view the full job ad and apply for the position.

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SHERRI SHEU

JOHNNY HORIZON ENVIRONMENTAL TEST KIT



arker Brothers, manufacturer of games such as Sorry!, Clue, and Monopoly, made an unusual foray outside of board games when it released the Johnny Horizon Environmental Test Kit in 1971. The kit contained 10 experiments for children to test the air and water in their neighborhoods. Youngsters could take samples from their local waterways and culture a petri dish to test for fecal coliform contamination or dip pH strips to test acidity and alkalinity. They could test smoke density in the air or use sticky paper to find and count air particles. In the spirit of the scientific method, the experiments could be repeated multiple times, with refill kits also available for purchase.

The Johnny Horizon Environmental Test Kit was not the only effort by toy makers to monetize the ecological moment after the first Earth Day, held on April 22, 1970. The kit debuted at the influential annual Toy Fair trade show alongside toys such as see-through greenhouses kids could use to observe plant growth and ecology stamp books. As the *New York Times* reported about that year's toys, "Ecology is in."

These toys reflected the broad impact of the environmental movement, which spurred interest in ecology and science for a generation of American students. Many demanded environmental education in their classrooms. Riding this wave of interest, the Bureau of Land Management created an ad campaign around its mascot Johnny Horizon, a rugged outdoorsman figure. Horizon gained widespread popularity during the 1970s, and Burl Ives—perhaps best known today as the singer of the holiday earworm "A Holly Jolly Christmas"—became a spokesman for the ad campaign. Even Snoopy signed up. Across the nation, children took the Johnny Horizon Pledge, promising to help keep their local landscapes clean by picking up litter.

Advertising for the test kit directly targeted children interested in science and concerned about the environment. One ad featured a child in a lab coat under the text "for the scientist in you." Unlike previous chemistry play sets, the Johnny Horizon

The kit gave children a way to seize a modicum of agency in the face of overwhelming challenges, allowing them to use scientific tools to understand the state of their own neighborhoods. Though simplified, the science behind the kit was real. Writer Gareth Branwyn recalls growing up near chemical plants and becoming concerned by the malodorous air. When he decided to test the environment for a science project, "it felt really empowering to get this kit, trudge off into the woods, and collect scientific data that actually painted a picture of what was happening in the surrounding area." Several of Branwyn's test results showed illegal levels of pollution.

Yet, for all its testing capabilities, the kit could not provide many solutions. In a list of suggestions, the handbook recommended reading more books on the environment and instructed users to refrain from littering, avoid pesticides, reduce plastic use, and travel by mass transit. Only in the last recommendation did the booklet suggest reporting test results to the EPA or local authorities. The kit offered a way to observe the environment, not to solve environmental problems or engage in political action.

It is perhaps too much to ask for a solution to wide-scale environmental pollution from a toy. However, the limitations of the Johnny Horizon Environmental Test Kit illuminate a long-standing tension of the environmental age: What can everyday citizens do in light of the need for global systemic change? A half century after the kit's appearance, many of us still feel that we are trying to confront climate change with only children's toys.

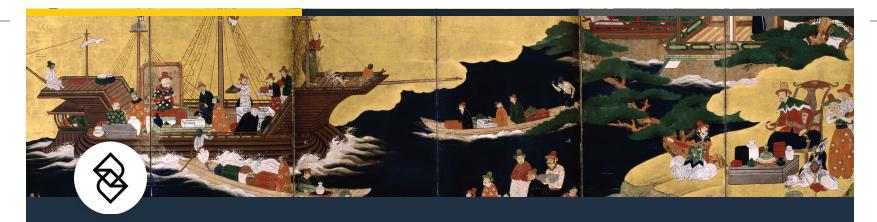
Sherri Sheu is the Haas Curatorial Fellow at the Science History Institute in Philadelphia and an at-large member of the AHA Council.

Photo: Courtesy Science History Institute/CC BY 4.0

September 2023

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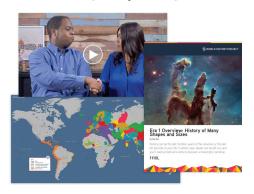


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