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PERSPECTIVES ON HISTORY

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American Historical Review

2023 Award-Winning Articles

Emilie Connolly, “Fiduciary Colonialism: Annuities and Native Dispossession in the Early United States” (March 2022)

- 2023 Stuart L. Bernath Scholarly Article Prize recognizing distinguished research and writing by junior scholars in the field of diplomatic relations (*Society of Historians for American Foreign Relations*)

Samuel R. Dolbee, “Empire on the Edge: Desert, Nomads, and the Making of an Ottoman Provincial Border” (March 2022)

- 2023 co-winner of the OTSA Article Prize for an outstanding article in the field of Ottoman and Turkish Studies (*Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*)

Jeongmin Kim, “Base Money: US Military Payment Certificates and the Transpacific Sexual Economies of the Korean War, 1950–53” (June 2022)

- 2023 Judith Lee Ridge Prize for the best article in the field of history published in 2021 or 2022 (*Western Association of Women Historians*)

Gili Kliger, “Translating God on the Borders of Sovereignty” (September 2022)

- 2023 Arrington-Prucha Prize for the best essay of the year on religious history in the West (*Western History Association*)
- 2023 Dorothy Ross Prize for the best article in US intellectual history (*Society for U.S. Intellectual History*)

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FEATURES

WHAT ABOUT CONTINUITY? 10

A Sixth C of Historical Thinking

AVERILL EARLS, ELIZABETH GARNER MASARIK,
SARAH HANDLEY-COUSINS, AND MARISSA C. RHODES



ON THE COVER

Is historical continuity a presence or an absence? Continuity, after all, is the same thing, person, or behavior existing across a span of time. It can also be the thing, person, or behavior failing to change. Historians often approach continuity as a presence for purely practical reasons—the number of reasons why any specific change failed to happen could surpass the number of stars in the night sky. But it is sometimes useful to think in terms of *what if* or *why not*. These are questions that offer different perspectives.

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FPO

L. RENATO GRIGOLI

WE WILL ALL GO TOGETHER WHEN WE GO

Tom Lehrer and Academic Honesty

In 1973, Thomas Andrew Lehrer quit comedy because “political satire became obsolete when Henry Kissinger won the Nobel Peace Prize.” Those born after Lehrer’s retirement are likely to be familiar with him because he once sang the periodic table of elements to the tune of “I Am the Very Model of a Modern Major General” from Gilbert and Sullivan’s *The Pirates of Penzance*. His songs, much like those of Gilbert and Sullivan, are often, as he put it, “full of words and music, signifying nothing,” with rapid-fire lyrics that take a great delight in the way language sounds. They are composed by someone perhaps just a bit too impressed with his own cleverness. Lehrer’s influence on me is plain to see. As my partner exclaimed upon hearing him for the first time, “Oh, this is how you found your personality!”

Lehrer has been on my mind recently, and not just because it will be his 96th birthday in April or because I always find myself quietly humming “Poisoning Pigeons in the Park” as spring approaches. Rather, I’ve been stuck on how he depicts academia. “Bright College Days” was his satirical take on the traditional college alma mater song derived from Lehrer’s own experience at Harvard University in the 1940s, which he appropriately signaled through digs at Yale (“To the tables down at Mory’s/Wherever that may be”). And then the song goes:

To excuses we fibbed
To the papers we cribbed
From the genius who lived down the hall...
We shall sleep through all the lectures
And cheat on the exams
And we’ll pass, and be forgotten with the rest.

In the live recording, you can hear the rueful, knowing chuckles of his similarly educated audience. Cheating and plagiarism were, Lehrer’s song suggests, accepted parts of mid-20th-century undergraduate culture at some elite institutions. That the joke landed with listeners suggests that it had in it at least a spark of truth.

To my ear, the banality of cheating, here and elsewhere in Lehrer’s works (as he sang in “Lobachevsky,” “Plagiarize/let no one else’s work evade your eyes”) is discordant with today’s discourse around the same. I have long felt inundated with think pieces crying “O tempora! O mores!” over academic dishonesty, particularly among undergraduates. But R. I. Moore, John Boswell, and others have shown that the laws, customs, and habits a society chooses to talk about do not directly relate to the ubiquity or permissibility of violations. Cheating has always been forbidden, and it was also always ubiquitous—at least according to Lehrer’s recollections of life at Harvard. Why now the furor?

The current concerns about cheating could easily be chalked up to the tired trope of older generations bemoaning the habits of youths. New technologies have perhaps also made academic cheating easier and more accessible. But I think there is also an element of a reactionary response to the post-war diversification of the academy at play here. Long gone are the days of the “gentleman’s C,” and with it the idea that there are different reasons for “gentlemen” to go to college and different expectations for them when they’re there.

“Pollution fear,” Moore observed, “is the fear that the privileged feel of those at whose expense their privilege is enjoyed.” As people who were not white men entered the academy, new terminologies and discourses sprang up to protect the previously privileged. The increase in the number of women in the academy, for example, coincides with a growing distinction between “hard” and “soft” sciences. The gender, racial, and cultural makeup of the standard undergraduate class today is a far cry from Lehrer’s Harvard. This means that who even has the opportunity to cheat has changed. Although I don’t mean to suggest that cheating by cribbing essays or dumping a prompt into ChatGPT is acceptable or even tolerable, I do think it is worth questioning why some people seem to care quite so much. **P**

L. Renato Grigoli is editor of Perspectives on History.



TO THE EDITOR

As is typical of all In Memoriam essays, I greatly enjoyed the Long Overdue contribution by Barbara D. Savage on Merze Tate (December 2023).

I do, however, want to push back against the observation that “Tate’s life work was all but erased from the narratives of our discipline and the fields for which she wrote.” In *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant* (32 vols., Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1967–2012), where I worked as an editor from 1992 to 2006, cross-references to Tate’s *Hawaii: Reciprocity or Annexation* (Michigan State Univ. Press, 1968) appear in volume 24, page 73, where it supports documents related to the deaths and ascensions of Hawaiian kings, as well as growing interest among US officials in formal diplomatic and economic relations, and again in volume 26, page 43, where it expands on documents related to the completion of a commercial reciprocity treaty.

These instances represent the norm for documentary editors, who value and strive to use all sound scholarship to assist their efforts.

WILLIAM M. FERRARO

The Washington Papers, University of Virginia

BARBARA D. SAVAGE RESPONDS:

Both of these things are true: Tate’s work was recognized during her life, though never to the extent that it or she deserved, and she and her scholarship were all but erased from the narratives of the disciplines in which she worked as well as broader fields of American, African American, and diplomatic history. There are many more examples like the one you offer; the pathbreaking quality and significance of her work demanded that attention, a demand I hope I’ve met in my new book, *Merze Tate: The Global Odyssey of a Black Woman Scholar* (Yale Univ. Press, 2023).

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THAVOLIA GLYMPH

CONTACT BINARIES

Pristine Leftovers and Messy History



On November 1, 2023, the NASA spacecraft Lucy was two years into its mission to explore eight Trojan asteroids that share an orbit around the Sun with Jupiter when it made a surprise discovery. Initially scientists thought it to be a mini moon orbiting the asteroid Dinkinesh that one PBS NewsHour writer humorously dubbed “a dinky sidekick,” but it turned out that there were two, not one, mini moons. In science, these are known as contact binaries—two smaller objects touching each other—and the amount of interest they garnered suggests that they were anything but unimpressive. Their small size notwithstanding—one-tenth of a mile—they were clearly no ordinary sidekicks. John Spencer, Lucy’s deputy project scientist, noted that while contact binaries are fairly common in the solar system, scientists had never before seen the phenomena of one orbiting another. There had been hints that Dinkinesh might have some kind of moon, but as Spencer said, they “never suspected anything so bizarre!”

Lucy, dubbed the asteroid hunter, takes its name from the 3.2-million-year-old skeletal remains of a human ancestor found in Ethiopia in 1974. The skeletal remains got their name from the Beatles song “Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds.” Apparently, discoverers and their companions celebrated the find by listening and dancing to the song, and



Dinkinesh and its contact binaries.
NASA/Goddard/SwRI/Johns Hopkins APL

someone—no one seems to remember quite who or how—named the skeletal remains Lucy. The name of the asteroid around which the contact binaries circulate, Dinkinesh, also has a connection to the remains; it is the Amharic name for Lucy.

I found myself unsurprisingly interested in all of this, even as I recognized this interest as a trap that briefly took my mind away from more critically important things here on our planet. Perhaps it was the description of the eight asteroids Lucy was sent to explore, “thought to be the pristine leftovers of planetary formation.” I am still puzzling over the notion of “pristine leftovers,” but I was taken with the idea of this rare, never-before sighting of contact binaries that presented NASA scientists with a new puzzle, which in turn forced them to ask new questions. Writing good history is a lot like that.

Historians are great puzzle solvers. We confront new and interesting and sometimes even bizarre puzzles regularly—in a letter, a page in a diary, a photograph, a piece of clothing, a story passed down through word of mouth, a legal document, or in a book, article, essay, podcast, or opinion piece—and ask questions of them. Our research into the puzzle before us can lead to substantive revisions of commonly accepted narratives, a complete rejection of them, wonderful new histories, or exciting new syntheses.

We typically enter the search for sources—whether in an online or brick-and-mortar archive—with a puzzle in mind but also knowing that the puzzle we take in may not be the one we take out. Sometimes, as I wrote in January, we hope to document a place, time, or idea that we think should be in an archive somewhere. When a new piece of evidence presents itself as a puzzle, historians are trained in how to study that puzzle to try to figure out its meaning, and where and how it fits or expands our knowledge. That training and its importance become clearer when we consider that we, too, are leaving puzzles behind for scholars of the future to ponder, even when we do not do so consciously. With this in mind, our

research can become more generative, and our assessments about how people in the past have lived and navigated their lives perhaps more compassionate. It is worth considering how even the small, seemingly insignificant things we do each day, with neither the expectation nor the desire that they would become important archival threads for a historian in the future, will be exactly that, and many of them puzzles or the piece that solves a puzzle. Dylan Penningroth's *Before the Movement: The Hidden History of Black Civil Rights* (2023) is an exemplary account of how such small acts make history.

Our sources are typically not
undefiled, unspoiled, untouched,
unpolluted, clean and fresh.

Unlike NASA scientists, however, we are less likely to find “pristine leftovers” to study. Our sources are typically not undefiled, unspoiled, untouched, unpolluted, clean and fresh, because we are human and studying human subjects. But there is still something to be said about the way historians keep the puzzle at the forefront of their thinking and how we understand that puzzles tend to appear not in isolated form but rather, in a sense, like mini moons.

On April 8, 1864, the US Senate voted 38–6 to pass the 13th Amendment. When I first learned this fact many decades ago, I wondered who these six men were who objected to a constitutional amendment ending slavery. I would come to learn that the nay votes were cast by Garrett Davis (D-KY); Thomas A. Hendricks (D-IN and later the 21st vice president of the United States); James McDougall (D-CA); Lazarus W. Powell (D-KY); George R. Riddle (D-DE); and Willard Saulsbury Sr. (D-DE); two of these men, Riddle and Powell, were slaveholders. And I learned of Saulsbury's need to add to the record a statement of the dire consequences he believed would ensue should the amendment pass. “I simply rise to say that I now bid farewell to any hope of the reconstruction of the American Union,” he stated. In June 1864, the bill went down to defeat in the House, 93–65. It would be resurrected and pass the House in January 1865.

As the 13th Amendment continued to be debated in Congress, Anna Hayes lay dying in a freedmen's hospital in Mississippi. The record shows that she arrived on August 4 and died a few days later. It lists her “complaint” as “abortion.” Hayes could not have known that she would one day become a subject in a historical study that linked her plight to Saulsbury's objection to abolition, though it is possible that she knew of the great debate taking place in the halls of Congress.

When I first saw the fragmented record of her life, I did not know that she or her complaint, “abortion,” would figure so largely in my thinking about the Civil War and about writing the war. She was a puzzle, just as Saulsbury and his colleagues had once been.

Hayes occupies one line on one page among dozens of pages of hospital records that list, line by line, patients' names; the “complaints” or reasons that brought them in; and the dates they were admitted, released, or died. These lists were not designed to bring any particular attention to Hayes or any of thousands of Black people similarly listed. They were not designed to tell her story or that of women like her long after they lived. It was a bureaucratic record. Yet there she was, a puzzle, documenting her existence and her abortion. And there were others like her – women who had newly liberated themselves, all puzzles, none of whom I was prepared to find or analyze. But I am trained as a historian to think through puzzles and find the pieces that fit next to and in each other like the contact binaries Lucy captured on space film.

Hayes and the six senators and 56 congressmen who voted against the 13th Amendment are at once each their own puzzle and part of the same jigsaw puzzle. I do not yet know whether Hayes made the decision to have an abortion independently or was forced to have one, but I can try to figure that out, and in doing so, I suspect I will find despite the particularities of her case the many ways it was similar to situations women have faced for thousands of years, as work like John Christopoulos's *Abortion in Early Modern Italy* (2021) reminds us. It is sometimes in making visible what Edward Said referred to as “the normalized quiet of unseen power” that the puzzles are solved.

Like women in early modern Italy who rejected the concept of *fragilitas sexus*, Hayes and ordinary people everywhere have borne witness on their own behalf as we ourselves continue to do today. In them we find what legal theorist Francis Lieber once called “the true lover of liberty, of firm, steady, deep-rooted liberty.” There are no “pristine leftovers” for historians, but finding the sidekicks and contact binaries in our work can be immensely rewarding. **P**

Thavolia Glymph is president of the AHA.

JAMES GROSSMAN

STANDARDS AND PRACTICES

Plagiarism in the 21st Century

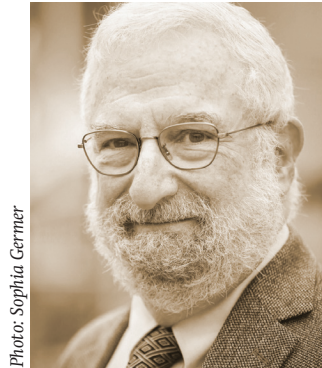


Photo: Sophia Germer

In mid-January, I received a query from a reporter exploring plagiarism among US academics. Does the fault for its occurrence—however frequent—lie with a “broken peer-review process, a problem with dissertation committees, etc.”? More specifically, the reporter wanted to know whether we keep data on instances of plagiarism in AHA publications, and how often we catch it in submissions.

This is an excerpt of my response:

The *American Historical Review*, like many academic journals, relies on our editor, Board of Editors, and the peer review process in the assessment of articles. Each article is double anonymous reviewed by three to six scholars. If a peer reviewer raises a question about potential plagiarism, it is thoroughly reviewed. The AHA's *Statement on Standards of Professional Conduct* articulates standards and definitions that history departments and others can use. . . . I would guess that violations of research integrity and misuse of data has been more common among political leaders than among historians. . . . When we do discover plagiarism or other forms of research misconduct we neither shove it under the rug nor dismiss it by referring to “alternative facts.”

The reporter followed up with a query about whether we use plagiarism detection software, and “if not, why not?” In our subsequent phone conversation, I explained that the *AHR* doesn't use such software because it's not necessary. The AHA has seen no uptick either in plausible accusations of plagiarism or in conversations about plagiarism in recent years, with one significant exception: the explosion of concern about how best to confront new artificial intelligence software that students could use to fulfill course assignments.

This column is not intended as criticism of the reporter, who was diligently following an assignment. Nor was this publication unique in thinking that historians routinely rip off one another's work or are so worried about plagiarism that we

constantly discuss it. A news article about the AHA's annual meeting in early January, quoted a half dozen attendees on plagiarism in the context of Harvard University president Claudine Gay's resignation. One would have thought that plagiarism was haunting the hallways of the San Francisco Hilton.

Well, no. In the program, the only reference to the word “plagiarism” or its derivations appears in an abstract of a presentation on a tailor in early 18th-century Cusco and controversies over the originality of textiles. No AHA representative was cited in the article. It's clear that the six interviewees mentioned it only because they were asked specifically about plagiarism, Claudine Gay, or both. Moreover, “several” interviewees demurred. As good historians, they pointed to context, arguing that the attacks on higher education—history specifically and the humanities in general—were the more salient issues.

Why is everyone suddenly asking historians about plagiarism?

That is largely what I said to the initial reporter and to still another journalist who called to ask whether Harvard's president had committed plagiarism. (That one had an easy answer. Every discipline has its own standards of research misconduct; since Dr. Gay is a political scientist, I suggested contacting the American Political Science Association.)

What's going on? Why is everyone suddenly asking historians about plagiarism when there's no evidence that this particular offense has recently generated concern at the level of professional scholarship in our discipline? (Again, the discourse about students and ChatGPT poses a different set of issues.) Sure, it's in the news because right-wing activists have successfully driven the president of Harvard from office (and no, I won't comment on whether I think Dr. Gay is or is not guilty, or on the activist seemingly inhabiting a glass house once his spouse's dissertation was found to contain a fair bit of borrowing itself).

But here's the rub. For historians (and perhaps others?) the problem is not plagiarism. It's the broader category of "research misconduct," which includes not only plagiarism but other sins from misuse of data to the invention of evidence. Many recent articles about the "epidemic" of plagiarism actually refer to other transgressions (the blog *Data Colada*, frequently cited by journalists, focuses on misuse of data — and even outright fraud — in the behavioral sciences). As a discipline, history has produced few big plagiarism events, especially in recent decades. Highly visible controversies over Michael Bellesiles's *Arming America* and David Abraham's *The Collapse of the Weimar Republic* both involved issues of research misconduct located in misuse of evidence; neither was accused of plagiarism. We probably are more concerned about books that claim a topic or question has never been written about when it has in fact been the subject of solid historical work. Historians don't own either the ideas or the focus of their publications; still, if someone says, "Nobody has written about this before," I'd like to see them smile and add, "Except ..." But that is not plagiarism; it's a lack of generosity.

Occasionally, the AHA and other publishers do hear about plagiarism. From time to time, the *American Historical Review* receives a review charging a book's author with plagiarism. But the AHA stopped adjudicating cases of research and other professional misconduct two decades ago, on the recommendation of the Professional Division (PD) to the Council. Because the process was cumbersome, PD concluded that many potential complainants had neither the time nor the patience to work through it. That pool was also limited by a strict exclusion of any dispute already the subject of legal proceedings, which was not infrequent in the case of various forms of professional misconduct. It was cumbersome for the staff as well, which was especially important because for such a time-consuming process, in the end it was rather toothless. The AHA had no authority to enact sanctions, and in nearly all cases, the only result of a successful complaint was the option of the complainant to make the PD's decision public. For the AHA itself to announce the decision, the process was complicated further to permit an appeal to the Council.

I was then an elected member of the PD, and though I supported the division's recommendation, I also thought it might be desirable to continue adjudicating exclusively plagiarism cases. Unlike other charges — unethical hiring practices, say, or research misconduct in the realm of distortion of sources, sheer invention (a.k.a. making stuff up; we tend to look down on that), or offenses that would require investigative resources — plagiarism seemed to be bounded terrain. Put two texts side by side and see what happens. Some judgment is required (as we've seen in the Harvard case) as to extent and the replication

of ideas (which Dr. Gay has not been accused of), but there is no need to go beyond the texts themselves.

That still leaves the issue of sanctions. Many of the plagiarism cases adjudicated by the PD did not involve accusations against professional historians, and it's hard to tell what difference we made. I am unlikely to forget James Mackay, whom we publicly exposed as a plagiarist for his egregious replication (without credit) of Robert V. Bruce's impressively thorough *Alexander Graham Bell and the Conquest of Solitude*. The Council decided to go public to show the publisher that the AHA takes such things seriously, since a *New York Times* book reviewer had already outed Mackay as a plagiarist in a different book. Mackay appealed. We did the work to prepare for the hearing. Mackay didn't show up. The AHA published its decision. The press pulped the book, approximately his 65th (one can write fast when someone else has already done the work). And the same press published him again.

Let's start by asking all legislators
to take the same civics and history
test required of new citizens.

The Mackay episode emphasized the limits of AHA sanctions and contributed (along with many other factors) to the decision two years later to step away from adjudicating cases of professional misconduct. Although that decision might suggest that we don't take plagiarism seriously, the Mackay case shows just the opposite. Consider the time, effort, thought, and resources expended by the staff and PD. Obviously, this was an important undertaking.

And it still is. But plagiarism by historians is rare. And I wish reporters would ask us instead about the implications of public figures (and even judges) weaving narratives about the past that all too often string together myths, partial evidence, uncontextualized facts, and what should be an embarrassing lack of knowledge of our nation's history.

I suggest that members of Congress worry less about plagiarism and work with historians to address the historical illiteracy that they regularly lament in response to reports of low scores in standardized tests. Let's start by asking all legislators to take the same civics and history test required of new citizens. We'll see how many of them know that the main cause of the Civil War was slavery. **P**

James Grossman is executive director of the AHA.

REBECCA L. WEST

ADVOCACY BRIEFS

AHA Opposes Harmful Education Bill, Cuts to Liberal Arts and History Programs

From October 2023 into the new year, the AHA continued to monitor state-level education legislation and activities, offering testimony opposing a bill in Ohio that would threaten academic freedom and undermine the integrity of education in Ohio's public universities. Additionally, the AHA signed on to a letter urging leadership at SUNY Potsdam to reconsider announced cuts to the university's liberal arts programs and sent a letter to Manhattan College asserting the value of the school's history program.

AHA Signs On to Letter Opposing Elimination of Programs at SUNY Potsdam

On October 5, the AHA signed on to a letter from the American Philosophical Association and other scholarly societies urging leadership at the State University of New York (SUNY) at Potsdam “to reconsider SUNY Potsdam’s recently announced Financial Sustainability Plan, which proposes the elimination of 14 programs, including several core liberal arts programs.” “As part of the public university system of New York, SUNY Potsdam has obligations beyond providing basic career preparation. It is responsible for helping to educate a thoughtful, engaged, and critical citizenry who can tackle the challenges facing society today and in the future,” the letter stated. “Eliminating students’ opportunities for

deep study in liberal arts disciplines at a regional public institution such as SUNY Potsdam sends a dangerous message—that such study is a luxury, available only to those privileged enough to attend more ‘elite’ universities.”

AHA Submits Testimony Opposing Ohio SB 83

On November 28, the AHA submitted testimony to the Ohio House Higher Education Committee expressing strong objection to Ohio Senate Bill 83 in its current substitute version (I_135_0330-11). On its surface, SB 83 proclaims respect for “intellectual diversity.” In practice, as the AHA’s testimony explains, “a series of mandates” introduced in this legislation “repeatedly insert the will and judgement of politically appointed boards of trustees into the fundamental work of university faculty, carving out troubling new exceptions to academic freedom without any clear benefit.” While the AHA does not disagree with some of the bill’s stated goals, our testimony expresses grave doubts about the utility of the bill’s heavy-handed interventions in both history education and university administration.

AHA Sends Letter to Manhattan College Opposing Termination of History Faculty Members

On January 26, the AHA sent a letter to the president, acting provost, and chair of the board of trustees at Manhattan

College expressing “grave concern about the termination of two members of the history faculty.” “The history department will be cut in half from six to three through these and other faculty eliminations,” the AHA wrote. “As a Lasallian institution with a strong tradition of liberal arts education, Manhattan College has a particularly impressive record of high-quality history education provided by an accomplished faculty committed to undergraduate education. The AHA urges the administration to consider how its actions are undermining this commitment to the liberal arts and the training of teachers, and the importance of the liberal arts to the lifelong learning essential to occupational and professional success.” **P**

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

AVERILL EARLS, ELIZABETH GARNER MASARIK,
SARAH HANDLEY-COUSINS, AND MARISSA C. RHODES

WHAT ABOUT CONTINUITY?

A Sixth C of Historical Thinking



Continuity might be as important as change over time when teaching historical thinking skills.
Peter Mizesak/Unsplash

IN A 2007 ISSUE of *Perspectives*, Thomas Andrews and Flannery Burke offered their model for how they teach historical thinking in the classroom with the “five Cs of historical thinking.” In the 17 years since, history teachers have adopted and adapted this framework to help students approach the study of the past with keen eyes and sharp minds. The five Cs—context, change over time, causality, complexity, and contingency—form the foundation of historical thinking skills and therefore our discipline. It remains a useful set of parameters to have students touch on when completing short identification essays on tests or small group discussions, as scaffolding toward developing strong research questions, or for thinking about what it means to *do* history.

We have been making *Dig: A History Podcast* since 2017 as a way to bring academic history to general audiences. We take an explicitly feminist historical perspective and focus on telling the stories of marginalized historical actors such as women, the poor, and people with disabilities. Over the past year, we focused our episodes on topics that illustrate and illuminate the five Cs, with an eye toward both how they can be useful in the classroom and how to communicate these scholarly concepts for our general listenership. Midyear, Marissa asked a question in our producer group chat: Why isn’t continuity a separate C?

Andrews and Burke rolled continuity into “change over time” in their model, acknowledging it as integral to understanding change but not pulling it out as its own tool. Yet we can’t talk about change over time without considering the ways that some social, economic, political, and cultural forces persisted across decades, centuries, or millennia. Change is hard to come by, after all. Further, there are experiences shared by people across time and geography.

As nice and tight as the five Cs of history are as a teaching device, we decided that this sixth C was necessary to complete our historical thinking series. It is important to show change over time. It is equally important to foreground the mundane, routine, and familiar in our historical thinking—and to examine the larger violent, oppressive, and hierarchical continuities that shape the everyday and the long term. When we roll continuity into change over time, we underplay the significance of unchange in the lives of the many, especially women, for whom daily life’s continuities persisted through extraordinary historical events.

Historians including Alexander Gerschenkron and Tariq A. Baloch have stressed continuity in their research and teaching scholarship for decades, while educators writing for *Teaching History* have long extolled the necessity of explicitly

pairing change with continuity in both secondary and post-secondary history courses. In their guide to teaching the methods and skills of history, Conal Furay and Michael J. Salevouris use continuity as a starting point, because the mundane and day-to-day, the unchange, is life for most people. It is entirely another way of thinking to step back and grapple with continuity in the *longue durée*. Yet, as Fernand Braudel notes, historians must deal with both the change and the unchange of history, because “history moves not at one pace, but at a thousand—all at the same time.”

Change is hard to come by, after all.

When we founded *Dig*, we set out to create a resource that would synthesize and narrativize historical scholarship for the engaged public without access to academic libraries. In that mission we’ve been modestly successful, with 1,200 subscribers and 3,000 downloads per week. The nature of the topics we cover and our accessible approach have led to our podcast becoming widely used by educators. In the last year alone, faculty at more than 85 different universities in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Australia have used our episodes in their classrooms, some even structuring syllabi entirely around our podcast episodes. Now, with that audience in mind, we share on our website how we use the podcast in our own classrooms. We work with a secondary education specialist to create detailed lesson plans for use in secondary and postsecondary survey courses.

Typically, we put out a “series” of four episodes at a time, with episodes loosely connected by a theme such as “Sex” or “Elections.” For 2023, we made each of our five series for the year a different C of historical thinking. We designed each C series to include one episode each that could fit into a global history course, a European history course, a US history course, and a women’s history course. The distribution of topics offered broad and diverse histories for our nonacademic audience to continue to enjoy. But this also met instructors’ needs (including our own), as these are the courses that we teach ourselves and in which other educators use our episodes the most.

With 20 episodes exploring the five Cs, we’ve covered a wide range of topics. For example, we explored the ways context matters for understanding the interpretation of the Igbo/Ibibio Women’s War of 1929. Under the banner of causality, we considered the murky and contested causes of the American Civil War. To demonstrate the complexity of history, we discussed attitudes toward fatness in premodern Europe. To close out the year, we examined contingency, a concept

rooted in the idea that nothing is predetermined and that individual and collective choices matter, which helps to explain why the health-care system in the United States sucks but doesn't need to.

Even as we framed each of these episodes around a single C, the exercise actually highlighted why historical thinking requires consideration of context and causality and change over time and complexity and contingency. Though we wrote each episode somewhat artificially around the framework of a single C, we were constantly reminded that the Cs are an interlocking set of historical thinking skills, rather than tools that can be wielded independently of the others. When we got to change over time, our episodes on the legacy of Roger Casement in Ireland, the party shift in American politics, feminism and the interconnected rights revolution, and a global history of writing highlighted the significance of continuity.

We were constantly reminded that the Cs are an interlocking set of historical thinking skills, rather than tools that can be wielded independently of the others.

Change over time flows alongside unchange over time. Change can be slow or explosive, and each iteration is fairly simple to quantify. But change is almost never complete, as is noted by historians like Hal S. Barron. For every person who immigrated to a new nation or region, others remained in their hometown. For every major agricultural innovation, there were decades or even centuries when crops were cultivated using earlier methods. If we ignore that slow change means long periods of continuity, or that explosive change rarely leads to change for everyone, then we miss the complexity of the past, present, and future. Historical thinking teases out nuance and requires that we sit with the reality of painful unchanging lived experiences. We must learn how to see, quantify, and qualify both change over time and continuity in our study of the past. We've redesignated the yearlong project the "Six Cs of History." The continuity episodes come out in March, with episodes on police brutality, capitalism and reproductive labor, the humoral theory, and the gender wage gap.

Continuity can help us understand how the past affects the present. Take, for instance, the history of police brutality, an undercurrent of American life easily ignored by white Americans until a horrific event — such as the deaths of Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Jacob Blake, Breonna Taylor, and George

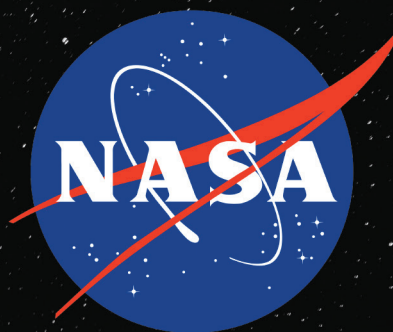
Floyd, among others — forces it back to the center of national attention. Yet police brutality in America has deep roots. Slave catchers, enforcing laws of ownership, used bloodhounds to capture escaping enslaved people and charged slavers a higher fee if a whipping was necessary in the process of an apprehension. The Texas Rangers murdered ethnic Mexicans with impunity for decades. As Monica Muñoz Martinez highlighted, one Texan recalled in the bloody year of 1915 that "nearly every day you could hear about people being killed by Rangers." Rather than our seeing police brutality as a current problem, continuity helps us to recognize that it's actually a disturbing thread through American history.

A focus on continuity helps build historical empathy, allowing us to perceive and contextualize the past on a personal level. One way to explore this is to analyze how capitalism relies on the fruits of reproductive labor. The gendered and racial division of reproductive labor shapes our current labor and monetary system. Women perform the majority of reproductive labor in homes, and in multicultural societies like the United States, women of color disproportionately perform the care work necessary to keep the economy and society running. Yet the reliance on women's reproductive labor and the historical devaluation of this work (both culturally and for pay) are based on fundamental concepts like value, gender, and work that underwent specific historical changes. Scholars like Jennifer Morgan, Adrienne Davis, and Evelyn Nakano Glenn have shown how enslaved women were commodified as laborers, sexual objects, and the mothers of future commodified humans, and how the social structure of caregiving has historically been grounded in coercive methods that have compelled women to take on the responsibility of caring for others. Examining the continuity in laws, institutions, and instruments of capitalism exposes how concepts of value and gender evolved into the taken-for-granted forms we know today.

Continuity reveals the longevity of systems of oppression and the lived experience. Judith Bennett and other scholars have shown the continuities of devalued waged labor for English women from 1350 to — alarmingly — the present. Excluding continuity privileges "great man" history and "turning point" models of interpreting history, the significance of which were undetected by those who lived at the time. Examinations of the *longue durée* often reveal the persistence of structural inequities for and oppression of women and other historically marginalized peoples, and invite students to consider how and why history matters. **P**

Averill Earls, Elizabeth Garner Masarik, Sarah Handley-Cousins, and Marissa C. Rhodes are the creators and producers of Dig: A History Podcast and history faculty in the United States.

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REBECCA L. WEST

AWARDS AND PRIZES

Behind the Scenes at the AHA

“The awards ceremony is one of the happiest events of the AHA’s annual calendar,” AHA president Edward Muir said in his introduction to the ceremony on the evening of January 4, 2024, at the annual meeting in San Francisco. Muir is correct—a perennially well-attended event, historians and their families, friends, and colleagues gather each year to celebrate the recipients of the more than three dozen prizes and awards conferred by the AHA. What most people don’t see is all the work leading up to that hour-long ceremony—more than 100 volunteer committee members, supported by AHA staff, work for months to collect and review nominations, announce prizewinners, and, finally, honor the recipients at the annual meeting.

The awards cycle begins early in the year, when AHA staff contact prize committee members to prepare them for their upcoming task. While some AHA awardees are selected by the AHA’s elected Council, the majority are decided by these committees, each composed of three to five AHA members nominated by the Committee on Committees (ConC) and approved by the Council. “The ConC members take into account the needs of the next year’s committee in terms of area of specialization or other factors specific to that prize,” explained Liz Townsend, the AHA’s manager, data administration and integrity, and staff liaison to the ConC. After the ConC has identified their nominees, Liz contacts each to ask whether they would be willing to serve. “If the answer is no, we move on to the next name on the list. If the answer is yes, we’re very grateful!”

May 15 is the deadline each year for award nominees. Then committees spend the summer reviewing submissions and deliberating. This process is different for each award. Committees for professional and teaching prizes review packets for nominees to determine which candidate best fits the criteria for the award. For publications awards, committees may review a few dozen to more than 150 submissions, usually in the form of full-length books. Throughout this process, operations and communications assistant Rebecca West serves as

the committees’ point person at the AHA, answering questions about policy and procedure, tracking down missing review copies, and helping with any other issues that arise.

Most committees must submit their prizewinner and a short paragraph describing their choice by September 15. (The committee for the John E. O’Connor Film Award is on a tighter schedule—theirs is due August 15, which allows Rebecca to coordinate a film screening at the annual meeting with the winning filmmakers.) Committee members are asked to keep their selections under wraps until the winners are announced in October.

Once the winners are chosen, Rebecca and Liz operate on a series of tight deadlines. They notify the winners (and for publications, their publishers) via email; compile a short online announcement for *Perspectives Daily* and the longer print announcement for the December issue of *Perspectives on History*; remit cash awards to the prizewinners who receive them; print and emboss the awards certificates; create the awards ceremony program, presentation, and signage for the annual meeting; and work with the AHA president and president-elect on the script for the ceremony. They also oversee the transition of the awards committees, thanking members who have completed their terms of service and working with the remaining members to appoint a committee chair for the following year.

All this work culminates in early January at that happy event, the awards ceremony. Once the AHA staff return from the meeting, Rebecca mails certificates and ceremony programs to any awardees who couldn’t attend, and she and Liz begin coordinating with the incoming prize committees to do it all over again. **P**

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

MARK PHILIP BRADLEY

CONVERSATIONS WITH THE DEAD

In the March Issue of the American Historical Review

The March issue opens the 129th volume of the *American Historical Review* with articles and forums that rethink approaches to intellectual, migration, imperial, Indigenous, and digital histories.

Opening the March issue is **Edward Muir's** (Northwestern Univ.) AHA presidential address, "Conversations with the Dead," which emerges from his distinguished scholarship on Italian social and cultural history of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The address self-consciously builds on the practices of Machiavelli and other Italian Renaissance thinkers who, Muir says, often talked with the dead. He writes that these "conversations with the dead imagine a give and take—questions from us, answers from them—pursued in an imaginative space, but one carefully controlled by the documents, until *we*, as Machiavelli wrote, become completely part of *them*." In his address, Muir proposes "such an imaginative space begets a certain kind of historical method, a species of history that demands we ask the right questions of our dead interlocutors in the hopes of learning the right answers." Muir tests this method by re-creating four conversations with people living in Italy from the 15th to the 17th century, among them two peasant families, an involuntary nun, and a friar who Muir says "became the most popular satirist of his age."

In "Migrating Concepts: The Transnational Origins of the Bracero Program, 1919–42," **Julie Weise** (Univ. of Oregon) and **Christoph Rass** (Osnabrueck Univ.) reexamine the genealogies of a program that recruited four million Mexican men to work in the United States during and after World War II. They argue the Bracero program's foundational ideas emerged out of two decades of exchange and circulation during the interwar period in which Mexican politicians, intellectuals, and migrant labor activists eagerly participated in transatlantic and inter-American dialogues about migration policy and came to embrace a set of model bilateral labor migration agreements that had recently emerged in Europe. US officials resisted their pleas to emulate European practices,

but when World War II pushed the United States toward securing a labor agreement with Mexico, Weise and Rass argue, it was Mexicans' transatlantic knowledge that shaped crucial aspects of the program's design.

"Such an imaginative space begets a certain kind of historical method, a species of history that demands we ask the right questions of our dead interlocutors."

Diana Kim's (Georgetown Univ.) "'Evil Spectators': Opium and Empire's Stakeholders in 20th-Century Southeast Asia" reconsiders the relationship between opium and empire. By centering attention on lesser-known pro-opium forces in Southeast Asia, she demonstrates how "bad" actors recognized now as apologists for a dangerous drug were once essential stakeholders in imperial rule. Kim focuses on banks, shipping companies, traders, and industries employing opium-smoking laborers that sustained the drug's supply chains from India to British Malaya and French Indochina until the 1930s. She explores how these profit-seeking actors represented situational allies with linked fates despite diverse opinions, fragmented interests, and ambivalent positions toward their own opium-entangled practices. In doing so, Kim both demonstrates the centrality of Southeast Asia to histories of opium commerce (which previously have focused on China and India) and complicates the historical origins of global drug control.

The AHR History Lab opens with a new installment of Art as Historical Method. "Contemporary Indigenous Art and History." **Brenda Child** (Univ. of Minnesota) discusses her encounters with the work of three contemporary Sámi artists—Máret Anne Sara, Anders Sunna, and Pauliina Feodoroff—whose work was featured at the 2022 Venice Biennale.

The March History Lab brings a new installment of Art as Historical Method that focuses on the place of history in art made by and about Indigenous peoples. The cover image is drawn from Cree artist Kent Monkman's 2019 monumental painting *mistikôsiwak (Wooden Boat People): Resurgence of the People*, commissioned for the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Great Hall. Monkman's work explores issues of colonization, sexuality, and resilience to challenge received ideas about history and Indigenous peoples. Kent Monkman. *Resurgence of the People*, 2019. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Image courtesy of the artist.



She reflects on how their artistic practices are similar to her own as an Indigenous historian working in the United States. **Patricia Marroquin Norby** (Metropolitan Museum of Art) seeks to recover the submerged presence of Indigenous histories in art made by non-Indigenous artists, reexamining the work of Georgia O’Keeffe and highlighting the centrality of the artist’s 40-plus-year relationship with her Abiqueño, American Indian, and Hispano neighbors to O’Keeffe’s canonical southwestern skull-and-bone paintings. **Matthew Martinez** (Mesa Prieta Petroglyph Project) interviews Virgil Ortiz, a Cochiti Pueblo artist whose work combines pottery and an Indigenous futurist sensibility to re-create new histories of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt.

A symposium on the explosion of digitized historical newspapers and their uses is also part of the March Lab. In “Digitized Newspapers and the Hidden Transformation of History,” **Heidi Tworek** (Univ. of British Columbia) brings together historians, literature scholars, digital archivists, and scholars located in information schools to discuss their work with digitized newspapers from a variety of geographical spaces. **Avery Blankenship** (Northeastern Univ.), **Ryan Cordell** (Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), **Yushu Geng** (NYU Shanghai), **Rachel Leow** (Univ. of Cambridge), **Callie Wilkinson** (Ludwig Maximilian Univ. of Munich), **Zoe LeBlanc** (Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), **Brewster Kahle** (Internet Archive), and **Lila Bailey** (Internet Archive) offer a set of methodological and theoretical reflections on the larger meanings of these digital collections for contemporary historical practice.

The History Lab includes a new #AHRsYllabus module. **Agnieszka Aya Marczyk** (Yale Univ.), **Abby Reisman** (Univ. of

Pennsylvania), and **Brenda Santos**’s (Brown Univ.) “Teaching Historiography: Testimony and the Study of the Holocaust” introduces a new curricular and instructional model, Historiography-Based Inquiry, that allows students to see the processes through which historians make claims and marshal evidence to support them. Their module also offers a lesson plan that allows teachers to take this new approach right into their classrooms, one centered on unpacking the role of survivor testimony and the voices of victims in the historiography of the Holocaust.

A History Unclassified essay closes out the March issue. In “Chilling Affects,” **Woody Holton** (Univ. of South Carolina) looks at ongoing controversies over teaching African American history through the lens of his own experiences as a classroom teacher and public debates in his home state of South Carolina. In his essay he explores the local dynamics of censorship and book banning as well as the campaigns of grassroots activists who have opposed those efforts. **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.

RESOLUTION PASSED AT THE 137TH BUSINESS MEETING

The text of the resolution passed at the 137th Business Meeting of the AHA (held on January 6, 2024), and accepted by the Council on January 24, 2024, is as follows:

In Defense of the Right to Learn

Whereas, the AHA'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, the AHA 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, under pressure, a number of school boards across the country are forcing teachers to censor their treatment of particular historical topics in their classes, and libraries are removing 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 will continue to vigorously

- uphold accuracy in history teaching;
- intervene where appropriate and encourage members to organize against attacks on history and the work of 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.

The Association welcomes support from its members for such activities. **P**

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Natalie Zemon Davis

1928–2023

Historian of France;
Former AHA President
and 50-Year Member

Natalie Zemon Davis was the most renowned anglophone historian of early modern France of her generation. She was born in Detroit, Michigan, on November 8, 1928, and died in Toronto, Canada, on October 21, 2023, at age 94. Davis served as president of the American Historical Association in 1987, only the second woman to be elected.

After completing her undergraduate studies at Smith College and pursuing graduate study at Radcliffe College and Harvard University, she completed her PhD at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, in 1959. She taught at Brown University; the University of Toronto; the University of California, Berkeley; and from 1978 to her retirement as the Henry Charles Lea Professor at Princeton University. Over the course of her career, she received 19 honorary degrees as well as countless awards, including the Holberg International Memorial Prize (2010) and the National Humanities Medal (awarded by President Barack Obama in 2013). As astonishing as her record of professional recognition is, it tells us little of why she was so singular and why her death has left the historical discipline worldwide so bereft.

I had the privilege of studying with Professor Davis (affectionately known to her students as NZD) at Princeton University in the 1980s. I still remember a comment Professor Davis wrote on one of my research papers: “You have learned to widen your lens, now learn to move the tripod.” Davis’s remarkable corpus of work—eight research monographs; many, many other writings; and film, television, and theater projects—had a transformative impact in academia and beyond. This is because she knew how to move her tripod, and she kept it on the move for more than 50 years. The first move was from the views on reformed faith espoused by the likes of Jean Calvin and Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples to those of the printing workers and working women in the city of Lyon. The next was from the opinions of judges of the Parlement de Toulouse to those of Bertrande de Rols, the peasant wife of the errant Martin Guerre. From there, she moved on to women navigating other geographic, religious, and cultural

margins—Glikl bas Judah Leib, Marie de l’Incarnation, and Maria Sibylla Merian. In her later years, she traveled further still to capture the transnational and interstitial worlds of the Muslim apostate Leo Africanus and the Jewish Romanian linguist Lazare Sainéan.

Davis was a Europeanist by training but an internationalist by both intellectual predilection and political conviction. She was methodologically heterodox, incorporating anthropological and literary approaches as well as social and political theory into her work. She “used the theories and methods she needed” to do the work she needed to do, as her friend Edward P. Thompson once wrote in private appreciation. In her historical imagination, there were no dark parts of the globe and no stories unworthy of being heard or being told. She plumbed archives on five continents of those in the highest echelons of social and political power (see *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France*) as well as the traces that have been left by the persecuted and immiserated. She was a genius at reading sources across the grain for what they unwittingly revealed rather than overtly professed. She sought out, above all, the forgotten and the overlooked.

This dedication to the margins translated into her professional ethos and commitments as well. I happened to be at her office hours when the White House telephoned to recruit her to dinner with President Ronald Reagan and French president François Mitterrand and heard her reply politely that regretfully she was “busy teaching on that day.” As sought after as she was, in any lecture hall, conference, or seminar, her gaze and her attention turned to the youngest or the most unrecognized person in the room. She treated all her students, undergraduate or graduate, as junior research partners. She edited and translated sources for them to work with, and she only taught courses on her current research. Her most transformative course was *Society and the Sexes*, a first in introducing the history of women into university curricula. During my studies with her, the topic was gift giving in 16th-century France, a theme that captures the reciprocity that was at the heart of her pedagogy.

At least two prizes and one endowment have been created to honor and perpetuate Davis’s legacy. As she said at the conclusion of one of the many conferences organized to honor her retirement, “The gift keeps on giving.”

Carla A. Hesse
University of California, Berkeley



Edward G. Gray

1964–2023

Cultural Historian of
Early America and
the United States;
AHA Member

Edward G. Gray was a prolific and rigorous scholar with the deep humanistic insight of a true *menschenkenner*. Trained at the University of Chicago (BA, 1988) and Brown University (PhD, 1996), he became a historian because people and their foibles fascinated him. Coming of age at the peak of the linguistic turn, he started his career working on the relationship between language, culture, and politics. His elegant first monograph, *New World Babel: Languages and Nations in Early America* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1999), explored characters as diverse as John Eliot, Thomas Jefferson, and the Mingo orator Soyech-towa, known as James Logan. Subsequent projects—four solo-authored books published during his too-brief life and two in progress at his untimely death on December 22, 2023, from a catastrophic heart attack—continued to focus on people caught between worlds at moments of seismic change.

Trained in the history of ideas tradition by Norman Fiering and Gordon S. Wood, Ed was a meticulous student of systematic thought. But he also became, in his mature work, a shoe-leather scholar and even an archive hound. He read seemingly everything, from Bailyn to Benjamin to Borges. Dedicated to understanding the way ideas traveled through material worlds, he walked the paths of his protagonists, following a Connecticut-born minister and traveler to Russia for *The Making of John Ledyard: Empire and Ambition in the Life of an Early American Traveler* (Yale Univ. Press, 2007); hunting iron trestle bridges in the north of England to understand the internal improvement career of Tom Paine; and ambling across the Susquehanna Valley in search of the crumbling markers of the Mason-Dixon Line, a border as faint in fact as it is vivid in our national imagination. Published shortly before his death, Gray's *Mason-Dixon: Crucible of the Nation* (Harvard Univ. Press) is magisterial: the summit of a lifetime of learning and loving America's tangled history, and of nurturing our precarious democracy.

An originary scholar in a solitary discipline, Ed was also a peerless collaborator: modest, disciplined, clear eyed, and unfailingly honest. When Jill Lepore and I started the online

journal *Common-place* in 1999, Ed was one of the first who signed on to the editorial collective, so distinguishing himself among that body that he succeeded us as editor. He brought me on as co-editor of the *Oxford Handbook of the American Revolution* (2012), a massive undertaking that Ed turned into a genuine delight. Last fall, during a weekend with our spouses in New Orleans, one of Ed's favorite places in a well-traveled life, we spied a copy of the *Handbook* in the wild and signed it for the used bookstore owner with mock-ceremony worthy of a major legislative accomplishment. Ed knew how to take joy and take the piss at the same time.

Among the other collaborations Ed shaped and delighted in was the University of Chicago Press book series *American Beginnings*, which he co-founded with Mark Peterson and Stephen Mihm. In private moments, they called it “No-Bullshit Books in American History,” a list that published a string of plainspoken prizewinners, nearly as allergic to fashionable cant as Ed was himself. He was also part of a long-running, mostly online meetup with Peterson, Trevor Burnard, Eliga Gould, Eric Hinderaker, and Peter Mancall—at once a Zoom pub and an intellectual brotherhood.

Ed believed passionately in public universities as engines of economic mobility and democratic renewal. He joined the faculty of Florida State University in 1998, rising from assistant to full professor. Though he had little interest in leadership and none in grandiosity, he was blessed, or cursed, with keen institutional vision. He served for nine years, including through the pandemic, as history department chair, making a dozen transformative appointments that steered his colleagues across a generational chasm and shepherding eight candidates successfully through promotion. Shortly before his death, the university nominated him for a Distinguished Research Professorship.

Ed was wise, tender, and oh so funny. I can't count the number of times he made me laugh till I gasped for air, or worse. He loved his family profoundly and admired them deeply for who they are, not what they've done. He leaves behind his brilliant and beloved wife and fellow FSU faculty member, Stacey Rutledge, and their children, Sophie and Tobias, just now emerging into independent adulthood in ways that justify his boundless pride in them. Weightier than Edward G. Gray's considerable body of important work is the generous imprint he leaves on our wounded hearts.

Jane Kamensky
Monticello

Photo courtesy Stacey Rutledge



Robert J. Knowlton

1931–2023

Historian of Mexico

Robert J. Knowlton, professor of Mexican and American history emeritus at the University of Wisconsin–Stevens Point (UWSP), died on November 18, 2023, at the age of 92.

Born in Akron, Ohio, Bob grew up there as well as in Mexico City, Mexico; Poznan, Poland; and Zürich, Switzerland. He started speaking Spanish before English as a toddler in Mexico, developing an affinity and skill that would serve him well in his professional life.

Bob earned a bachelor of arts in political science from Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, and first pursued graduate studies at the National Autonomous University of Mexico in Mexico City in 1953. He then served in the US Army's counterintelligence corps and was stationed in Panama from 1954 to 1956, during which time he helped guard vice president Richard Nixon on a visit. He subsequently earned a master of arts in history from Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio, and in 1963 was awarded a PhD in history from the University of Iowa.

Bob spent his entire professional career at UWSP, where he began teaching in 1962. His specialty was the Mexican reform, and in addition to numerous articles, chapters, and book reviews, he published *Church Property and the Mexican Reform, 1856–1910* (Northern Illinois Univ. Press) in 1976. At UWSP, while he most enjoyed teaching Latin American history, he committed himself with equal determination to his large survey courses on pre–Civil War US history, as evidenced by the voluminous photographs of pre-1865 historic sites taken on family road trips (and the complete absence of any such photos of post-1865 sites). Bob was also active in faculty governance, including serving as chair of the Faculty Senate and chair of the Department of History. He promoted Latin American studies and the University Honors Program on campus. He sought to advance interest in Latin America at the state, regional, and national levels through participation in professional conferences and organizations.

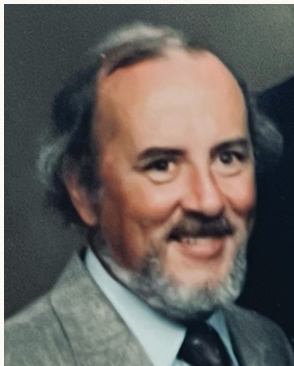
Throughout his life, Bob made numerous trips of both a professional and a personal nature to Mexico, continuing his research into land policy at archives in Guadalajara and Mexico City. He particularly enjoyed the many summers he spent in Guadalajara with his wife, Barbara, whom he had met in Mexico City in 1953 and who taught Spanish at UWSP. After retiring in 1992, Bob continued to contribute to UWSP through serving on the Board of Visitors (1997–2004), the LIFE Executive Committee (2003–04), and the Foundation Board of Directors.

He conveyed his academic legacy materially in that his son and grandson both wore his gown for their own PhD hoodings, with son Stephen earning his doctorate in clinical psychology from Boston University in 1992 and grandson Eric earning a data science PhD from North Carolina State University in 2023. During the last 10 years of his life spent at the Dimensions Living senior community in Stevens Point, he was frequently recognized by former colleagues and students, underlining the broad effects of his long engagement and many contributions to his field and community.

Bob is survived by his son, Stephen R. Knowlton (Joseph Pettigrew); daughter, Laura K. Yanchenko (Gregg); and grandchildren, Anna K. Yanchenko and Eric K. Yanchenko (Ann).

Stephen R. Knowlton
Boston, Massachusetts

Photo courtesy Knowlton family



Russell R. Menard

1942–2023

Historian of Early America

Russell R. Menard, professor emeritus of early American history at the University of Minnesota and a pioneering member of the Chesapeake School, passed away on November 16, 2023, after a stay in hospice.

Rus earned his bachelor's degree at the University of Delaware and his PhD at the University of Iowa. He worked for two years at the St. Mary's City Historic Commission, then held a fellowship at what is now the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture at William and Mary before joining the Minnesota faculty in 1976.

It was during his time in Maryland and Virginia that he began his decades-long collaboration with other historians who worked on the 17th-century Chesapeake, most notably Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh. The innovative work of the "Chesapeake Mafia," as they informally were known, helped transform the field of early American history, shifting attention away from New England to the tobacco plantations of Maryland and Virginia. Their solution to the paucity of diaries and letters from the region was to embrace the methods of the era's "new social history," quantifying empirical evidence found in wills, probate inventories, and other records to re-create the worlds of early English colonists and enslaved Africans. This research appeared in more than 30 articles that Rus authored, alone or with collaborators. Among the noteworthy was "From Servants to Slaves: The Transformation of the Chesapeake Labor System" (*Southern Studies*, 1977), which argued that the rise of African slavery in the region was linked to the diminishing supply and rising prices of indentured servants. He also published important articles on the demography of English colonists and enslaved Africans. This research culminated in the publication of *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland* (Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1991), co-authored with Carr and Walsh, which won the Alice Hanson Jones Prize from the Economic History Association in 1994.

Beyond his pioneering demographic work, Rus was best known as an economic historian and the co-author (with John

McCusker) of *The Economy of British America: 1607–1789* (Univ. of North Carolina Press), first published in 1985. In a 2002 retrospective in *Reviews in America*, Peter Coclanis declared, "It is difficult to overstate the impact *The Economy of British America* has made on a generation of historians." The book remains a foundational text.

Rus's research focus shifted further south during the 1980s and 1990s. He published important articles on slavery and economic growth of colonial South Carolina, followed by *Sweet Negotiations: Sugar, Slavery, and Plantation Agriculture in Early Barbados* (Univ. of Virginia Press, 2006). This short but influential work upended traditional narratives on the rise of the sugar plantation complex, arguing that the transition to sugar in Barbados was more gradual than scholars assumed and that much of the financing came from English, not Dutch, merchants.

Rus's research productivity on Barbados and the Caribbean was challenged by a stroke he suffered while working in London during the summer of 1993. Although physically limited, he remained an active scholar and a collaborator, working independently and with graduate students, including the two of us, on various projects. He also continued to teach until his retirement in 2012. Besides introducing countless Minnesota undergraduates to the world of early America through his popular survey, *The Peoples of Early America*, Rus supervised or co-supervised 19 doctoral dissertations and served as a mentor to many other graduate students.

Rus's commitment to social science history led him to partner with Steven Ruggles in launching the Historical Census Projects at Minnesota in the late 1980s, now part of the Institute for Social Research and Data Innovation. These projects transformed historical demographic research and public access to high-quality, machine-readable census materials. The center also served as intellectual and social hub for students from a broad range of fields. Rus was eager to cultivate this community, connecting students to scholarship, challenging them in debate, and offering his views on the Timberwolves and Gophers (Rus was a huge basketball fan). Rus thought about history to the very end, imagining new ways to conceive of the past to better understand social change. He is survived by his wife Kathleen, two children, and six grandchildren.

Matthew Mulcahy
Loyola University Maryland

David Ryden
University of Houston–Downtown
Photo courtesy Menard family



Arturo Alfonso Schomburg

1874–1938

Archivist and
Promoter of History

An activist-intellectual whose work was critical in the development of African and African diaspora studies writ large, Arturo Alfonso Schomburg died on June 10, 1938.

Schomburg was born on January 24, 1874, in San Mateo de Cangrejos, Puerto Rico, to Mary Joseph, a free Black laborer from St. Croix. The relationship between his mother and his father, Carlos Federico Schomburg, is unknown, as are the details of much of his early life, but he offered as a reason for his collecting the story that, as a child, he'd been told by a teacher that Black people had no history.

Schomburg arrived in New York City in 1891 with his mother and shortly thereafter joined the independence efforts of Afro-Cuban and Afro-Puerto Rican communities. Participating in the Sección Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Section) of the Partido Revolucionario Cubano (Cuban Revolutionary Party) and Club Borinquen, Schomburg additionally co-founded Las Dos Antillas in 1892. The same year, Schomburg was initiated into the El Sol de Cuba Lodge Number 38, a Masonic order founded by Afro-Cubans and Afro-Puerto Ricans in Brooklyn. Over the years, he ascended in Masonic leadership, eventually becoming associate editor of the *Masonic Quarterly Review* and editor of the *Transaction*, both Black Masonic journals, and in 1918 becoming the grand secretary of the Great Lodge of the State of New York. Professionally, Schomburg oversaw the Caribbean and Latin American Mail section at the Bankers Trust Company from 1906 to 1929, when he retired and dedicated the remainder of his life to his intellectual work.

Schomburg was a Race Man, the designation for men of his era dedicated to the advancement of peoples of African descent, and he became a leader in collecting and preserving historical records. Schomburg co-founded the Negro Society for Historical Research in 1911 and served as its secretary and treasurer. In 1914, he joined the American Negro Academy, an organization dedicated to the publication of scholarly works, and served as its president from 1920 to 1928. In 1925 he was initiated into the Omicron chapter of the Kappa Alpha

Psi fraternity at Columbia University. In 1926, Schomburg sold his private library to the Carnegie Corporation for donation to the 135th Street Branch Library of the New York Public Library (NYPL) in Harlem to amplify its Division of Negro Literature, History and Prints. It became known informally as the Schomburg Collection. As a result of his donation, the Harmon Foundation awarded him a bronze medal and a cash prize for educational excellence; with the prize money, Schomburg traveled to Europe for the summer in 1926, visiting archives and museums in Spain, France, Germany, Belgium, and England to recover early modern documents on the African diaspora. From 1930 to 1932, Schomburg served as the curator of Fisk University's Negro Collection, thereby replicating in the Jim Crow South what he had achieved in New York City. This was the first time in his life in which Schomburg was paid for the work for which he would gain renown. After Fisk, he returned to New York as the curator of his collection at the 135th Street Branch Library. An active member of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (today the Association for the Study of African American Life and History), he served as an associate editor of the *Journal of Negro History*. He held both positions until his death.

More than a collector, bibliophile, and archivist, Arturo Schomburg was a husband and father, a curator, an arts patron, a popular public speaker, a bibliographer, an editor, and a writer whose work was published in several of the most important periodicals of his day. His short articles reflected his dedication to an accessibility of educational materials, as did his curation of exhibitions at NYPL and YMCA branches, the classes he taught at the Harlem History Club and the Harlem YMCA, and his lectures for the Harlem Experiment in Community Adult Education. Schomburg was survived by his seven children—his firstborn had died within his first year of life—and his third wife, Elizabeth Green. He had been twice widowed.

In 1972, the 135th Street Branch Library was renamed the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture and recategorized as one of only four NYPL research libraries. Today its collection holds more than 11 million items; it remains the premier archive dedicated to the history and culture of peoples of African descent.

Vanessa K. Valdés
City College of New York

Photo: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture,
Photographs and Prints Division, New York Public Library

BRETT TOPEL

THE *HAIMISH* HOTEL



The Echo Hotel in Ellenville, New York, was never the fanciest, the most well appointed, or the most anything of its time. It was the sort of unassuming hotel where you went with your extended family to have a fun time without it affecting anyone's bottom line. In the late 1970s, a family of four could enjoy a weekend stay in a two-bedroom suite, with three meals per day and unlimited activities, for around \$150. To be clear, the "suite" consisted of two small hotel rooms that shared one TV that swiveled between the rooms. Each room had a bed, garish drapes, and two small chairs. By the time I started going with my family, the Echo was old and had seen better days. The indoor pool had a black film on the bottom, the uncovered ice rink needed to be shoveled after each snowfall, and many amenities, such as the coffee shop, had been shuttered.

Each year, the Echo hosted a very small percentage of the 150,000 mostly Jewish guests from the New York metropolitan area who trekked north to the Catskill Mountains from the 1920s to the 1980s to find refuge from the heat of the summer and mundane of the winter. Even in the glory days of the "Borscht Belt" — a reference to the hundreds of hotels that stood proudly in upstate New York and often served the Ukrainian cold beet soup — it was establishments such as the Concord, Grossinger's, Nevele, and Kutscher's that most people frequented. When it came to selecting one of these hotels, you got what you paid for, in terms of nearly all aspects of your vacation. But those who experienced the Echo knew that it was a priceless experience.

Spending time up in the Catskills Mountains at places like the Echo still holds indelible memories of family, joy, and community. "The Echo was always — to use a Jewish term — a very *haimish* place," said Joe Wagner, who ran the Echo for its final decade for his parents, who purchased the hotel in 1948. "The people that came back year after year were like family." The Yiddish word *haimish* is defined as having qualities associated with a homelike atmosphere: simple, warm, relaxed, cozy,

unpretentious. No English word could describe the Echo any better. The well-used couches in the lobby, for example, were both inviting and comfortable, like the one in your grandmother's living room — just without the plastic cover.

For those of us in Generation X, our days in the Catskills were numbered. By the late 1970s, many New York metro families — especially those who were doing better financially than their parents' generation — found other places to vacation. The hotels hung on as long as they could, but one by one met their demise. Today, most have been razed or stand as rotting corpses of vandalized buildings. Ironically, the Echo building and property itself is still in decent shape and used each summer by a Hasidic Jewish group and camp.

After it closed in the winter of 1979, the Echo now lives on only in the memories of those who visited, as well as the smattering of hotel postcards you can find on eBay. Those postcards cannot truly capture the well-worn mini golf course in the dark basement — which, according to Joe Wagner, was the mini golf course from the 1964 World's Fair in Queens, somehow procured by his father, Sam. "I was there and helped to load it on the truck." Or the unsteerable and unstoppable wooden toboggans on the snow hill that stopped only when they wanted to, or the large dogs that roamed the main lobby as "bellhops."

"Memories are a great thing. They usually are the happiest of times we had," Wagner's sister, Laurie, recently wrote to me. "There is a saying — you can never go back — and in this case, it's true. Keep your memories." **P**

Brett Topel is the author of six books and the director of communications and marketing at Brooklyn Friends School.

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AMERICAN
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Careers for History Majors

A publication from the American Historical Association

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

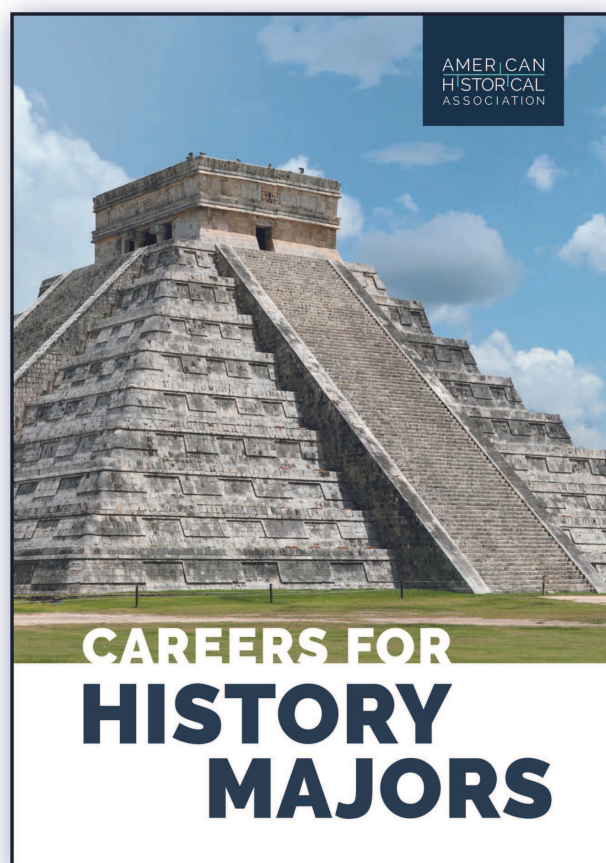
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