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# PERSPECTIVES ON HISTORY

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### ON THE COVER

San Francisco is a hilly city. It's a hard place to find level ground, and all sorts of things (like this row of houses) point in unnatural directions. Tilt-shift photography does what it says on the tin: it rotates a camera's lens plane relative to its image plane (i.e., tilting it) while moving the lens parallel to the image plane (shifting it). This elaborate process allows the photographer to control which part of an image remains in focus, adjusting their subject's position relative to its background. Often, the technique is used to make a real scene seem artificial, but it can also make parallel lines seem to diverge. It is a means of playing with *perspective*.

*Thomas Hawk/Flickr/CC BY-NC 2.0. Image cropped.*

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**AMERICAN  
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ASSOCIATION**

400 A Street, SE  
Washington, DC 20003-3889

PHONE: 202.544.2422

FAX: 202.544.8307

EMAIL: [perspectives@historians.org](mailto:perspectives@historians.org)

WEB PAGE: [historians.org/perspectives](http://historians.org/perspectives)



**PERSPECTIVES  
ON HISTORY**

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L. RENATO GRIGOLI

# THE UNSELFISH RULER

*Norton I, Emperor of the United States*

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The story of the life of the first and only emperor of the United States, Joshua Abraham Norton, seems quintessentially American. Born to a middle-class Jewish family in England, Norton came to the United States around 1845 from South Africa and set up shop in San Francisco as a mercantile middleman. He met with an immigrant's fairy tale, and within five years, he was both rich and well respected. But a poorly timed rice shipment ruined Norton, and by 1858, he was living in a working-class boardinghouse. There, he did what anyone would do in such circumstances: he launched an unsuccessful campaign for Congress. Then, on September 17, 1859, Norton hand-delivered a letter to the *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*. It declared and proclaimed him to be "Emperor of these United States" and ordered the states to send delegates to him by February in order to "make such alterations in the existing laws of the Union as may ameliorate the evils under which the country is laboring." The paper printed it, of course.

Emperor Norton began his rule with a flurry of declarations. On October 12—in a move for which you might feel some sympathy—he abolished Congress because of the "undue influence of political sects." When Congress failed to comply, he ordered Major General Winfield Scott to use the US Army to "clear the Halls of Congress." That Scott also failed to comply did not stop Norton from issuing further decrees—he made over 500 in his lifetime, choosing to publish most of them in the *Pacific Appeal*, a local Black-owned newspaper. Some were strikingly prescient, such as his order to build a bridge and tunnel to Oakland—presaging the Bay Bridge and Transbay Tube. One 1872 decree deserves special attention from 2024 AHA annual meeting attendees: "Whoever after due and proper warning shall be heard to utter the abominable word 'Frisco,' which has no linguistic or other warrant . . . shall pay into the Imperial Treasury as penalty the sum of twenty-five dollars." That's over \$600 in today's money. Consider this your due and proper warning!

But Norton was not just an eccentric issuing memoranda from a desk. He was a public figure and a familiar sight in San Francisco. Wearing an elaborate uniform, he made regular inspections of the city's streetcars and other public works. Norton issued his own currency, which was accepted locally. He attended political gatherings and the theater. When a private police officer arrested him for "insanity," the move prompted outrage from both the newspapers and the public, and Norton was quickly released with a heartfelt apology. King Kamehameha V of Hawai'i recognized him as the sole leader of the United States. Mark Twain, then a local resident, modeled the King in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* on him. After his death on January 8, 1880, the *San Francisco Chronicle* ran the headline "Le Roi est Mort" and reported that over 10,000 people attended his funeral. Even the 1870 census listed his occupation as "Emperor."

Perhaps it was Norton's ability to will his imagined reality into existence that makes him so singular. Or maybe it's how he went about his life, his attempt to use dictatorship for benevolence, whether by issuing proclamations or placing his imperial person bodily in the way of anti-Chinese rioters. As the *Daily Alta* wrote, Emperor Norton "had shed no blood; robbed no one; and despoiled no country; which is more than can be said of his fellows in that line." To be an unselfish emperor is not an easy task.

I have noticed of late the growing appeal of the unselfish emperor, mostly as nostalgia. I made a joke of Norton's desire to abolish Congress, but where now is the leader to cut through political gridlock? Surely, such a person could do immeasurable good. When faced with similar questions, the Roman Republic, the model for so much of our modern civic aspirations, found Sulla, a man who revived the office of dictator as a means to end civil strife. But, as the republic found out, dictatorship is a hard habit to break, and it's hard to tell a Norton from an Augustus. **P**

*L. Renato Grigoli is editor of Perspectives on History.*



## TO THE EDITOR

While reading president Edward Muir's wise and insightful column "On Ideological Litmus Tests: Historians and the Current Threats to Academic Freedom" (October 2023), I was reminded of the loyalty oath I was required to sign when I became an assistant professor at California State University, San Bernardino, in 1968. I remember thinking how absurd such oaths were, because—as I subsequently told my students over the following 50 years—had I been a communist bent on overthrowing the United States government, I would have no qualms about signing such an oath, because doing so would not have stopped me from engaging in treasonous activities.

During our current period of broken political promises, public lies, and treasonous actions, loyalty oaths, it seems to me, are perhaps dangerously ridiculous.

—ROBERT BLACKKEY

*California State University, San Bernardino (emeritus)*



## TO THE EDITOR

I was delighted to read Edward Muir's "On Ideological Litmus Tests: Historians and the Current Threats to Academic Freedom" (October 2023) and his ardent tribute to Ernst Kantorowicz, who heroically sacrificed his job rather than submitting to a loyalty oath during the McCarthy era. But I was disappointed that Muir ignored our own loyalty oaths: diversity, equity, and inclusion statements. Just like the oath Kantorowicz rejected, DEI statements require us to affirm a set of political propositions. They are—or should be—anathema to anyone who believes in the scholarly standards that Muir defends.

As Ellen Schrecker and other historians have chronicled, most members of our guild sat on their hands during the McCarthy period instead of speaking out for its victims. We are repeating that history, right now. I suspect that many professors think it's a very bad idea to require job candidates to swear allegiance, even to very good principles like diversity, equity, and inclusion. They're just too scared to say so.

—JONATHAN ZIMMERMAN

*University of Pennsylvania*



## TO THE EDITOR

L. Renato Grigoli's as usual right-on, witty "My Libraries: Finding a Third Place" (October 2023) sends me back in time to childhood visits at my working-class Peoria Public Library branch—the library card an important visa into feeling curious, smart, and grown up—taking books home to read under the summertime backyard pear tree or in winter bed, and on into high school there guided by our watchful nun librarian with permission also to amble—during free class time—to the nearby main public library, later wandering the stacks as an undergraduate at Trinity College, Hartford, getting into the habit of finding things I wasn't looking for, like a year after 1974 college graduation while working in the basement Harvard Coop shipping room I wandered into Boston Public Library, discovering by chance Stefan Zweig's *Die Welt von Gestern* (*World of Yesterday*), leading to a German course at Harvard Extension School!

Sadly, card catalogs in traditional wooden drawers no longer exist, as if every holding in collections were now transferred to be found online. This was already happening two decades ago at places like the University of Southern California and the University of California, Los Angeles, as I would emerge at front desk checkout only to be told, "We have no record of this book being here." To which I would reply, "So, should I steal it?"

Intellectual serendipity is long since at risk, as when I traveled across local northern Italian public libraries researching press accounts of an exact list of dated *Serate Futuriste / Futurist Evenings*, only to find constant card catalog and stacks references to an emerging epidemic of suicide. Even though I had read Durkheim as an undergrad, my inclination was to say, "I'm not here for this" while one day at a time succumbing to the realization "But it found me."

Last, I don't really need an espresso bar in the library. But if it makes reading a sociable place, *ben bevuto!*

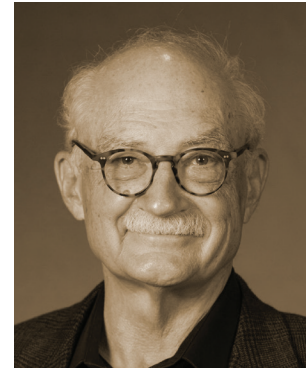
—TY GELTMAKER

*Los Angeles*

EDWARD MUIR

## ON THE RENAISSANCE

*Reflecting on the History of Rebirth*



Renaissance means “rebirth,” but that is about as much agreement as one can find about the word. It is an odd historical coinage, based vaguely on Petrarch’s 14th-century reform of Latin and reified in the Italian term *rinascità* during the 15th century as a form of self-praise by humanist writers who thought that by returning to the literary and artistic glories of ancient Greece and Rome they could reform their own culture. Intellectuals in France decided they also had bragging rights to a Renaissance, but the definitive use of the term came from Jacob Burckhardt, the 19th-century German-speaking Swiss historian who stamped it on 14th- to 16th-century Italian art and politics. The idea spread like gospel for other epochs. Scholars borrowed the brand to grace the literary cultures of 17th-century England and early 20th-century Harlem. Capitalist commerce has stretched out the expression to convey a sense of ineffable distinction: elegance in the case of Marriott’s Renaissance Hotel chain, or the financial success of a Medici bank in the case of Renaissance Wealth Management of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The superficial lure of the term sometimes defies obvious explanation. What is “Renaissance” about Beyoncé’s *Renaissance* or the Renaissance Plumbing and Heating company of Wood Dale, Illinois?

Perhaps troubled by the squishy, elitist feel of the word, many historians during the past half century have sought alternative terms—*late medieval* or, more often, *early modern*—but these tend to be so anodyne as to be drained of all meaning beyond a range of dates. A course or book labeled “early modern” will not, in my experience, draw as much interest as one called “The Renaissance.” The word possesses a great emotive power even if most have barely a clue about its precise meaning. The allure of the Renaissance transcends Western culture, as the numerous students from China in my courses demonstrate. Paul F. Grendler has observed “that Americans love and identify with the Renaissance more than with any other period of the distant past. . . . Nothing compares with the importance of the American West in the American imagination. But the Renaissance comes next.”

As evidence, he cites Renaissance faires (in which people dress up in pseudo-Renaissance costumes and watch pretend jousts), Renaissance retreat weekends, movies and novels set in the Renaissance, and the recasting of Niccolò Machiavelli into an expert on modern business management. The Renaissance can also paper over something unpleasant, such as the pains of old age at Renaissance North Tampa, a senior living community—“revitalize your retirement at Renaissance.”

Scholars borrowed the brand to grace the literary cultures of 17th-century England and early 20th-century Harlem.

In the United States, the significance of the Renaissance has long been tied to the republican institutions of the Italian city-states, which codified constitutions, selected officeholders through elections, and created a variety of local quasi-official institutions that we would now call civil society: hospitals, orphanages, guilds, and specialized offices for managing public works. In the heady days of the 1990s after the collapse of the communist regimes in Europe, examining Renaissance republican models seemed de rigueur, but the waning of democratic vitality in Europe and the United States has made those distant precedents seem less vital than immediate political reforms. And among professional historians, the Renaissance has long had a respectable place, even if academic jobs formerly occupied by Renaissance specialists have now disappeared or been shifted outside of European history to other periodizations and geographies.

Embedded in the very idea of the European Renaissance is an abiding paradox: the literary, artistic, and scientific culture of the Renaissance period was profoundly innovative, but many of the masters of that culture felt obliged to deny their own innovations by insisting that they were merely midwives to

the “rebirth” of something very old. Indeed, Guido Ruggiero has argued the term *Renaissance* disguises the new by finding it in the old, diluting the novelty of social and intellectual changes and rejecting the beneficial nature of progress. For the most innovative thinkers in the Renaissance, the best defense was to argue that someone in the ancient world had also thought the same thing and all that was needed was to acknowledge the ancient source. Nicolaus Copernicus may have recognized on his own the superiority of the heliocentric system over the Ptolemaic, but he found it prudent to show that Aristarchus of Samos had the same idea 1,800 years before. As Ruggiero writes, “One of the deep differences that sets modern society and culture off from most others is that it tends to accept without question that the new is good. The premodern world, by contrast, had a deep suspicion of change and the new.”

For the most innovative thinkers in the Renaissance, the best defense was to argue that someone in the ancient world had also thought the same thing.

The concept of the Renaissance is thus deeply conservative, a view that change meant decay from ideal beginnings. Reforming religion, politics, or thought necessitated revisiting those beginnings. This is a belief that reverberates today among conservatives who describe being “born again” or “returning” to the primitive church to purify Christianity, or want to restore the “original meaning” of the Constitution to guide American jurisprudence, or hope to revert to the unfettered free market to reinvigorate the economy. The preoccupation with such *re-* words implies the past was always better, but as was the case in 15th-century Italy, these conservative returns to a better past are at best fantasies. At worst, they are an evasion of the real issue of whether change, which is perforce inevitable, is desirable.

Whatever the problems with the terminology, the issue for historians and teachers is that thanks to the ever-growing body of research into the Renaissance since World War II, historians no longer broadly accept a single paradigm, whether they want to celebrate or to denigrate the period. There is just too much known to reduce it to a simple thesis, which makes the teacher’s task especially difficult. For example, feminists once categorically rejected Burckhardt’s thesis that Renaissance society liberated women by asking Joan Kelly-Gadol’s

famous question “Did women have a Renaissance?” A generation ago, the answer was a clear no, but now many historians would incline toward a limited yes. Perhaps in answer to Kelly-Gadol, in 1993, Margaret King and Albert Rabil established the Other Voice in Early Modern Europe book series. This began as a modest project to make available in English translation about a dozen important texts by women writers who contributed to the development of humanism during the European Renaissance. The series has far outstripped the original plans by publishing to date 163 new editions of books by and about women. That series alone has forced a major reassessment of Renaissance intellectual life, so that Sarah Gwyneth Ross could confidently title her 2009 book *The Birth of Feminism: Woman as Intellect in Renaissance Italy and England*. There is now an entirely new answer to Kelly-Gadol’s question.

On the lawn of the Northwestern campus where I teach, there is a bronze. *Man Going through a Door* depicts a naked man in the process of walking through a closed door, or perhaps he is stuck trying to get through the door. I suppose the patrons who gave it to the university imagined it as a metaphor for college students passing to a new place in their lives, but for me it conveys the sense that I am trying to get through a closed door of understanding. When I went to graduate school, what the Renaissance meant seemed hard to figure out. It still is. After 50 years of my teaching the period, the meaning of the Renaissance is still uncertain to me, which is why it remains a seductive challenge every time I teach it. That it is hard to define is why it is worth studying. **P**

*Edward Muir is president of the AHA.*

LAURA ANSLEY

# THE RIGHT TO BUY ARMS

*Gun Consumption in 20th-Century America*

**In the United States, it's hard to escape gun culture. According to Pew Research Center, in 2021, 48,830 people died of gun-related injuries—14.6 gun deaths per 100,000 people and a 23 percent increase from 2019.**

Deaths from mass shootings are harder to quantify, as there is no agreed-on definition for the circumstances or number of victims for these events. Yet

for many Americans attending or working in school settings, the possibility of a shooting like at Virginia Tech, Sandy Hook Elementary School in Connecticut, Robb Elementary School in Texas, Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Florida, and in so many other communities looms large.

In late August, a shooter killed associate professor Zijie Yan at the University of North Carolina (UNC) at Chapel

Hill. The campus was locked down for hours while law enforcement searched for and arrested the shooter. And just 16 days later, the campus community experienced another lockdown when an armed person brandished a weapon in the student union; this time, they were apprehended before firing any shots.

While it's difficult to count the number of gun deaths in the United States,

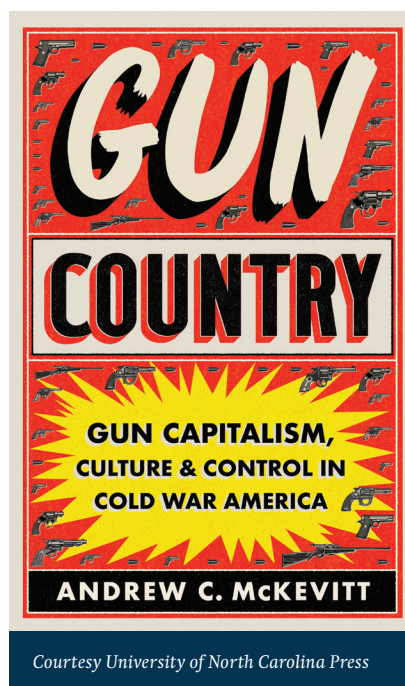


In Andrew C. McKeivitt's new book, he studies not just the right to bear arms but the buying of them.  
Jay Rembert/Unsplash

it is equally difficult to count the guns owned by Americans. The same week that Zijie Yan was murdered at UNC, I reached out to UNC Press and Andrew C. McKevitt about the new book *Gun Country: Gun Capitalism, Culture, and Control in Cold War America* (2023). McKevitt approaches 20th-century gun culture through a consumer lens. “We have lots of verbs for thinking about gun owners historically,” he said, “‘defend,’ ‘protect,’ ‘secure,’ or even ‘oppress,’ and so forth—but what about ‘consume’?” And for McKevitt, America’s unique relationship with firearms cannot be untangled from its place as a consumer product.

Consumerism is a unifying theme in all of McKevitt’s historical research. His first book was on US consumption of Japanese culture in the 1980s, and he told *Perspectives*, “For me it’s hard to escape the personal appeal of consumer history.” A native of New Jersey, McKevitt recognized his own experience in Lizabeth Cohen’s description of her New Jersey childhood as a “landscape of mass consumption.” As a graduate student, he connected with Cohen’s interrogation of the consumer landscape and became interested in “how Honda, Nintendo, sushi, and anime became part of the everyday American mass consumer experience.” More broadly, he said, “consumer history is so important because it is the flip side of the coin of the history of capitalism: we can’t understand that history from the perspective of production alone.”

A surprising connection to Japan led him to begin studying guns. When he moved to Louisiana in 2012 to join the history faculty at Louisiana Tech University, he was curious to learn “how ‘the Japanese global’ manifested in local ways.” Through simple web searches along the lines of “Japan and Louisiana,” he first encountered the



Courtesy University of North Carolina Press

story of Yoshihiro Hattori. In 1992, Hattori was a 16-year-old Japanese exchange student living in Baton Rouge. Hattori knocked on the wrong door looking for a Halloween party, and Rodney Peairs shot Hattori to death. Hattori’s death and Peairs’s acquittal on manslaughter charges led to outrage in Japan, and Hattori’s host family, the Haymakers, started a gun control campaign in his memory. Both faculty at Louisiana State University, the Haymakers left their records to the university, which offered McKevitt “a rare archival opportunity to examine a grassroots gun control movement, one that, fascinatingly, also had a transnational component” through their connections with Hattori’s parents and other activists around the world. “I started with that question that many Japanese asked—why is American gun culture so singular compared to the rest of the world?—thinking I might write an article using the Yoshi case to try to answer it,” McKevitt said. “It turned into an unexpected archival hunt that sent me all the way back to the Second World War.”

After World War II, enterprising entrepreneurs bought up surplus guns from Europe and Asia, often paying pennies on the dollar for hundreds of weapons, shipping them to the United States, and then selling them to the public via mail order for hunting. McKevitt writes that guns became “another mass-market commodity in a consumer culture in which Americans increasingly felt that nothing should be out of their reach.” In the postwar years, “the guns were everywhere, affordable, and accessible in America the dumping ground.”

As millions of cheap foreign-made guns flooded the market, it was domestic gun manufacturers who actually prodded Congress to regulate guns—especially after Lee Harvey Oswald used two imported guns to kill President John F. Kennedy in 1963. During the late 1960s, white Americans’ fears of a coming race war fueled calls for gun control. Congress passed the Gun Control Act in 1968, launching a decades-long fight over gun control versus gun rights that continues to this day.

“Why is American gun culture so singular compared to the rest of the world?”

With a focus on the grassroots organizing on both sides, *Gun Country* uncovers how conceiving of guns as a consumer product shaped early gun control activism and looks beyond the National Rifle Association at how right-wing groups mixed “Cold War anxieties with white racial fears of the 1960s” to adopt “an uncompromising approach that laid the foundations for the emergence of a national conservative gun rights ideology.” Returning to Hattori’s story, McKevitt closes the book with a look at the resulting

international activism, which occurred too late to get Americans to reject our gun culture.

Through the consumer culture around guns, McKeivitt digs into midcentury ideas about race, gender, and class. Historians of the United States will not be surprised to see in this book the Black Panthers' armed march on the California state capitol building in May 1967. Yet McKeivitt found that this event "took place in the context of a yearslong legislative effort to do something about the seemingly limitless proliferation of 'weapons of war'" in the state. The Panthers were certainly a target of the 1967 Mulford Act that prohibited carrying loaded firearms in public, but the legislature was simultaneously considering bills that looked to limit the stockpiling of weapons by white extremists. McKeivitt told us, "It reminded me of that old adage from grad school that you can't make sense of a particular document if you don't know what documents came before and after it." With the broader context of white extremism, there was "a more nuanced approach to gun control during this era than one that was simply about controlling Black populations. Instead it was a kind of last gasp of Cold War liberalism, an effort to toe a line between extremisms on both the left and right, a failed effort to preserve that 'vital center' of the early postwar years."

Advocates on both sides of the gun debate made appeals to ideals of masculinity. "Robert Self has a great line in his *All in the Family* about masculinity being the currency of 1960s politics, and you see that nowhere more than in the gun debate," McKeivitt said. While we might expect to see the gun rights supporters portraying guns as a manly accessory, gun control advocates argued that the masculine ideal included a man who could control himself, as "living in a modern society means

growing out of childish, emotional attachments to the tools of violence."

These early gun control groups in Chicago that McKeivitt profiles were made up almost entirely of women. Laura Fermi, widow of physicist Enrico Fermi, began her activist career in the antinuclear movement. To Fermi, McKeivitt said, "if men could control nuclear power, the most destructive force ever created, why could they not control the smallest of small arms?" Women like Fermi also embraced their role as homemakers and caretakers in portraying gun violence as a threat to the safety of the home and called for banning handgun bullets as a "dangerous substance," akin to chemicals being regulated nationally. McKeivitt sees these groups as precursors to many of the gun control groups active today, such as the Million Mom March and Moms Demand Action.

### The infrastructure that controls guns also entrenches them in our society.

It is impossible not to wonder what McKeivitt thinks will happen in the future of gun activism. Does he think meaningful change around guns is possible? What might that look like? McKeivitt said, "It's a mistake to see gun capitalism and gun control regimes as opposing forces, at least as they've manifested in the United States. Lawmakers, even those who support gun control, have seen it as their responsibility to protect the 'law-abiding citizen,' a political construct that has primarily been understood as a consumer whose access to the gun market shouldn't be inconvenienced or harassed in legislative efforts to keep guns out of the hands of the 'wrong' people.

So every legislative effort implicitly or explicitly acknowledged the legitimacy of the consumer gun market." The infrastructure that controls guns also entrenches them in our society. According to McKeivitt, "The guns and the bureaucracy protecting them are not going anywhere, so moderate approaches to 'gun safety' are an important place to start."

I also wondered what McKeivitt, as someone who teaches undergraduates, wanted students to take away from this book. Most traditional undergraduates were born in the years immediately after the Columbine High School shooting in Colorado, and they grew up under the threat of mass shootings and experienced active-shooter drills for much of their childhoods. Teaching in the rural Deep South, he said, "I've learned so much from this generation." His students tend to be more comfortable with firearms and assume easy access to cheap guns is "a natural state of affairs." He hopes this book will change that assumption. "What gun capitalism has done so well, abetted by various gun rights groups, is to convince people who support gun rights that our current national relationship to firearms is as it always was and as it should be," McKeivitt said. "You see it in popular understandings of the Second Amendment, which is likewise marketed to consumers, and in the assumption that if you're a 'law-abiding citizen,' there should be few or no obstacles to your accessing the consumer gun market." He concluded, "I'd like young people to see what we so often ask our students to take away the study of history: the present is a product of the past, of choice and contingency, and what was made in the past could always be unmade, or remade, in the present and future." **P**

Laura Ansley is senior managing editor at the AHA.

# American Historical Review

## Call for Proposals: "The Mistakes I Have Made"

**The *American Historical Review* seeks proposals for a special issue of the journal on "The Mistakes I Have Made."**

Historians are trained to work carefully to avoid mistakes. With the threat of losing professional credibility, historians rarely admit to their errors, while at the same time, they are trained to expose the errors of others.

In this *AHR* special issue, we invite historians to reflect on their missteps and how they reveal insights into historical practice. We welcome stories that explore mistakes you have made, where they have taken you, and what you have made of them.

### **Procedures for Submission:**

The special issue will be in digital form only. We invite individuals or teams of scholars to propose interventions in a wide variety of textual, digital, and visual forms.

Proposals should be no more than 500 words and submitted via an online submission form.

To read the call for proposals and access the submission form, visit [historians.org/ahr-special-issue](https://historians.org/ahr-special-issue)

## **Proposals are due on December 15, 2023**

History Unclassified consulting editors Kate Brown and Emily Callaci are the editors for this special issue.

**Questions? Email [ahr@historians.org](mailto:ahr@historians.org)**

RICHARD BOND

# A CLASSROOM TUNE-UP

*Using Think-Alouds in an Introductory History Course*



The AHA's Tuning the History Discipline initiative has ended, but its lessons persist.  
Cindy Trussell/Flickr/CC BY-NC 2.0

IN 2012, the AHA invited historians from a variety of fields and walks of life to participate in the Tuning the History Discipline initiative. The project sought to describe rather than prescribe “the skills, knowledge, and habits of mind that students develop in history courses and degree programs” that could then be “tuned” to an individual program’s curriculum.

I joined Tuning as a new associate professor. I had recently concluded that my past decade of teaching students to think like budding historians needed a solid rework. I thought that all I was probably offering students was a chance to glean what a historian does through classroom osmosis, and that such generalized pedagogical murkiness probably does not make for the best learning environment. Now, eight years after Tuning ended, I feel more confident about explaining what it is we do as historians in the classroom. While I have made many changes in how I teach based on what I learned through Tuning, here I would like to offer just one example of such a change—how I ask students to be historians during the first weeks of their introductory history major course.

### How should a student identify a historical problem, map out an analytical road toward a conclusion, and then revisit each step of the process?

Following Tuning’s completion, I began revising my course by reflecting on how Tuning related to my students. I focused on two competencies Tuning had defined: competency 1, “consider a variety of historical sources for credibility, position, perspective, and relevance,” and competency 3, “revise analyses and narratives when new evidence requires it.” This language was a valuable starting point for answering my questions: How should a student identify a historical problem, map out an analytical road toward a conclusion, and then revisit each step of the process? Like most history programs, our department’s curriculum approaches this problem iteratively; students practice historical thinking as they progress through increasingly difficult courses, ending in the program’s capstone by melding primary and secondary source analysis in a research project. Yet what bothered me was not the goal but rather what a student’s attempt to practice these skills should look like. Importantly, what should their first attempt look like, especially as they were almost always going to be categorical and unequivocal failures? And,

finally, I wanted to know how students could stick with it given this likely outcome.

Instructional tools designed by historians to help students interpret sources could help. For instance, Patrick Rael coined the term PAPER (purpose, argument, presuppositions, epistemology, and relate) to structure such an analysis. As Rael explains, if a student was defining a source’s purpose, they would ask,

Who is the author and what is her or his place in society (explain why you are justified in thinking so)? What could or might it be, based on the text, and why? Why did the author prepare the document? What was the occasion for its creation? What is at stake for the author in this text? Why do you think she or he wrote it? What evidence in the text tells you this? Does the author have a thesis? What—in one sentence—is that thesis?

When I started using this excellent resource, however, I found that it stumbled in one crucial way. It does not start where my students begin. They are almost always bewilderingly confident in what they think practicing history entails, completely wrong in their assumptions, and afraid to acknowledge this disjunction for fear of proving that they do not belong in a university. The first step, it turned out, to help them think and speak like historians was to provide a space to express and reflect on their expected “failure” to be able to do this at all.

Sam Wineburg describes using a research tool known as a “think-aloud” in his work, a tool he and his fellow researchers used as they sought to qualify and quantify the interpretive models that might differentiate between how a professional historian and an amateur high school student read a previously unseen primary source. Formerly, I had asked my students to read Wineburg, hoping that the descriptions he provides would resonate with their experiences. Although students suggested his work was helpful, it was also overwhelming; the mental processes he described felt out of reach.

Two years ago, I concluded that I was extrapolating the wrong lesson from Wineburg. Maybe using his work as a description of the historical method was wrongheaded on my part. Instead, I needed to look at how he encouraged people to verbalize their thoughts, doubts, confusions, and unproductive circumlocutions. If students became comfortable expressing to me how and why they were struggling, I might be able to better identify pathways to help them reach desirable outcomes.

Now, four times during the semester, I give students in my Introduction to History course unfamiliar and uncontextualized primary sources and ask them to record a 15-minute oral stream-of-conscious reflection about the sources. I tell them explicitly that neither do I expect them to produce a “correct” interpretation of the source nor will I grade them based on the “correctness” of their assessment. The purpose of the assignment and its graded component is to encourage them to become comfortable telling me “I don’t know.”

In their first think-aloud, which students record on their phone and email to me, I ask students to read the document out loud and to summarize what they read in their own words. In this process, I ask them to try to be aware of when and where they get stuck. Next, I ask them to listen to their recording and to produce one or two written paragraphs telling me *whatever* it is they want to tell me about the experience. Many of my students report being “weirded out” by recording their own voice and listening to it, and so the first assignment serves as a gentle on-ramp to let them express these reservations. In practice, only some of my students use the assignment for its intended purpose; most still assume I am trying to trap them and seek to interpret the source “correctly.” This is all fodder for the next step.

In class, we reflect on how and why people felt discomfort with the assignment — “I do not like the sound of my voice,” “I sound stupid,” “I am embarrassed about my vocabulary” — as well as why some students did not feel comfortable even sharing these thoughts. I start this session by explaining the embarrassment I felt when I saw the video recording of my first teaching experience. I then show the video, talk about it, and discuss how even now I sometimes feel like I just want to destroy any evidence of my own professional inadequacy: “See how I will not look at my students?” “Interesting how I got that date wrong, huh?”

Then we do the assignment over again. This time, however, I ask them to pay greater attention to the actual content of the document and the interpretive method we have been reviewing in class (purpose, that first *P* in PAPER). I ask them again to verbalize whatever barriers appear between what the model is asking them to do and what they are actually doing when confronted with a historical source. If they think vocabulary is an issue, they should track how often they encounter this problem. They should ask themselves *aloud* whether the confusion over the meaning of a word arises from the word being entirely unfamiliar to them or if this word might have multiple (chronologically appropriate, but contemporaneously unknown) meanings. They should also vocalize issues about the structure of the document, their reading

environments, and their attention span — how often did they think, *I am bored*? And why? Are the sentences too meandering? Does their phone chirp constantly with notifications? Do they even feel in control of the words they are speaking aloud?

Each of the subsequent assignments starts similarly but introduces more documents to consider, or I ask students to provide a fuller textual, contextual, and chronological reading of the document. Usually by the third assignment, a student’s first attempt at thinking aloud begins to blend the personal with the historical. However, with each assignment, I tell students that space is always there for them to stumble, to admit what they found perplexing, and even to confuse themselves. Only as they refine and repeat the assignments will grading criteria start to reflect our Tuned outcome language.

By the third assignment, a student's first attempt at thinking aloud begins to blend the personal with the historical.

The assignment still yields uneven results, but I hope this overview suggests a place for reflection about how we can concretely help students reckon with most history departments’ outcome language, Tuned or not, regarding what it means to think, interpret, and speak like a historian. The process is ultimately muddy. Learning to be direct with oneself about what one does and does not know (and why one does not know it) is utterly important to what we do in the classroom. To do this, we must make space for students to stumble, to fail, and to tell us about these failures; otherwise, useful language developed in places like Tuning will remain ethereal guidance. **P**

*Richard Bond is associate professor and chair of the history department at Virginia Wesleyan University.*

JEFFREY WASSERSTROM

# THE FALLEN GODDESS

*A Different Sort of Statue Story*



On his visits to Hong Kong, Jeffrey Wasserstrom made pilgrimages to visit the replica of the Goddess of Democracy on the Chinese University of Hong Kong campus.

*Jeffrey Wasserstrom. Image cropped.*

**THE STORIES OF** some contested objects are simple two-act dramas. They rise. They fall. Certain statues' stories have third acts. In England, for example, the recently toppled Edward Colston statue has begun a third act in a museum. In Russia, Hungary, and Taiwan, certain Cold War-era monuments' third acts have involved being placed in "Statue Parks," sorts of historical theme parks located in Moscow and near Budapest and Taipei, respectively. The Goddess of Democracy statue, first erected in Tiananmen Square in Beijing, has had a more complicated fate. She has had not just a third act but a fourth and a fifth.

The Goddess of Democracy was knocked down less than a week after she was unveiled during the 1989 Tiananmen protest movement. Her rise and fall were just the first two acts, however, in a tale that continues to this day, and not just in Asia. The story of her brief life and multifaceted afterlife is fascinating for its own sake, but it also alerts us to the varied forms that struggles over monuments can take, as well as what these struggles can reveal about how political orders are challenged and defended.

The Goddess stood 33 feet tall and was constructed out of foam and papier-mâché with a metal armature. She was created by students. This is no surprise. Educated youths played the central role in the massive multiclass, multicity Tiananmen movement—a movement whose participants called for an end to official nepotism and corruption, for increased personal and political freedoms, and for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to do a better job of living up its own professed ideals. The statue fell during the tragic event known in Chinese as the June Fourth Massacre. As a tank toppled the Goddess in the square, soldiers turned nearby streets into killing fields, ending the lives of at least hundreds and likely several thousand unarmed protesters and bystanders.

To make sense of this initial phase in the statue's story, it is important to understand the meaning of where it occurred. Tiananmen Square is a massive plaza that borders the Forbidden City, which was once the home of emperors. It includes, among other things, the mausoleum of Mao Zedong, the first paramount leader of the People's Republic of China (PRC), and a soaring plinth honoring revolutionary heroes. The base of the plinth has friezes that portray revered historical figures, including the student activists of the hallowed May Fourth Movement of 1919. Participants in that struggle, the most important youth movement of the Republican era (1912–49), included a young Mao and other future CCP founders.

Tiananmen is the site of lavish state rituals, such as the National Day parades held annually to commemorate the

October 1, 1949, founding of the PRC. These ceremonies celebrate the CCP and present it as the protector of sacred values and the sole legitimate representative of those values. One such value the CCP claims to represent is *minzhu*, a compound word made up of the characters for "people" and "rule." *Minzhu* is generally translated as "democracy," a term with comparable component parts.

A few weeks before the statue went up in 1989, student activists gathered in front of the plinth's frieze extolling the 1919 protests and boldly asserted that they, not the country's current leaders, represented *minzhu* and other vaunted values of the May Fourth Movement. Their struggle, they said, was a "New May Fourth Movement" launched to put the revolution back on track. The creation and display of the Goddess of Democracy, a white larger-than-life female figure whose name stood for an ideal rather than a powerful individual, also challenged top-down party-centered versions of history.

It is no surprise that the same military action designed to clear the square of protesters purged the plaza of this bottom-up addition to the landscape. The original has not been housed in a museum or a theme park. She could not be. After a tank toppled her, soldiers wielding metal bars destroyed it.

The original has not been housed  
in a museum or a theme park.  
She could not be.

The later acts in this statue story have involved replicas and representations—and global travel, as representations of the Goddess are banned in Beijing. The most important replica, and for a long time the one nearest to Tiananmen, stood some 1,300 miles to the south, on the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) campus. It was one of several important objects with ties to the events of 1989 that once stood in Hong Kong, the former British colony that became a "Special Administrative Region" of the PRC in 1997.

The CUHK Goddess, which was roughly two-thirds as tall as the original and a faux bronze statue, was special to me. It is the only representation of a deity to which, as a person without faith, I have ever made pilgrimages. When I traveled to Hong Kong in the 2010s, I always tried to visit her. It felt special the couple of times I stayed at a hotel right by CUHK and could see her regularly. In part, I always went to see her simply to be sure she was still there, as her days seemed numbered from the start given the CCP leadership's desire to minimize over time the ways that Hong Kong differed from cities

across the border on the mainland. I also wanted to see if anything special had been done to alter her look since the last time I had paid homage. At one point, students added rainbow-colored clothing to the Goddess to link her to Pride celebrations. In 2017, they draped a black-and-white skirt around her, with the names of a hundred or so people arrested for their roles in recent protests written on the white bands—a listing of Hong Kong’s first political prisoners.

The CUHK Goddess was unique—the only large replica of the Beijing statue that existed in any part of the PRC. Simply by standing where she did, she symbolized the fact that there really were special things about this Special Administrative Region. Only in Hong Kong and in nearby Macau, the former Portuguese colony also given SAR status when it became part of the PRC in 1999, could schoolchildren learn in detail about the 1989 protests. Only in those two cities could annual vigils be held to honor Beijing’s June Fourth Massacre martyrs.

## The Goddess of Democracy drama is now into its fifth act, with events taking place beyond the PRC.

The Goddess was rooted in a distinctive point in the past but also represented a desire for a better future. This was signaled by the adornments added to her over the years. Fittingly, in September 2014, when speakers called for CUHK students to join the struggle for democracy that would become known as the Umbrella Movement, many listened while standing or sitting in the shade of the Goddess. And the last time I saw her, in December 2019, she had a placard hanging around her neck with Chinese characters on it meaning “Five Demands and Not One Less,” a slogan protesters were shouting on the streets at the time during marches staged to try to protect those things they felt made the SAR truly special.

Just as the Goddess’s most dramatic third act, the period of replicas, took place in Hong Kong, so, too, did her most dramatic fourth act. This was a repeat, with variations, of the second act. For again the statue was toppled—once more not by protesters but by an autocratic regime—in late December 2021.

As similar as the fates of the original and the CUHK replica were, there are revealing differences. The original was destroyed while a movement was being crushed. Her toppling was caught on film. Briefly it seemed that her falling might become the iconic image of the movement’s end—but then, a day after the June Fourth Massacre, a lone man was photographed standing before a line of tanks.

The CUHK Goddess was removed from campus in secret well after a period of repression had begun. There were no cameras to capture the event and no gunfire on nearby streets when she disappeared. She was toppled well into a protracted multistage strangling of a city. This throttling followed and was largely a response to the massive protests of 2019, which began as an effort to push back against a proposed extradition bill that many felt would undermine the rule of law in Hong Kong by allowing the CCP to take local residents to the mainland for trial in courts in which the accused nearly always ended up being convicted. The 2019 movement soon became a fight for the right to protest with a key demand—one of the five referred to in the year’s main slogan—being an independent investigation of widespread police brutality. The CUHK Goddess was toppled almost two years after the last giant Hong Kong protest march took place on New Year’s Day 2020. Eighteen months after Beijing imposed a draconian National Security Law on the city. A year after *Apple Daily* was closed and its publisher Jimmy Lai jailed.

The Goddess of Democracy drama is now into its fifth act, with events taking place beyond the borders of the PRC. There is no longer any way to commemorate 1989 even in Hong Kong or Macau—or rather no way to do so without risking immediate arrest. The key commemorations now take place in other parts of the world. In the June Fourth vigils now, which take place everywhere from Toronto to Taipei, Hong Kong exiles and references to the city’s 21st-century struggles play important roles, making these events in part commemorations not just of 1989 but also of the 2014–19 protests and their aftermath.

The last time I saw the Goddess was last spring in London’s Trafalgar Square, where I attended a June Fourth commemorative rally that ended with a march to and candlelight vigil outside the London embassy of the PRC. Unlike the Tiananmen original and the CUHK replica, this version of the Goddess was the size of a person—and she moved. Presiding over that rally, which included speeches about what happened in Beijing in 1989 but also presentations by exiles who brought up recent and ongoing repression in settings ranging from Hong Kong to Tibet and Xinjiang, was a young woman dressed as the Goddess. **P**

*Jeffrey Wasserstrom is Chancellor’s Professor of History at the University of California, Irvine, and the author of Vigil: Hong Kong on the Brink (Columbia Global Reports, 2020). Find him on Bluesky @jwassers.bsky.social.*

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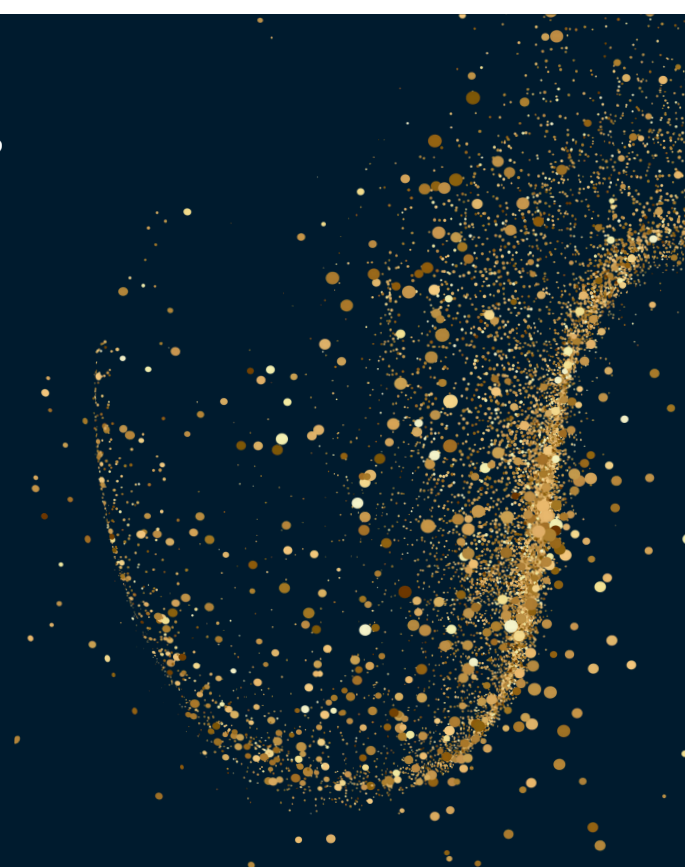
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## WHAT'S IN A BOTTLE?

### *Conquest and the Origins of California Wine*

If you're making the trip to San Francisco for the AHA annual meeting, perhaps you will have the opportunity to share a bottle of wine with colleagues. You might indulge in an oaky Sonoma chardonnay or a delicate Los Carneros pinot noir. Or maybe a robust, juicy zinfandel from the Central Coast is more to your taste as you unwind with friends after a day of conference sessions. This future glass of wine will undoubtedly elicit a pleasurable sensory experience. It may also evoke romantic postcard images that we in the 21st century have come to associate with California wine—gentle, vineyard-covered hills and fragrant, barrel-lined wine cellars, to name a few.

Prominent among these cultural stereotypes are the distinct racial and class connotations that accompany California wine. For some, wine is an exclusive product associated with elite populations and white racial groups. This perception is not without merit. Despite the predominance of Mexican and Mexican American farmworkers in California, both in the wine-growing Napa and Sonoma Valleys and beyond, these groups have faced significant barriers to entry in other segments of the wine industry. Since 2010, the Mexican-American Vintners Association has broken new ground in publicly claiming a space for Mexican American vintners and wineries, highlighting the importance of populations of color to California's contemporary wine industry. But Mexicans are not new to this industry. They were part of wine growing in California well before the industry's commercial successes in the 20th and 21st centuries. This history of the genesis of California's storied wine industry is the story of diverse groups who planted vineyards and fermented wine against the backdrop of conquest and colonization that defined the region in the 18th and 19th centuries.

California's first vineyards and wineries originated in the Spanish conquest and colonization of the region. As part of their colonizing work, Franciscan missionaries needed a dependable supply of sacramental wine. Without this, they could not say the mass and consecrate the Eucharistic bread

and wine or convert Mission Indians to Christianity. The Franciscan friars conscripted California Natives to plant vineyards, gardens, and grainfields and, of course, to construct Mission churches. Establishing vineyards required California Natives to clear land, plant grapevines, and harvest the crop before crushing and fermenting the grapes into wine. In overseeing vineyard cultivation, the Spanish Franciscans also disrupted local environments through the introduction of foreign grapevines (later named the Mission grape) and European agricultural methods. Rather than draw on Indigenous agricultural and land-management practices, the Franciscans relied on agricultural and horticultural manuals imported from Spain to dictate how vineyards and grainfields were planted and how crops were harvested and processed.

Franciscan friars conscripted California Natives to plant vineyards, gardens, and grainfields.

The vineyards at Mission San Juan Capistrano or Mission San Gabriel likely produced California's first vintages by the mid-1780s. Prior to this, the missionaries relied on irregular shipments of wine from Mexico and other parts of New Spain. By the early 19th century, over 60 percent of Missions had vineyards on their properties, ensuring a more dependable supply of wine for the colony in Alta California. From these grapes, the missionaries produced sacramental wine as well as table wines and distilled grape liquors for their own enjoyment and for trade with Spanish imperial soldiers and colonists across Alta California. Although California Natives labored to produce wine from Mission vineyards across the system, Spanish imperial regulations prohibited them from freely consuming wine, the fruit of their labor, outside of the mass. Colonial laws also forbade Natives from accessing other distilled liquors.

Thus, California's first wine industry directly emerged from the work of Mission Indians. Although today's consumers



may not associate their wines with the conquest, colonization, and unfree labor of California Natives, the legacy of this nascent wine industry remains visible at some Missions, such as San Juan Capistrano's famed grape arbor and wine vat. By situating wine growing within this history and highlighting its significance to the history of conquest, colonization, and enslavement of California Natives, historians further complicate the controversial legacy of the Missions in contemporary California. We also claim a space for California Natives in this history by acknowledging their labor in helping to establish one of the region's most storied agricultural industries.

During the 19th century, the changing political landscape in California enabled different generations of winegrowers to assume the helm of the industry. Following Mexican independence in the 1820s and 1830s, legal changes allowed Mexican Californio landowners to begin trading wine on the open market. This brought forth California's first commercial wine industry. After US conquest in 1848, migrants from the eastern states and European immigrants to the region expanded

vineyard acreage and commercial trade. By the 1850s and 1860s, viticulture had expanded in Southern California such that Los Angeles flourished as California's viticultural hub.

German immigrants were among those who took up viticulture in Los Angeles and its environs. In other parts of the United States, Americans often viewed German immigrants as foreigners. The opposite occurred in the far west, where Americans celebrated them for bringing European culture to Southern California and for helping to racially whiten the region. In the late 1850s, a group of German immigrants to San Francisco formed the Los Angeles Vineyard Society, a joint-stock wine-growing cooperative. With the help of a Los Angeles-based surveyor, they purchased land in Los Angeles County and founded Anaheim in 1857 as a wine colony. Soon, Anaheim—or Campo Aleman (literally "German country"), as it was known by its Mexican Californio neighbors—became renowned across California and beyond for its vineyards and wines. Numerous groups labored to make Anaheim's vineyards a success, including Yaqui Natives, Sonoran migrant workers, and, later, Chinese immigrants.



California wine would never have been possible without the labor of Indigenous people and other marginalized groups.  
*Babi Santander/Flickr/CC BY-NC-SA*


Although they are not often associated with the wine industry, Chinese laborers were instrumental to the success of wine growing in 19th-century California. Following the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, they labored in vineyards across the state. Beyond Anaheim, they planted grapes and worked the harvest in numerous vineyards north-east of Los Angeles, most notably in present-day Pasadena and San Marino. In the Napa and Sonoma Valleys, Chinese laborers applied the skills they developed in the gold rush and in building the transcontinental railroad to dig into the local volcanic rock and construct subterranean tunnels and wine caves. These structures were used to age and store wines. For example, Agoston Haraszthy, a Hungarian immigrant, relied on Chinese laborers to construct the wine caves at his Buena Vista Winery in Sonoma during the 1860s. Many of these wine caves are still in operation today across Napa and Sonoma. Visitors to Buena Vista can explore the winery's original wine caves that Chinese workers dug out over 150 years ago.

Agoston Haraszthy relied on Chinese laborers to construct the wine caves at his Buena Vista Winery in Sonoma.

By the 1870s, the rising tide of nativism prompted mobs of white Americans to target Chinese communities across California as outsiders, and, at times, with violence. Such nativist campaigns extended to rural communities where Chinese men labored in vineyards. For example, Haraszthy's neighbors protested his hiring of Chinese workers, a choice that he publicly defended in newspapers and agricultural groups as economically prudent given the low wages he could pay them. Farther north in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada mountains, local nativists protested Leland Stanford's hiring of Chinese vineyard workers at his Vina Ranch. As has been well documented in the history of California, white Americans (who were newcomers to California themselves) racialized Chinese immigrants as noncitizens and targeted them with racial violence across the state. As with the conquest of California Natives, this complicated past also is part of the history of wine in the region.

The history of viticulture and wine making in California challenges the romanticized imagery and polished veneer surrounding its contemporary iteration. Wine growing developed from the conquest and colonization of California. As a religious project of colonization and conquest, viticulture and wine production necessitated the labor of racialized groups in

the 19th century. At its roots, California's historic wine industry was a multiracial, multiethnic, and, at times, working-class venture that relied on the labor of diverse groups ranging from California Natives and Mexican Californios to migrants from China, Germany, and the eastern United States. This legacy continues in contemporary vineyards, which largely rely on Mexican American and Mexican farmworkers, including guest workers who travel to California for the harvest. Like their predecessors, these laborers, too, are often racialized as outsiders in the contemporary United States. Vineyard laborers today also are not included as part of the public-facing wine industry. For tourists to California's numerous wine regions, and for consumers like you and me, these farmworkers are largely rendered invisible.

As you enjoy your wine in the company of old friends in San Francisco, take a moment to reflect on the rich history found behind each bottle of California wine. Let us raise our collective glasses to the populations who planted the seeds of this vibrant industry, as well as those whose labor makes it possible for us to enjoy wine today. Salud! 

*Julia Ornelas-Higdon is an associate professor of history at California State University, Channel Islands, and the author of The Grapes of Conquest: Race, Labor, and the Industrialization of California Wine, 1769–1920 (Univ. of Nebraska Press, 2023).*

REBECCA L. WEST

## AWARDS, PRIZES, AND HONORS TO BE CONFERRED AT THE 137TH ANNUAL MEETING

The following is a list of recipients of the various awards, prizes, and honors that will be presented during the 137th annual meeting of the American Historical Association on Thursday, January 4, 2023, in the Cyril Magnin I&II of the Parc 55 hotel.

### 2023 AWARDS FOR SCHOLARLY AND PROFESSIONAL DISTINCTION

#### AWARDS FOR SCHOLARLY DISTINCTION

Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, Harvard University



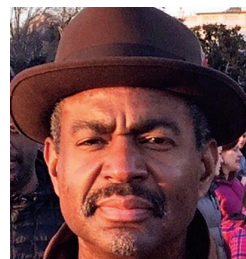
Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, a pioneering and distinguished scholar of African American women's history, is the Victor S. Thomas Professor of History and of African and African American Studies at Harvard University, where she has served as chair of the Department of African and African American Studies and was the first African American to chair the Department of History.

Higginbotham is the author of the groundbreaking and prizewinning book *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920*, which won the 1993 Joan Kelly Memorial Prize of the AHA. The publication of *Righteous Discontent* marked a critical turning point in the field of African American women's history and its theorization and has had a defining influence on generations of scholars. Here Higginbotham coined the term “politics of respectability” to describe the strategy for racial uplift and political advancement adopted by the Women's Convention of the Black Baptist Church. Higginbotham is also co-editor with Henry Louis Gates Jr. of the 12-volume *African American National Biography*, which presents African American history through the lives of more than 5,000 biographical entries, and co-author with the late John Hope Franklin of the preeminent history of African Americans, *From Slavery to*

*Freedom: A History of African Americans*, first published in 1947 and now in its 10th edition.

Higginbotham has received many honors, notably the 2014 National Humanities Medal from President Barack Obama, “for illuminating the African American journey” and deepening “our understanding of the American story.” Her many other honors include election as national president of the Association for the Study of African American Life and History from 2016 to 2021, and to the American Philosophical Society in 2009 and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2018. She holds the Distinguished Scholars Medal from the University of Rochester and honorary doctorate degrees from Howard University, the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee, Duke University, and Carnegie Mellon University. For her remarkable contributions to the field of history, she also received the James W. C. Pennington Award from the University of Heidelberg Department of Theology and the Heidelberg Center for American Studies (2013); the Inaugural Living Legacy Award from the Association for the Study of African American Life and History (2012); the Legend Award from the National Urban League (2008); the Carter G. Woodson Scholars Medallion from the Association for the Study of African American Life and History (2008); and the J. Franklin Jameson Fellowship (1985), awarded by the AHA and the Library of Congress. She was the inaugural John Hope Franklin Professor of American Legal History at Duke University (2010–11) and in 2022 was named a Living Legend by the Association of Black Women Historians.

Michael A. Gomez, New York University



A pioneer in linking the histories of Africa, the Islamic world, and the Americas, Michael A. Gomez has demonstrated uncommon breadth and originality over the course of his stellar career. Each of Gomez's five books has made critical interventions in fields as

widely diverse as medieval Africa, Black Islam in the Americas, early African America, and the worldwide African diaspora. His most well-known book, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1998), examines the evolution of politics, culture, and race in North America to around 1830. More than any other work before or since, Gomez's text offers an eloquent and convincing history that centers the African past in the distinct context of North America. The book remains a foundational work in African diaspora history, a fulcrum that connects scholarship on African life and culture in the American South to ongoing debates about the making and practice of diaspora.

In addition to his extraordinary scholarship, Gomez has been an inspirational leader and institution builder throughout his career. Most notably, he was the founder of the Association for the Study of the Worldwide African Diaspora (ASWAD) in 1999 and served as the organization's president for the first eight years of its existence. During that time, Gomez grew the organization into what is now widely regarded as the premier intellectual home for scholars, artists, and activists with interests in the study of the global African diaspora. ASWAD's biennial conferences have taken place in Africa, Europe, South America, the Caribbean, and the United States. Its 10th conference in 2019 included nearly 1,000 participants from 30 countries. In building ASWAD; producing innovative, field-bending scholarship; and mentoring young scholars, Gomez spearheaded the founding and flourishing of African diaspora studies, today one of the most vibrant interdisciplinary fields in academia.

**Geoffrey Parker**, Ohio State University



Prolific does not fully describe Geoffrey Parker's remarkable scholarship that has resulted in more than 40 books and over 100 articles and book chapters. What characterizes Parker's achievement is his ability to solve puzzles: to take bits of information from seemingly different spheres, to recognize patterns, and to make a coherent case to explain why things happened or failed to happen in the past. The most remarkable of the many puzzles he has solved can be found in his massive study, *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century*, which analyzes the climatically induced crisis that caused the premature death of around one-third of the human population.

From the very beginning of his publishing career, he has been a trendsetter by denationalizing European history. The unifying task in many of his books has been to test the limits of state power in the Habsburg dominions, which stretched across Europe, northern Africa, and South and Central America, with outposts in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. His works have modeled how to achieve great global history that never loses sight of the sources. He is always aware of the fallibility of human actors, the vicissitudes of weather and transportation, and the interrupted transmission of information. These books include studies of Philip II, Charles V, the Spanish in Flanders, the Spanish Armada, the Dutch Revolt, the Thirty Years' War, and his justly famous fundamental text on the military revolution. Besides his many awards, his influence may be measured by the 35 doctoral dissertations he has directed to completion.

## HONORARY FOREIGN MEMBER

**Gábor Klaniczay**, Central European University, Budapest



Gábor Klaniczay is perhaps the most respected medieval historian from east central Europe, someone who during the declining years of communist oppression became an intellectual force not only in Hungary but in the West. He has pushed scholarship

in new directions through his curiosity about how people became saints, accepted miracles, embraced visions, and practiced healing magic and witchcraft. He has not, however, isolated himself in the intellectual safety of the Middle Ages but promoted free thought in Hungary as a long-standing member of the faculty and an administrator at Central European University (CEU), a private institution that has been a major force for an open society in opposition to the authoritarian regime of Viktor Orbán and the Fidesz Party.

Orbán has attempted to dismantle CEU to replace its tolerant liberalism with his Christian, conservative, and nationalist agenda. There is a profound irony that Hungary's most distinguished historian of religion has fallen victim to Orbán's attempt to crush free thought, but there is no irony in that the iconoclastic Klaniczay is east central Europe's most prominent commentator on that iconoclastic American rebel Andy Warhol. In his commitment to contravene the traditional borders of history and his deep moral obligation to liberal democracy, Klaniczay is the true heir in our time of his illustrious medievalist predecessor and victim of the Nazis, Marc Bloch.

**TROYER STEELE ANDERSON PRIZE****Michael Les Benedict**, Ohio State University

The Troyer Steele Anderson Prize honors historians who have “made the most outstanding contribution to the advancement of the purposes of the Association.” The award is offered not annually but rather upon the identification of an individual who has not merely performed “service” to the discipline but contributed in a way that has made a difference to the Association’s evolution, shape, and ability to respond to the needs of its members. The 2023 Troyer Steele Anderson Prize is presented to Michael Les Benedict for his service as the AHA’s parliamentarian for three decades (1988–2017).

As parliamentarian, Benedict worked behind the scenes with AHA officers and staff to develop and implement a series of fundamental revisions to the Association’s Constitution and Bylaws in response to a changing legal and cultural landscape, as well as a straightforward process of continued institutional learning. He also played an essential role at the annual business meeting, serving as the right hand for the presiding presidents and helping them navigate the complexities of parliamentary procedure amid controversy (often after spending additional hours beforehand preparing them for their role). His calm presence and assured mastery of parliamentary procedure helped maintain good order at many potentially contentious meetings. AHA staff often received comments about the quality of democratic process—a significant accomplishment given vigorous debates over content and process.

In addition to his role as parliamentarian, Benedict also served as an advisor on other legal matters, served for over a decade on the Association’s Task Force on Intellectual Property, and prepared the AHA’s *A Historian’s Guide to Copyright* (2012).

**EUGENE ASHER DISTINGUISHED TEACHING AWARD****Stephen Jackson**, University of Kansas

While at the University of Sioux Falls, Stephen Jackson expanded the courses available to students and broadened the scope of topics to ensure the inclusion of historically missing voices. He served on a statewide working group to create a set of standards that featured disciplinary inquiry and inclusive content matter. His advocacy



exemplifies the way the historical profession relies on community engagement in all corners of the United States to defend the integrity of history education.

**BEVERIDGE FAMILY TEACHING PRIZE****Christopher W. Stanley**, Ponaganset High School

Christopher W. Stanley’s class embarked on a project that combined elements of place-based inquiry, ongoing nested investigations, and interactions with the community. Engaging students in both primary and secondary sources, the unit investigated the

history of the Nipmuc, a local Indigenous people. Students created historical markers and collaborated with Indigenous groups on a land acknowledgment ceremony. The project demonstrates the way that inquiry-driven history instruction can bring schools and communities into productive conversations that yield greater awareness and inclusion.

**EQUITY AWARD (INDIVIDUAL)****Donald Fixico**, Arizona State University

Donald Fixico is a prolific and respected scholar of Native American and Indigenous 20th-century history. He draws on his own experiences as a first-generation Native American student from rural Oklahoma to excel as a mentor to underrepresented students. He

has recruited dozens of students from underrepresented groups, including Black and Indigenous individuals. Fixico supports a community of scholars that includes his doctoral advisees, undergraduate students, underrepresented scholars, and fellow colleagues.

**HERBERT FEIS AWARD IN PUBLIC HISTORY****Adam Clulow**, University of Texas at Austin

Adam Clulow’s contributions to public history include free historical video games, a virtual reality simulation of Angkor Wat, and interactive websites that bring digital tools to the traditional practice of historical inquiry. These deeply

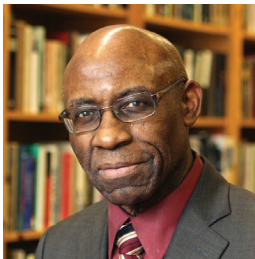


researched, innovative products are accessible to students of history at any age. Equally important, they engage users to explore legal, political, and moral issues encountered by Asians long ago. Clulow also offers a model for interdisciplinary collaboration as

well as partnership with industry leaders in gaming.

### JOHN LEWIS AWARD FOR HISTORY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Joe William Trotter, Carnegie Mellon University



Joe William Trotter's record as a leader and institution builder engaged in the work of civil rights and social justice stretches back over 50 years to his days as an undergraduate student at Carthage College, when he served as a founding member and president

of the Afro-American Society at this small, overwhelmingly white, Lutheran college south of Milwaukee. He has continued to be an exemplary leader since then.

Since 1995, Trotter has served as the director of the Center for Africanamerican Urban Studies and the Economy (CAUSE) at Carnegie Mellon University. This center has served as the launching point for important community-based research, activities, and projects designed to enhance connections between the university and the wider community. The public lectures, teacher workshops, community archiving projects, and mentorship available to junior scholars through CAUSE are evidence of the powerful ways bold and rigorous scholarship can stand in service to civil rights and community groups and activists.

At the core of John Lewis's work was the belief in fighting for a better future. Trotter's vision for how history is a tool in the fight is stated so clearly in a 2019 interview in which he explained, "As a teacher, writer, and historian, I would like people to know me as someone who believes that history and historical scholarship is a great resource, open to all. It not only enriches and empowers our lives by connecting us to the struggles and triumphs of past generations, but it gives us hope for the future."

### JOHN LEWIS AWARD FOR PUBLIC SERVICE TO THE DISCIPLINE OF HISTORY

Julieanna L. Richardson, The HistoryMakers



Julieanna L. Richardson is the founder and executive director of The HistoryMakers, an independent nonprofit organization that has created the largest collection of African American video interviews in the world. These videotaped oral histories are available

to the public through a repository at the Library of Congress (since 2014) and cross a wide span of disciplines, encompassing nearly every aspect of public life.

Richardson, an attorney working in the cable industry in Chicago, established The HistoryMakers in 1999. Interviews have taken place over approximately two decades in a changing technological framework. What began as interviews with inexpensive film cameras and basic videotape technology has evolved into digital files with sophisticated transcription software developed in collaboration with innovative partners at Carnegie Mellon University. Although autobiographical in emphasis, the material also includes family lore, historical commentary, and other modes of reflection.

Nearly a decade ago, when The HistoryMakers was a much smaller collection with less technological sophistication, former AHA president John Hope Franklin observed, "I can think of no greater contribution to the future understanding of the past and present than what you, The HistoryMakers, are doing to provide this important recording of the words and work of true history makers." A few years later, Lonnie Bunch, who would later become the founding director of the National Museum of African American History and Culture and secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, offered a similar observation: "In a society that continues to favor those who have documented evidence of their value, The HistoryMakers' videotaped oral history interviews stand often as the only comprehensive, in-depth, biographical account of key, important historical figures, organizations, and movements."

**NANCY LYMAN ROELKER MENTORSHIP AWARD****Brittany Fremion**, Central Michigan University

An associate professor of history at Central Michigan University, Brittany Fremion is an American historian who specializes in public health and the environment. Fremion's recommenders highlight her empathetic and rigorous mentorship of students, her flexibility and innovations in course design, and her investment in projects that speak to her students about their own local histories.

**TIKKUN OLAM PRIZE FOR PROMOTING PUBLIC HISTORICAL LITERACY****Marvin Dunn**, Florida International University

What most distinguishes Marvin Dunn's contribution to historical literacy has been how he has grounded his response to recent racial violence in the long histories of racism in Florida, especially by preserving the memory of the Rosewood Massacre of 1923.

The now lost town of Rosewood suffered a week of white mob violence that killed at least 100 people and wiped the prosperous Black community off the map. Dunn purchased five acres of land in Rosewood more than a decade ago to preserve the memory of the town's racist-fueled destruction and now leads Teach the Truth tours on the property. His presence on the site provoked a white neighbor to attempt to run down Dunn and others with his pickup truck.

Tikkun Olam means "to repair the world," and much of Dunn's life has been devoted to exactly that. Indicative of the broad reach of his commitment beyond the usual confines of academe and teaching are his numerous published articles on race and ethnic relations in newspapers including the *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Orlando Sentinel*, and *Miami Herald* and his several documentary historical films.

Such has been the rich life of a man who has done so much to repair the world through public service and the promotion of historical literacy about racial atrocities committed in Florida. As the attack indicates, the historical truth that he tells has had its own formidable power. He is a public historian who has risked his life to preserve the truth.

**2023 AWARDS FOR PUBLICATIONS****HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS PRIZE IN EUROPEAN HISTORY****Clara E. Mattei**, New School for Social Research*The Capital Order: How Economists Invented Austerity and Paved the Way to Fascism* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 2022)

Modern austerity policies are typically defended as straightforward attempts to ensure fiscal solvency. In her reconstruction of austerity's roots in interwar Europe, Clara E. Mattei reveals a very different picture of austerity's actual aims and effects: austerity shores up economic privilege and compromises workers' capacity to democratically contest the status quo. Mattei's book stands out for its argument's stunning clarity, its deep archival research, and its profound relevance to current public debates.

**AHA PRIZE IN AMERICAN HISTORY****Kathryn Olivarius**, Stanford University*Necropolis: Disease, Power, and Capitalism in the Cotton Kingdom* (Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 2022)

*Necropolis* is a book for our moment that will be read for years to come. With arresting prose, Kathryn Olivarius reveals how yellow fever survivors worked to naturalize not only epidemic disease but slavery itself in 19th-century New Orleans. Olivarius's concept of "immunocapitalism" powerfully explains the complex dynamics of the Cotton Kingdom. Rarely does a book propose a novel theoretical framework that also considers the historically specific intersections of capitalism, race, health disparity, and inequality.

**GEORGE LOUIS BEER PRIZE IN EUROPEAN INTERNATIONAL HISTORY****Emily Marker**, Rutgers University–Camden*Black France, White Europe: Youth, Race, and Belonging in the Postwar Era* (Cornell Univ. Press, 2022)

Emily Marker's highly original and field-changing work on education and youth programs in post–World War II France and Africa brings together two histories that have long been treated as separate: the origins of postwar European integration and decolonization. Her analysis of French attitudes and policies toward Black and white youth demonstrates how efforts to develop an inclusive model of European belonging gave way to a narrower, racialized vision that continues to define what it means to be European.

### JERRY BENTLEY PRIZE IN WORLD HISTORY

**James Poskett**, University of Warwick

*Horizons: The Global Origins of Modern Science* (Mariner Books, 2022)

James Poskett's impressively readable *Horizons* is an original and capacious corrective to the Eurocentric narrative of the development of science since 1450. Euro-American prejudices, Poskett argues, created a systemic failure to acknowledge and recall non-European scientific contributions with consequences that continue to shape our world. By underlining the work of people in Africa, Asia, the Americas, and Europe, Poskett invites further research into the dependence of both science and its history on global exchanges often fraught with physical and epistemic violence.

### ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE AWARD IN AMERICAN HISTORY

**Kirsten Silva Gruesz**, University of California, Santa Cruz

*Cotton Mather's Spanish Lessons: A Study of Language, Race, and Belonging in the Early Americas* (Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 2022)

This erudite, confident, and methodologically sophisticated book approaches the entangled histories of British, Spanish, and Indigenous Americas through Cotton Mather's overlooked book, *Le Fe del Christiano*, written to evangelize Spanish American readers. Drawing on extensive archival foundations and imaginative critical analyses, Kirsten Silva Gruesz weaves together histories of languages, the book, empires, subaltern (often enslaved) peoples, and Puritan New England to provide a stunning portrait of a "vast early America" that moves beyond colonial binaries to include Indigenous and Hispanic histories.

### JAMES HENRY BREASTED PRIZE IN ANCIENT HISTORY

**Xin Wen**, Princeton University

*The King's Road: Diplomacy and the Remaking of the Silk Road* (Princeton Univ. Press, 2022)

Xin Wen argues that the Silk Road was no mere retrospective metaphor but a trans-Asian corridor crisscrossed by envoys. To understand diplomatic travelers and the objects they brought along and exchanged, Wen mines a rich cache of manuscripts preserved in the oasis city of Dunhuang. *The King's Road* persuasively argues that after the fall of the Tang, Tibetan, and Uyghur empires, political fragmentation augmented connectivity rather than hindering it.

### RAYMOND J. CUNNINGHAM PRIZE FOR UNDERGRADUATE JOURNAL ARTICLE

**Jacqueline Wu**, Yale University

"The Chinese Labor Experiment: Contract Workers in the Northeastern United States, 1870–1880," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 90, no. 2 (Spring 2023)

Faculty advisor: **Joe William Trotter**, Carnegie Mellon University

Jacqueline Wu's essay examines Chinese laborers in Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania during the latter part of the 19th century. Moving east of the Rockies, Wu argues that race and worker agency—as Chinese workers refused to fit into neatly ascribed stereotypes of docility and subservience—led to the decline of the Chinese labor experiment in the Northeast. This is an outstanding essay that demonstrates a masterful use of primary sources, an impressive engagement with the secondary literature, and prose that is clear and sharp.

### PATRICIA BUCKLEY EBREY PRIZE IN EAST ASIAN HISTORY

**Wei Yu Wayne Tan**, Hope College

*Blind in Early Modern Japan: Disability, Medicine, and Identity* (Univ. of Michigan Press, 2022)

*Blind in Early Modern Japan* is a pathbreaking study that reveals the multifaceted meanings of blindness and sightedness as entangled aspects of lived experience in Tokugawa society. Writing in a gentle and thoughtful voice, Wei Yu Wayne Tan deftly weaves together insights from disability studies and history of medicine with rigorous social and institutional history. This is a book that transports us to the past yet all the while speaks to our present moments of embodied precarity.

### JOHN K. FAIRBANK PRIZE IN EAST ASIAN HISTORY

**H. Yumi Kim**, Johns Hopkins University

*Madness in the Family: Women, Care, and Illness in Japan* (Oxford Univ. Press, 2022)

H. Yumi Kim's *Madness in the Family* is an innovative study that skillfully uses both ethnographic and archival material to show how gendered notions of space, domestic labor, and family politics shaped the treatment of mental illness in Japan starting in the early modern period. In the Tokugawa period, women and their families were the main caregivers of mentally ill kin, and this continued to be true even after modern custody laws required that families register those confined at home with local officials and modern medicine focused on treating individual patients.

**MORRIS D. FORKOSCH PRIZE IN BRITISH HISTORY**

**Steven King**, Nottingham Trent University; **Paul Carter**, National Archives, UK; **Natalie Carter**, Nottingham Trent University; **Peter Jones**, University of Glasgow; and **Carol Beardmore**, Open University

*In Their Own Write: Contesting the New Poor Law, 1834–1900* (McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 2022)

Elegantly written, provocative, and persuasive, *In Their Own Write* changes the way we understand the New Poor Law and, more broadly, the experiences of the poor in Victorian Britain. Grounded in a staggering body of archival evidence and taking full advantage of its co-authors' diverse areas of expertise, this study recovers the voices of poor Britons themselves, foregrounding their own perspectives, hopes, and fears and, ultimately, revealing their surprising agency in shaping the welfare process.

**LEO GERSHOY AWARD IN WESTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY**

**Meredith Martin**, New York University, and **Gillian Weiss**, Case Western Reserve University

*The Sun King at Sea: Maritime Art and Galley Slavery in Louis XIV's France* (Getty Research Inst., 2022)

An original and deeply researched study, *The Sun King at Sea* brings to light the little-known galley enslavement of Muslims in early modern France, showing how royal propagandists used both the labor and the representation of enslaved "Turks" to exalt Louis XIV's image and power. Through its impressive command of scholarship, multiplicity of sources, and collaborative method of inquiry by a historian and an art historian, this book exemplifies interdisciplinary historical work at its best.

**WILLIAM AND EDWYNA GILBERT AWARD FOR THE BEST ARTICLE ON TEACHING HISTORY**

**Michael P. Marino**, College of New Jersey

"Rethinking Historical Thinking: How Historians Use Unreliable Evidence," *History Teacher* 55, no. 2 (February 2022)

In "Rethinking Historical Thinking," Michael P. Marino examines the novice-expert gap to reassess historical evidence. Marino recruited professional historians, graduate students, and AP high school students to analyze how they used unreliable evidence. He observes that historians and graduate students tend to find creative ways to use this evidence, while high school students get stuck and end up paraphrasing or summarizing it. Marino proposes emphasizing creative and abstract thinking to help students think like historians.

**J. FRANKLIN JAMESON AWARD IN IN HISTORICAL EDITING**

**Kevin Terraciano**, University of California, Los Angeles

*Codex Sierra: A Nahuatl-Mixtec Book of Accounts from Colonial Mexico* (Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 2021)

*Codex Sierra* is a beautiful critical edition of a 16th-century account book written in the Nahuatl alphabet. Kevin Terraciano employs impressive, specialized skill to make this text available to English speakers – transcribing, translating, annotating, and reproducing in vibrant color one of the earliest known texts of a Native language. By detailing production and consumption in Santa Catalina Texupán, Terraciano illuminates the material culture of religion, politics, and daily life among Indigenous peoples within the Spanish Empire.

**FRIEDRICH KATZ PRIZE IN LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY**

**Brian P. Owensby**, University of Virginia

*New World of Gain: Europeans, Guaraní, and the Global Origins of Modern Economy* (Stanford Univ. Press, 2022)

*New World of Gain* retells the history of colonial encounter between Europeans and Guaraní as a dialectic of gain and mutuality. Brian P. Owensby uncovers how contrasting notions of the moral significance of economic exchanges shaped local negotiations about labor and goods and prompted important changes in imperial institutions and in global philosophical debates. This ambitious, thoroughly researched, precisely written, and innovative book promises to deeply impact the historiography of multiple regions and periods.

**JOAN KELLY MEMORIAL PRIZE IN WOMEN'S HISTORY**

**Kerri K. Greenidge**, Tufts University

*The Grimkes: The Legacy of Slavery in an American Family* (W. W. Norton, 2022)

In this sweeping, innovative, and highly original book, Kerri K. Greenidge reintroduces us to the Grimkes. Her impressive research draws attention to white and Black members of the family from the 18th to the 20th century. The family's history illuminates the Black and white experience of both the abolition movement and Reconstruction. Her engaging and compelling account of the Grimkes shows how Black struggles for freedom and human dignity shaped a family and a nation.

#### MARTIN A. KLEIN PRIZE IN AFRICAN HISTORY

**Paul S. Landau**, University of Maryland at College Park and University of Johannesburg

*Spear: Mandela and the Revolutionaries* (Ohio Univ. Press, 2022)

*Spear* offers a riveting account of efforts to stoke revolutionary violence in South Africa during the early 1960s. Drawing on an astonishing array of sources, Paul S. Landau follows Nelson Mandela and his colleagues in intimate detail as they sought to build local and international support and organize armed struggle against apartheid. The result is a revealing view of the world as South Africa's revolutionaries saw it at the time, and an original narrative about the possibilities and constraints of revolutionary movements.

#### LITTLETON-GRISWOLD PRIZE IN US LEGAL HISTORY

**William J. Novak**, University of Michigan

*New Democracy: The Creation of the Modern American State* (Harvard Univ. Press, 2022)

*New Democracy* is an exhaustive (yet never exhausting) rethinking of the struggle over the functions and capacity of modern US governance during the 75 years after the Civil War. William J. Novak convincingly shows that both state and federal governments reconceptualized the role of the state during this rebirth of the republic, to focus on public utility and the public good, reconstructing administrative structures decades before the New Deal. A field-defining study, it demonstrates such state building was bold, expansive, and democratic.

#### J. RUSSELL MAJOR PRIZE IN FRENCH HISTORY

**Sara E. Black**, Christopher Newport University

*Drugging France: Mind-Altering Medicine in the Long Nineteenth Century* (McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 2022)

Sara E. Black's beautifully written, pathbreaking book presents a fascinating history of how mind-altering drugs were developed and normalized in France and elsewhere over the long 19th century. Through innovative use of official statistics, medical treatises, and laboratory observations, Black shows how the standardization and industrialization of psychotropic drugs legitimated medical practitioners' authority and transformed ordinary individuals' sense of how to manage life's miseries and discomforts.

#### HELEN & HOWARD R. MARRARO PRIZE IN ITALIAN HISTORY

**Diana Garvin**, University of Oregon

*Feeding Fascism: The Politics of Women's Food Work* (Univ. of Toronto Press, 2022)

Diana Garvin's study employs an innovative array of largely untapped sources, including from material culture and company archives. Ranging from the tabletop to the fields, from the kitchen to the factory, and from the molecular to the macroscopic, fascist alimentary initiatives relied on women as cooks, workers, entrepreneurs, and mothers. Complicating state-centric understandings of fascism, Garvin illuminates the central roles played by both female and nonstate actors in the food work demanded by the regime.

#### GEORGE L. MOSSE PRIZE IN EUROPEAN INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY

**Pamela H. Smith**, Columbia University

*From Lived Experience to the Written Word: Reconstructing Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern World* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 2022)

In *From Lived Experience to the Written Word*, Pamela H. Smith masterfully situates the culture of skilled craftsmanship in early modern Europe at the intersection of material practices and written texts. Inspired by years of experiential learning and teaching, in a book supported by beautiful illustrations, the author brings to life the materials and techniques of early modern metalworking and the challenge of putting artisanal knowledge into words.

#### JOHN E. O'CONNOR FILM AWARD

**Documentary:** *The Soldier's Opinion: A Film* by Assaf Banitt and Shay Hazkani

**Assaf Banitt**, director and producer; **Shahar Ben-Hur**, producer; **Shay Hazkani**, Univ. of Maryland at College Park, writer (JMT Films, 2022)

*The Soldier's Opinion*, which grew out of Shay Hazkani's book *Dear Palestine: A Social History of the 1948 War* (Stanford Univ. Press, 2021), is a cultural and psychological history of the inner lives of Israeli soldiers and the censors ordered to document their morale in letters home across five decades of war and occupation. We are privy to surprising responses to violence and to outbursts of racism as the soldiers (and their censors) struggle with difference, moral doubt, and feelings of shame. The film offers insights into Israeli society, Zionism, war, military cultures, and settler cultures.

### EUGENIA M. PALMEGIANO PRIZE IN THE HISTORY OF JOURNALISM

**Janet Afary**, University of California, Santa Barbara, and **Kamran Afary**, California State University, Los Angeles  
*Mollā Nasreddin: The Making of a Modern Trickster, 1906–1911* (Edinburgh Univ. Press, 2022)

This is a pathbreaking study of the tenuous existence in the early 20th century of the extraordinary anticolonial, cosmopolitan, and feminist periodical *Mollā Nasreddin*, influential across the ethnically diverse South Caucasus region, that aimed to reform Islam with modernist critiques of clerical authority and political corruption. The magnificently illustrated study culminates two decades of multilingual research by the authors in Baku, Tiflis, Munich, Moscow, and Tehran, with scholars and translators in Europe and the South Caucasus.

### JAMES A. RAWLEY PRIZE IN ATLANTIC HISTORY

**Adriana Chira**, Emory University  
*Patchwork Freedoms: Law, Slavery, and Race beyond Cuba's Plantations* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2022)

In 19th-century Santiago de Cuba, Afro-descended peasant communities used colonial-era legal custom to negotiate land access and freedom, bit by bit. This beautifully written and methodically researched book elegantly demonstrates how local ideas about race, manumission, and freedom were shaped in relationship to Atlantic processes. *Patchwork Freedoms* offers a new methodological framework for scholars of slavery and freedom studying spaces beyond plantation economies and large urban centers of the Atlantic world.

### JOHN F. RICHARDS PRIZE IN SOUTH ASIAN HISTORY

**Shailaja Paik**, University of Cincinnati  
*The Vulgarly of Caste: Dalits, Sexuality, and Humanity in Modern India* (Stanford Univ. Press, 2022)

Shailaja Paik's *Vulgarly of Caste* is a powerful work inspired by a moral imagination. Centering the life stories of Tamasha women, Paik reveals their willful agency and pursuit of legitimacy and *manuski* (dignity). Paik combines sophisticated theoretical discussion of caste, labor, sexuality, and gender, of "surplus women and caste slavery," with comprehensive research methodology including oral history, ethnography, and the recovery of a sparse documentary archives to present this subaltern and marginalized community.

### DOROTHY ROSENBERG PRIZE IN HISTORY OF THE JEWISH DIASPORA

**Emily Michelson**, University of St. Andrews  
*Catholic Spectacle and Rome's Jews: Early Modern Conversion and Resistance* (Princeton Univ. Press, 2022)

In this wonderfully written book, Emily Michelson explores the role of Rome's Jews in early modern Catholic conversionary sermons. Michelson highlights the everyday social impact on Catholic theology, as the Jewish community served as the object and audience—alongside many Christians—for these spectacles. Based on hundreds of untapped sermons, this captivating study teaches us that Jewish-Christian relations, not simply doctrine, helped shape early modern Catholic evangelization in an era that saw the global expansion of Catholicism.

### ROY ROSENZWEIG PRIZE FOR INNOVATION IN DIGITAL HISTORY


**Katherine McDonough**, Lancaster Univ. and Alan Turing Inst. (ATI); **Daniel C. S. Wilson**, ATI; **Kaspar Beelen**, Univ. of London; **Kasra Hosseini**, Zalando Research; **Rosie Wood**, ATI; **Andrew Smith**, ATI; **Kalle Westerling**, ATI; **Daniel van Strien**, Hugging Face; **Olivia Vane**, *Economist*; **Jon Lawrence**, Exeter Univ.; and **Ruth Ahnert**, Queen Mary Univ. of London and ATI

*MapReader* (Living with Machines, 2022)

*MapReader* contributes to a new methodology of distant viewing for maps by applying a computer vision pipeline to historical maps. This open-source software allows scholars to study maps at a large scale. The scholars who created this software have developed an innovative approach to computationally extracting information from digitized maps, while also publishing their approach as peer-reviewed scholarship.

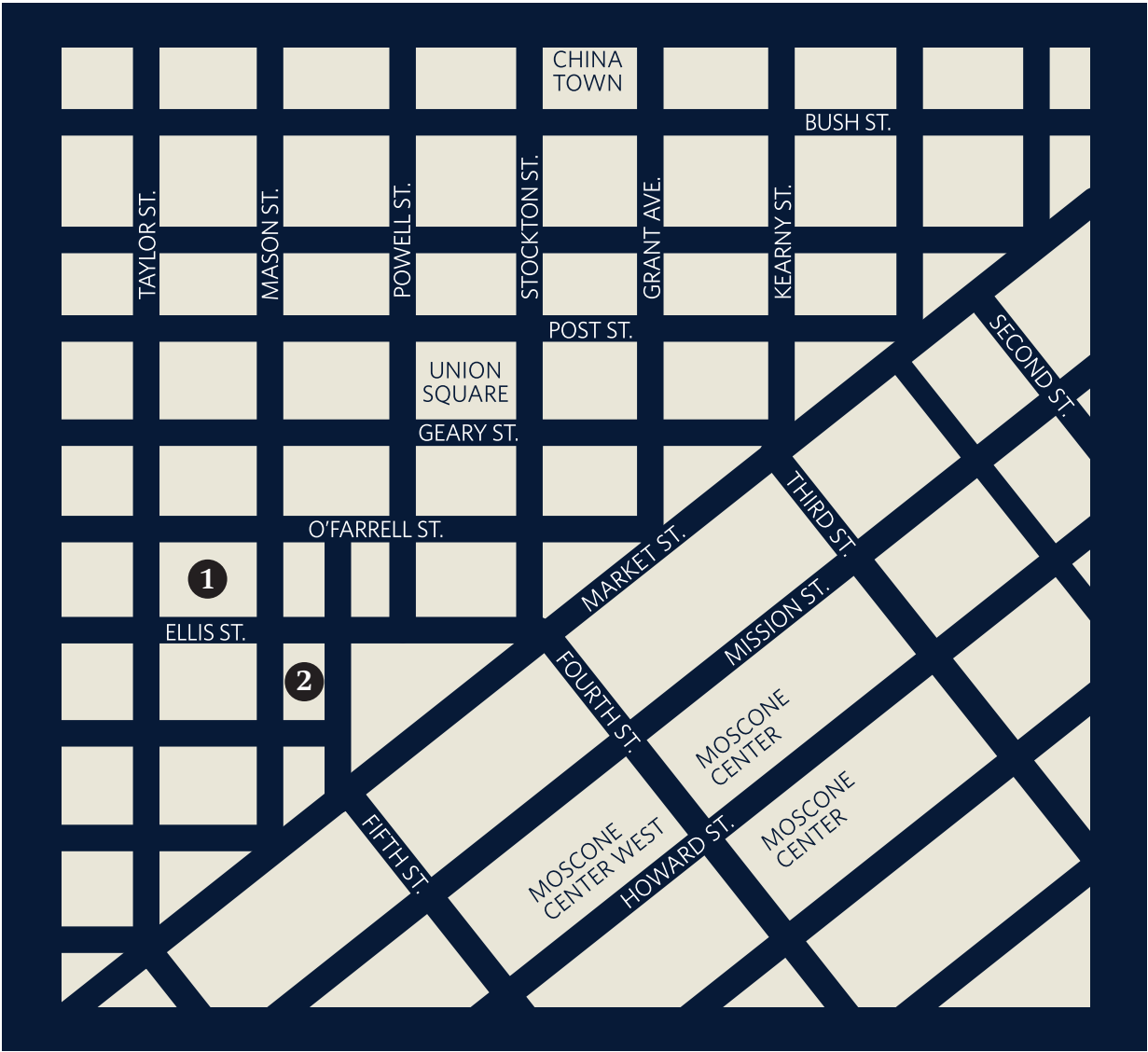
### WESLEY-LOGAN PRIZE IN AFRICAN DIASPORA HISTORY

**Shannen Dee Williams**, University of Dayton  
*Subversive Habits: Black Catholic Nuns in the Long African American Freedom Struggle* (Duke Univ. Press, 2022)

By centering the lives of Black Catholic nuns, *Subversive Habits* offers a groundbreaking perspective on freedom struggles in North America across the eras of Jim Crow, Black Power, and Black Lives Matter. Shannen Dee Williams's exhaustive research reveals Black religious women working as educators, civil rights organizers, and liberation theologians to confront sexist, white supremacist structures within Catholicism and US society. In Williams's skillful hands, Black nuns' freedom dreams become an important site for excavating new dimensions of African diasporic history. 

Hotel and Rate Information				
	SINGLE	DOUBLE	TRIPLE	QUADRUPLE
<b>1</b> Hilton San Francisco Union Square (hdqtrs.) 333 O'Farrell St.	\$179	\$179	\$199	\$219
<b>2</b> 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](https://historians.org/hotels).





### Dates and Deadlines

<b>DECEMBER 13</b>	Last day to make hotel reservations through the housing service. Subsequent reservations taken on a space-available basis at the convention rate.
<b>DECEMBER 15</b>	Last day for preregistration pricing.
<b>DECEMBER 15</b>	Deadline to submit registration refund requests.
<b>JANUARY 4, 2024</b>	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](https://historians.org/myaha).

	MEMBER		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	<b>For members only.</b> 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 ET 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.

# RESOLUTION FOR CONSIDERATION AT THE JANUARY 2024 BUSINESS MEETING

Article VII of the AHA Constitution states that the Association's Council shall call a business meeting, open to all members of the Association in good standing, to convene at the time of the annual meeting. The business meeting of the 137th annual meeting is scheduled for Saturday, January 6, 2024, in San Francisco at the Hilton Union Square, Continental Ballroom 5, beginning at 5:15 p.m.

Bylaw 11(4), which provides procedures to carry out the business meeting, states that any member of the Association may present resolutions or other motions that introduce new business to the agenda of the annual business meeting. Such resolutions must

- be received in the office of the executive director not later than October 1 prior to the annual meeting, to allow time for publication;
- be in proper parliamentary form;
- be signed by members of the Association in good standing and by at least two percent (2%) of the total Association membership as of the end of the previous fiscal year;
- be less than 300 words in length, including any introductory material; and
- deal with a matter of concern to the Association or the discipline of history. Such resolutions must be in accord with the Association's *Guiding Principles on Taking a Public Stance*.

Resolutions submitted by the deadline and meeting the criteria for consideration are published in the December issue of *Perspectives on History* and will be added to the business meeting agenda. The following resolution, signed by 244 AHA members in good standing as of October 1, 2023, was submitted to the AHA executive director for consideration at the January 6, 2024, business meeting. A full list of signatories can be viewed online at [historians.org/business-mtg-24](https://historians.org/business-mtg-24).

## IN DEFENSE OF THE RIGHT TO LEARN

Whereas, Council's *Guiding Principles on Taking a Public Stance* (2017) specify that "in a wide range of situations, whether involving the rights and careers of individual historians, historical practice in diverse venues, or the role of history in public culture, the AHA has the responsibility to take public stands";

Whereas, Council further stipulated, as an example, "When public or private authorities . . . censor or seek to prevent the writing, publication, exhibition, teaching, or other practices of history or seek to punish historians . . . for conclusions they have reached and evidence they have unearthed as a result of legitimate historical inquiry," mandating that "the AHA should defend historians, regardless of institutional affiliations or lack thereof, against efforts to limit their freedom of expression, or to punish them for ideas, grounded in legitimate historical inquiry, they have expressed or material they have uncovered";

Whereas, numerous state legislatures and officials are censoring the teaching of history in public schools and universities;

Whereas, said legislation mandates the distortion of scholarship about such central topics as slavery, the dispossession of Indigenous peoples, and LGBTQ people;

Whereas, under pressure from partisan groups, school boards across the country are forcing teachers to censor their treatment of these issues in their classes, and libraries are removing canonical books in literature and history from their shelves;

Whereas, teachers and librarians who resist these measures have faced personal attacks and threats;

Therefore, the Association calls on its members to

- support AHA actions to uphold accuracy in history teaching;
- organize on your campus against the attacks on history and historians;
- defend academic freedom and job security for history teachers at every level;
- write editorials and letters to the editor defending teachers, librarians, and school board members; and
- testify before legislative bodies and school boards about the right to learn. **P**

*Participation in the business meeting is restricted to members. Please confirm in advance that your AHA membership is up to date by visiting [historians.org/renew](https://historians.org/renew).*



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# HISTORIES OF DISABILITY

*In the December Issue of the American Historical Review*

The articles that make up the December 2023 issue of the *American Historical Review* explore histories of medicine, gender, disability, race, and agency from the early modern period to the 20th century. The AHR History Lab examines how contemporary artists in Southeast Asia engage with decolonial history in their work, along with two #AHRsyllabus modules, one on teaching historical video games and another on making historical podcasts in the classroom.

In “As [Healthy] Women Should,” **Debra Blumenthal** (Univ. of California, Santa Barbara) examines the exploitation of enslaved women’s bodies as clinical subjects in 15th-century Iberia. Menstrual disorders, she argues, figured prominently among the legal cases filed by disgruntled buyers across the late medieval Mediterranean world. Reflective of their heightened interest in female physiology during this period, university-trained male physicians were the expert witnesses most frequently called on to resolve disputes concerning what an enslaved woman’s lack of menses meant. Through a close analysis of “expert” testimony in seven lawsuits filed before the court of the Justicia Civil in Valencia in the 1440s, the slave market emerges in Blumenthal’s telling as instrumental to the expansion of late medieval gynecological knowledge.

**Heather Vrana** (Univ. of Florida) argues in “Endemic Goiter and El Salvador’s Battle against *Cretinismo*” that goiter research and its representation in popular culture were part of a broader health discourse that focused on poor and rural women and girls in state attempts to advance reproductive and productive potential in El Salvador. Vrana discusses how goiter research positioned El Salvador as a site of knowledge production for global health. Drawing on insights from critical disability studies, she proposes that goiter is best understood as a disability through which certain groups of people were constructed as “problem” populations. While local understandings of goiter shifted over time, Vrana argues, the lingering association of goiter with inheritable disability has proved enduring.

**Beeta Baghoolizadeh**’s (Princeton Univ.) “Seeing Black America in Iran” examines how many Iranians closely followed Black American protests during the civil rights and Black Power movements in the 1960s United States and later. Iranian intellectuals, revolutionaries, and those in media, she argues, used US-centric histories of enslavement, racism, and Black Americans to erase Iranian histories of enslavement and racism and tacitly displace the existence of Black Iranians across the national landscape. After the 1979 revolution, Baghoolizadeh contends, non-Black Iranians and the Iranian government continued to focus on US-based racism through an official narrative that repeatedly defined racism as a singular American problem, ultimately cementing the erasures around histories of enslavement and Black Iranians that began with abolition in 1929.

Three Southeast Asia-based curators offer sustained readings of recent history-focused work by three artists from the region.

In “Breaking the Bonds of Segregation: Civil Rights Politics and the History of Modern Finance,” **Destin Jenkins** (Stanford Univ.) builds on arguments made by 1960s civil rights leaders that segregation was a national problem because it was financed through a network of bankers across the country who specialized in the business of debt. By weaving the internal memos, protest ephemera, and legal strategies of civil rights activists together with the credit assessments, scheduled bond offerings, and perspectives of financiers, Jenkins reconstructs attempts to politicize bond market transactions and efforts to place the economic certainty of segregation in doubt. He offers a new perspective on the so-called classic phase of the civil rights movement and raises larger questions about the dilemmas of investment-focused campaigns and how finance capital compounds the difficulties of organizing against authoritarian regimes.

The December History Lab brings a new installment of Art as Historical Method. In a collaboration with the National Gallery Singapore, three regional curators explore the historically focused work of several Southeast Asian contemporary artists. The cover image depicts a selection of blue-and-white ceramic plates created by artist Yee I-Lann. The plates appear to point back to the 17th-century Asian porcelain trade but in fact are decorated with scenes of everyday contemporary urban life in Malaysia and Indonesia, underscoring the interconnections between colonial power and commerce in the present moment. Yee I-Lann. *Tabled*. 2013. Ceramic rimmed flat plates with digital decal prints and backstamp, 195 × 312 cm (full dimensions). Collection of Singapore Art Museum. Image courtesy of the artist and Silverlens.



**Paul Bjerk's** (Texas Tech Univ.) "Political Biography and the Agency of Audience" focuses on a recent massive co-authored biographical study of the Tanzanian postcolonial leader Julius Nyerere to examine how authors and audiences are entangled in discursive practice. Drawing on Jacques Derrida's concept of iterability and the constant mutation of form, Bjerk reflects on the intellectual traditions of Tanzania's "Dar es Salaam School," of which the Nyerere biographers were a part, to offer a theoretical discussion of how an audience shapes the composition of a text and to address ongoing debates about the way scholarly authority in African studies tends to reside outside of Africa.

The History Lab opens with another installment of the Art as Historical Method series titled "Southeast Asian History and Contemporary Art," a collaboration with the National Gallery Singapore. Three Southeast Asia-based curators—**Goh Sze Ying**, **Dương Mạnh Hùng**, and **Issa Yi Xian Sng**—offer sustained readings of recent history-focused work by three artists from the region. The works include Yee I-Lann's *Tabled* (2003), which uses a set of ceramic plates to explore the exercise of colonial and postcolonial power; Dinh Q. Lê's installation *Crossing the Farther Shore* (2014), which draws on vernacular photographs of southern families who left Vietnam after 1975 to recover memories of everyday social histories during the Vietnam War era; and Ho Tzu Nyen's magical realist video *Utama—Every Name in History Is I* (2003–15), which offers an alternative history of Singapore whose aim is to displace the prevailing European founding story. An introduction by **Patrick Flores**, deputy director of the National Gallery Singapore, reflects on the place of history in contemporary Southeast Asian art. Flores also hosted a conversation with the curator contributors held in Singapore earlier in the year that is available in the online version of the journal. Rounding out this intervention is an interview I conducted with Vietnamese American artist Tiffany Chung about *For the Living*, her massive installation on the National Mall this past August

and September. It is a project rooted in Chung's sustained archival research and oral history work that quite literally traced in the landscape of the mall global routes of exile and displacement of the Southeast Asian diaspora after the Vietnam War.

Two #AHRsSyllabus modules, along with a History Unclassified essay, close out the Lab. **Tore Olsson** (Univ. of Tennessee) reflects on his teaching with *Red Dead Redemption II* and offers a lesson plan for teaching the history of women's suffrage using the game. **Saniya Lee Ghanoui** (Univ. of Texas at El Paso), senior producer of the podcast *Sexing History* who collaborated with the AHR on an episode about the history of a Texas abortion clinic featured in the June issue, provides a lesson plan for making historical podcasts. In "Eating on the Ground" for History Unclassified, **Sarah Abrevaya Stein** (Univ. of California, Los Angeles) explores vernacular picnic photographs that fill photo albums in the late Ottoman period to consider how Sephardic Jews relaxed and ate in nature at a time when the ground was literally shifting around them. The AHR's podcast, *History in Focus*, offers a deeper dive into the December issue, including a reading by Stein of her essay. **P**

*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.*

## CRAFTING A *PERSPECTIVES* ISSUE

### *Behind the Scenes at the AHA*

Have you ever wondered how a *Perspectives on History* issue comes together? This process involves editorial strategy, hard work, and often a dollop of good timing.

As our readers know, a *Perspectives* issue is made up of a few different genres of articles. There are some that appear every month, such as columns by the *Perspectives* editor, AHA president, and AHA executive director, or In Memoriam and Long Overdue tributes. There are updates from the AHA, often found in the AHA Activities section, that report on the work of the Association, including events, advocacy, and grant-funded projects. And then there are articles about the broad practice of history. Whether these are Features, Viewpoints, Career Paths, or Everything Has a History articles, historians from around the world, across the discipline, and at every career stage write pieces that bring a diversity of (ahem) perspectives to the magazine on research, teaching and learning, and professional issues.

Articles come to us in a variety of ways. Sometimes the editor, Leland Renato Grigoli, or senior managing editor (me) solicits an article from an individual on a specific topic. Sometimes articles are pitched to us, what we call coming in “over the transom.” And sometimes we’ll put out a call for pitches on specific topics of interest, whether in the magazine or in other spaces, like the AHA Member Forum or social media. We are always seeking fresh ideas and voices, hoping that the magazine will reflect the diverse interests, experiences, and hard work that drive the historical discipline.

What many readers may not realize is that *Perspectives* is shaped by more people than just the editorial staff on the masthead. All articles submitted to the magazine from external authors are reviewed by an editorial board that includes 10 to 12 AHA staff members, all with graduate training in history and varied academic and professional expertise. Along with advising the editorial staff on individual articles, this group is also helpful for recommending authors or topics we may want to cover. After acceptance by the board,

articles are assigned to an issue and move forward toward publication.

For a December issue like the one you’re reading now, the editorial work begins no later than October. Leland leads our editorial strategy and divides up the work of developmental editing for articles in each issue. Editing is a team effort, as Leland and I incorporate feedback from the editorial board, sometimes requesting a read from the other editor and the director of research and publications, Sarah Weicksel, on future drafts. By the end of October, editorial work should be completed or well underway on December articles, including finalizing the text, selecting an image and ensuring permission to use it, and obtaining a copyright agreement from the author.

*Perspectives* is shaped by more  
people than just the editorial  
staff on the masthead.

Sometimes, even more planning is necessary. A theme issue like the popular December 2021 issue on historical fiction often requires six or more months of work. The then editor of *Perspectives* Ashley E. Bowen and I began discussing the historical fiction idea early in the summer of 2021. We identified historical fiction authors with academic training, chose an author to write about teaching with historical fiction (based on a previous publication on the topic), and picked a related Everything Has a History topic. By early July, we began contacting authors to gauge their interest, and those who signed on were given a deadline of late September for a first draft. With the editorial board’s acceptance, we moved forward with pieces by six authors: one on teaching with historical fiction, three historical fiction writers that we packaged into a single article, a piece of flash fiction, and an Everything Has a History article on a pulp novel. Ashley also requested that I write an editor’s column on my love of historical romance

novels. With such a fun topic, we wanted a striking cover. We commissioned art from illustrator Anne Lambelet, who had designed the art for the 2022 annual meeting. Anne drew on article drafts for inspiration, and we fell in love with her tree house, requesting only a few tweaks. Perhaps most importantly, we asked that the cat be modeled after Pete, our most frequent feline visitor on Zoom calls with Sarah.

## The issue in your hands included 16 proofs that required review by 18 authors.

After editorial comes production, when a Microsoft Word document becomes the magazine or web page that you are currently reading. Research and publications assistant Lizzy Meggyesy works with me to shepherd articles through copyediting, typesetting, and proofreading. After editing is complete, all articles go to a freelance copyeditor, whose eagle eye is essential for ensuring all prose is written clearly and follows AHA style (including here – thanks, Rita!). Lizzy takes the copyedited text and “applies styles” to it, making formatting changes that will indicate to the composition vendor which text in a document is the title, author byline, pull quotes, bio, image caption, and so forth.

Along with paid advertisements and the house ads selected by marketing and engagement manager Hope Shannon, we send batches of articles to our compositor, which are returned within about 48 hours as typeset proofs. Leland and I proofread the articles, making corrections to wording or formatting, before sharing proofs with the author. The issue in your hands included 16 proofs that required review by 18 authors. I make author corrections in InDesign files shared by the compositor. We also send them files for the front matter, with an image, coverline, and “On the Cover” paragraph by Leland; a table of contents compiled by Lizzy; and a masthead updated by me.

Once all proofs are approved, we request what we call a “dummy” – a PDF compilation of the entire typeset issue, including front matter, articles, and advertising. It takes me half a workday to read the dummy cover to cover to ensure that no further changes are needed. (There are always a few more changes needed.)

Then the issue goes to the printer. With a print order and mail labels compiled by membership manager Pamela Scott-Pinkney, printing takes about two weeks from approval

to when a box arrives at the AHA townhouse and individual issues begin hitting members’ mailboxes.

Online publication also takes work. Lizzy puts the articles on our website, which roll out one per day throughout the month, along with promotion on social media (coordinated by communications manager Alexandra F. Levy) and in the AHA’s email newsletters. When their article is published online, authors receive an honorarium of \$100. We also upload PDF, EPUB, and MOBI files of the entire issue that are available for member download.

Of course, we are never working on just one magazine issue at a time. Simultaneously, we are reviewing pitches and commissioning articles for issues two or three months ahead, editing pieces for the next issue, and keeping up with the online-only publication of *Perspectives Daily* articles too. But when each issue arrives in the mail, it’s worth all the hard work. **P**

*Laura Ansley is senior managing editor at the AHA.*



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## Merze Tate

1905–1996

Diplomatic Historian

“Diplomatic Historian Merze Tate Dies at 91” read the headline in the *Washington Post* in the summer of 1996. Despite living in what she aptly called a “sex and race discriminating world,” Tate forged an extraordinary career as a prolific scholar, teacher, and public intellectual. She published groundbreaking histories that relied on an innovative comparative, transimperial, and antiracist approach to studying the Pacific, India, Asia, and Africa. Howard University’s history department’s first Black female faculty member, she served there from 1942 until her retirement in 1977.

Born into a family of midwestern homesteaders, Tate trained in the 1920s at Western Michigan University to be a high school history teacher. She taught at the historic Crispus Attucks High School in Indianapolis while earning a master’s degree from Columbia University in 1930. Thanks to an international study fellowship from her Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, Tate studied economics and international relations at the University of Oxford, becoming in 1935 the first Black American to earn a graduate degree there. She joined the faculty of Bennett College, where a Rosenwald Fellowship enabled her in 1941 to become the first Black woman to earn a government degree from Harvard University.

Tate brought to print five books, 34 journal articles, and 45 review essays during a time when segregation and discrimination routinely excluded women and Black men from academic publishing and professional societies, including this one. Her books were *The Disarmament Illusion: The Movement for a Limitation of Armaments to 1907* (Macmillan, 1942); *The United States and Armaments* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1948); *The United States and the Hawaiian Kingdom: A Political History* (Yale Univ. Press, 1965); *Hawaii: Reciprocity or Annexation* (Michigan State Univ. Press, 1968); and *Diplomacy in the Pacific: A Collection of Twenty-Seven Articles on Diplomacy in the Pacific and Influence of the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands Missionaries* (Howard Univ. Press, 1973).

Her body of work stands as a testament to her intellectual prowess and persistence, as well as to her unusual capacity

for both panoramic conceptual imagination and sustained archival research across disparate regions and topics. Tate’s unusual training prepared her to embrace interdisciplinarity before it was in vogue, borrowing methods from diplomatic, economic, and political history; geography and geopolitics; and international relations.

An intrepid solo traveler, she circled the globe twice, sometimes combining her research and her sightseeing. In 1950–51, Tate held one of the earliest Fulbright Fellowships; she requested to go to India and was assigned to Tagore’s Visva-Bharati University near Kolkata, which she used as a base for lecturing in India, Asia, and the Pacific. In the 1970s, she traveled to Africa, about which she had written and taught for decades. Her final research project was an investigation into the expansion of railroads, deep-sea ports, mineral extraction, and international corporate imperialism in postindependence Africa. That work went unpublished, but her attention to the power of global capital was no less prescient as she worried about modern forms of re-imperialization.

Her final published writing came from her role as an interviewer in the Schlesinger Library’s Black Women Oral History Project, for which she was an enthusiastic advisor as well as an interviewee.

Tate’s work and career were recognized at the time but never to the extent they or she deserved. Some professional recognition came late in her life, including the AHA’s 1991 Award for Scholarly Distinction. That happened thanks to the work of the late Rosalyn Terborg-Penn and Joseph Harris as chairs of the newly created committees on women and minority historians, respectively. Still, Tate’s life work was all but erased from the narratives of our discipline and the fields for which she wrote.

Tate led a vibrant social life in Washington, DC, across the United States, and around the world. Her leisure was fed by her broad intellectual and cultural appetites, her powers at the bridge table, her skills as a chef and party giver, and her gift for sustaining friendships across time and space. After her death in Washington, Tate was buried alongside her family in rural Michigan.

Barbara D. Savage  
University of Pennsylvania

Photo courtesy Zhang Collection,  
Western Michigan University Archives

# 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](https://careers.historians.org).

## PENNSYLVANIA

### LEHIGH UNIVERSITY

Bethlehem, PA

**Environmental History.** The Department of History and the Environmental Studies Program at Lehigh University invite applications for a tenure-track faculty position as assistant professor of history with a specialization in environmental history, effective August 15, 2024. Candidates must have an earned PhD in history or a related field by the date of employment. The geographical, thematic, and temporal focus is open. The successful candidate will be expected to teach a 2:2-equivalent load at all levels of the History Department's graduate and undergraduate curricula, as well as at all levels of the Environmental Studies Program's curriculum. This individual will help strengthen the department's and program's profiles in research, scholarship, and graduate studies, while furthering the department's and program's tradition of excellence in both undergraduate teaching and service to the university and the profession. We welcome candidates whose work includes a transnational or global dimension, who demonstrate innovative methodologies of historical research, and who think in an integrated way about environmental history and its place across disciplinary boundaries. The Department of History features a distinctive graduate program focused on transnational history that offers both the MA and PhD degrees. Our faculty pursue

interdisciplinary scholarship, and we welcome scholars with international backgrounds. The successful candidate in this search will also have the opportunity to participate in the College of Arts and Sciences' interdisciplinary programs and research centers—specifically the Environmental Studies Program, as well as Global Studies; Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies; Latin American and Latino Studies; Asian Studies; and Africana Studies. Founded in 1865, Lehigh University has combined outstanding academic and learning opportunities with leadership in fostering innovative research. Recognized among the nation's highly ranked research universities, Lehigh offers a rigorous academic community for nearly 7,000 students. Lehigh University has some 5,000 undergraduates, 2,000 graduate students, and about 550 full-time faculty members. Lehigh University is located in Bethlehem, PA, a vibrant and historic area. Over 820,000 people live in the Lehigh Valley, which is in close proximity to New York City and Philadelphia. To apply, please submit a cover letter, CV, an article- or chapter-length piece of scholarship, and contact information for three references by November 1, 2023, to <https://academicjobsonline.org/ajo/jobs/25461>. At a later stage of the search, selected candidates will be asked to submit letters of recommendation, further evidence of scholarship, a teaching portfolio, a research statement, and a statement of contributions to diversity, equity, and inclusion. Review of applications will begin on November 1, 2023, and continue until the position is filled. The

Department plans to hold semifinalist interviews via Zoom in early January and on-campus visits for finalists in late January and early February. Questions about the position should be directed to the search committee chair, Professor Nitzan Lebovic ([nil210@lehigh.edu](mailto:nil210@lehigh.edu)). Lehigh University is an AA/EEOE and does not discriminate on the basis of age, color, disability, gender identity or expression, genetic information, marital or familial status, national or ethnic origin, race, religion, sex, sexual orientation, or veteran status. We are committed to increasing the diversity of the campus community. Lehigh University is committed to a culturally and intellectually diverse academic community and is especially interested in candidates who can contribute, through their research, teaching and/or service, to this mission.

### AD POLICY STATEMENT

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

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

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

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

GÉRARD CHOUIN

## ACCORI BEADS

In 1704, Dutch trader Wilhem Bosman published his account of 13 years spent on the Gold Coast / Coast of Mina, located on the shores of modern Ghana. Translated into English and French within a year of its publication, Bosman's *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea* quickly became one of the most widely read travel accounts about Africa in early modern Europe. Among his observations, Bosman made frequent references to enigmatic beads he termed "accori" or "aggrey," which he described as a highly prized variety of "coral," a term used to denote glass beads. According to Bosman, accori beads were distinctively sky blue but had a greenish translucence, a rare property known as dichroism. These beads belonged to a broader category of sought-after beads in the Gulf of Guinea, collectively known by the Portuguese name Conte de Terra, which translates to "beads from the ground."

But where did these beads originate? Recent archaeological work points to Ife, a city often considered the source of the modern Yoruba civilization. Medieval Ife was a major industrial center that specialized in glass production and bead manufacture, including blue dichroic beads. Following the decline of this industry in the second half of the 14th century, the production of beads stopped, although they continued circulating as prestige items. The beads' rarity increased their value, and ancestral sites became a source of old beads to reinject in the local and regional markets.

Their remarkable value led directly to European merchants' fascination with the beads. When Bosman wrote of accori beads, they fetched four times their weight in gold. Although the term first appeared in Portuguese records in 1508, there is strong evidence that these beads were transported by Portuguese ships from the Bight of Benin to the Coast of Mina as early as the late 1470s. Portuguese mariners had explored the coast of what is now Ghana in 1471 and began trading in the Lagos lagoon by 1472; by the end of the 1470s, they were purchasing enslaved individuals and locally made textiles in the Gulf of Benin to exchange for gold in Elmina. The demand for accori beads had



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thrived long before Portuguese mariners' arrival, and they could not have missed the small yet lucrative market.

The Portuguese were skilled mariners, but in the 15th century, Italian firms held the greatest expertise in trading with non-Christian nations. These firms had established offices in Portugal and invested in commercial opportunities within the expansive Atlantic territory shaped by the Portuguese monarchy. Consequently, Italian merchants engaged in the accori bead trade from the late 15th century. They were drawn to the substantial profits derived from reselling Conte de Terra beads but frustrated by the limited quantities their partners in the lagoons and rivers of modern southwestern Nigeria could provide.

As their name suggests, Conte de Terra beads were not a manufactured product that could be produced to meet growing demand. Instead, these unique beads were dug out from the ground or occasionally surfaced after heavy rainfall. It was a logical step to bring a few of these beads back to Venice, a city already involved in Atlantic expansion and one of Europe's foremost glass production centers, to produce imitations on a larger scale.

In an unexpected turn of events, African beads based on a unique chemical recipe and design, and produced at Ife during the late medieval period, served as models for Venetian beads to be sold on the African market. The original accori beads are antecedents to the massive glass bead industry that later flooded the Atlantic world. Although Ife-inspired Venetian glass beads became a material symbol of the inequity of European relations with Indigenous populations, dichroic Ife beads could never be imitated. Unearthed accori beads continued to adorn the coastal elite along the Gulf of Guinea for centuries, and puzzled European scholars well into the 20th century. **P**

*Gérard Chouin is associate professor of African history at the College of William & Mary. Currently on leave, he works with the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board on preserving world heritage sites.*

# AHA Reads

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- ☐ Read a history of a place on the Pacific Rim
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## 138TH ANNUAL MEETING NEW YORK CITY

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# Call for Proposals for the 138th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association

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

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

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

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

### Session Proposals

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

### Poster Proposals

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



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

## Electronic submission only, by midnight PST on February 15, 2024

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

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

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

### Questions about the content of proposals?

Contact Program Committee chair **Tamika Nunley**, Cornell University ([tnunley@cornell.edu](mailto:tnunley@cornell.edu)) and co-chair **Gabriel Paquette**, University of Maine ([gabriel.paquette@maine.edu](mailto:gabriel.paquette@maine.edu)).