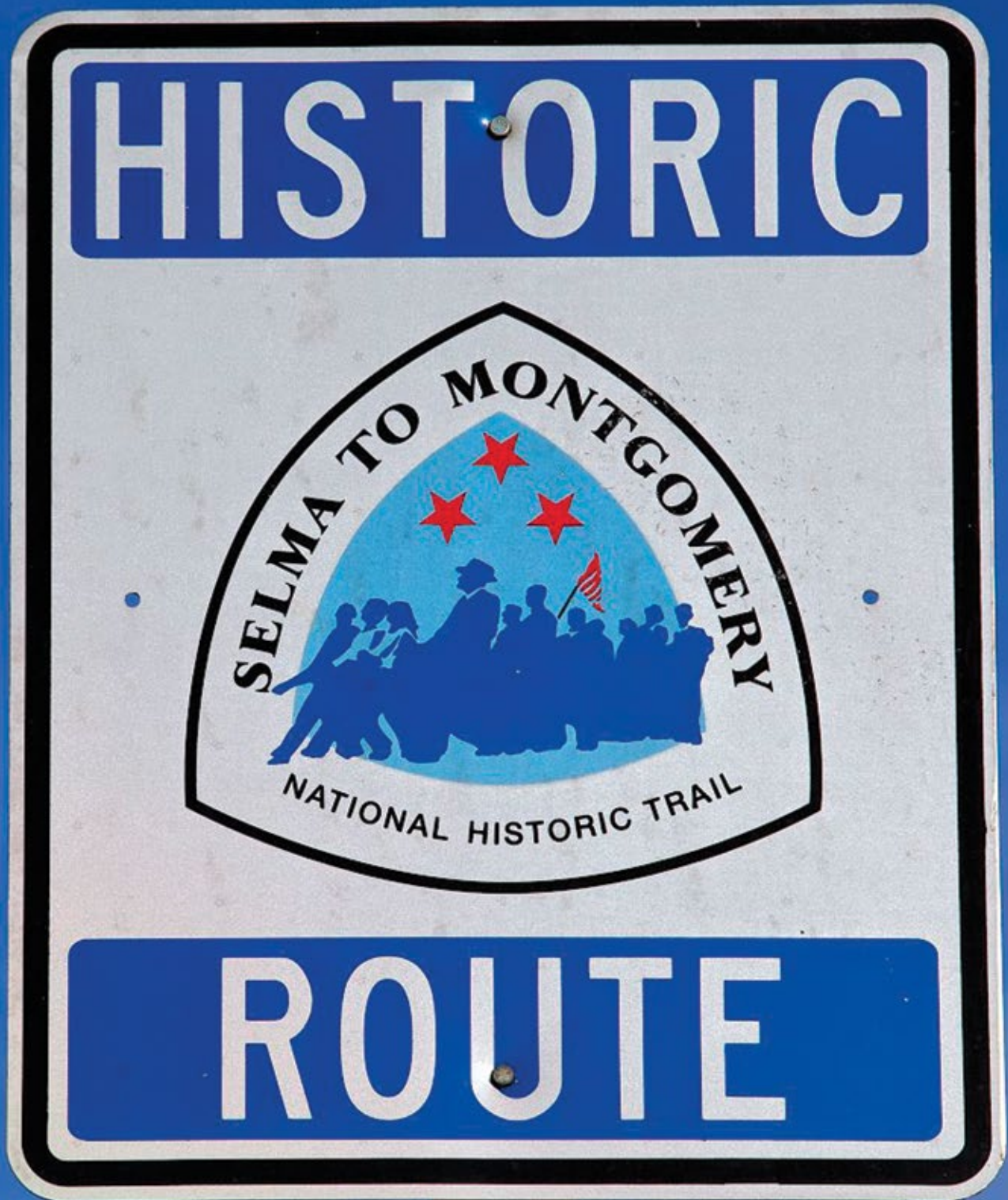


Perspectives on History

The Newsmagazine of the American Historical Association | 53: 5 | May 2015



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The 45th Anniversary of the Civil Rights March from Selma, Alabama to Montgomery, Alabama. The sign for the Selma-to-Montgomery National Historic Trail was photographed by Carol M. Highsmith. It is in the George F. Landegger Collection of Alabama Photographs at the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

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On Academic Leadership

Vicki L. Ruiz

Whether you're a volunteer or a conscript, you may find that service as a department chair brings particular challenges to your skills of historical inquiry and, most certainly, of interpersonal communication. The ability to negotiate across several constituencies—the department, the school, the wider campus, even donors—requires more than a thick skin and a sense of humor (though they help); it demands a commitment to be present: that is, putting out small fires before they become big ones, staying informed about initiatives that may impact your department for good or ill, exercising judgment to know when a problem exceeds your authority, and finally, expressing daily appreciation to professional staff who form the engine of the academic enterprise and to colleagues who give the extra effort in teaching and service. During my 33-year career, I have spent 11 years as an institute director or department chair, plus another five as an academic dean. I have come to envision academic administration as an opportunity for mentorship on a grand scale, an opportunity to make the academy more humane, accessible, and, yes, more relevant. As a dean, I secured resources to build programs and to invest in students, staff, and colleagues, but on a bad day I felt like an umpire at a Little League game or the high school principal supervising the protagonists of the 1980s film *The Breakfast Club*.

Freighted with expectations, leadership comes with a laundry list of presumptions about your ability and identity by those below and above the administrative flow-chart. For example, at times I am called upon to play the part of *la madre*—helping peers work through professional and personal problems, but after making a tough call, I change into *la bruja*—the shortsighted, penny-pinching harridan who fails to recognize the visionary aims of others. Such duality (with all its gendered/racial overlays) comes with the territory. Or as renowned choreographer of *baile folklórico* Rosa Guerrero once explained, “You have to

learn . . . that you're not going to be born for people to like you.”¹ To reiterate, taking joy in mentorship and having a sense of humor provide balance.

In 2008, I led an interactive workshop sponsored by the Women in the Historical Profession Committee at the annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians in which I offered exaggerated fictional scenarios of inappropriate professional behavior for colleagues to discuss. Based on the feedback I received, as well as an additional seven years of administrative seasoning, I have revised these exercises to stimulate a larger conversation within departments about shared mission and responsibility. Again, the fictional scenarios are just that: “All characters appearing in this work are fictitious. Any resemblance to real persons, living or dead, is purely coincidental.” I hope these scenarios will spark discussions about the contours of academic leadership, demystifying policies and protocols as well as underscoring the importance of shared governance and collegiality.

Fictional Scenario #1

You teach at a public research university, where diversity receives much lip service, but the student body remains fairly homogenous. As chair, you are pleased that three young, talented women have joined the department as assistant professors. At the end of the spring semester, Professors North America, Western Europe, and South Asia request a meeting with you regarding the behavior of male students in their classes. They explain that over the last year these students have challenged their authority and resorted to increasingly disruptive (and childish) behavior. They also report that these undergraduates make inappropriate comments about their clothing and hairstyles. They have compared notes informally, but a new incident outside of class has prompted their action. Professor North America's department office door has been defaced with the

words: “Worst teacher ever. And ugly, too.” They have come to you for advice and action.

Define the issue or issues.

What additional information do you need to gather in order to address their concerns?

Discuss your responsibility as chair and measures you could take.

In devising any course of action, would it matter if all the professors were women of color? Also, would your actions differ if you were the chair of a department at a small liberal arts college?

Fictional Scenario #2

You are chair of a department at a small liberal arts college, and you and your colleagues are thrilled that Professor Shining Star has joined your department. She decides that rather than relocate, she will commute from her metropolitan loft two hours away. Since Star prefers to drive, she frequently cancels classes in inclement weather and never reschedules. However, she is a dynamic, charismatic teacher whom juniors and seniors adore. After two years, it becomes apparent that Professor Star has no interest in taking her turn teaching the introductory survey course on historical thought. When you approach her directly about assigning her the survey for the next term, she replies, “Frankly, first-year students are a waste of my genius” and then flatly refuses. Her attitude has soured her relations with many in the department, but you want to re-engage her. To complicate matters, Professor Tattler threatens that if you do not address Professor Star's flagrant disregard of the Faculty Workload Policy, he will go to the dean.

Define the issue or issues.

What additional information do you need to gather? Is there an issue in this scenario that is beyond the scope of your authority?

Discuss your responsibility as chair and any measures you could take. What are the likely outcomes? Would your actions differ if you taught at a large public research university?

Fictional Scenario #3

You are department chair at a midsize research university. Professor Hip Rebel is a bona fide academic rock star with book prizes galore and a popular following for his books. He has become a valued mentor to his male graduate students and male junior colleagues, regularly hosting “gin and peanut” parties at his home. Several literary agents drop by these soirees from time to time at the behest of Professor Rebel. One junior colleague just received a lucrative advance for his first book with a major trade press—the deal negotiated by an agent he had met at one of Rebel’s gatherings. A group of women colleagues has come to your office with a complaint. They feel that the “gin and peanut” parties give their male peers an unfair advantage through their access to Rebel’s connections, and they con-

tend that he has created an atmosphere of male cronyism and patronage. They have come to you for redress since no woman has ever received an invitation to attend. You broach the subject in a diplomatic way with Professor Rebel, who afterward portrays you as the diversity police on his national blog.

Define the issue or issues.

What additional information do you need to gather? Is there an issue in this scenario that is beyond the scope of your authority?

Discuss your responsibility as chair and any measures you could take.

These scenarios bring out in stark detail the importance of identifying the issue, investigating broadly, weighing the evidence, and then making an informed decision. Indeed, consulting widely, listening deeply, addressing conflict directly, and laying out options will serve any administrator well. Of course, chairs must recognize when a matter requires immediate attention from higher authorities, as in the case of allegations of harassment or stalking.

Given the demands of leadership, separating yourself from the job provides crucial distance one needs in order to ignore any noise of entitlement, and if I had to give only one piece of advice to an incoming chair, it would be to turn off e-mail at nine p.m. No good message is likely to come your way after that, but the flaming, ill-informed rant just might. Such a critique invariably begins with the sentiment “I am outraged/appalled by your lack of vision, competence, and/or transparency.” Projecting professionalism, even lowering one’s voice, helps drop the temperature of any conversation. For me, an even-keel approach is always a preferable response. One of the best compliments I have received on my leadership came from a former head of a humanities unit with whom I did not always enjoy an easy relationship as dean. She said, “You always listened to me, even when you did not agree, and you laid out the possible consequences of my actions.”

One may read this column as a cautionary tale, but I want to underscore that, as an administrator, I have taken great pride in the accomplishments of colleagues, students, staff, and programs. I find inspiration in the words of feminist community leader Rosie Castro, a force in San Antonio politics for over 40 years: “We have practiced a different kind of leadership, a leadership that empowers *others*.”² To reiterate, defining academic leadership as mentorship requires a sustained investment in the success of others.

Vicki L. Ruiz is president of the American Historical Association.

Notes

1. Vicki L. Ruiz, “Oral History and La Mujer: The Rosa Guerrero Story,” in *Women on the U.S.-Mexico Border: Responses to Change*, eds. Vicki L. Ruiz and Susan Tiano (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1987), 229.
2. Elizabeth Martínez, “Chingón Politics Die Hard: Reflections on the First Chicano Activists Reunion,” *Z Magazine*, April 1990, 48. Rosie Castro is a dynamic activist in the Chicano movement, both in La Raza Unida, a Chicano third party, and Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS), a respected, powerful grassroots community-development organization in San Antonio. She has become known nationally as the mother of two rising stars in the Democratic Party, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Julián Castro and his twin brother, Joaquín, a US congressman from Texas.



J. Theodore Johnson: Chicago Interior, 1934
– Smithsonian American Art Museum CC-BY-NC-ND

Inspired by something you've read here?

Have you ever connected with another scholar because of something you read in *Perspectives*? Has an article inspired you to try a new teaching technique? Has an essay sent your research off in an unanticipated direction? If so, we'd like to hear about it.

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On Patriotism

James Grossman

Some months ago I was invited by a national magazine to write a short piece responding to the question of whether or not history education in the United States should “be patriotic.” They wanted a short piece, and potentially intriguing angles from the purpose of history education and historical consciousness to the definition of patriotism inclined me to accept the challenge. Because it would be an online feature, rather than in the printed magazine, the recompense was unimpressive—zero—but I figured the pulpit might be worthwhile. History education is important. So is patriotism.

Then came the follow-up phone call. I noted that the idea sounded interesting, and that even in a short piece I would work through the idea of patriotism itself—and say that “Yes, history education should indeed be patriotic.” There was silence on the line, and then: “We thought you would be taking the ‘no’ position.”

“Absolutely not,” I responded. “If you read what I’ve already published on this subject, you’ll see that I consider one of the main functions of history education to be preparing students for citizenship.” What could be more patriotic than that?

But they already had someone to uphold the affirmative. “We thought you would take the negative position.” So I explained again. And off went my interlocutor to speak with his supervisor. This wasn’t turning out as planned.

He returned with a new idea. “What if we changed it to ‘*more* patriotic?’” Would that shift me into a ‘no’ position? This publication had inferred that my support of the new Advanced Placement US History framework, apposite all of the criticism of its being “too negative” and insufficiently attentive to “American exceptionalism” would not suggest a stance that what we teach our students ought to be “more patriotic.”

Wrong again. I remained unwilling to take the bait. More important, I was now chomping at the bit at the opportunity to explain to a broad audience why the debate over what history we teach is misplaced and

misunderstood. First, *what* history we teach can be addressed only after we have established *why* students should learn history. This is why the AHA’s “Tuning” initiative entered its discussion of student learning outcomes only after a conversation about why students are in our classrooms in the first place—how history fits within the context of liberal education, and what the discipline contributes to that larger enterprise.

Whether history education should be “patriotic” (not to mention “more patriotic”) begins with reflection on the purpose of history education itself. The AHA has participated in conversations at both the K–12 and postsecondary levels that have generally moved in similar directions: the role of historical thinking and historical knowledge in preparing students for citizenship, career, and self-understanding. What can be more patriotic than building communities of informed, employed, active citizens confident in their ability to make decisions and interact effectively with others?

Indeed, these are the characteristics that exceptionalists have clung to in their depictions of 17th-century New England towns. Professional historians have debunked that myth because the evidence points to greater complexity, but the point here is the durability of the ideal itself. We can probably all agree that a patriotic education should prepare students to participate in the kind of political culture idealized in mythic images of decorous and inclusive New England town meetings and raucous “Jacksonian democracy” symbolized by the White House at Andrew Jackson’s inauguration. The challenge is to preserve the ideal while staying true to sources that describe hierarchical and exclusive New England communities, and Jackson’s commitment to slavery, expropriation of Indian land, and white male suffrage. Students can better appreciate and understand the ideal by learning both the context in which we have fallen short, and the dissenting voices that have insisted on different ways of thinking and acting.

Though hardly the only discipline where such learning takes place, history is an ideal venue for the education of citizens. Our students learn about the relationship between structure, culture, and agency in the shaping and direction of change. They learn that imputations of inevitability need always be tempered by consideration of the contingency of human actions, even those with unintended consequences. They learn that history doesn’t just “happen.”

All fine and good, say the proponents of a different kind of patriotic preparation, one that celebrates the institutions within which all of this human agency takes place and the heroic figures whose agency stands at the center of the evolution of those institutions.

But to celebrate change, we must appreciate its necessity: Neither democratic institutions nor individual great men and women emerged fully formed. They evolved. And one cannot comprehend that evolution without understanding its context. If students don’t study the hierarchical nature of New England towns and the worldviews of Virginia slaveholders, they can’t understand the ideological origins of the American Revolution. If they don’t learn about the actual dynamics of chattel slavery, the buying and selling of human beings, then Lincoln’s warning in his Second Inaugural that “every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword” reads as mere rhetoric.

I will continue to disagree with thoughtful colleagues who consider celebration and exceptionalism the cornerstones of a patriotic history education. But that disagreement is not over whether history education ought to be patriotic; it is about what constitutes patriotism in a nation founded on dissent and notable (even if not quite exceptional) for its deep and vibrant traditions of activism and debate from every corner of the country and the political spectrum.

James Grossman is the executive director of the American Historical Association. He tweets @JimGrossmanAHA.

The Ethical Historian

Notes and Queries on Professional Conduct

The Ethical Historian features the Professional Division's reactions to the ethical and professional questions it regularly receives. We welcome suggestions for this column, which may be sent to the division members listed below at PD@historians.org. The Professional Division will not reveal in this column the identities, or identifying characteristics, of individuals or institutions involved.

Thou shalt not plagiarize. This, perhaps, is the first commandment of scholarship. We proclaim it in our course syllabi. We drum it into our graduate students. We work hard to practice it in our own scholarship. And yet it is not always as easy to determine or as clear-cut as we might like. Anyone who's spent hours trying to nail down the source for a suspected student plagiarism case knows this only too well.

In the past two decades, plagiarism has been dramatically transformed by the Internet. Students are now less likely to go to the library and plagiarize a passage in a book; instead they cut and paste passages from resources on the Internet. Because they are not "stealing" from a book, they often do not recognize such a practice as plagiaristic. Otherwise, why would they do it when detecting this form of cheating requires only a simple Google search?

On a website aimed at students, one major institution summarizes plagiarism

as representing "as your own work any material that was obtained from another source, regardless [of] how or where you acquired it."¹ That's a pretty good starting point, but how exactly do we determine this in instances where words and phrases are not lifted verbatim? That constitutes the crudest form of plagiarism we're likely to encounter, but it may also be the least common, other than among students new to the academy. Among professionals, more muted forms of unacknowledged borrowing are far likelier.

One recent inquiry the AHA's Professional Division received asked whether quoting a primary source via another secondary source, rather than from a direct reading, was itself a form of plagiarism. For an inexperienced scholar anxious not to cross the line into plagiarism unintentionally, that distinction is an interesting one. It's common for scholars to acquire references to primary sources via reading other secondary sources. We encourage graduate students to pay close attention to the archival listings and bibliographies in the books they read so that they can further their own research. Our intent is to help them see which archives they might need to visit themselves. There's a good chance that after doing so they might quote many of the same primary sources themselves. In

such instances, there is no need to indicate the secondary source as well, since you have yourself consulted the original and determined what's relevant to your own work. (Of course, sometimes it's appropriate to thank another scholar who has sent you to a source, but that's generally done when the information comes to you personally rather than through reading it in a book or essay.) But sometimes we do quote without going to the source ourselves, and on those occasions—when the quotation is filtered through a secondary reference without consulting the original—it's best to identify the source that led you there. That way you make no claim to have done research you haven't done, and you're also acknowledging the work done by someone else. But there are other reasons to cite that secondary source. The discipline of history is a conversation, a never-ending stream of dialogues about the past. Not least since we are historians, it is important to document the genealogy of our debates. In citing that secondary source, you not only give credit where credit is due, but you also allow readers to trace the life of the debate in which you are participating. And do be generous: the line between plagiarism and a lack of acknowledgment can run thin. When in doubt, use your footnotes to name those whose ideas have helped you generate your own.

Even famous historians can be guilty of plagiarism. In 2002, Stephen Ambrose was accused of copying passages verbatim in his *The Wild Blue* from another book written by historian Thomas Childers. Ambrose footnoted Childers but failed to put quotation marks around the passage he took verbatim. Critics faulted Ambrose for trying to produce too many of his best-selling books too quickly, hence engendering a kind of rushed sloppiness with his sources. While that may have been true, Ambrose defended himself differently. "I tell stories," he argued. "I don't discuss my documents. I discuss the story. It almost

Discussions on Plagiarism in Perspectives on History

Reflections on Plagiarism, Part 1: A Guide for the Perplexed" (February 2004) by Peter Charles Hoffer: bit.ly/19ov317

"Reflections on Plagiarism, Part 2: The Object of Trials" (March 2004) by Peter Charles Hoffer: bit.ly/1NyqpWL

"Council Decides on Complaint Filed with the Professional Division" (March 2001): bit.ly/1F9JLJq

gets to the point where, how much is the reader going to take? I am not writing a PhD dissertation.”² Ambrose justified his actions by separating storytelling from scholarship. But authors also own the way they tell their stories, and should be acknowledged for that fact.

What should you do if you believe you have found a case of plagiarism? When it’s an instructional case, the answer is simple. Every institution has a protocol for reporting student dishonesty, and plagiarism (as so many of our syllabi point out) is regarded as one of the worst offenses a student can commit. Structures are in place that lift the problem out of the hands of individual instructors, whose job is merely to provide what they regard as proof of the offense. It is always worth reporting students who plagiarize since you have no way of knowing whether it is a one-off error of judgment or a pattern, and since a student who gets away with plagiarism because of a lack of reporting may well be tempted to keep doing it.

But what of cases in the world of publishing or at the doctoral level? Unlike

at the undergraduate level, where the instructor is almost everywhere taken out of the case early on and where there is thus rather less risk of personal vituperation, the stakes are very different beyond such formalized institutional structures. It takes courage to make a claim of plagiarism since one might well face a backlash. Fear of misreading or misinterpreting will hold back many a troubled conscience. There are a number of routes to consider. One can approach a department chair or dean if the perpetrator holds an academic position either as a faculty member or as a (former or current) graduate student. One can contact the publisher. It might be wise to check discreetly with a trusted colleague or two to sound out if anyone thinks you might be overreacting. But above all, carefulness is paramount: be sure of your judgment, cautious in your claims, and unemotional in the reporting. Careers, after all, may be at stake. But plagiarism is, at the end of the day, one of the ugliest things scholars can do to one another, and staying silent will only make the problem worse.


The AHA’s Professional Division collects and disseminates information about employment opportunities, helps ensure equal opportunities for all historians, and helps set guidelines for professional ethics. The division does not, however, adjudicate cases (see bit.ly/1sLYZN6 for more on why).

Members of the division are Catherine Epstein (Amherst College), Mary Louise Roberts (University of Wisconsin–Madison), Philippa Levine (University of Texas at Austin, and vice president, Professional Division), and Valerie Paley (New-York Historical Society).

Notes

1. Student Judicial Services, Office of the Dean of Students, The University of Texas at Austin, http://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/sjs/acadint_plagiarism.php (accessed February 3, 2015).
2. David Kirkpatrick, “As Historian’s Fame Grows, So Do Questions on Methods,” *New York Times*, January 11, 2002.

The Core of the History Discipline



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The AHA’s Tuning project has produced the History Discipline Core, a statement of the central habits of mind, skills, and understandings that students achieve when they major in history. The current version of this document is available on the AHA website at historians.org/tuning

Intoxicating Beverages

New National Archives Exhibit Explores Alcohol in American History

Amanda Moniz

Throughout our history, Americans have had conflicting attitudes toward alcohol. While one leading founder—George Washington—established a lucrative business distilling whiskey, another—Benjamin Rush, the nation’s most prominent doctor and a signer of the Declaration of Independence—devised a graphic “Moral and Physical Thermometer” to warn people of the dangers of drink. In the 19th century, many Americans embraced the temperance movement, while their compatriots in the liquor trade sought new markets for their products. The early 20th century brought Prohibition—and a concerted campaign against it. More recently, presidents have continued the long tradition of using toasting as a diplomatic tool, while Americans from First Lady Betty Ford to basketball star

Shaquille O’Neal have continued the long tradition of cautioning people against the effects of imbibing.

The National Archives has recently opened an exhibit exploring this history. *Spirited Republic: Alcohol in American History* examines the production, distribution, consumption, and regulation of intoxicating beverages from the early years of the republic to today. On view through January 10, 2016, in the Lawrence F. O’Brien Gallery of the National Archives Museum in Washington, DC, the exhibit captures Americans’ varied views about alcohol and the government’s changing policies toward it.

The exhibit is divided into four sections that examine drink in American history thematically and chronologically. “Good Creature of God” focuses on the early republic and

the later part of the 19th century. Here the story is that beer, cider, perry, wine, and spirituous liquors were long accepted parts of everyday life. Images show how quaffing liquor was woven into the rhythms of the day, and a striking display of gallon jugs depicting alcohol consumption throughout US history shows just how much booze Americans put away in different eras. Highlighting the place of alcohol in American economic history, this section also includes a reproduction of George Washington’s still, along with letters from merchants seeking to sell their goods to consumers in distant parts. Late 19th-century traders, the documents reveal, hoped to find markets in faraway places including Muscat, Oman, and German Samoa.

As the tower of jugs in the first section shows, Americans’ consumption of alcohol spiked dramatically over the early decades of the 19th century as the agricultural exploitation of lands in new western territories and improvements in transportation made shipping corn in the form of whiskey highly profitable. Reformers responded by “Demonizing Drink,” as the second section explores. Even before an organized movement emerged, some activists—most notably Benjamin Rush—sought to curb Americans’ (and even foreigners’) drinking. A blow-up of Rush’s “Moral and Physical Thermometer,” positioned to move the viewer from the first to the second section of the exhibit, makes that point and shows that moderation was the focus of early temperance advocates. Over the next decades, reformers developed a sophisticated movement to lessen Americans’ drinking. Along with a Women’s Christian Temperance Union picture of women praying in a saloon and a poster advertising a temperance lecture, an 11-foot-long petition from 1843 calling for an end to the Navy’s “spirit ration” showcases the movement’s popularity. In spite of its success—by the latter 19th century, as the tower of jugs shows, drinking the hard



National Archives, Records of the Internal Revenue Service

A pro-Prohibition booth at the Parents' Exposition at the Grand Central Palace, New York, New York, March 1929.



National Archives, Records of the US Information Agency

An automobile decked out with signs and banners supporting the repeal of the 18th Amendment, New York, New York, May 1932.

stuff had fallen markedly—many Americans supported a legal ban on the production and sale of alcohol. “Demonizing Drink” examines the evolution of the temperance movement into prohibition. The medical profession, the exhibit shows with material such as a page from the patients’ register at St. Elizabeth’s Hospital in Washington, DC, contributed to this development by shaping the public’s ideas about alcoholism as an illness. By 1919, the prohibition movement had become so strong that states passed and Congress ratified the 18th Amendment. A highlight of the exhibit is the original Joint Resolution for the 18th Amendment, on display for the exhibit’s first six months.

Not everyone, however, supported the anti-drink cause. The exhibit’s “Sober Nation” section captures the conflict over the nation’s experiment with Prohibition. Agents, male and female, worked to enforce the law—agents’ badges are on display and photos show some of them dismantling an illicit bar—and

supporters of the movement kept the pressure up. Many Americans bent or flouted the law, and the exhibit includes doctors’ prescriptions for hard liquor as well as materials relating to the era’s organized crime in alcohol. Arguing, among other things, that Prohibition was unenforceable, opponents of the 18th Amendment crafted a repeal movement. Pro- and anti-Prohibition camps shared some similarities; both, for instance, appealed to the well-being of families, as photographs and posters on view reveal.

When the 21st Amendment went into effect in 1933, the nation saw the repeal of Prohibition. The exhibit’s final section, “Concerned Acceptance,” covers this history and brings the story up to today. Many Americans celebrated repeal, as film and photographs from 1933 show, while wine, beer, and spirits makers offered the public both old and new products. One of the exhibit’s most colorful displays is the collection of 39 labels—in various languages—for

different wines, beers, and spirits submitted to the Patent and Trademark Office as the American liquor industry geared up for the return to licit alcohol sales. Legal again, drinking still prompted concern. Americans came together in new groups, such as Mothers Against Drunk Driving, and mounted yet new reform campaigns. Documents, posters, and film clips show ordinary people and well-known figures counseling responsible drinking and offering encouragement to those coping with alcohol-related diseases. The exhibit closes with displays including FDR’s cocktail set and drink-related gifts other presidents received.

With issues around taxation and the military also running through the exhibit, *Spirited Republic* conveys not only the contested but also the multifaceted role of alcohol in American history.

Amanda Moniz is assistant director of the National History Center.

US Capitol Restoration Commences

Jennifer Reut

Looking at the stately US Capitol from afar, it's hard to imagine that its origins are as divisive and contradictory as the congressional debates that can take place within its rooms. The building appears, so often in film and television these days, as a stand-in for the capital city—enduring, multifaceted, and unchanging. But a closer view reveals that it's been changing a good deal—the dome is decaying, flaking, leaking, cracking, and coming ever closer to releasing bits of its fine cast-iron ornamentation onto visitors below. When the next president is inaugurated in Washington in 2017, if all goes according to plan, a new fully restored Capitol dome will be unveiled.

The restoration of the dome will cost about \$60 million (the overall restoration of the Capitol is estimated at about \$127 million); the principal work, begun this past fall, will take place over two years. Supervised by the architect of the Capitol, Stephen T. Ayers, whose office has already completed several years of planning and preparation, the work is ready to move into the next phase.

From the outside, visitors can now see the 52 miles of eye-catching scaffolding, installed from the bottom, or dome skirt, to the base of the Statue of Freedom, which sits atop the dome's cupola. Inside, what has been described as a doughnut-shaped canopy protects the interior artwork and visitors from falling debris. The interior and exterior scaffolding and a large staging area on the west plaza, with walkways directly to the dome, will allow the Capitol to remain open for congressional business (and tourists); Constantino Brumidi's 1866 fresco, *The Apotheosis of Washington*, on the interior will remain visible.

Even before the cornerstone was laid in 1793, the design and construction of the US Capitol had been characterized by glacial progress, mismanagement, and cost overruns—missteps perhaps understandable given that the young Republic had had no history of monumental building. The dome we know today is a later addition to the third iteration of the Capitol building,



Credit: Architect of the Capitol

A circular structure made of rope and fabric protects the interior ornamentation and visitors while allowing a view of the frescos through the oculus.



Credit: Architect of the Capitol

Scaffolding has been completed around the dome of the US Capitol to provide access to the surface and enclose the areas during lead paint abatement.



Credit: Architect of the Capitol

The meticulous work of making nearly 1,300 repairs in the cast iron dome must be done by hand.

which had been burned in 1812, rebuilt with a wood and copper dome, and then rebuilt and enlarged again, in the mid-19th century. Construction for a new, larger cast-iron dome, designed by Thomas U. Walter, was begun in 1856 and finished in 1866. In all, including the 38-foot-tall bronze Statue of Freedom, the new dome weighed nearly 9 million pounds; at 288 feet from the ground plane of the East Front Plaza, it is purported to be the largest cast-iron dome in world.

The last major restoration of the dome, in 1959 and 1960, is remembered by many Washingtonians for the bright red tint of the primer, which gave the building a peculiar cast. That restoration, now well over 50 years old, was concerned more with repainting and connection repairs than restoring the cast-iron substructure, which is now leaking water into the dome interior and damaging it. Today, the architect of the Capitol has identified over a thousand cracks and abrasions in the cast-iron shell that will need to be repaired, and many of the dome's 108 original green lead-glass windows will need to be repaired or replaced as well.

The main work on the dome begins with the blasting and scraping off of paint, followed by the application of primer, repairs to the cast iron, and several finishing coats of paint. Although the restoration process is similar to that of any 19th-century cast-iron structure, the scale of the dome and the delicacy of the materials, as well as the significance of the interior decoration, are what makes this restoration a highly orchestrated endeavor.

According to the *Washington Post*, which has published an interactive guide to the restoration process, the existing 10 layers of lead paint must be stripped and the raw cast iron primed within eight hours to protect against flash rusting; thus it must be done in sections rather than in successive stages. Repairs to the nearly 1,300 cracks, erosions, and fissures in the cast-iron structure will be filled using a highly labor-intensive lock-stitch technique, because the original cast iron will not tolerate the heating and cooling of welding. Repairs and replacements to the dome's cast-iron ornaments, which include 72 decorative acorns and 36 grape clusters, will require that each element be carefully

examined and documented before being repaired and replaced in the original settings, and with the original fixtures, if possible. New ornaments, if needed, will be recast at a foundry in Utah, from new molds.

What's astonishing about the restoration process is that, for all its massive logistics and cutting-edge materials, the most sensitive work is very much in the hands of skilled craftspeople. Many of the materials and techniques used—the rope and fabric of the inner dome's doughnut scaffolding, the hand-casting of the ornaments and their molds, the scraping of paint by hand—would not be unrecognizable to the dome's original builders. If lead paint abatement and tourist-friendly scaffolding are clearly 21st-century accommodations, the Capitol dome restoration still provides the public with an opportunity to appreciate the 19th-century art and craft of building.

Jennifer Reut is a historian of American architecture and landscape. A former editor at Perspectives on History, she is currently an associate editor at Landscape Architecture Magazine.

NASA's Leading Edge

One Hundred Years of Aeronautics

Jacob Ingram

Save for a few security guards, the floor of the busiest museum in the country was empty on the morning of March 3, the 100th anniversary of the founding of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (NACA), the predecessor organization of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). The National Air and Space Museum (NASM), in Washington, DC, was hosting a two-day symposium about the history of the NACA. At this event, titled “The NACA Centenary: A Symposium on 100 Years of Aerospace Research and Development” and co-organized with the NASA History Program Office, speakers included historians, museum professionals, seasoned NASA staff, and independent scholars. NASA Administrator Charlie Bolden’s welcome address described the NACA as the cornerstone that left NASA a tradition of collaboration and how it influenced this identity with the questions “*How we work? . . . What we do? . . . Who we are?*”

The symposium proceeded temporally, focusing first on the pre-history and early history of the NACA, then on the entirety of the NACA’s existence, and finally on its legacy going into the 21st century. The first panel elucidated the debate about the size, scope, and role of what would become the NACA, with support from various parties, including the military, established research schools, and other government bureaus. The NACA was established via attachment to the annual Naval Appropriations Bill, which passed into law on March 3, 1915, but while it effectively began as an entity within the US Navy, the debate over how exactly the work of the NACA targeted general aeronautical research was the subject of a lecture by Laurence Burke of Carnegie Mellon, who concluded that “while military interest alone was not enough to bring about the creation of the NACA, said interest is important in understanding how and why the NACA came about when it did, taking the form that it did.”



Credit: NASA/Langley Research Center, flic.kr/p/czu4XU

An example of a Langley Aeronautical Laboratory wind tunnel. This one measured 33 feet high and 43 feet wide. The guide vanes being inspected are designed to help the air turn the corner more uniformly.



Credit: NASA/Armstrong Flight Research Center, flic.kr/p/tpM3yc

“Cowboy” Joe Walker during his NACA test flight days. He flew the X-1A (shown above) after it was transferred to the NACA in late 1954. Additionally, the Cowboy’s multiple flights of the X-15 made him the first person to make multiple spaceflights, as the altitude achieved by the plane crossed the threshold for space, qualifying him as an astronaut.

One recurring takeaway from the presentations, focused on the roles played by the still fledgling NACA, was the value of the collaborative efforts at the NACA. Perhaps most important was the establishment of aeronautical engineering as a field; Deborah Douglas of the MIT Museum and John Tylko of MIT both spoke on the establishment of educational facilities and pedagogy at various research universities in addition to growing research and development efforts in the private sector.

Attention to historic flight tests qualified the NACA's research contributions, which grew out of the known deficiencies of wind tunnels and led to experimental flights, such as the Bell X-1 above the Californian Mojave Desert in the 1940s and many more up to the present day. Robert Curry stressed the point that test flights tackle a set of experimental issues that wind tunnels have difficulty replicating. The NASM's Jeremy Kinney echoed a similar point regarding the NACA's ongoing propeller research efforts; he quoted a 1925 report that said that "researchers could never rely absolutely upon model data, until they verified that data through full flight tests." While phrases like "propeller coefficient" are enough to make the heads of most historians spin, these in-depth histories are necessary in substantiating the final product, one that entered the cultural realms with those "right stuff" pilots at the controls. Auburn's James Hansen and the University of Pennsylvania's Matthew Hersch both spelled out histories about the pilots that flew on NACA and NASA research missions; both researchers noted how scientifically capable the pilots generally were—an important point when considering why they had "the right stuff" and were not just any hot shots.

The second day of panels featured more thematic histories. At the "Key-Aspects of NACA Research" panel, Robert Ferguson, an independent researcher, and Adrienne Provenzano, a STEAM educator, spoke, respectively, on threads of research policy and the role of women throughout the committee's history. Ferguson's research on overlapping research entities within the NACA, something the early organization had purposefully steered away from, revealed that ultimately they proved to be "marvelously productive"; furthermore Ferguson questioned what might have resulted if the policies to avoid overlap, among others, had been more closely enforced.



Credit: NASA/Langley Research Center, 1.usa.gov/1MGWe9x
Currently on display at the National Air and Space Museum, the NACA Emblem had previously been mounted on above the door of Langley's 8-Foot Transonic Pressure Tunnel.

Provenzano stole the show by opening her presentation with an a cappella rendition of the 1910 composition Come Josephine in My Flying Machine." The song served as a jumping-off point for a discussion of the contributions of women to the development of the NACA and other aerospace efforts. Provenzano continued with stories of women who served as "computers" at the NACA centers. A computer's job was to process raw test data to make them useful for researchers. Although at the time the women were treated as subprofessionals, historians now recognize their effort as valuable to the mission of the NACA.

The centenary closed with a panel discussion on which aspects of aeronautical endeavor should get historical attention next. The University of Southern California's Peter Westwick called for a reexamination of the labs and aerospace programs in the wake of curtailed funding opportunities, introducing the word "reformation"; he suggested that researchers complicate the established NACA narratives by examining the activities of the aeronautical labs during the space race and exploring the contributions of less prominent figures. The University of Dayton's Janet Bednarek recommended contextualizing the history of the NACA and NASA, suggesting that including it

in interdisciplinary studies, while keeping issues like sustainability and accessibility in mind, will provide a richer story in the end. Mark Lewis rounded out the talk by assuring the doomsayers that 21st-century students entering aerospace have adequate skills and that there will be projects they can contribute to in the coming decades.

With the conclusion of the symposium's second day, attendees were left with a wealth of knowledge to process, as the speakers made very clear that plenty of meat remains on this historical bone. Calls for the privatization of space exploration are increasing, they say, and the 100 years since the formation of the NACA can be mined for examples of the benefits a collaborative atmosphere can bring to new aerospace projects. Furthermore, the history of the NACA shows what can be done on a shoestring budget and in the wake of organizational doubts and concerns over research overlap. This point of view remains relevant in the present day as NASA is continually pressed on its budget and questioned on what its "core mission" includes and excludes.

Jacob Ingram is the AHA's editorial assistant. By the time this issue is in print, he will be back in his beloved California.

Keeping Track of Record Keeping

Closing the Gaps in Federal Records Management

Lee White

In a January column in this space, I spoke of the benefits of the Presidential and Federal Records Reform Act (Public Law 113-187)¹, which the president signed into law in December 2014. As noted, the National Coalition for History advocated passage of amendments to both laws, which, had they been in effect at the time, would have left no doubt that former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton had an affirmative duty to compose her e-mails using a government (.gov) account or forward them to the State Department server.²

Controversy now centers on whether Clinton violated the Federal Records Act (FRA) and National Archives and Records Administration's (NARA) regulations when she used a private e-mail account and server to conduct official business as secretary of state. At a minimum, her actions violated the Obama administration's commitment to transparency and open government, made on the president's first day in office in 2009.³

The purpose of this article is not to dissect the legal nuances of Clinton's claim that she did nothing in violation of FRA and NARA regulations. For far too long, leaders at federal agencies have treated record keeping as a budgetary and house-keeping problem instead of taking seriously their legal responsibility to ensure that the nation's historical record remain complete and accessible not just to historians, but to all citizens. To that end, on March 17, 2015, the National Coalition for History joined 11 other pro-transparency, journalist, and historical groups in a letter to Secretary of State John Kerry and Archivist of the United States David Ferriero urging that Secretary Clinton's e-mails containing federal records be recovered and transferred to the Department of State in their original electronic form.⁴

Public Law 113-187 states that an officer or employee of an executive agency (1) may not create or send a record using a nonofficial

electronic messaging account unless they copy their official e-mail account in the original creation or transmission of the record, or (2) must forward a complete copy of the record to their official government account not later than 20 days after the original creation or transmission of the record. The law imposes this same responsibility on the president, the vice president, and their immediate staff for the first time in our history.

Recently, *Politico* columnist Josh Gerstein revealed that, without fanfare, the National Archives sent a letter to the State Department on March 3, 2015, the day after the story broke in the *New York Times*, that

*How do we know what records
are missing if we don't know
what records were there to begin
with? And how can we file
concise FOIA requests if we can't
be sure of what we're looking for?*

"NARA is concerned that Federal records may have been alienated from the Department of State's official record-keeping systems."⁵ NARA gave the State Department 30 days to explain which records were "alienated" and what is being done to retrieve them.

If this scandal did not involve former secretary Clinton or another high-profile government official, it would have blown over weeks ago. To paraphrase one TV commentator: "Let's face it, records and e-mails just aren't sexy." Hillary Clinton may well have done historians and archivists a favor by shedding light on the

challenges our profession faces every day. Despite clear directives from NARA and the Office of Management and Budget, how does the government address a *laissez-faire* attitude that many senior officials at federal agencies have toward their record-keeping and management responsibilities? How do we know what records are missing if we don't know what records were there to begin with? And how can we file concise FOIA requests if we can't be sure of what we're looking for?

Unless technical experts can recover the deleted records, we cannot know whether our historical record is complete or if gaps exist that will never be filled. If nothing else, Clinton's example may serve as a wake-up call to officials across the federal government that preserving the historical record is not, as she called it, "an inconvenience," but a legal requirement to be taken seriously. NARA's letter to the State Department notes potential federal record-keeping issues with e-mails created or received by secretaries of state dating back to the tenure of Secretary Madeline Albright. In fact, former secretary Colin Powell admitted to using a private e-mail account during his tenure.⁶

The State Department has a statutory duty to prepare the Foreign Relations Series of the United States (FRUS), the official documentary record of the foreign policy decisions of our country. The FRUS law states, "Volumes of this publication shall include all records needed to provide a comprehensive documentation of the major foreign policy decisions and actions of the United States Government."⁷ It goes on to say, "The published record shall omit no facts which were of major importance in reaching a decision, and nothing shall be omitted for the purpose of concealing a defect of policy." If e-mail records are missing from as far back as Secretary Albright, this absence will complicate the FRUS requirement that "all records" be used to ensure that the volumes remain

comprehensive and accurate. Secretary Clinton's negligence in destroying potentially government-related records will be felt even more keenly by the next generation of historians than by ours.

The FRUS law mandates that each volume be completed within 30 years of the events it chronicles. Conceivably, a young historian just starting his or her career in the Office of the Historian at the State Department and tasked with preparing FRUS volumes on the first term of the Obama administration is in elementary school as I write. We owe it to future generations of historians to do all we can to make the record complete. We may also want to reconsider the issue of whether records left by members of Congress "belong" to them; they can do with them as they please after leaving office, and have thereby exempted themselves from laws that apply to the executive branch.

Lee White is the executive director of the National Coalition for History.

Notes

1. "Public Law 113-187—Nov. 26, 2014," <https://www.congress.gov/113/plaws/publ187/PLAW-113publ187.pdf>.
2. Michael S. Schmidt, "Hillary Clinton Used Personal Email Account at State Dept., Possibly Breaking Rules," *New York Times*, March 2, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/03/us/politics/hillary-clintons-use-of-private-email-at-state-department-raises-flags.html?ref=topics>.
3. Barack Obama, "Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies," <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/03/03/transparency-and-open-government>.
4. Letter to John Kerry and David Ferriero from 12 pro-transparency, journalist, and historical groups, March 17, 2015, <http://bit.ly/1yoUn2D>.
5. Josh Gerstein, "Archives Wants Explanation for Hillary Clinton Email Practices," *Politico*, March 18, 2015, <http://www.politico.com/story/2015/03/hillary-clinton-email-national-archives-116185.html>.
6. Schmidt, "Hillary Clinton Used Personal Email Account at State Dept., Possibly Breaking Rules."
7. Legal Information Institute, 22 U.S. Code § 4351 – General Authority and Contents of Publication, <https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/22/4351>.

NCH's New Website

The National Coalition for History recently launched a new website at www.historycoalition.org. We invite you to visit it and take advantage of the features we've added to provide enhanced services and communications to AHA members and the historical community.



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AHA Joins Other Associations to Protest Georgia's Proposed Religious Freedom Restoration Act

James Grossman

In collaboration with other scholarly societies scheduled to meet in Atlanta over the next two years, the American Historical Association has sent a letter to the Atlanta Convention and Visitors Bureau condemning the proposed Religious Freedom Restoration Act pending in the

Georgia legislature. The bill would establish a vendor's right to refuse goods or services if such provision would violate the provider's religious principles (e.g., the legitimacy of same-sex marriage). We have been assured by the convention bureau that it has vigorously opposed this legislation, and we

appreciate its support for fair treatment of our members. As of the end of March, the proposed legislation had not been enacted.

James Grossman is executive director of the American Historical Association. He tweets @JimGrossmanAHA.

March 19, 2015

Mr. William Pate

President and CEO

Ms. Kathleen Bertrand

Sr. Vice President of Community and Governmental Affairs

Atlanta Convention & Visitors Bureau

Dear Mr. Pate and Ms. Bertrand,

It has come to the attention of a group of associations that plan to hold their professional meetings in Georgia that the Georgia legislature is considering a "Religious Freedom Restoration Act" [SB 129], which would establish a vendor's right to refuse goods or services to individuals based on their religion, sexual orientation, marital status, or whatever other factors might emanate from religious doctrine or practice. As organizations that are planning to bring thousands of members to Atlanta over the next two years, we share grave concerns about this legislation.

The many scholars and teachers who will make their way to Georgia for our upcoming professional conferences include colleagues who could be excluded from establishments that fall within the purview of this legislation. We are coming to Atlanta, however, in part because when we signed our contracts the city and its businesses claimed to appreciate our members' purchasing power, which includes over 35,400 room nights and tens of millions of dollars in local revenue.

Indeed, when considering the bids of cities that seek to host our respective meetings, we placed an emphasis on places that will welcome all of our attendees, regardless of their religion, race, gender, or sexual orientation. This is such an important issue that we have in our hotel contracts variations on language stipulating that any laws, ordinances, or practices condoning "discrimination on the basis of race, sex, age, disability, religion, national origin, sexual orientation or the enactment by the City of Atlanta or the State of Georgia of any law restricting or limiting the rights of any citizen on any of the above-cited bases . . . may result in the cancellation of this Agreement." We decry the possibility that some of our members might be subjected to prejudiced scrutiny.

We hope that your legislators will promote the equitable treatment of all Americans and our guests from other countries with the graciousness and hospitality often associated with Georgia and its residents. Rest assured that if our members are not welcome in Georgia's business establishments, we will not return.

Signed,

American Academy of Religion

American Historical Association

German Studies Association

History of Science Society

Philosophy of Science Association

Society for Biblical Literature

Society for Literature, Science, and the Arts

AHA Letter of Support for the National Library of Medicine

Seth Denbo

The National Library of Medicine (NLM), part of the National Institutes of Health (NIH), is the world's largest medical library. It also holds one of the most important collections for the study of the history of medicine in North America. Covering everything from the origins of Islamic medicine to pioneers of modern bio-medical research, the collection includes over 600,000 printed works, manuscripts dating back to the 11th century, archival materials including personal papers and institutional records, and a rapidly growing digital collection. The staff of the History of Medicine Division also organize seminars, curate exhibits, and pro-

vide invaluable online materials for history educators at all levels. The collection itself was begun in 1818, when the first Surgeon General of the Army assembled a reference library for the use of military physicians under his command.

These historical resources are crucial for scholarship, education, and public knowledge of medicine and historical and current public health issues. In the wake of the retirement of the longtime director of the NLM, Donald A. B. Lindberg, the NIH is undertaking a review of the NLM that will include the History of Medicine Division. The AHA responded to the formal Request for Information issued by the NIH

in March, and Council also sent this letter to Francis S. Collins, director of the NIH, and to Donald A. B. Lindberg to express support for the library and the collections and resources provided by the History of Medicine Division.

You can learn more about the collections of the NLM on the library's website at www.nlm.nih.gov

For regular updates, follow the History of Medicine Division's *Circulating Now* blog for regular updates: circulatingnow.nlm.nih.gov.

Seth Denbo is the AHA's director of scholarly communication and digital initiatives. He tweets @Seth_Denbo.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Organized 1884 Incorporated by the Congress 1889

March 19, 2015

Dr. Francis S. Collins (Director, National Institutes of Health)

Dr. Donald A.B. Lindberg (Director, National Library of Medicine)

National Institutes of Health

9000 Rockville Pike

Bethesda, Maryland 20892

Dear Dr. Collins and Dr. Lindberg:

I am writing in regard to the review being undertaken by the Working Group on the National Library of Medicine (NLM). The American Historical Association strongly supports the History of Medicine Division (HMD) of the National Library of Medicine. The National Library of Medicine, in particular the History of Medicine Division, is a vital national resource that supports scholarship, education, and public knowledge of medicine and historical and current public health issues.

With over 14,000 members the American Historical Association is the largest association in the United States devoted to the study and promotion of history and historical thinking across society. Research and publication by many of our members and other historians relies on the collections and support of the History of Medicine Division. In addition, many valuable and important

historical projects have been made possible by NLM grants for scholarly works.

The National Library of Medicine's unparalleled collection of primary historical sources dating back to the 11th century is of inestimable value to historians for both research and education. The more than 600,000 printed volumes in the History of Medicine Division—including the earliest printed medical works, thousands of books published between the 16th and 18th centuries, and many more up to the present day—make the collection an invaluable research resource. The NLM's historical collections have two very significant functions. First, they are a treasure trove of manuscripts and books that document the human struggle against disease from classical antiquity until today. The riches of the collection were beautifully highlighted in NLM historian Michael Sappol's 2012 book *Hidden Treasures*. They range from unique medieval Islamic texts that provide our best evidence of the foundations of Western medicine in ancient Greece, to the textbooks from which 20th-century American doctors learned their craft, to collections of papers of such key modern figures as Joshua Lederberg, Marshall Nirenberg, Luther Terry, and C. Everett Koop. These print collections are complemented by a growing digital collection, making this library a resource like no other in this hemisphere.

Second, public education about the history of medicine is vital for promotion of health in modern US society, and the History of Medicine Division is also actively involved in this through its award-winning exhibits and programs. Mary E. Fissell, professor of the history of medicine at The Johns Hopkins University,

has provided us with an excellent example of the value of these exhibits:

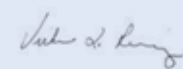
The HMD has fully embraced the possibilities afforded by the digital age, and has pioneered a series of online exhibits that continue to be one of the most significant resources in our field. I literally cannot tell you how often I direct the students to one of the online resources of the NLM. For example, in my undergraduate survey, one of the assignments is to go to the website Historical Anatomies, and choose images from pre-Vesalian anatomy books to compare with the work of Vesalius himself. Students bring all kinds of insights to discussions from their close investigation of such anatomical images. There is simply no way students would access this kind of material in any other setting. But the NLM's prescience in developing this kind of online exhibit enables me to teach undergraduates who will be tomorrow's physicians to understand and appreciate the intellectual processes involved in delving into the mysteries of the human body.

Historians of medicine are also increasingly working with the most innovative digital tools to address research questions. Fields such as historical epidemiology are breaking new ground that improves our ability to understand contemporary patterns and how best to prevent disease. Historical perspectives on disease, such as that presented in the HMD's blog *Circulating Now*, provide a vital understanding of such diseases as measles and

influenza, both of which are of concern to contemporary medicine and public health. Another example of this work that has benefited greatly from the HMD collections and working with the staff is "An Epidemiology of Information: Data Mining the 1918 Influenza Pandemic." This project brings together historians, computer scientists, and biomedical scientists to utilize big data to understand the spread of knowledge about the 1918 pandemic. These are just a couple of examples of the vital connection between scientific knowledge and historical inquiry that an attention to "big data" provides. The HMD is uniquely placed to provide expertise to make this essential link possible.

To sum up, alongside the crucial functions of the NLM in relation to biomedical research, the library has an equally vital role in collecting, curating, and providing access to the rich history of medicine in the United States and across the world. It is a key node in providing crucial links between history of medicine and biomedical science in the United States. We strongly advise that the NIH continue its 150-year tradition of support for scholarship in the history of medicine through the History of Medicine Division of the National Library of Medicine.

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History in Action

Career Diversity the Columbia Way

Emily Swafford and Manan Ahmed

On March 6 and 7, 2015, the history department at Columbia University hosted a conference, History in Action: Historical Thinking in Public Life. The program is online, at <http://historyinaction.columbia.edu/hia-programs/history-in-action-ii/>.

At the conclusion of the conference, Manan Ahmed, one of the two faculty co-directors of the Columbia pilot program for 2014–15, had a conversation with Emily Swafford about the origins of History in Action and how it is evolving as one of the four pilot programs in the AHA's Career Diversity for Historians initiative.

Emily Swafford: This was the second History in Action conference; the first was held in 2013. Could you start by telling me a little bit about where the idea for History in Action came from?

Manan Ahmed: The HIA conference was initiated by graduate students in the history department who wanted to assess the role of history in public as a way of breaking out of the “decline narrative” of the humanities. There was tremendous faculty support for the conference, and when the opportunity came to apply for the AHA/Mellon grant, the department was able to commit resources to it. An announcement about receipt of the grant can be found online: www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/may-2014/career-diversity-time-has-come

ES: History in Action is unique among the Career Diversity for Historians pilot programs because it is organized by graduate students. What has it been like working on this project as it has developed over the past few years?

MA: The first HIA conference was coordinated by Noah Rosenblum, and this year the coordinator was Tania Bhattacharyya. They worked closely with a group of students, and with faculty. Hence, History in Action is truly a collaborative endeavor of senior and junior faculty working closely

with graduate students. In the process of planning for the AHA/Mellon grant, we held a number of brainstorming sessions early in the project to outline the activities. That exercise resulted in an explicit goal: that HIA would be committed to providing resources and skills training to graduate students. The challenge was to create a range of resources and an array of workshops that can reflect the intellectual and temporal diversities of the history program at Columbia. We are committed to that vision and are continuously working toward it.

ES: How have the faculty at Columbia responded to the ideas and organizations of the graduate students?

MA: The faculty are supportive and enthusiastic. They participated in the writing of the grant proposal to Mellon, and three senior and three junior faculty members committed to leading the project for

three years. At Columbia, the faculty have always taken seriously their role in contributing to and shaping public discourse. On that front, HIA was a very easy case to make. However, they were also concerned about adding to the burdens of graduate students in their formative, training years. We did our best to create a balance in that regard.

ES: “History in Action” seems to have two overlapping meanings: historians engaging with communities and publics, and the usefulness of history as a discipline for thinking about problems with impacts beyond the academy. Is this a useful tension, or is it hard to make a two-pronged project coherent?

MA: We believe it to be a productive tension because it allows us to think about graduate student training in new and critical ways. Take the case of digital humanities—clearly it offers new ways to disseminate



Credit: Daniel Morales

Columbia associate professor Caterina Pizzigoni and graduate students in Latin American history Rachel Newman and Amy Christensen attend HIA II

research and new forms of publications. However, how would we make a case that a graduate student in history should know how to do some Python programming or geo-visualization, or be able to interrogate big data clusters? How do these activities map onto the understood categories of “primary source analysis,” “research,” “archive,” or “publication”? We hope that with HIA we can draw attention to the ways in which our communities, archives, and selves are shaped by the “digital,” and we need tools and concepts to respond to this—as a discipline. History, not only computer science or data science, must contribute to this disciplinary as well as public conversation.

ES: In addition to the HIA conferences, the department also administers grants to students working on public-facing history projects, is working on expanding work experience options for graduate students, and organizes a clinic course. Why don’t you tell us about the History in Action Project Awards, known as HAPA grants?

MA: HAPA grants are discrete project awards, for which any graduate student in the department can apply. We think of this as “seed money” for a project that could entail anything from working with a community center or museum to writing a blog or making an iPhone app. We have funded all of those. We will have one round of funding per semester for the duration of the grant—and we aim to fund two or three students each round.

ES: Tell me a little bit about the clinic course that is being offered this year. How does the department expect it to evolve over the next several years?

MA: We want HIA to have an impact on the curriculum of the department, and our clinic course is aimed at that. In spring 2015, the clinic course is led by Professor Pamela Smith and me. We brought to the campus six professionals from various industries (documentary film, journalism, publishing, NGO, etc.) who individually led sessions for two weeks and then guided a team of students on specific projects. (The course website is at <http://historyinaction.columbia.edu/hia-programs/clinic-course-spring-2015/>.) In spring 2016, the clinic course will be led by Elazar Barkan, the director of the Institute for the Study of Human

Rights. The course will focus on addressing the memory of extreme historical violence and its impact on contemporary politics and culture. We hope that these courses will transition into regular offerings in the department and create a continuous space for History in Action.

ES: One of the really innovative features of the Columbia department’s program is the launching of History in Action Research Associates (HARA). Can you tell me a little bit about that program?

MA: We did not want to think of (or call) it an “internship” program since there are issues of fair labor practice and compensation involved. We also wanted to protect our graduate students from being told to do work unrelated to their intellectual training. Hence we called our program Research Associates since *research assistant* is a common term in the academy. To deal with the complicated issue of compensation, we reallocated the TA duties (for one semester) of students who would work as a research associates.

Initially, we approached the organizations ourselves (though, in the future, students can propose host organizations to work with). To approach the host organizations, we first created a key skills profile of a graduate student. You can see it at <http://historyinaction.columbia.edu/hia-programs/profile/>. We initiated conversations with host organizations based on this profile, the number of hours that an RA can work, and the type of work (research, writing, presentation, event organization) they can do. We worked closely with the Career Education program on our campus (they had extensive experience on the undergraduate level but nothing really for the graduate level). We then created a short agreement that the host organization can endorse, laying out the above parameters. At the moment, the Social Science Research Council, the Tenement Museum, the *New York Times*, and Al-Jazeera are organizations we are working with.

ES: I understand that there are plans to create a new website for HIA soon. How is this related to the program’s goal of reaching a broader audience?

MA: We think the web and social media are integral parts of our effort—as vehicles for speaking across the boundaries and as forms of content themselves. We are

working with Miguel Ripoll Design Firm to create a unique interactive publishing space for HIA. We hope to unveil the website in June 2015. One of the innovations will be a Reddit-style “Ask Me Anything” (AMA) forum whereby we can have historians in the department hold public Q&As on topics of immediate concern (such as #BlackLivesMatter). We are keen to develop that forum and see what changes it brings.

ES: What do you think has been learned so far, and what questions remain for future HIA conferences and other departmental ventures? Is this the kind of program that could be successful without the resources and opportunities provided by Columbia’s location in New York City?

MA: The big challenge we face is how to incorporate as wide a swath of our diverse student body as possible in the program. I am a medievalist working on South Asia; Pamela Smith is a historian of science in the early modern period. Yet students still feel that HIA speaks only to “Americanists” or to “contemporary topics.” We want to illustrate to the department as a whole, that, first, history in the public sphere is not restricted by geographies or temporalities; and, second, the skills we are looking to develop (public speaking, digital humanities, writing for different audiences, community access) are critical for our work as historians in all fora and in all forms. We think our model can work anywhere. It is about committing to working closely with graduate students, to providing them with resources and skills training, and to provoking conversations that can reflect critically on the culture in the department. New York will hopefully help us in the coming years to leverage this conversation to a broader audience.

Emily Swafford is the AHA’s programs manager. Manan Ahmed is an assistant professor of history at Columbia University.

More information about the AHA initiative and programming at Columbia can be found at historians.org/careerdiversity and <http://historyinaction.columbia.edu/>. Follow the project on Twitter with the hashtag #AHACareerDiversity.

A Historian Visits the Hill

My Participation in the National Humanities Alliance Advocacy Day

Emily Swafford

In my everyday work at the AHA, I often make arguments for the usefulness of historical training and habits of mind. But it is quite unusual for me to climb Capitol Hill and advocate in the vaulted halls of Congress. What was it like? I'd have to say it was both eye-opening and invigorating, and I look forward to doing it again.

The National Humanities Alliance (NHA), an advocacy coalition of which the AHA is a member, held its annual meeting on March 16, followed by the 16th annual Humanities Advocacy Day on March 17. Thanks to the hard work of NHA staff, advocates were assigned to delegations based on their state of residence. As a resident of the District of Columbia, and therefore without a voting member in Congress, I was assigned to one of the “national” delegations, which meant I was able to visit the offices of senators and representatives from four different states. Delegations advocated for funding for the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Library of Congress, as well as funding for HEA Title VI and the Fulbright-Hays programs, which support graduate research. They also advocated on behalf of four other funding streams, which are used to help support preservation of local records, museums, and other humanities programs. In total, the funds requested were just under \$500 million for the NEH and other programs, with nearly \$600 million in additional funds requested for the Library of Congress.¹

The first thing I learned was how much more I have yet to learn. Did you know that last year the NEH budget was \$146 million? That the National Archives and Records Administration has a “grant-making” arm called the National Historical Publications and Records Commission? That funding for the humanities comes through different appropriations bills, including the Interior, Environment, and Related Agencies bill and the Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education bill? I didn't. If you're going to



Kwana Strong Photography

Robert Townsend of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences plans Hill visits with LeaMarie Herron, West Virginia University.

argue for something, it helps to know the details, and learning the details of how the NEH and similar programs are funded was an education in itself.

Luckily for a novice like myself, the NHA prepares would-be advocates the day before, with a day of presentations about the usefulness of the humanities and the challenges the field faces. The 2015 annual meeting featured Scott Jaschik, who was a history major as an undergraduate and is now editor of *Inside Higher Ed*, and William “Bro” Adams, chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, as well as an array of humanists inside and outside the academy. One highlight was a preview of an interactive map of local humanities activities, which will be produced by the Humanities Working Groups for Community Impact, a new joint initiative by the NHA and the Federation of State Humanities Councils.

At the conclusion of the presentations, attendees split into delegations to plan their Hill visits the next day. In our case, that involved

reviewing information provided by the NHA about the members assigned to us—the committees they belonged to, their votes on previous legislation involving the NEH—as well as the members of congressional staff with whom we were scheduled to meet. In addition, we reviewed online talking points about where NEH funds had been spent. Another interesting thing I learned is that lists of NEH grantees are available online and can be sorted into congressional districts.²

During visits with congressional staff, I made several observations. First, I was reminded of how integral history is to public understandings of the humanities, and how efforts to capture a local community's history can be a powerful statement for the usefulness of humanities disciplines overall. For example, *Chronicle America* is a partnership between the NEH and the Library of Congress that is digitizing (and making searchable) local newspapers across the country. So far, the program has produced nearly a million pages of digitized text, covering the years between 1836

and 1922.³ Projects such as this are integral to the work of academic researchers, but they arguably hold even more significance for local classrooms and communities; their importance is easily understood by a wide variety of community members.

I was also struck, however, by how the Advocacy Day experience seemed less alien than I had anticipated. Prior to the visits, we had been told by NHA staff to remember that visits to Congress were just like any other meetings. This was correct, though I would add that they are likely to be shorter than many other meetings I've attended. I also found, however, that the experience of teaching seminars lent a feeling of familiarity to the discussion of issues around a (very) small table. While I did not feel entirely out of my element, the experience reiterated the importance of the four skills identified through the AHA's Career Diversity for Historians initiative:⁴

(1) communication to a variety of audiences (staff with various levels of familiarity with humanities funding) and in a variety of media (talking points, briefing memos);

(2) collaboration, especially with those who hold a different worldview (we met with staff

representing members across the political spectrum);

(3) quantitative literacy (we were talking funding and budgets, after all);

(4) intellectual self-confidence (the location and type of discussion was beyond my usual experiences).

Advocating in Congress is likely not the career outcome for many aspiring historians, though at least one history PhD is employed at the National Humanities Alliance, and congressional staffs have been known to include history PhDs.⁵ But it is always comforting to be reminded that my history training has given me a foundation for a wide variety of occupations.

If you're interested in trying your hand at advocating on behalf of history and the humanities, the National Humanities Alliance offers an online advocacy guide, including current action alerts and a guide for lobbying for 501c(3) organizations.⁶ It may be helpful to remember, however, that it's not necessary to climb the Hill to argue for the usefulness of historical thinking. The AHA encourages its members to bring their expertise to bear on issues of both local and national importance. A dedicated page on the AHA website (<http://www.historians.org/news-and-advocacy/member-action>) highlights these contributions. Who knows, though: maybe you'll join me for the National Humanities Alliance Advocacy Day in 2016.

Emily Swafford is the AHA's programs manager.

Notes

1. The names of all the programs are available at <http://www.nhalliance.org/advocacy/funding-priorities/index.shtml>.
2. Find the grants in your area at <https://securegrants.neh.gov/publicquery/main.aspx>.
3. Find more on Chronicling America at <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/about/>.
4. More on the four skills can be found in "Career Diversity Phase II: Kickoff in DC," *Perspectives*, November 2014, <http://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/november-2014/career-diversity-for-historians>.
5. John Lawrence, "A Historian on the Hill," *Perspectives*, September 2013, <http://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/september-2013/a-historian-on-the-hill>.
6. See the Advocacy page of the National Humanities Alliance website, at <http://www.nhalliance.org/advocacy/index.shtml>.

Grants and Fellowships



Carol M. Highsmith, Library of Congress

The AHA is pleased to support the study and exploration of history through our annual grant and fellowship programs. For more information, visit www.historians.org/grants

Interview with Donald Ritchie, Retiring Historian of the Senate

Dane Kennedy

Historian of the Senate Donald Ritchie has announced that he will retire in May. Don has been with the Senate Historical Office since 1976, soon after its creation, first as associate historian and since 2009 as its historian. Long a leading figure in the American Historical Association, the National History Center, and other historical organizations, he is also the author of a dozen books about the history of Congress, the Constitution, and the press, as well as the coauthor of a number of American history textbooks. Dane Kennedy, director of the National History Center, asked him to reflect on his career and the contributions historians can make to public debates.

Tell us about your background and the circumstances that drew you to a career in history.

As an undergraduate at the City College of New York during the tumultuous 1960s, I was drawn to history as a discipline that could put the social and political currents of the era into larger context and make some sense out of them. I took several courses with Professor Fred Israel, whose methodology seminar introduced me to oral history, microfilm, and archival research. When I began looking for graduate schools, he also steered me to the University of Maryland, on the grounds of its proximity to the Library of Congress. I had intended to get a master's degree and return to New York to teach high school, but in 1969, because of the Vietnam War, I was drafted into the US Marine Corps. Fortunately, I was stationed far from combat, at Pearl Harbor, and returned to use the GI Bill to get my doctorate. At Maryland, I came under the guidance of the political historian Horace Samuel Merrill. His "Merrill's Rules" taught generations of historians to think and write clearly, and produced several shelves of published dissertations and other books.

You began your career working at the AHA and have been involved with the AHA (and the National History Center) for many years. What changes have you observed at the

AHA and other professional organizations for historians?

Just after getting my PhD in 1975, I was hired to conduct an NEH-funded feasibility study on using computers to create a bibliographical service for all historical organizations and publications. The AHA sponsored the project, and installed me in a basement office that I shared with the person who spent months typing all of the name badges for the annual meeting. The job introduced me to the AHA at all levels, and sent me out to interview a swath of historians, editors, and directors of professional organizations. The plan, to tap into the new computer technology, was enthusiastically received by smaller associations but collapsed when it failed to interest the Organization of American Historians. Years later, when I served on the AHA Council and was a member of its committee on affiliated associations, I was pleased to help recruit the OAH as an affiliate rather than a rival organization, having learned that the history

profession works better when it works together.

How did you become historian of the Senate? And what does the historian of the Senate do?

The year 1975 was the functional equivalent of 1929 for the history profession. The universities that had produced a glut of new doctorates had few teaching jobs to offer. But 1976 saw the national bicentennial, which encouraged the federal government to expand federal historical programs. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. had written to Senate leaders, pointing out that they were providing for the preservation of President Richard Nixon's papers but not for their own, and urging the creation of a Senate Historical Office. Senators Mike Mansfield and Hugh Scott accepted his advice and launched the nonpartisan office, with Richard Baker as the first Senate historian. He placed an ad in *Perspectives on History* for an associate historian. I applied and was hired in March 1976. The only objective that the senators gave the office was to "promote the history of the Senate." Dick and I agreed that rather than



Credit: Jakub Mosur Photography

Don Ritchie addressing a recent meeting of the US Senate Youth Program's delegates. Public outreach has been a major component of the Senate Historical Office's mission.

write the history of the institution, we should encourage others by making Senate records more accessible, conducting oral histories with senators and staff, providing archival assistance to senators and committees, and collecting and disseminating useful information. Over time, we began public outreach programs by sponsoring conferences, planning exhibits, and preparing brochures for the millions who visit the Capitol each year. As associate historian, I devoted 33 years almost exclusively to research, writing, and public presentations, with no administrative responsibilities. In 2009, I became the Senate historian, supervising an office of talented historians and archivists and dealing more directly with the senators. One of the highlights of the post has been participating in the freshman orientation program for new senators and addressing them, in the Old Senate Chamber of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, on "What every senator ought to know about Senate history."

What distinctive challenges confront those who work as historians for federal agencies?

Public history is sometimes viewed narrowly as historians who work for government and other nonacademic institutions, but the definition has evolved into those who provide history to public audiences. Writing for nonhistorians requires a combination of clarity, brevity, and captivation. The challenge is to provide accurate and reliable information while avoiding partisan or ideological interpretations. The information must often be collected and provided quickly for those who are facing a deadline, and it must be able to withstand criticism from those who have developed alternative views. By coincidence, all of the qualities that I have worked hard to develop as a federal historian have also assisted me as an author of several high school history textbooks—where the purpose is to open students' minds, not make them up for them.

What has given you the greatest satisfaction as historian of the Senate?

While I have no qualms about studying and writing history for its intrinsic sake, I take particular satisfaction in providing historical information that has relevance to ongoing events, responding to questions from senators, staff, and journalists. I am always pleased to hear someone cite our information in a debate or in a news article or broadcast, placing current events into historical context. The other great pleasure my job has offered is an opportunity to

sit down face-to-face with those who have experienced historical events and conduct oral histories with them. Interviewing people across the political spectrum and at every stratum of Senate operations has provided me with the best information about what really happened, often away from public view, from their unique perspectives. These interviews have been a great learning tool for me, and we have been able to share them with other researchers via the Library of Congress, the National Archives, and the Senate website (www.senate.gov).

As someone who has studied the Senate from the "inside," how do you think it has changed over the course of your career?

The US Senate is a 226-year-old institution that not only appreciates its history but is often governed by its history and precedents. Its seemingly arcane rules and procedures have survived because they have useful purposes that might not be readily apparent, particularly to empower individual senators and to protect the rights of political minorities. The oral histories that I have conducted, rather than confirm what I expected, have more often confounded my assumptions. I learned that the Senate's players and events were often more complex than they have been portrayed in the media. On the surface, the Senate appears to be a traditional institution that has preserved its complex rules and sense of decorum along with its snuffboxes and historic furnishings. Beneath the surface, it has undergone enormous changes in the past half century, from the expanding role of women as senators, staff, and journalists, to the adoption of the latest technology, changes in ethical standards, and, most significantly, the transformation of the political parties. When I came to the Senate in 1976, both parties were divided between liberal and conservative wings, making party-line votes unheard of and coalition-building a legislative necessity. Since then, both parties have grown more internally cohesive, exerting almost parliamentary discipline. While the rules have remained essentially unchanged, the polarization of the parties has made it exceedingly difficult to achieve the Senate's supermajority requirements and to pass anything consequential.

How can professional historians contribute more effectively to public debates on policy issues?

I have been an enthusiastic supporter of the National History Center since its inception in large part because it offers all histori-

ans, academic, independent, and public, an opportunity to engage in public policy. The NHC's Congressional Briefings have connected scholars with policy makers and helped to connect current events with their historical roots. The regular Washington seminars have also brought together a cross section of interested parties to examine historical issues that are relevant to contemporary debate. Historians have a lot to offer if they are willing to communicate outside of their own conferences and publications.

What advice would you offer to those who are currently contemplating careers in history?

While no one should enter the field with unrealistic expectations, and while academic employment prospects for historians have not improved significantly since the 1970s, there are now many outlets for historical expertise. Having spent a career in public history, I advise newcomers that the best public historian is the best historian, meaning that a solid grounding in historical research, writing, and interpretation applies equally to academic and public history practices. Those who enjoy what they are doing and gain from it personally should be able to handle whatever obstacles come along.

What changes have you observed at the AHA and other professional organizations of historians?

The Senate Historical Office has always encouraged its staff to be professionally active—publishing, presenting papers, and serving as officers in professional organizations. Networking benefited the historians and archivists by allowing us to keep current in our fields and also by advertising our services to others. I served on the AHA Council, as president of the Oral History Association, and as cochair of an Organization of American Historians program committee, and watched all of those organizations grow more active and open to new ideas. The AHA, the National Coalition for History, and the National History Center have made notable advancements in becoming umbrella organizations for all historians and have provided the profession with much more of a presence and a voice in public affairs. You now hear a lot less of the old responses—"We can't possibly do that," "We've always done it this way," "We wouldn't be interested in that"—and more willingness to be more experimental and inclusive.

Perspectives on Contingent Labor

Adjuncts, Temporary Contracts, and the Feminization of Labor¹

Eileen Boris, Susan Wladaver-Morgan, and Sandra Trudgen Dawson

The Coordinating Council for Women in History long has addressed problems facing women in academia, including the issue of contingent and adjunct faculty. The total contingent workforce has grown significantly, from 57 percent to 70 percent during the period 1993–2011; women now compose between 51 percent and 61 percent of this contingent workforce, depending on field and institutional type.² At the AHA annual meeting, the CCWH has sponsored roundtables on contingent labor; here we summarize our 2015 panel in New York.³

For the majority of new positions, the conditions of labor in higher education that the terms *adjunct*, *contingent*, *visiting professor*, and *postdoc* describe mirror what is happening to all labor in the United States. We live in a world of “feminized labor,” historically characterized by low wages, minimal respect, and temporary positions. Labor has been feminized by the destruction of what was known as the standard employment relation—that is, a 40-hour workweek, paid overtime, long-term contracts, benefits, raises, and job ladders.

Adjuncts are “feminized” by their position as flexible, low-paid workers, a paradigm designed to cut costs. Part-time or contingent instructors are the majority of the teaching staff at universities and colleges. Despite this, work conditions conspire to make them feel isolated. Many teach at multiple institutions to earn a living, never establishing connections within their departments. Adjuncts frequently cover large lecture classes at odd hours and have little contact with colleagues. They generally have minimal input in the area of faculty governance. Some internalize the lack of respect, choosing not to address their situation head on because it is painful. They fear losing classes.

Should Tenured Faculty Care?

The conditions of adjunct faculty directly affect tenured faculty, who usually teach smaller classes and fewer undergraduates yet must shoulder the burden of faculty governance and administrative duties. With fewer tenured and tenure-track faculty available, their administrative chores increase. Contingent faculty need a voice in governance, but should be compensated for work beyond the classroom setting.

By not fighting the stratification of the workforce, tenured faculty fail as mentors to our graduate students. Unless they fight for long-term tracks for adjunct and contingent workers and ensure that they receive travel and research monies, they are training their students for nonexistent jobs and poor conditions of labor, leaving them a world devoid of professional standards.

Tenured faculty at a unionized university could see their contracts suffer unless they join in solidarity with other workers; there isn't much incentive to treat the labor aristocracy well if they are being killed off. The proof of this solidarity appeared in the University of Illinois at Chicago victory last year in which all levels of faculty won (though with separate contracts).

Finally, tenured faculty become part of the problem unless they actively oppose the growing inequality that marks this era. Will you be complicit in a system that abuses adjunct and contingent instructors, or will you take responsibility for fighting for decent pay, benefits, fair hiring practices, research and travel funding, and other professional development? Why do we have tenure if not for the freedom (or luxury) it affords to avoid acts that contradict our consciences?

Collaborating for Change

Contingent faculty have few options. Labor unions represent an obvious form of formal alliance, yet not all unions have the same priorities or memberships, making alliances within institutions for all faculty difficult. Alliances between institutions are also important. When faculty and staff at Portland State University won substantial concessions in contract negotiations last spring, mere hours before the strike deadline, support came from peers at Washington State University Vancouver, who were not yet unionized. The successful efforts at PSU reinvigorated supporters at Washington State, who now know unions can make a difference.

Students can also be allies. Although college and university administrations may feel that faculty can be easily replaced, such institutions cannot operate without students or ignore their demands without losing credibility. At PSU, student organizations understood that “faculty's work environment is students' learning environment.” Students recognized that their education suffers when adjuncts have no office space, supplies, institutional support, or time. Students who understand the problems will fight for the integrity of their own educations.

Parents need to understand that intro classes are usually taught by underpaid and overworked adjuncts who have little institutional support and who may be gone the next semester and hence unable to write recommendations. If nothing else, we must work to get students and their families to ask the necessary questions:

- ◆ What percentage of your faculty are adjuncts? Approximately how many of your faculty have to teach at other schools?
- ◆ How much do you pay adjuncts per course? How do adjuncts' salaries compare to those of full-time tenured or tenure-track faculty?

- ◆ How many, if any, tenured professors teach first-year students?
- ◆ What are the salaries of the school's upper-level administrators, and how many (if any) courses will they teach this year?
- ◆ How is there funding to install posh new facilities or pay star professors who don't teach freshmen, yet not enough to pay the majority of our children's professors a living wage or give them meaningful, full-time positions?

Armed with answers, parents can join the larger conversation about educational priorities on campuses and in wider public forums. For alliances to work, they have to serve all parties involved—tenured faculty, adjunct and contingent faculty, students, and their parents. As educators, we all have a real stake in the outcome.

Adjunct Action, the campaign that unites contingent faculty at campuses across the country to address the crisis in higher education and the troubling trend toward a marginalized teaching faculty, is a good example of collaboration. By coming together in Adjunct Action, we have the power to build a

market-wide movement to raise standards for faculty and students alike. Organizing across campuses throughout high-density cities like Boston, Chicago, and Washington, DC, shows solidarity within the profession and strengthens the opposition to the feminization of labor that is occurring on every campus in the nation. Adjunct Action is a project of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), and home to over 22,000 unionized adjuncts, who have won better pay, job security, evaluation processes, and access to retirement benefits.⁵

Eileen Boris, CCWH co-president, 2004–06, is Hull Professor of Feminist Studies and Professor of History, Black Studies, and Global Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara; Susan Wladaver-Morgan, CCWH co-president, 2010–14, is former associate editor of the Pacific Historical Review; Sandra Trudgen Dawson is an instructor at Northern Illinois University and a researcher for SIEU, Local 73.

Notes

1. *Adjunct* refers to a faculty member employed by a college or university for a specific length of time and most often part-time. *Contingent*

faculty includes both part-time and full-time non-tenure-track faculty.

2. Ashley Finley, "Women as Contingent Faculty: The Glass Wall," *On Campus with Women* 35, no. 3 (winter 2009), http://archive.aacu.org/ocww/volume37_3/feature.cfm?section=1.

3. The Adjunct Problem: Collaborating for a Solution: "Don't Sit Back: Organizing for Change," Kate Bullard, Adjunct Action Network/SEIU; "One Paycheck Away from Becoming Homeless: The Plight of the Adjunct," Jesse J. Esparza, Texas Southern University; "The Life of a Freeway Flyer: Adjuncting in Southern California," Amy Essington, California State University, Fullerton; "Welcome to Feminized Labor: Precarity for All," Eileen Boris, University of California, Santa Barbara; "Finding Allies and Building Alliances in Support of Adjunct Faculty," Susan Wladaver-Morgan, co-president, CCWH. The presentations will be on our website at www.theccwh.org.

4. Jennifer Ruth, "Why Are Faculty Complicit in Creating a Disposable Workforce?" July 13, 2014, at <http://utotherescue.blogspot.com/2014/07/why-are-faculty-complicit-in-creating.html>.

5. See <http://adjunctaction.org/>.

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The New Jersey Initiative

Hank Bitten and Peter Porter

New Jersey has reached a turning point in its approach to history instruction. The Standards and Model Curriculum recently adopted supports content standards by addressing the problem of passive lessons and giving school districts, especially high school teachers, the autonomy to develop content-specific and inquiry-based lessons within defined chronological periods. By providing meaningful resources to teachers, and using model assessments to diagnose the skills required by the Common Core Standards for English Language Arts Literacy for History/Social Studies (Grades 9–12) and the C3 Framework for Social Studies State Standards, the New Jersey Initiative equips students to be informed citizens, college students, and productive workers.

The revisions, specifically the Model Curriculum, provide guidance for teaching critical-thinking skills through problem solving, research, and historical perspective. An example of a problem-solving lesson objective, one that uses historical perspectives on current debts and the new costs of the Louisiana Purchase and War of 1812, is: “Compare and contrast views about how to best promote economic development (including issues of national and state debt, the National Bank, trade, and taxation) advanced by Hamilton and Jefferson and Clay and Jackson.” In a world history course, students learning about World War I are required to research the views of statesmen or historians to “assess the extent to which reasoning and evidence in a text evaluating the Treaty of Versailles (e.g., war debt, reparations, war guilt, League of Nations) accurately reflect the perspectives of different nations (e.g., Germany, United States, Japan, France).”

New Jersey’s approach to a standards-based curriculum provides resources, suggested activities, and instructionally focused assessments based on analysis of historical documents, evaluation of historical perspectives, and demonstration of cause-and-effect and point-of-view writing. An interdisciplinary design integrates civics, geography,

economics, and social culture into a historical framework and chronology.

How Do Standards Enhance Learning?

The New Jersey Model Curriculum identifies five Student Learning Objectives for the Renaissance, integrating economics, art, literature, technology, geography, and history. Each school district makes decisions on the core content, essential questions, resources, and assessments. Teachers develop lesson plans aligned to the core content and skills supporting thinking, research, and writing.

For example, the conflict between the Roman Catholic Church and Copernicus and Galileo might include a primary source from Joshua 10:13 (“So the sun stood still”). To convey the impact of the printing press, another unit might include a chart with the number of printing presses in Europe or the increasing number of reams of paper used by printers between 1500 and 1600.

The following three Student Learning Objectives from the unit on the Renaissance are examples of how New Jersey students are developing the skills in the C3 Framework by evaluating evidence from the interdisciplinary sources of art, literature, economics, and science.

1. Examine how the exposure to Asian and Islamic civilizations and the spirit of inquiry (i.e., scholasticism/humanism) led to the Renaissance and the importance of the commercial revolution (i.e., trade and the rise of towns) on society.
2. Analyze how the discoveries of Copernicus, Galileo, Bacon, Newton, and Kepler challenged traditional teachings and beliefs.
3. Use technology to display information about the accomplishments of Machiavelli, Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and Shakespeare and relate them to the factors that led to the development of the Renaissance.

The Compelling and Supporting Questions required in the C3 Framework are left to the

lesson plans of teachers. In New Jersey, lesson plans are modeled for teachers through professional development workshops, webinars, and model lessons. The New Jersey Council for History Education posted sample lessons on its website that include compelling questions related to the following Student Learning Objectives:

- ◆ How did the Commercial Revolution foster the change from medieval values to a spirit of inquiry and change?
- ◆ Why did the Church and many prominent Renaissance leaders challenge the discoveries and theories of science?
- ◆ To what extent did the invention of the printing press impact everyone living in this time period?

The C3 Framework for College, Career, and Civic Life identifies five expectations for the use of historical evidence and sources:

- ◆ Detect possible limitations in various kinds of historical evidence and differing secondary interpretations.
- ◆ Critique the usefulness of historical sources for a specific historical inquiry based on their maker, date, place of origin, intended audience, and purpose.
- ◆ Use information from different kinds of historical sources to generate research questions that lead to further inquiry.
- ◆ Analyze the relationship between historical sources and the secondary interpretations made from them.
- ◆ Critique the appropriateness of the historical sources used in a secondary interpretation.

The Model Curriculum suggests ways for students to research and analyze evidence through recommended primary source documents, historical interpretations, paintings and woodcuts, literature, trade records, the Bible, population reports, and medical information.

The Common Core includes a similar expectation for learning the skills of historians. These include:

- ◆ RH.9-10.6 Compare the point of view of two or more authors for how they treat the same or similar topics, including which details they include and emphasize in their respective accounts.
- ◆ RH.9-10.7 Integrate quantitative or technical analysis (e.g., charts, research data) with qualitative analysis in print or digital text.
- ◆ WHIST.9-10.1 Write arguments focused on *discipline-specific content*.
- ◆ WHIST.9-10.7 Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects to answer a question (including a self-generated question) or solve a problem; narrow or broaden the inquiry when appropriate; synthesize multiple sources on the subject, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.
- ◆ WHIST.9-10.9 Draw evidence from informational texts to support analysis, reflection, and research.

The C3 Framework also identifies the following criteria for high school students to understand cause-and-effect relationships:

- ◆ Analyze multiple, unexpected, and complex causes and effects of events in the past.
- ◆ Integrate evidence from multiple relevant historical sources and interpretations into a reasoned argument about the past.
- ◆ Critique the central arguments in secondary works of history on related

topics in multiple media in terms of historical accuracy.

Examples of conflicting sources on the causes of the Reformation could engage students in comparing and contrasting a reading on scholasticism from Thomas Aquinas with Martin Luther's statement that the Holy Bible is the only source of valid evidence, or consideration of the teaching of good works by the Roman Catholic Church (James 2:14) alongside the teaching of justification by faith (Romans 3:21). Treating works of art produced in accordance with the requirements of the Council of Trent as historical documents involves students in using multiple media in developing a reasoned argument about the Reformation and Counter-Reformation.

What Does the New Jersey Initiative Expect of Students?

Model assessments will provide a resource for teachers as they prepare students for the rigorous demands of state and national tests. The use of benchmarked assessments based on reading, understanding, interpreting, evaluating, and comparing information in multiple documents, as well as analyzing data in charts, graphs, and images, will determine the level of mastery of historical content and skills for New Jersey students. The model assessments being developed require students to explain multiple causes, evaluate differences in the quality of evidence, and demonstrate their understanding of a historical period with a short

essay responding to a capstone question or prompt.

The assessments will follow a similar focus across 15 required curriculum units taught over three years in world and United States history to diagnose student proficiency, provide a pre-and post-test assessment, measure student growth, and determine the readiness of students before they take a district or state exam.

The utility of a standards-based curriculum has been challenged in many states on the grounds that it is overly prescriptive, devoid of content, and incapable of preparing students for a competitive global society. Standards-based curriculum and assessment models achieve legitimacy when they relate the Constitution to current issues, apply the lessons of history, promote inquiry and the evaluation of evidence, and require students to communicate a point of view in written and verbal language. The success of state standards depends on a continuing dialogue between history educators, curriculum developers, and test developers. New Jersey has provided this dialogue in their recent revision of state standards and alignment to the C3 Framework and the Common Core.

E-mail us with your comments and join the dialogue with history educators and historians.

The Model Curriculum for world and United States history for New Jersey schools can be found online at www.state.nj.us/education/modelcurriculum/ss/.

Hank Bitten has been on the Board of Directors for the New Jersey Council for History Education for the past 15 years. He is a retired history supervisor with the Ramapo Indian Hills District. Peter Porter has been the secretary for the NJCHE for ten year and currently teaches history at Montville Township High School and is an adjunct history professor at Seton Hall University. He served on the AHA executive Council for three years. Both have contributed to the development of various projects including the 2014 New Jersey Core Curriculum Standards, Teaching American History Grants, NJ350 Project and AP Curriculum Modules.



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Caribbean and Latin American History

When History Is Not Good Enough for Hollywood

Selma, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Martin Luther King Jr.

Kent Germany

Get it right; and don't be boring." That is the advice I give to students about writing history. I stole it from Pulitzer Prize-winning former *New York Times* reporter Charlie Leduff after hearing him on the radio (thank you, Terry Gross). I wish I could do it myself. It is rare to come across a story about the past that is both painstakingly accurate and enduringly entertaining, especially to a mass audience. The dilemma is worse for filmmakers whose movies need to make money for investors. How much of an actual story, then, can a filmmaker change before losing the trust of an informed audience?

The reaction to the emotionally powerful film *Selma* has shown that even in an age of "truthiness" (to borrow from Stephen Colbert), many people take historical accuracy quite seriously. Complaints about the film have gotten almost as much attention as the film itself. The director, Ava DuVernay, has offered a standard filmmaker's defense. It is a two-hour work of art, not a documentary. As she told the *New York Times*, historical accuracy is a "gray area" that depends on an individual's perspective.

She is right. Gray areas give life to history. A major problem with her film, though, is that it does not present its history as gray. Its voice is authoritative and crisp. The film uses real events, real locations, real narratives, and the real names of real people to establish a spirit of authenticity. Its mood clearly says, "This is genuine. I am 1965." Its depiction of Lyndon B. Johnson and his relationship with Martin Luther King Jr., however, undermines the authority of that voice by contradicting clear and easily accessible documentary evidence. (To explore parts of that documentary record, including once-secret phone calls, visit the exhibit on *Selma* at the Presidential Recordings Project.)



Left to right: Tom Wilkinson plays President Lyndon B. Johnson and David Oyelowo plays Martin Luther King Jr. in *Selma*, from Paramount Pictures, Pathé, and Harpo Films.

After 15 years of listening to, editing, and researching Johnson and his documentary record—particularly the White House tapes—I find the film's take on Johnson awkward at best and laughable at worst. I am guessing that the historical Johnson would wonder why he and King are yelling at each other in the film and telling each other things they already knew very well, while at the same time saying the opposite of what they had just said in their actual phone calls, public statements, and press reports. Johnson, however, may have appreciated the director's claims of artistic license, as he certainly was prone to choose the don't-be-boring part over getting-it-right when recounting stories about his own life.

The film's portrayal of Johnson's voting rights efforts might have given him his fourth heart attack had he been alive to see it. For the film's plot to work, the viewer has to believe that Johnson was visibly angered by Martin Luther King Jr.'s asking

for voting rights for black Americans, that Johnson adamantly and repeatedly refused to support any voting legislation until he realized he did not want to be on the same side of history as George Wallace, and that he ordered the FBI to try to destroy King's family just before the Bloody Sunday march to punish King for continuing to push for voting rights.

In the film's first scene between King and Johnson, based apparently on King's post-Nobel Prize visit to the White House on December 18, 1964, LBJ obstinately says, "This voting thing is just going to have to wait" and "This administration is going to set this aside for a while." Johnson's tapes show the opposite. Four days before, Johnson had ordered Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach to "undertake the greatest midnight legislative drafting" session since the New Deal to change the laws on voter registration. "We need it pretty quick," he added.

According to the documentary record, Johnson informed King confidentially about those efforts on December 18. Two weeks later, on January 4, he told a national audience in his State of the Union message about plans to send Congress a special message on voting rights in the next six weeks. Eleven days later, he updated King and urged him to lobby key congressional committee members to support Great Society legislation and to highlight voting rights abuses to the press. Although Johnson worried about the timing of voter legislation and the power of a southern filibuster and of “vicious forces” to bottle up the rest of the Great Society, he declared that a “break-through” on voting rights legislation would be the “greatest achievement of my administration.” Twice in the next eight weeks, the administration invited King to review the legislative drafts with Attorney General Katzenbach. For most newspaper reporters, the major issue involved *when* in the next few weeks the administration would send legislation to Capitol Hill, not *if*.

For the filmmakers, that history was not good enough. They chose instead to make it

clear that Johnson and King were *not* doing those things. “I can’t do it this year,” the movie-Johnson shouted at the movie-King’s request to propose voting rights legislation. “I won’t. I *told* you.” In the film, Johnson called the FBI to send its secret audio of King, and King explicitly chose not to attend the Bloody Sunday march for that reason. In reality, the tape was sent three months earlier, and a later congressional investigation found no evidence of Johnson’s involvement.

In such moments and others, the filmmakers moved from making artistic choices to making things up. In doing so, they missed the chance to say something profound about race in the 1960s. To each other, friends could be mean, and enemies could be vicious, but allies had to speak nicely. King and Johnson were not friends, but cautious and cordial allies who specialized in the power of suggestion, not the harshness of ultimatum.

These problems do not doom the film. In fact, they underscore how strong it is despite its flaws, and they show how exciting history can be. History is not dead but is

a constantly changing fight that the present has with itself. In that regard, my students have asked if this film is worth their time. I tell them: Go see *Selma*, and then get wrapped up in the real thing. The film is a startling reminder about why Jim Crow was so devastating and why it lasted so long. The director and most of the actors are at the top of their craft. Let their art lead you to the actual voices and visions of participants. Those students, local people, and national leaders knew how long the struggle was, and their history is not boring. The challenge to all of us lies in figuring out how to get it right as 1965 slips farther into the distance.

Kent Germany is associate professor of history at the University of South Carolina and nonresident research fellow with the Presidential Recordings Program at the University of Virginia’s Miller Center. He is the author of New Orleans After the Promises and editor of four volumes on the Lyndon Johnson recordings, including a digital edition on LBJ and civil rights.

The Brouhaha over Selma

Sam Pollard

The 87th annual Academy Awards ceremony is over, and *Selma*, snubbed by many Academy members (myself included) in the best directing and best acting categories, walked away with the Oscar for best song. It has been a contentious last few months for the film, attacked for not being sufficiently factual either about events in Selma in 1965 or about how Martin Luther King Jr. and President Lyndon Johnson responded to them.

Fictional films, even those based on real events, take dramatic license. D. W. Griffith’s 1915 silent film *Birth of a Nation*, for instance, one of the great technical milestones in American cinema, was also a vile and outrageous piece of filmic history in its depiction of African Americans during and after the Civil War. Do *Selma*’s historical inaccuracies matter as much as its ennobling



Left to right: André Holland plays Andrew Young, David Oyelowo plays Martin Luther King Jr., and Wendell Pierce plays Rev. Hosea Williams in *Selma*, from Paramount Pictures, Pathé, and Harpo Films.

portrait of many African Americans and liberal whites? Even scrupulously documented history books have been shaped by scholars and historians who are in turn shaped by their times. When I was growing up, my first impression of Abraham Lincoln was of a noble president who did more for black Americans than had any other white man in American history. Since that time, other historians delving into Lincoln's life have depicted a more complicated president, whose desire to free the slaves was not simply a noble gesture. For its part, *Selma* may bend the truth in favor of King, ignoring the possibility that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee had the first boots on the ground in Selma (before King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference arrived), and that President Johnson did not oppose King's

goals there. On the other hand, *Selma* may finally give those who marched with King their theatrical due.

But should this be the only lens through which we seek the truth? As a documentary filmmaker of many years, who has worked on films (such as *Slavery by Another Name*) that look at the historical legacy of the African American experience, my job has been to depict and consolidate that history and represent it in a factual but dramatic way. I have always felt it important that an audience not just watch my documentaries, but do some homework, researching the topics documented much as I did before filming. Such viewers will be not just entertained, but educated.

I thought *Selma* was a pretty decent film. Still, anyone hoping to learn the history of that time should consider listening to the

audiotapes of President Johnson's meetings with King and watching the acclaimed series *Eyes on the Prize*. Though these sources are dramatically different from Ava DuVernay's film, each is in many ways even more compelling and rewarding. Beware of viewers, black or white, who rely only on fictional films without doing their homework to learn the real stories.

Sam Pollard is an accomplished feature film and television video editor and documentary producer/director whose work spans almost 30 years. He has received numerous Emmy and Peabody Awards, and he has collaborated a number of times with Spike Lee. As producer/director, Pollard recently completed a 90-minute documentary titled August Wilson: The Ground on Which I Stand for the PBS series American Masters.

Missed Opportunities with Selma

Julian E. Zelizer

There has been a lot written about what is wrong or right with the film *Selma*. Fans of the movie have praised the way it captures the bravery of civil rights activists who put their lives on the line to demand that President Lyndon Johnson send a voting rights bill to Congress. Critics of the film see a skewed depiction of a president indifferent to voting rights at a moment when he was in fact firmly committed to the principle and the policy.

I have found myself in the middle of this debate. My new book *The Fierce Urgency of Now*, which examines the origins and legacy of Johnson's Great Society, was published just days before the film reached national audiences. I have since argued that the film is a stunning account of the grassroots mobilization that brought pressure to bear on elected officials, but also that it provides a misleading picture of Johnson. Americans who get their history from Hollywood alone can too easily leave the theater with an inaccurate view of his presidency and a missed opportunity to understand this contentious and transformative period in American history.

The most important missed opportunity was the chance to study how the president



President Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act on July 2, 1964; notice Martin Luther King Jr. standing behind him. Photo courtesy of Cecil Stoughton.

of the United States came to work closely with a grassroots movement deemed radical by much of the nation. Presidents and social movements often find themselves at odds; presidents tend to distance themselves from the activists deemed essential to campaigns but politically problematic to governing. This

was the case with President George W. Bush and the religious right, as well as President Obama and environmental activists.

But from January to March 1965, intense communication and coordination emerged between President Johnson and the leaders of the civil rights movement. During the

phone conversation between Johnson and King recorded on January 15, 1965, the two men can be heard thinking through common objectives and strategies to achieve them. Both men are trying to figure out how to get the Voting Rights Act through Congress. Johnson believed that civil rights activists could help apply pressure on Congress to pass his bill, while King sounds confident that he is talking to a president who would move forward with the legislation at the right moment.

A second missed opportunity was the possibility of providing a more accurate understanding of the immense opposition that civil rights advocates faced. To be sure, the movie captures the ferocity with which southern white citizens, local police forces (led by Sheriff Jim Clark), and Governor George Wallace stood firm—and used violence—against the protesters. But it downplays the enormous obstacles that civil rights advocates confronted within Washington's political establishment when they pushed for the Civil Rights Act in 1964 and the Voting Rights Act in 1965. Popular and scholarly accounts of the civil rights struggle don't take Congress sufficiently into account. Many congressional leaders operating at the center of power within the institution didn't want this bill. Between the late 1930s and the early 1960s, a coalition of Republicans and southern, conservative

Democrats had dominated the legislative process and blocked progress on liberal legislation. After their stranglehold on Congress was broken by the election of 1964, liberal legislators commanded huge majorities in the House and Senate.

But Johnson had watched powerful conservatives for too many years and feared that sending a second race-relations bill too soon could cause a backlash from moderate Democrats and Republicans wanting to move on issues like health care and education, endangering his broader agenda as well as voting rights. Congress is the elephant in the screening room: without understanding its power structure, viewers cannot understand the political concerns expressed by Johnson in his debate with King over the bill's timing.

The final missed opportunity is a failure to capture the full extent of liberal triumphs between 1964 and 1965. The preceding decades of conservative politics combined with the power conservatives continued to wield during Johnson's presidency make the liberal achievements of this short time all the more remarkable.

Liberalism had strong champions in Washington. For all his flaws and limitations, President Johnson was committed to New Deal liberalism and, like millions of Americans, moved to support the civil rights movement. Not only did we have a president

who championed the use of government to resolve domestic programs, a vast network of liberal organizations anchored in organized labor, and a powerful contingent of liberal legislators in the House and the Senate—but all of them came together to challenge the immense power of conservatism in Congress and nationwide.

In other words, civil rights activists did not march alone in Selma. And liberal moments like these don't happen very often. By disconnecting the marchers from Washington and the rest of the political world, the movie fails to capture the scale and scope of the liberal mobilization that took place.

The problems with *Selma's* depiction of President Johnson constitute more than a narrow debate about historical correctives or whether the film insults the president. Rather, in a very important piece of work, Ava DuVernay could have gone even further in telling Americans just how much the civil rights movement overcame and achieved.

Julian E. Zelizer, the Malcolm Forbes Stevenson, Class of 1941 Professor of History and Public Affairs at Princeton University and a fellow at New America. His new book is The Fierce Urgency of Now: Lyndon Johnson, Congress, and the Battle for the Great Society (Penguin Press, 2015).

Varieties of Leadership in Selma

First, I must confess: I cried through the whole movie, from the first scene to the last. As a historian, that's not what I came to do, but that's what I did. Ava DuVernay's focus on humanizing these heroes of the civil rights era and their relationships with each other invited attention to the personal costs they endured, from tensions engendered in the Kings' marriage to struggles among the movement's leaders—their internal struggles with the roles they had chosen or in which they found themselves, as well as their struggles with each other, across realms of power, and across generations. *Selma* provides a way of understanding how massive historical change

happens—haltingly, with painful personal costs, and with hard work and compromise on all sides.

I also cried as a citizen of this nation, for the strength it took to achieve the simplest things: the right to protest, the right to vote. The film depicts the varieties of violence endemic to the time that simplistic or celebratory accounts of the struggle for racial equality airbrush for our consumption. I cried for those who were abandoned by their nation, and I cried at the moment when that nation—late, imperfect, but still theirs and ours—finally acted. It wasn't the first time, and certainly not the last (New Orleans after Katrina? Ferguson?) that poor people or black people—the most

vulnerable among us—would be abandoned, or “rescued” too late.

There are several transformative arcs in the movie, embodied by different people. One of the most important is President Lyndon Johnson, depicted not as George Wallace, nor in my reading as in alliance with J. Edgar Hoover. He is the president, and King is pressuring him. “You got one big issue—I got a hundred and one,” Johnson tells King officiously. The conversations between the two men are between competing visionaries. The transformative arcs each inhabited in life no doubt exceed the time frame of the Selma protests, and if you want the full blow-by-blow account, read Robert Caro, Taylor Branch, David Garrow—historians

Leslie M. Harris

who provide that so well. But the artist's vision is different. Toni Morrison's *Beloved* is not a historian's account of Margaret Garner's experiences, but the truths Morrison explores are equally indispensable to understanding history. DuVernay's artistic interpretation of historical events allows us to ask questions about how whites and blacks share power; how a president responds to a movement over which he doesn't have control; and how that movement might continue to do its work regardless of the concerns voiced by those with more legal authority. Through those characters, the audience can debate the meaning of moral authority not only in their time, but in ours.

There is no question that LBJ left a powerful civil rights legacy. He combined nascent federal support with his own powerful brand of political activism to pass groundbreaking legislation that fundamentally changed the ways in which *all* people could become full citizens of this country. But *Selma* starts at a moment of change in the push for civil rights, when not only Johnson, but also King, blinked—turning back from the Edmund Pettus Bridge on the second attempt to cross. As did most of our greatest leaders, they learned on the job. Both had their struggles, and both were transformed in the process.

Selma and the civil rights movement were not only about LBJ, nor even only about King, who occupies so much of our public memory of the era despite historians' best efforts to complicate that narrative. The film does an exceptional job of marking the variety of individuals who marched, and died, in Selma. Among the most important people DuVernay rescues from our collective amnesia is the family of Jimmie Lee Jackson. Jackson, a Baptist Church deacon, his mother, Viola, and his 82-year-old grandfather, Cager Lee, participated in a night march through the streets of Marion. When police set upon the protesters, the family ran into a café where the police found them, beat them, and shot Jackson as he tried to shield his mother from their blows. Jackson's death helped inspire the famed march over the Edmund Pettus Bridge.

The history of the civil rights movement challenges us to see varieties of leadership and participation: to understand an MLK who is more than first among equals but also part of the fabric of the movement. As fabrics are not made up of a single



Left to right: Giovanni Ribisi as Lee White and Tom Wilkinson as President Lyndon B. Johnson in *Selma*, from Paramount Pictures, Pathé, and Harpo Films.



Left to right, foreground: Trai Byers as James Foreman, Stephan James as John Lewis, Wendell Pierce as Rev. Hosea Williams, David Oyelowo as Martin Luther King Jr., and Colman Domingo as Ralph Abernathy in *Selma*, from Paramount Pictures, Pathé, and Harpo Films.

thread, so movements are not the work of a single leader—neither president nor King. Hundreds of thousands of people worked, lived, marched, died, changed, transformed. *Selma* conveys that complex history of many leaders, many activists, many heroes. Change doesn't happen through a single person. But the changes individual people make can transform history.

Leslie M. Harris is associate professor of history and African American studies at Emory University. The author or coeditor of three books on pre-Civil War African American history, she is currently at work on a book on late 20th-century New Orleans. From 1989 to 1993, she was a graduate student intern at the MLK Papers Project at Stanford University.

History as Entertainment or Entertainment as History?

Jonathan Scott Holloway

When I learned that plans were afoot to make a feature film about the March from Selma to Montgomery, I was more than a little curious. How much history could the filmmakers pack into 90–120 minutes? Not even an Oliver Stone-esque three-hour version of the events surrounding the march could do justice to the complexity and nuance of this pivotal moment in the American civil rights movement. I honestly don't recall if I felt concerned or reassured when I found out that Oprah Winfrey, the alpha and omega of the entertainment industry's "black A-list," was involved—again, I think I was just curious. Would this film find a critical or a receptive

audience, and would it serve the purposes of entertainment or history?

From the opening scenes, *Selma* seemed a film determined to find and do all of the above. There's no shortage of documentary footage available featuring Martin Luther King Jr., and yet it was astonishing to observe British actor David Oyelowo disappear into the role of the mighty civil rights leader. As a thoroughly entertained consumer of the movie, as well as a historian, I was rapt—feeling as close to an approximation of King in "real life" as I was ever going to see. Performance merged into history on that big screen. But whose history was performed?

In her commitment to depicting a magnetic but imperfect King, *Selma* director Ava

DuVernay offered a bracing history lesson to a public raised on a narrative about the civil rights movement that "we *all* overcame" Southern injustices together, and that King was no more complex than the closing paragraphs of his speech at the March on Washington (for Jobs and Freedom, lest we forget) suggest. With her directorial choices, DuVernay made clear that she would present her interpretation of (and leave her stamp on) this history.

When the movie was released, there were critics who were not content to let DuVernay get away with that interpretation—not movie critics, mind you, but participants in and defenders of President Lyndon Johnson's administration. *Selma*, in their opinion, did



Oprah Winfrey (center) plays Annie Lee Cooper in *Selma*, from Paramount Pictures, Pathé, and Harpo Films.



Left to right: Stephan James as John Lewis, Trai Byers as James Foreman, Wendell Pierce as Rev. Hosea Williams, and David Oyelowo as Martin Luther King Jr. in *Selma*, from Paramount Pictures, Pathé, and Harpo Films.

not give Johnson proper credit for the central role he played in keeping the peace and doing the important behind-the-scenes work that allowed the eventual march to succeed. Just as we would not dare desecrate a national monument, it was considered wrong for DuVernay (a noncredentialed historian!) to do anything that might diminish Johnson's accomplishments. As someone who specializes in post-emancipation African American history, I could not help but read these protestations with bemusement: those whose voices "mattered" were now upset with someone telling a different version of history or were bothered to see a major figure's contributions diminished. To my mind, the very phenomenon that raised their hackles *is* the history of the African American experience and of African American accomplishment, both of which have routinely been diminished, ignored, and erased.

Some of these critics, I am sure, are conscientious students of history who believe that LBJ played an important role in civil rights history that deserves our full attention. I am equally convinced, however, that the volume of many critics' discontent is set so high because in *Selma* they watched another instance of *their* history disappearing, a process that has been ongoing since

the post-1960s emergence of the "new" social history and a commensurate interest in how blacks, women, gays, and other marginalized individuals actively participated in their own becoming. Now, 50 years after the Selma march, studying the black past is firmly in the intellectual mainstream (the edges of that stream, I maintain, but certainly in it). Still, using the black past to reckon with and redraft memories of national exceptionalism remains fundamentally destabilizing. That an African American woman should be the person crafting this narrative seems only to have intensified the reflexive anxiety of those who feel a loss when they watch *Selma*.

I am not arguing here that the movie should remain above or be protected from scrutiny. Just as an older guard was bothered by the short shrift given LBJ, and despite the fact that I thoroughly enjoyed feeling like an eyewitness to events that I have studied my entire career but could never fully "know," I found myself dissatisfied with some aspects of the movie's narrative. Most importantly, I felt that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee activists did not get their due as visionaries and frontline foot soldiers. DuVernay paid too little attention to the fractures between SNCC's youthful

impatience and King's more "mature" establishment leadership style. She paid too little attention to the highly theorized work that very young people—the same age and demographic of the students I stand in front of during my lecture courses—had fashioned as they aspired to create super-democratic structures. But this critique underscores a point about criticism itself: mine is but one interpretation of this magnificent and complex history. Truly, the conscientious study of the past should be capacious enough to allow for different opinions and interpretations. In the end, DuVernay earned my applause for her efforts to animate the past by relying upon hitherto unheard voices and by rendering iconic figures more human. Yes, I have my criticisms of the history she presents, but I happily welcome her voice to the chorus. For me, I suppose, *that's* entertainment.

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The Past Isn't Even Past, Especially on Twitter

Carol Anderson

Social media was on fire regarding the film *Selma* and the Oscars. Anger seemed to focus on the “snub”: no best director or best actor nomination. Indeed, within hours of the American Academy of Motion Pictures (AAMP) announcement of this year’s nominees, #OscarsSoWhite went viral with 95,000 tweets per hour: “Apparently to @TheAcademy, in 2015, only the stories (some made up) of white people are relevant.” Another tweet, this one by @mkinneykelsey, listed the “nominees for best picture”:

White man sniper
White man actor
White boyhood
White man at hotel
White man genius (x2)
White musician

Selma

But, in the end, an Oscar nomination was not the point. As Spike Lee explained in a February interview, “People are protesting about stuff that really matters . . . the jury decision in Ferguson [and] Staten Island. That’s why people are storming the streets—not because of what the Academy says. There are more serious matters in this country than how the Academy votes.” He was almost right.

Selma provided another high-profile venue, like the 50th-anniversary ceremony on the Edmund Pettus Bridge, to dilute the conscience-numbing Kool-Aid of post-racial America. With the killings of Tamir Rice, John Crawford, Trayvon Martin, Jonathan Ferrell, Michael Brown, and Eric Garner, coupled with the wave of new voting requirements passed in many southern and swing states after the US Supreme Court’s *Shelby County v. Holder* decision, the debate over *Selma* is less about the film than about what it symbolizes: a narrative of hard-fought progress in the 1950s and ’60s dissolving into retrenchment and reversals in the 21st century. *Selma* shouts #BlackLivesMatter.

This was best revealed by the candid admission of an academy voter who voiced righteous indignation that “the cast show[ed] up in T-shirts saying ‘I can’t breathe’” at the film’s New York premiere. She was outraged, livid. But not at the chokehold that took Eric Garner’s life. Instead, her ire was directed at the T-shirts. “I thought that stuff was offensive. Did they want to be known for making the best movie of the year or for stirring up shit?”

The answer is “both.”

For many black Americans, past and present have merged recently in real and powerful ways. Fewer than 2 percent of African Americans in *Selma* were able to register to vote prior to the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Discrimination so commonplace 50 years ago now coils like a python around Ferguson, a city nearly 70 percent African American where black voter turnout in the 2013 municipal election was a paltry 6 percent. The Supreme Court’s gutting of the Voting Rights Act in 2014 confirmed that the chicanery that created 2 percent registered black voters in mid-20th-century Alabama was as acceptable to powerful sectors in the United States as the machinations that made possible 6 percent turnout in 21st-century Missouri.

Similarly, the lack of African American representation in the Ferguson police force and at City Hall was as visible as that in the academy, where 94 percent of voters are white. The recognition that black bodies were no more than revenue generators, as the Department of Justice report on Ferguson made clear, was also—in a less violent or economically disruptive way—the case for the not-so-diverse academy. African American viewers are central to the financial health of the AAMP. And like protests in Montgomery and Nashville in 1955 and 1960, respectively, #BlackTwitter’s calls for a boycott of the televised awards show broadcast were designed to serve as a wake-up call. It may have worked. The show dropped 17 percent in the all-important 18- to 49-year-old demographic. The 2015 Oscars, as the *New York*

Times noted, “might be remembered as the Revenge of ‘Selma.’”

The award for Best Original Song, won by Common and John Legend for “Glory,” was no salve. The Oscars, many in the Twittersphere made clear, are about black people knowing “their place.” One tweet laid out the roles played by African American women with Best Acting awards: maids, slaves, a phony psychic, and abusive mothers. David Oyelowo, who portrayed Martin Luther King Jr. in *Selma*, underscored the point in an interview at the Santa Barbara International Film Festival: “We, as black people, have been celebrated more for when we are subservient, when we are not being leaders or kings or being at the center of our own narrative.”

Some on Twitter groaned that all of this black outrage was, frankly, outrageous. Was the academy supposed to nominate someone black just because he or she showed up in a film? This was about “art.” This was about quality. That paean to the AAMP’s color blindness, however, was mocked in another tweet: “#OscarsSoWhite they don’t see race. Or movies with black folks in it, apparently.”

Yet, one Twitter follower did notice a silver lining of sorts: “#OscarsSoWhite that Fox News is willing to admit white racism still exists*. *but only among Hollywood liberals, not Republicans.”

Selma then and Ferguson now: both reveal the ubiquitous racism shared by moderates and right-wingers alike—racism that does not question black inequality but only the brazenness and brutality of the oppression that would guarantee it.

Carol Anderson is an associate professor of African American Studies at Emory University. She is the author of Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944–1955 (Cambridge University Press, 2003) and Bourgeois Radicals: The NAACP and the Struggle for Colonial Liberation, 1941–1960 (Cambridge University Press, 2014). Her op-ed on Ferguson and white rage in the Washington Post was the most widely shared in 2014.

Of Selma and History

Adam Green

Earlier this month, on the same day that President Obama, civil rights veterans, and dignitaries gathered in Selma, Alabama, to observe the 50th Anniversary of Bloody Sunday, a different commemoration occurred in Washington, DC. There, Civil War re-enactors, Parks Department officials, and a more modest assembly celebrated the 150th anniversary of Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address. That speech, delivered as the Civil War approached its close and now appraised as the apex of presidential oratory, is remembered as a healing benediction, one that counseled reconciliation following unspeakable destruction and strife. But as Gary Wills observed in 1999, the Second Inaugural was in fact more minatory than exculpatory in message. The poignant vision of a nation yearning to move past war but confronted with a Providence that might demand collective atonement until "all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of labor be sunk, and every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword," was one that Lincoln later described as "a truth which I thought needed to be told," even as

he acknowledged that its harsh impositions might prove "not immediately popular." This last observation was more prescient than he would know, as the promises of Reconstruction wilted and went dormant, before a chilling campaign of paramilitary terror, followed by a delusional climate of white racial romanticism that supplied new and different cords of memory to rejoin South and North.

Though Ava DuVernay's film *Selma* depicts events of 1965, rather than those of a century earlier, the controversy surrounding its fidelity to the facts reminds us that we inevitably forget more history than we remember, even (especially?) when presuming to right the record. Though never openly acknowledged, Lincoln's reflections seem palpable in the words and deeds of all those engaged, at Selma, in a struggle for citizenship Reverend King called "more honorable and more inspiring" than all others in American history, and that President Johnson judged equal as a testament to the resilience of democracy to the battles at Lexington, Concord—and Appomattox. The waging of such a contest required extraordinary human and organizational capacities.

The march to Montgomery, ending on March 25, 1965, would doubtless have ended less triumphantly had not President Johnson nationalized 1,800 Alabama Guardsmen, deployed over 2,000 US troops and marshals, and tasked aircraft and demolition teams to sweep the road ahead, assuring security for hundreds en route. But just as certainly, that march—along with the earlier march toward Montgomery—could never have been envisioned, much less commenced, without the courage and implacable faith in rights shown by Annie Lee Cooper, Amelia Boynton, John Lewis, and others Johnson famously credited as "the real heroes of this struggle." The sense of people making their own history, rather than conceding to it the inevitable determination of their lives, is a much-remarked achievement of DuVernay's film, and no less significant for being so. Hollywood previously captured the civil rights movement within a self-congratulatory lens of racial paternalism; if nothing else is gained in its making, *Selma* establishes that African Americans can be portrayed in postbellum film as principals, rather than wards or subordinates.

Like Lincoln's Second Inaugural, *Selma* is remembered for its salutary impression on later generations. Yet for those who lived through it, as for those who lived through the Civil War, the experience entailed risk, uncertainty, and bitter disappointment, as well as triumph. That, too, is well represented in the film *Selma*. Death haunts the saga of Selma, just as it stalked Lincoln through his grim stewardship of the war. Anguish, followed hard by suspicion and resentment, greeted news of the casualties of the later battle—Jimmie Lee Jackson, James Reeb, Viola Liuzzo, and many others elsewhere in Alabama that same year. Here, as well, DuVernay achieves a further salutary turn in portraying the movement. Blood, she poignantly shows, was spilled during the freedom struggle; people died. And those who survived wondered and worried about what would come next.

Worries and disagreements did not subside after the march into Montgomery in the



Abraham Lincoln delivering his Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.



Marchers cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge in *SELMA*, from Paramount Pictures, Pathé, and Harpo Films.

spring of 1965, nor even with passage of the Voting Rights Act later that summer. Members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, bitter at being eclipsed once again by their movement elders in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, commenced internal disputes that led to the expulsion of white members, the end of effective cooperation with SCLC and, ultimately,

rejection of nonviolence as an organizational tenet. King and Johnson's alliance and trust, likely strongest through the winter months of 1965, would itself erode over the war in Vietnam and controversy surrounding the Moynihan Report. And all the while, ongoing massive resistance on the part of some Southern (and Northern) whites cost lives, clouded loyalties, and intrigued oppor-

tunistic politicians, accelerating a gathering backlash that would strive to discredit the integrity of the movement and reverse its tangible gains.

This, of course, is as much the world passed on to us from history as the one King and Johnson separately held up as herald of a coming American multiracial democracy. Lincoln's caution that the road to securing such an outcome would prove painful, uncertain, and perhaps unending, seems appropriate as a reference point for regarding the honesty, as opposed to mere accuracy, of film portrayals of the history of race and nation by DuVernay and those who will follow. More broadly, it suggests an exacting yet necessary standard for rating our collective appreciation of the deeper truths of 1965—or, for that matter, of 1865.

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Selma and the International History of American Civil Rights

Mary L. Dudziak

When peaceful civil rights marchers were brutally beaten in Selma, Alabama, in 1965, the world reacted with horror at the photographs appearing in newspapers across the globe. The international response to Selma, which shows the global reach of the civil rights movement and the international following achieved by leaders like Martin Luther King Jr., is not featured in the film *Selma*. But as Leslie Harris writes in this series, “the artist’s vision is different” than the historian’s. I might have wished for a broader narrative frame to show the international aspects of this story, but no film could capture the complexity of history.

My contribution to this series is less about the film itself than about one of the stories it



The March to Montgomery, 1965. Photo by John Kouns on Veterans of the Civil Rights Movement website (www.crmvet.org).

left out: the role of Selma in the broader international history of American civil rights. Though worldwide attention had long been paid to race relations in the United States, foreign reaction to Selma was different than during previous civil rights crises. By the late 1940s, the impact of American racism on the nation's global image, and on US Cold War foreign relations, was of great concern to American diplomats and political leaders, and civil rights activists used this as one of their arguments about the need for social change. But the impact of civil rights on the American image abroad was not static. It changed over time—not only because the underlying story changed, but because the government went to great effort to turn the international understanding of American racism into a story about the benefits of democracy over communism.

The Soviet Union had used race as a principal anti-American propaganda theme since the late 1940s, but the most important source of global criticism of the United States was straightforward news about events that actually happened. Initially, the US responded with its own propaganda: pointing to segregated schools and colleges, for instance, as evidence that African Americans had educational opportunities. But it became clear that more had to be done to change foreign perceptions.

By the mid-1950s, every civil rights crisis at home generated a diplomatic reaction, and great effort was put into managing foreign opinion. Secretaries of State sent out talking points to American embassies around the world, arguing that the federal government supported civil rights; that abuses were the result of rogue elements in particular states; that the nation had evolved from slavery to freedom; and that this progress illustrated what democracy as a system of government could accomplish. Even great brutality, like the abuse of demonstrators in Birmingham, Alabama, in May 1963, was presented as an aberration in the seemingly inevitable march toward equality.

The turning point in this story came in 1963 and 1964. In the aftermath of widespread national and international criticism of police brutality in Birmingham, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Analysts from within the State Department and the United States Information Agency (USIA)



Credit: Peter Pettus. 1965. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. Lot 13514, no. 25.

Civil rights marchers with flags walk from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, in 1965.

believed that peoples of other nations were coming around to the view long promoted: that the US government supported civil rights, and that continuing discrimination was not the fault of the federal government nor evidence of a weakness in democracy itself.

Then came Selma. In earlier years, such brutality would have meant a setback in the effort to protect the country's image internationally. Not so in 1965. Global news coverage of Selma was less critical than expected. The USIA reported that "world press comment on Selma has been more calm and restrained than the treatment accorded earlier US racial conflicts." In spite of widespread coverage of police brutality, editorials on Selma "have expressed increasing understanding." Due to President Johnson's call for Congress to pass a Voting Rights Act, the international press saw "little room for doubt that the Negro American is winning his struggle with the strong support of the Federal Government and the great majority of the American people." Even in the Soviet Union, coverage of Selma was limited, though Chinese propaganda depicted the Voting Rights Act as designed only to "paralyze the fighting will of the Negroes."

American inequality persisted, but international opinion had turned around. Formal legal change, advertised to the

world in glossy pamphlets and described to foreign audiences by government-funded speakers, had made an impact. Selma came at a time when international attention was shifting not only because of the government's marketing campaign, but also because another American development had become the focus of global interest. Selma coverage often appeared on the inside pages of the world's newspapers, sometimes displaced by front-page coverage of the war in Vietnam.

The film *Selma* was not written to capture this story. What it might have done without detracting from its powerful human narrative was dramatize the way Selma implicated the very meaning of American democracy. When marchers proceeded from Selma into Montgomery, they literally wrapped themselves in American flags. With stars and stripes carried or painted on faces, they reclaimed and reinterpreted American meaning.

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Forays into “What If” History

An After Action Report

Mark Grimsley

It's commonly thought that counterfactual history—“what if” history, as it's more widely known—is pointless. Often, however, this is not so much a well-considered objection as an automatic genuflection to the conventional wisdom. In fact, most historians are already doing counterfactual history. Any argument that makes a causal claim contains an implicit counterfactual: If A caused B, then in the absence of A, B would not have occurred. Counterfactual theory simply places pressure on such claims. It sometimes confirms that A was indeed crucial. But in other cases, a counterfactual thought experiment reveals that even if A were removed, B would still have occurred. In that case—what is formally termed a reversionary counterfactual—it turns out that a different variable was actually more critical.

Over the years, I have learned a lot about counterfactual theory, not only from studying it and team-teaching (with my colleague Geoffrey Parker) a graduate course on the subject, but also by spending seven years writing a column on “what if” history for *World War II*, a magazine of “popular history”—or, as I prefer to think of it, a magazine that can bring the fruits of academic scholarship to the general reader. Here's what I gleaned, using as an example just one of the 40 columns I wrote: “What If Franco's Spain Had Entered the War?”

Exploring a counterfactual scenario invariably obliges me to read some history I would not have read otherwise. This was certainly true for the Franco column. Since Spain did not participate in World War II (with the exception of the “Blue Division,” a force of Falangist volunteers who fought on the Eastern Front), historians of the conflict seldom think about it. But writing the Franco column led me to read Stanley G. Payne's excellent *Franco and Hitler: Spain, Germany, and World War II*. That book, more than any other, equipped me to write the column.



Boats at the fish market in Dakar, photographed by Jeff Attaway, CC BY 2.0, flic.kr/p/9eF66j



Gibraltar, photographed by Ian Southwell, CC BY-NC-ND 2.0, flic.kr/p/4kv8mo

My first task was to identify a “minimal rewrite” (the least departure from what historically occurred) that would have made Spain a belligerent. I postulated that Franco

joined the Tri-Partite Pact, something that historically he seriously considered. Then, in January 1941, Spain declared war on Great Britain, a step timed to coincide with

the start of Operation Felix, the historical Nazi plan to capture the British fortress at Gibraltar.

Next came the probable sequence of events—what in formal counterfactual language is called the consequent. The loss of Gibraltar would have closed the western Mediterranean to British resupply of its army in North Africa, but the British could still have supplied the army via the Suez Canal (as they mostly did anyway). When the Americans and the British launched Operation Torch in November 1942, they might well have landed not in French Morocco and Algeria but rather in Spain, which was relatively weakly defended by the Spanish army and devoid of much support from Germany. At a minimum, the western Allies would surely have seized Spanish Morocco. As I tracked the likely course of events, it seemed clear that the Spanish officer corps, never enthusiastic about Franco's adventurism in the first place, would have reacted to these events by removing Franco from power.

Although the above scenario is speculative in its details, I concluded that three outcomes were virtually certain: Spanish belligerency would have yielded disaster; the Franco regime would not have survived; and the monarchy would have been restored (some Spanish generals urged restoration during the war, but historically it did not take place until 1975).

My last task was to tell the reader what actually occurred. Historically, both Germany and the Franco regime expected Spain to enter the war at some propitious time. But in Germany's appraisal, Spain required too much economic and military aid. Spain, for its part, flatly rejected German demands for outright possession of one of the Canary Islands and concessions elsewhere to support its submarine offensive. Even more serious—and ultimately a deal breaker—was Spain's desire for an expanded colonial presence in Morocco. Germany agreed in principle to allocate part of French Morocco to Spain at the war's conclusion, with France compensated by the annexation of equivalent territory at the expense of Great Britain. But Germany's refusal to offer specifics gave the Franco regime considerable pause.

With that said, Hitler initially was willing to grant Spain the territorial concessions that Franco desired. He reversed himself when a combined force of British and Free French



Canary Islands, photographed by Fernando Sancha, CC BY-NC-ND 2.0, flic.kr/p/xtKa7

attempted to seize Dakar, a strategic port in French West Africa held by Vichy France, between September 23 and 25, 1940, while Spanish envoy Ramón Serrano Suñer was in Berlin to negotiate an accord. The expedition was a fiasco, but it convinced Hitler that it was important to retain the good will of Vichy France as a bulwark against potential future British incursions on the Atlantic coast of North Africa. Had this minor event, today almost forgotten, not occurred, it is likely that Spain would indeed have entered World War II, with cataclysmic results. (The Dakar episode could be considered the real minimal rewrite, but to make for an effective column I went for something more dramatic.)

For me personally, the columns expanded my understanding of a conflict that, as a military historian, I'm already supposed to know a lot about. That was the main benefit of the Franco column. Other columns forced me to reconsider events whose significance

I had long taken for granted. But they also gave my readers insight into a number of different subjects: diplomatic and military, of course, but also economic (for example, the American arsenal of democracy fails to materialize), political (FDR does not run for a third term), psychological (Churchill's well-known depressions force him to step down as prime minister), and medical (scientists cannot find a way to mass-produce penicillin). The "what if" columns thus formed an entertaining way to educate my lay readership concerning aspects of the conflict they would probably never have considered otherwise.

An associate professor of history at The Ohio State University, Mark Grimsley has been writing for both general and academic audiences since he was 21 years old. He is the author or editor of several books, including The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy Toward Southern Civilians, 1861–1865 (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Counterfactual History and the Outbreak of World War I

Yoav Tenenbaum

I was an undergraduate student the first time I heard about counterfactual history, and it was in connection with the crisis that led to the outbreak of the Great War, or World War I. I remember a history professor of mine referring with intellectual disdain to the question “What would have happened if Gavrilo Princip had failed to kill the Archduke Franz Ferdinand?” World War I would have erupted in any event, sooner or later, he went on to say. My conclusion, after hearing his comment, was that counterfactual history was intellectually irrelevant if not wholly unacceptable.

Many of my own students today express their dismay when I resort to counterfactual history in my classes. They have been taught that what counts is what actually happened and not what might have happened. They ask, “Isn’t the query ‘What would have happened if X or Y had not taken place?’ beyond the academic domain of the serious historian?”

To be sure, that’s exactly what I used to think when I was their age. I no longer do.

In order to argue my case in favor of counterfactual history, I explain to them the difference between science fiction and counterfactual history.

For instance, the question “What would have happened had a meteorite fallen on Gavrilo Princip a few minutes before he managed to kill the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, Sophie?” is not counterfactual history, but science fiction.

However, the question “What would have happened if Gavrilo Princip had failed in his assassination attempt?” is counterfactual history and not science fiction.

Counterfactual history is not science fiction because it is based on a series of events that *did* happen and asks a question about something that *might have* happened differently. The variables employed are not

fictional. The assumptions entertained are not *illusory*.

Contrary to what I thought when I was a student, and to what many of my own students believe, counterfactual history is not designed to depict a scenario that *could not* have happened, but rather one that *might have* happened.

The aim is not to change history, as is wrongly assumed. Rather, the objective is to understand it better. In other words, counterfactual history is a device aimed at comprehending better the role of the different actors in the story being studied. Also, it is a means to comprehend the importance of chance or accident in human affairs.

Counterfactual history is anathema to those who believe in historical determinism. After all, if one believes that things are preordained or follow a certain coherent pattern toward a predetermined end, a scenario entailing a different turn of events is unlikely to be entertained lightly. Even if events might be countenanced to have evolved differently than they actually were, their importance in changing historical processes would be discounted.

Counterfactual history is based on the assumption that events are not preordained and that individuals are not actors playing a role without being aware of it. Certainly, circumstances may limit their scope of decision and constrain their freedom of action. However, on the whole, decision makers are thought to be free agents and their decisions the corollary of choice. Counterfactual history would be irrelevant if one were to assume otherwise.

To be sure, the question “What would have happened if X or Y had not occurred?” should not necessarily lead to the depiction of a wholly different scenario from the one that is already known. In other words, one might actually reach the conclusion that

the outcome *might have been* similar to the one we know about.

For instance, if we asked what would have happened had Gavrilo Princip failed in his attempt to kill Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and then answered that World War I *might have* erupted anyway, sooner or later, we could still be engaging in counterfactual history.

The “what if” question in this case could lead to an implied conclusion that the role played by Gavrilo Princip in the crisis leading to World War I was not crucial. He was not the *motive* but rather the *instigator* of a process that culminated in the outbreak of World War I. His action was the *trigger* of the crisis that led to war, not its real *cause*. Thus, any other trigger *might have* led to the same outcome, according to this analysis.

Of course, assuming that events *would have* unfolded, in one way or another, in a similar vein could imply a deterministic attitude. Thus, according to this scenario, World War I *would have* erupted with or without the personal intervention of Gavrilo Princip.

In this context, it is important to stress the difference between a *deterministic* and a *probabilistic* analytical perspective. The first negates, whereas the latter allows for contingency. Thus, saying that World War I *would have* occurred anyway denotes a *deterministic* analytical perspective. However, arguing that World War I *might have* occurred reflects a *probabilistic* analytical perspective.

Gavrilo Princip himself is reported to have engaged in counterfactual history. Asked in prison a few years subsequently how he felt about being responsible for the death of so many people, he replied that had he not done what he did Germany would have found another excuse to start the war.

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Carl Degler

(1921–2014)

Cultural and Social Historian; AHA Life Member

Carl N. Degler, a former president of the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, and the Southern Historical Association, died on December 27, 2014, after a lifetime of productive engagement with American history. Degler's scholarship combined broad scope and masterful synthesis with original, often provocative, insights. The subjects of his dozen books and extensive articles ranged from race and slavery in early America to Southern politics, modern political party realignment, women and the family, and the history of evolutionary ideas.

Degler was a strong advocate of comparative history, the subject of his Pulitzer Prize-winning 1971 study *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (1971). He also championed a more inclusive profession, one that expanded the ranks of women and racial and ethnic minorities and that took their histories seriously. A writer of engaging and accessible historical prose, he was determined to explore complexity while making history available to those outside the academy.

Raised in Newark, New Jersey, Degler graduated from Upsala College in 1942 and served during World War II in the US Army Air Forces in India, where he worked as a weather observer. After the war, he began graduate studies in US history at Columbia University, completing an MA in 1947. As he wrote his dissertation, he taught as an adjunct instructor throughout New York City. In 1948, he married Catherine Grady, a graduate of Cornell and an English teacher whom Degler often acknowledged for refining his historical writing. They raised two children, Peter and Suzanne.

In 1952, Degler received his PhD and joined the faculty of the all-women's Vassar College, where he delighted in teaching. He chose not to publish his dissertation on the impact of early industrialism on New York City workers during the 1850s. Much of his historical writing during the 1950s and 1960s consisted of texts geared to classroom



Archives and Special Collections Library, Vassar College

use, tackling subjects from the 19th-century economy to the Cold War era. He also wrote for wider audiences in publications such as *American Heritage*, *The Nation*, the *New Republic*, and the *New York Times Magazine*. His first major book followed the advice that he would later impart to me: "Write what you teach." An interpretive synthesis of American social history based on his Vassar course, *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America* (1959), became a standard college text.

Vassar College helped shape Carl Degler's feminist consciousness. Perusing the books by women in the college library, he came across Charlotte Perkins Gilman's *Women and Economics* (1899), which led to both his 1956 article on Gilman's feminism and a 1966 reprint edition of her book. After Betty Friedan lectured at Vassar, Degler introduced her to Gilman's work. A decade later, Friedan invited him to join the National Organization for Women. Degler was one of the two male founding members. He later cited the dilemmas of work and family faced by Vassar graduates as one inspiration for his 1980 book *At Odds: Women and the Family from the Revolution to the Present*.

Along with course books and syntheses, Degler published a constant stream of scholarly articles. They typically seized on a problem—whether the relationship between racism and slavery in early America or shifting political party alignments in the 20th century—and staked out a strong interpretive position. Just as he delighted

in intellectual argumentation in person, he comfortably challenged other historians in his writing. His growing scholarly reputation led to inquiries from several research universities, and David Potter succeeded in persuading the Deglers to relocate to Stanford in 1968.

At Stanford, Degler continued to thrive as an undergraduate teacher. He also became a highly sought-out graduate mentor. Former graduate students praised his infectious enthusiasm for historical inquiry, his close reading of their work, and the humanity with which he treated all students. He also offered crucial encouragement to feminist historians, within and beyond Stanford.

Before his move west, Degler had become interested in the comparative history of slavery, studying both Brazilian history and the Portuguese language to produce *Neither Black nor White*. In it he rejected Frank Tannenbaum's argument about the more humane treatment of slaves in Brazil. The book solidified Degler's academic standing. In addition to a Pulitzer, it received the Beveridge Prize from the AHA and the Bancroft Prize, and Degler subsequently won a Guggenheim Foundation Fellowship and became the Margaret Byrne Professor at Stanford. He continued to write about the South, including *The Other South: Southern Dissenters in the Nineteenth Century* (1974).

In his dissertation, Degler had noted the importance of women in the labor force, and he taught women's history at both Vassar and Stanford. His personal commitment to women's rights led him to serve professionally on the AHA Committee on Women Historians in the 1970s. For his inaugural lecture as the 1973–74 Harmsworth Professor at Oxford he chose the topic "Is There a History of Women?" In the Stanford archives, he came across Clelia Duel Mosher's pioneering survey of female sexuality, the subject of his striking reinterpretation of this subject in a 1974 *AHR* article. The culmination of his inquiries into women's history was his 1980 book, *At Odds*, in which he argued that even as familial affections intensified in modern history, women sought greater autonomy from the family, creating a conflict that persisted in contemporary America. His final book, *In Search of Human Nature*:

The Decline and Revival of Darwinism in American Social Thought (1991), turned to sociobiological explanations of gender roles, although Degler insisted that both nature and culture shaped human behavior.

Carl Degler retired from teaching in 1990. After Catherine Degler's death in 1998, he married Therese (Tessa) Baker, a sociologist with whom he traveled widely. In 1991, Degler described himself aptly as "a liberal, a feminist, and a firm believer in racial equality." He is fondly remembered by students and colleagues for his intellectual curiosity, the joy he took in arguing about history, and the generosity he consistently exhibited.

Estelle B. Freedman
Stanford University

Paul N. Hehn

1927–2015

AHA Member since 1966

Paul N. Hehn was the son of a German immigrant father and a French-Canadian mother. Born in Manhattan and raised in the Bronx, Hehn received his BA from the University of Oregon in 1950 and his MA from Columbia University in 1954. Two years later, he traveled to Germany for a year of study at the University of Munich courtesy of the Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (German Academic Exchange Service); after Munich, he spent a year conducting archival research in Yugoslavia. Returning to the United States, he earned his doctorate in history from New York University in 1961. For a number of years afterward, he taught at various institutions of higher education in Ohio and at Temple University.

In 1968, Hehn was hired by the State University of New York, College at Brockport, where he was a member of the Department of History for the next 22 years. While at Brockport, he was known as a teacher and mentor who challenged students to think critically and who paid attention to their personal interests and needs. His dedication to teaching was second to none, and he changed fundamentally the lives of many of his students. He published his first book, *The German Struggle Against Yugoslav Guerillas in World War II: German Counter-Insurgency in Yugoslavia, 1941–1943* in



1979. He also contributed several articles to such scholarly journals as the *East European Quarterly*, *Balkan Studies*, and *The Polish Review*. Always an activist, on campus and off campus, Hehn was a union militant, playing a central role in organizing the Brockport College faculty into a stronger collective bargaining unit.

After retiring in 1990 as professor emeritus of history, he intensified his research and writing on World War II and eastern European history. In 2002, decades of research came to fruition with the publication of his life's major intellectual endeavor, *A Low Dishonest Decade: The Great Powers, Eastern Europe, and the Economic Origins of World War II, 1930–1941*. Hehn consciously borrowed the first portion of his title from the great British poet W. H. Auden. *A Low Dishonest Decade* is a history of the political economy of the coming of World War II in Europe. As *The Independent Review: A Journal of Political Economy* wrote, "in an area of studies whose motor has been historians' fascination with the political or diplomatic origins of the war—indeed, frequently, with its personal origins in the form of Hitler," Hehn "contends forthrightly that economic rivalries . . . formed the essential and primary cause of World War II." Hehn's "vast research apparatus (100 pages of footnotes and bibliography)," the review noted, "would be humbling for many historians." The basic economic conflict between the great powers was over access to markets and raw materials in eastern Europe. *Publishers Weekly* wrote that Hehn's "imperialist theme is compelling" and powerfully argued.

Hehn was fluent in five languages—Russian, French, German, Spanish, and Serbo-Croatian—and highly literate in reading Polish, Bulgarian, and Italian. Until shortly before his death, he was at work polishing a book manuscript, which was under consideration for publication, on the partisan war in Yugoslavia during the period 1941–45. A World War II veteran, he served as a US Navy Seabee in the South Pacific and Japan in 1945 and 1946. He is survived by his three children and his wife, Phyllis Pallett-Hehn.

David O. Stowell

William Smaldone
Willamette University

Ari Hoogenboom

1927–2014

Historian of the Gilded Age and AHA 50-Year Member

Ari Hoogenboom, Broeklundian Professor of History emeritus at Brooklyn College and the Graduate Center of CUNY, died on October 25, 2014, of complications of mesothelioma. His death closed a distinguished career spanning more than half a century.

Hoogenboom was born in 1927 in Richmond Hill, Queens, the son of a carpenter. In 1949, he received his BA from Atlantic Union College, where he met Olive Youngberg, whom he married two months after their graduation. Olive soon became his indispensable partner in history.

Hoogenboom earned a master's degree at Columbia in 1951. In 1956, he accepted a position as instructor (later assistant professor) at the University of Texas at El Paso. Two years later he completed his doctoral work at Columbia under the supervision of David Donald. In 1961, the University of Illinois Press published his revised dissertation, *Outlawing the Spoils: A History of the Civil Service Reform Movement, 1865–1883*. Examining the Liberal Reformers through the lens of their favorite project, Hoogenboom argued persuasively that their fight for reform partook largely of an assault of the "outs" against the "ins." The book remains the standard work on the subject.

In 1958, Hoogenboom moved to Penn State, where he rose rapidly from assistant professor to professor. While there he published *The Enterprising Colonials: Society on the Eve of Revolution* (1965), coauthored with William S. Sachs, and *The Gilded Age* (1967), coedited with Olive Hoogenboom. He also served three years as the secretary of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. In 1968, Brooklyn College recruited him to chair its history department, and he returned to his roots, one borough away. He led the department with his usual good sense and good humor for six years. After he relinquished his administrative duties in 1974, he resumed administrative history, publishing with Olive Hoogenboom *A History of the ICC: From Panacea to Palliative* (1976). This case study of the rise and fall of the regulatory endeavor in the first such federal entity won plaudits for its unflinching analysis, which assigned much of the agency's difficulty to its own ineffectual bureaucracy.

Hoogenboom next turned his attention to Rutherford B. Hayes, publishing two important books that showed his skill as a historian in full flower. *The Presidency of Rutherford B. Hayes* appeared in 1988 in the American Presidency series published by the University Press of Kansas. No apologia, the book offered a respectful reconsideration of Hayes's single term. Hoogenboom's deft treatment portrayed Hayes not only as a man of personal rectitude who restored respectability to the White House but also as a president who exerted executive authority and took the initiative in formulating policy, especially regarding the South and civil service reform. Although Hayes took office under a cloud and encountered many vicissitudes, Hoogenboom showed that he left the White House more popular than when he went in, a rare feat for presidents.

Hoogenboom expanded on these themes in his magisterial biography *Rutherford B. Hayes: Warrior and President*, published by Kansas in 1995. Based on an exhaustive exploration of primary sources, this book stands as his premier achievement as a historian. Its substantial length allowed him to examine in full the roots of Hayes's character, especially his service as an intrepid and oft-wounded general during the Civil War, as well as the development of his political persona in the battleground state

of Ohio. The biography also explored Hayes's post-presidential career, during which, like a 19th-century Jimmy Carter, he devoted himself to good works, especially advocating increased educational opportunity for African Americans, Native Americans, and others. The book won the Ohioana Book Award. In the words of Fred Woodward of Kansas, "Working with Ari Hoogenboom was an unalloyed pleasure. An accomplished scholar, an indefatigable researcher, he turned out work on our 19th president that is without peer."

After retirement, he focused on Civil War topics, publishing *Rutherford B. Hayes: "One of the Good Colonels"* (1999) and *Gustavus Vasa Fox of the Union Navy* (2008). He received a Fulbright Lectureship Award and a Guggenheim Fellowship, and served as George Bancroft Professor of American History at the University of Gottingen in 1991–92.

Friends and colleagues delighted in Ari's playful sense of humor. "To publish Ari," Fred Woodward said, "was satisfying, rewarding, and fun." In 1960, the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* published his memorable article arguing that "beards provided the aggressiveness that brought on the Civil War." Elaborating at length on the menace of the hirsute face, he saw a lesson for his own time: "There is hope for the world as long as the bottom of Eisenhower's and Khrushchev's chins remain as smooth as the top of their heads." His expertise won him the spot as chief commentator for the Hayes episode of C-SPAN's American Presidents series. Friends who viewed the show recognized at once the twinkle in his eye when, on the grounds of the Hayes Presidential Library, Ari hugged the tree that had been named in his honor. Colleagues across the country remember Ari Hoogenboom as a man of great wit, bonhomie, good will, and kindness. History has lost a gentleman.

Charles W. Calhoun

East Carolina University (Emeritus)

George W. Rollins

1916–2014

Historian of the American West

George W. Rollins, professor of history emeritus at Eastern Montana College (now Montana State University Billings), died in

Billings after a prolonged illness on November 17, 2014. He was 98 years old.

Born in Cumberland, Wyoming, on June 2, 1915, the youngest son of Watson Loraine Rollins and Agnes Ray Rollins, he was raised in the small town of Lyman. He attended the University of Wyoming, graduating in 1938.

After receiving his BA, Rollins spent four years teaching in public schools, first at Kaycee, Wyoming, then at Logan, Utah. During the Second World War, Rollins's career was interrupted by his work on the Union Pacific Railroad in Nebraska and then by his service in the US Army. From 1945 to 1948, he attended classes at the University of Omaha.

Seeking to complete his education, he then entered the University of Utah, where he received his PhD in history in 1951. His dissertation, "The Struggle of the Cattleman, Sheepman, and Settler for Control of Land in Wyoming, 1867–1910," was written under the supervision of Leland H. Greer. The study was eventually published by Arno Press in 1979. Based on a wide array of primary and secondary sources, the thesis traced the decades-long conflict waged by the three competitors for the territory's land, the rise and decline of the power of cattle barons under pressure from the sheepherders and farmers, and the Johnson County War of the 1890s, which involved active fighting among the parties and eventually intervention by the federal cavalry.

Among his other writings in the history of the West are his "Land Policies of the United States as Applied to Utah to 1910" (*Utah Historical Quarterly*, 1952) and his contribution, "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints," to Lawrence F. Small's compendium *Religion in Montana: Pathways to the Present*, vol. 2 (1995). Additional publications, consisting largely of book reviews dealing with such topics as Native Americans and land ownership, appeared in the *Utah Historical Quarterly* and the *Western History Quarterly*. His book reviews proved thorough, judicious, and positive. Between 1951 and 1953, Rollins remained at the University of Utah, serving as a teaching fellow and history instructor. In 1953, he accepted a position as assistant professor of history at Eastern Montana College and rose to full professor there by 1957. His

administrative abilities led him to chair the Division of Social Sciences and the Department of History, of which it had been a separate part, until 1974, remaining as its head for three years. He retired in 1981.

A lifelong Democrat, Rollins served as a delegate to the 1972 Montana Constitutional Convention. He remained proud to have participated in the gathering that rewrote and updated an antiquated governing document that dated from 1889.

Rollins enjoyed a long and happy married life. In 1938, he wed Beverly Ruth Shields. They remained together for 65 years and had eight daughters, seven of whom survive. His second wife, Vera Timm, passed away in 2011.

A thorough gentleman, Rollins displayed a fair, pleasant, and helpful attitude toward the entire department. Under his leadership, its members maintained collegiality and avoided quarrels so that they could continue to be productive and successful in their work. Rollins is fondly remembered by those who served under him.

James Friguglietti
Professor of History Emeritus
Montana State University Billings

Norton H. Moses
Professor of History Emeritus
Montana State University Billings

Raymond A. Mohl

1939–2015

AHA 50-Year Member

Raymond A. Mohl, one of the leading urban historians in the United States, died on January 29, 2015, in Boca Raton, Florida, from complications due to cancer. He was 75.

Mohl did his undergraduate studies at Hamilton College in Clinton, New York, and received a master's degree from Yale University. He taught at Valhalla High School for two years following his masters work. He then worked on his doctorate in history at New York University and received his PhD in 1968. His PhD dissertation at NYU was published by Oxford University



Credit: University of Alabama, Birmingham.

Raymond Mohl

Press in 1971 as *Poverty in New York 1783–1825*.

He taught at Indiana University Northwest in Gary, Indiana, and there started his research into the history of the modern American city. His work in Gary resulted in two books: *The Paradox of Progressive Education: The Gary Plan and Urban Schooling* and *Steel City: Urban and Ethnic Patterns in Gary, Indiana 1906–1950*.

In 1971, Mohl took a tenured position at Florida Atlantic University in Boca Raton, where he taught and researched for 25 years, serving as the chair of the Department of History. In 1996, he accepted a position at the University of Alabama at Birmingham as full professor and as chair of the Department of History, retiring after 18 years in September 2014 as a distinguished professor of history. During that extended time, he broadened his research to address many issues related to urban history in the South. This research led to books and articles on civil rights, race relations and immigration in Miami, and Latino immigration in Alabama and other areas of the South. He did extensive research in other areas of urban American history, including the relationship between the African American and Jewish communities in Miami during the civil rights and peace movements.

Over a nearly 50-year career, he delved into many different fields and periods of American history: social welfare history, immigration history, the history of education, labor history, African American history,

race relations, ethnicity, civil rights, urban politics, housing, planning, and highway policy, among others. In recent years, he focused on the intersection of policy and politics. In all, Mohl wrote or coauthored more than a dozen books and more than 150 scholarly articles on these topics.

Interstate: Highway Politics and Policy since 1939, coauthored with Mark Rose, was recently released in its third edition. This book looks at how decisions were made about locating the Interstate Highway System in cities throughout the country and how race and politics were often involved in those decisions, resulting in massive disruptions of neighborhoods, mostly in poor and ethnic areas of the cities. The book also addresses the freeway revolts in Seattle, San Francisco, New Orleans, Nashville, Memphis, and other cities, mostly unsuccessful efforts by groups of city residents to block the construction of freeways and the destruction of neighborhoods.

Mohl was awarded Fulbright Teaching Fellowships at the University of Tel Aviv, the University of Western Australia in Perth, and the University of Göttingen in West Germany. He also taught at Florida State's London Study Center and was a visiting professor at the University of New Orleans.

He was a founding member of the Urban History Association and was the founding editor of the association's journal, the *Journal of Urban History*.

Mohl is survived by his wife, Sai Sai Dong of Birmingham, Alabama; his two children, Nancy Kristoferson of Georgetown, Texas, and Raymond Jack Mohl of Arcata, California, and their mother, Penny Burkhardt of Pompano Beach, Florida; grandchildren Conner and Jensen Stamm; and brothers Gregory Mohl of Roswell, Georgia, and Bruce Mohl of Bonita Springs, Florida.

Ray Mohl grew up in Tarrytown, New York, and was in the last graduating class of Washington Irving High School in 1957. He was on the school's baseball team. No ferocious mascot there—they were the Washington Irving Authors.

Bruce Mohl
Bonita Springs, FL

Gregory Mohl
Roswell, GA

Patriotism and Dissent

Shatha Almutawa

Dissent and patriotism. Which of the two benefits one's country and which harms it? Or, as James Grossman asks us in his column this month, are patriotism and dissent closely intertwined in some contexts? The film *Selma*, the subject of this month's forum, revolves around dissent—Martin Luther King Jr. and 2,500 black and white Americans stood up and spoke out against the exclusion of millions of Americans from the very patriotic act of participating in elections. Their activism contributed significantly to a vast expansion of the right to vote—surely an outcome beneficial to the nation.

Patriotism has many definitions, Grossman reminds us, and for many, dissent is a form of patriotism because it is concerned with and geared towards the good of one's people. I see this idea running through Islamic history as well, where exemplary people are extolled despite of or because of their dissent. That dissent is seen as righteous; it is standing up for what is right no matter the consequences.

In the course of telling his history of the world, the 10th-century Al-Tabari shows us the different ways in which dissent was met at different points in Islamic history. For example, when one governor ordered the beating of a group of men who “engaged in a wine-drinking session,” and after their beating had them paraded around the city of Medina, people protested this punishment, and one went to him and said, “They should not be subjected to this; you have had them beaten when you had no right to have them beaten, since the scholars of Iraq don't see any harm in wine-drinking; so why are you having them paraded publicly?”¹ The ruler did not object to his authority being questioned. Rather, he sent a messenger after the men to stop their punishment, and released them from prison after a day and a night.

There are many other stories of dissent in Islamic history. Ahmad ibn Hanbal, one of the founders of a school of Sunni law, was not received so well when he refused to go against his beliefs. When the Caliph Al-Mamun commanded all the scholars of the Muslim lands to espouse a certain theo-



Credit: Amanda Snyder and Emily Dunker, *The Minnesota Daily*

Underpass of the Eyes of Freedom at Union Depot in St. Paul, Minnesota. The Arab Arts organization Mizna produced a large-scale, Arab Spring-focused participatory art installation at the all-night 2013 Northern Spark Festival. From dusk to dawn, thousands of festival-goers offered a gesture of solidarity to Arab protesters by stencilling actual revolutionary street art from the Arab world as well as US Arab artists, evoking Cairo's “Street of the Eyes of Freedom” near Tahrir Square.

logical position, the majority signed agreements, afraid for their lives. Some refused to sign, but when they were summoned before judges, they spoke in vague sentences that allowed for multiple meanings, not lying but not affirming the caliph's beliefs. Ahmad ibn Hanbal, according to various accounts, was steadfast in his belief, and was willing to give up his life for it. He wrote treatises explaining his views, and was carried off to prison. His life was spared only when the caliph passed away, but he continued to be persecuted by other caliphs for his position.

In the first example, the ruler responded to dissent with an open mind and changed his course of action. In the second example, the man who stood up for his beliefs was revered by hundreds of thousands of Muslims who follow his school of law to this day. Neither man was scorned for his stance.

America has a long history of dissent, as do other parts of the world. Despite its costs, dissent has caused change and improvement in many societies. While crackdowns on dissent dominate the stories we hear, leaders sometimes listen and respond positively.

And often, it's the quiet moments of dissent that are the most powerful. After the Bloody Sunday of 1965, when civil rights marchers were tear gassed and beaten on their way from Selma to Montgomery, Martin Luther King Jr. and thousands of Americans marched again toward the Edmund Pettus Bridge. When they were stopped, they did not try to force their way through, which would have led to violence. Instead, they knelt down and prayed before turning back. To some, that constituted giving in, but others saw it as a way to stand up for what is right, to be peaceful and united.

Dissent can take many forms, as can patriotism.

Shatha Almutawa is senior editor of Perspectives on History. She tweets @ShathaInDC.

Note

1. Translated by C. E. Bosworth in *The History of al-Tabari: The Abbasid Caliphate in Equilibrium* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), pp. 15–16.

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NEW YORK

Canton

St. Lawrence University

Latin America. The History Department at St. Lawrence University invites applications for a visiting assistant professor position (potentially renewable up to three years), beginning August 2015. The successful candidate will teach three courses per semester in Caribbean and Latin American history, including an interdisciplinary, introductory course in Caribbean and Latin American Studies. Latin American History PhD in hand by August 2015. Evidence of excellence in teaching and qualified to teach an interdisciplinary, introductory course in Caribbean and Latin American Studies. Though the area of specialization is open, those candidates with a secondary field in the history of the Atlantic world, Europe, or Africa, are especially welcome to apply. Interested applicants must apply online at <http://employment.stlawu.edu>; please give close consideration to the "special instructions to applicant" section. Questions about the position may be directed to Dr. Elun Gabriel, Search Chair, at egabriel@stlawu.edu or 315-229-5149. Review of applications will begin immediately and continue until the position is filled. Located in Canton, NY, St. Lawrence University is a coeducational, private, independent liberal arts institution of about 2,400 students from more than 40 states and 40 nations. The educational opportunities at St. Lawrence inspire students and prepare them to be critical and creative thinkers, to find a compass for their lives and careers, and to pursue knowledge and understanding for the benefit of themselves, humanity and the planet. Through its focus on active engagement with ideas in and beyond the classroom, a St. Lawrence education leads students to make connections that transform lives and communities, from the local to the global. The University is committed to and seeks diversity among its faculty, staff and students. Such a commitment ensures an atmosphere that is diverse and complex in ways that are intellectually and socially enriching for the entire campus community. Applications by members of all underrepresented groups, as well as from individuals with experience teaching or working in a multicultural environment, are encouraged. St. Lawrence University is an EOE. For additional information about St. Lawrence, please visit <http://www.stlawu.edu>.

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partment will begin reviewing applications on April 3, 2015, and will continue until the position is filled. The Department of History is strongly committed to Penn's Action Plan for Faculty Diversity and Excellence and to establishing a more diverse faculty (for more information see <http://www.upenn.edu/almanac/volumes/v58/n02/diversityplan.html>). The University of Pennsylvania is an EOE. Minorities, women, individuals with disabilities, and protected veterans are encouraged to apply.

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