

Perspectives on History

The Newsmagazine of the American Historical Association | 55: 3 | March 2017

Class Divide



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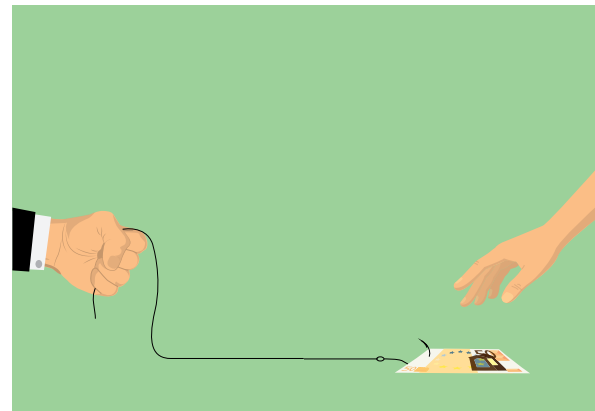
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On the Cover

When Charles Upchurch first assigned Marx’s *Communist Manifesto* in his 19th-century European history survey course, he got some unexpected feedback from one of his students: “less Marx, more Adam Smith.” Upchurch took the student’s exhortation to heart. As the students then discovered, the invisible hand of the free market—invoked by this pair of illustrations—makes up only part of Smith’s economic philosophy, which often prioritized societal welfare over the market. Upchurch found that after working their way through Smith, students were much more willing to engage with the ideas of Marx. As he writes, he’d found a way to “bridge previously disconnected viewpoints.” In this issue, *Perspectives* highlights history classrooms where instructors are shaking things up. *Illustration from World of Money, Alvaro Castro Peña. Used by permission.*



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Townhouse Notes

In the last issue of *Perspectives on History*, the AHA's director of scholarly communication and digital initiatives, Seth Denbo, made the case for recognizing collaboration in our community ("Whose Work Is It Really? Collaboration and the Question of Credit"). When historians co-author an article or book, tenure guidelines can assume that that work took less time and effort than a single-author monograph. Digital history projects involve multiple layers of expertise, often making shared credit necessary. Other forms of collaboration are no less important to our work, whether it's debating ideas around a seminar table or participating in the peer-review process. Librarians and archivists can help shape our research. And the giants on whose shoulders we stand, credited in our notes and acknowledgments, collaborate with us by "lending" their ideas and research. Inspired by another form of collaboration—the presentations and ensuing discussion at an AHA annual meeting panel—Seth's provocative essay shatters the illusion of the solitary historian.

To add to the discussion, collaboration can be truly pleasurable. It's certainly one of the best qualities of my job: working with some of the world's biggest brains to take stories from the merest filaments of ideas to tightly argued articles to ink on the page. Sometimes an essay needs nothing but a tweak of one word to put it over the top. At other times, the process resembles a sham-bolic road trip. But it's always an enthralling experience, perhaps resembling a very young child's thrill of feeling a warm breeze on their face for the first time.

It's also important to acknowledge the work we do with our designers and printers. Each issue of *Perspectives* presents innumerable production-related challenges, from making sure text aligns across columns to adjusting the color of our cover logo. Our staff has built up relationships with these professionals almost entirely over e-mail, but our exchanges are warm. Last month, I visited the facility of the company that handles our printing to learn what it takes to make a print magazine from the PDFs we send each month. It's impossible to explain in this space, but it involves aluminum plates, huge rolls of paper, calipers, and, most importantly, many expert human eyes that can



analyze four (or more) colors at once. Constantly refined and spectacular to witness in person, this mastery has been handed down through generations of printers. The AHA is proud to affix the printer's union bug to the page with our masthead in every issue. It represents another pleasurable collaboration in getting *Perspectives* into readers' hands.

Solitary work, of course, contains immense pleasures, and as many collaborators have found, co-authored or co-edited projects can inflict headaches of their own. But no one I know who has discovered something astounding in an archive or had a writing breakthrough can keep it to themselves. (Just check out academic Twitter.) If we pay attention to moments like these, surely some of the most profound pleasures of scholarly life, we will realize that no one does this work alone. Although most of these micro-collaborations will never appear anywhere but an acknowledgments page, they may provide grist for larger-scale collaborations and are critical for the production of knowledge. What we stand to gain when we establish more formal avenues for working together—and press for better recognition of this work—includes enjoyment. And that is not nothing.

—Allison Miller, editor

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

To the editor:

I was disturbed by Allison Miller's message to future historians ("Dear Future Historians," December 2016) regarding the recent election.

I preface my remarks by saying that I was appalled by the Trump candidacy and voted—with apprehension—for Clinton.

With that out of the way, let me turn to substance.

Miller presents a series of "subcontexts" of the election's aftermath that she describes as factual to guide future historians, emphasizing that "facts matter." Her presentation strikingly exemplifies how "facts" can be invoked selectively through an ideological lens. She presents these factual "subcontexts" as deserving pride of place in evaluating the post-election situation, when in fact she has carefully chosen them to create a desired impression. It is far from clear that these "subcontexts" will be seen as major phenomena deserving of attention by historians of the future. The conceit that one can confidently instruct future historians in a piece written a few weeks after the election itself indicates that there is something amiss. Historians are not journalists.

Here are two examples of relevant, factual "subcontexts" that point away from the article's desired portrait: (1) Contrary to expectations, the stock market soared after the election, indicating investor confidence in Trump. (2) People who pilloried Trump for refusing to promise that he would accept election results attempted to persuade Trump electors to violate their commitments. Miller may have written before this effort achieved prominence, but this would only underscore the problematic character of her premature mission.

The article, then, is ideology disguised as historical/pedagogical analysis. Three specific points (*inter alia*) illustrate this:

1. Miller tells future historians that the Trump phenomenon reminded "reasonable people . . . of . . . railroad cars that took deported Jews to death camps." She expresses reservations about the analogy without the sort of vigorous rejection that it merits.
2. The article points to the birther lie, but also strongly suggests a broader "eight-year campaign to undermine" President Obama because of his race. This is not a demonstra-

ble "fact" and should not be invoked as such.

3. Future historians are informed that "there is the historic movement called Black Lives Matter, which I hope has not been ignored in your textbooks." I have serious reservations regarding this hope's factual underpinnings and its value-laden implications. It is premature to call BLM a "historic movement." As to values, I identify with the assessment of BLM in *Commentary* (bit.ly/2kOwlfl), which means that I consider it, on balance, a force for evil. If it turns out to merit prominent mention in future textbooks, I hope that it will be evaluated accordingly.

Had this article been written as an opinion piece, it would have required reasoned arguments to establish and evaluate the centrality of the highlighted developments. This presentation, however, is not only analytically problematic; by cloaking itself in the garb of pedagogical instruction informed by a historian's craft, it is also disingenuous.

David Berger
Yeshiva University

To the editor:

Regarding "Political History: An Exchange" (January 2017), my question would be "Why only US political history?" In 2011, I participated in a forum on political history in *Perspectives*, asserting that "The History of Feminism IS Political History" (May 2011). The forum proposed a more capacious definition of political history.

It seems to me that the more general question about what constitutes political history cannot be restricted to the question of elections and elected officials, which is quite specific to ostensibly democratic societies in very recent times. To be sure, the AHA does represent historians of the United States, but it also represents historians who study many other parts of the world and many earlier time periods; a

number of them do address "politics." My point here is that there are many kinds of "politics" that can be considered in a more comprehensive view of what is understood as political—across time and space. Can we broaden this discussion?

Karen Offen
The Michelle Clayman Institute for Gender Research
Stanford University

The Third Annual Conference of the Purdue Nanjing Joint Center for China Studies will meet at Nanjing Agricultural University from October 20-23, 2017. The program committee welcomes paper proposals on all aspects of U.S.-China Relations, the Silk Road, and cultural exchanges. Papers dealing with agricultural and rural history are particularly welcome. Send one-page paper proposals to Doug Hurt, Head, Department of History, Purdue University at doughurt@purdue.edu by May 1, 2017.



Diversity and Segregation

Progress and Challenges in the Struggle for an Inclusive Historical Community

Tyler Stovall

As part of a 2013 AHA Roundtable in *Perspectives* about the Supreme Court ruling in *Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin*, which upheld affirmative action in university admissions, Jonathan Zimmerman of New York University observed that the almost-universal support of diversity in US educational and political culture has gone hand in hand with a substantial retreat from the struggle to integrate America's schools. The country that had recently elected its first African American president also maintained public schools that had become more segregated since the 1970s. As Zimmerman noted, "diversity" has replaced "integration" as our central racial motif.¹

Zimmerman's intriguing comments help frame both the achievements and challenges of the historical profession as it strives to become more inclusive. I am proud and honored not only to be the new president of the American Historical Association, but to be the third African American elected to that position, following John Hope Franklin and Thomas Holt. It is not only deeply meaningful personally, it also speaks to greater inclusiveness of the profession as a whole. It is also worth noting that I am the first black historian of Europe to receive this honor, and that fact also speaks to changes in the historical profession.

Over the last half-century, the discipline has become much more open to women and members of ethnic minorities. This greater inclusivity has both arisen from and promoted new fields of historical inquiry foregrounding gender, race, and ethnicity as meaningful fields of study—so much so that some have complained about the prominence of race, class, and gender as a "holy trinity" among historians. The acceptance of these fields, especially in American history, has created spaces for new generations of minority and women faculty.

These historians have not gone equally into all subfields, however. As a 2010 report on diversity in the profession noted, "There are wide variations in representation of minori-

ties among the particular field specializations in history, ranging from as high as 50 percent of the new doctorate recipients in Latin American history to as low as 5 percent of the new PhD recipients in the history of the Middle East."² George J. Sanchez of the University of Southern California has observed that in 2007 every member of the AHA's Committee on Minority Historians had a joint or principal appointment in an American studies or ethnic studies department.³ The historical profession may be becoming more diverse, but at least for many minority historians the problem of internal segregation remains.

Some integration is far better than none at all, of course. Moreover, such an observation should in no way be construed as a rejection of women's and ethnic studies, without which contemporary historiography would be much poorer and the historical profession much more white and male. But it does suggest that simply adding more people from different backgrounds does not in and of itself constitute true inclusion and equality. Furthermore, it implies another kind of inequality, in which heterosexual white men are allowed to study everything, whereas others may consider only histories directly related to their own personal experiences. A friend and colleague, now a well-established historian of modern Britain, recently reminisced to me about beginning graduate school:

"I will always remember when I was beginning the MA program . . . with a desire to study British history. I met with the lead professor in the field and we had a good conversation. When he discovered that I was indeed serious about the field, he paused and went down the hall and asked a professor who taught African American history if a black person could get a job teaching British history. Of course! the person exclaimed. The professor returned to his office and said yes, I will work with you. The professor noted that his concern was that he currently had too many students who were not

working in the profession. And of course I was his first black student. I am sure there must have been other thoughts in his mind. I must say that I had a very positive experience working with the professor; he was extremely supportive and played a major role in furthering my career."

There are a number of issues at work in this reminiscence. The professor's question seemed eminently reasonable precisely because of academia's history of segregation and discrimination; while not rejecting the student, it consciously singled this person out on racial grounds. Additionally, the professor posed the question to an individual in African American history, who did not necessarily know the hiring practices in British history but might have had some idea of the job realities for African American graduate students in general. One wonders what the professor would have said had his colleague responded "No" or "I don't know." Finally, my friend's relationship with this professor was ultimately positive; he clearly played a major role in making my friend a historian of modern Britain.

I chose this example because European history has usually been less diverse than other fields of the discipline. Here the "fly in the buttermilk" syndrome has long reigned supreme: relatively rare are the times when I encounter other African Americans or other people of color in lectures and conferences devoted to the subject. The reaction against "Eurocentric" history has certainly played a role in the lack of diversity in the field, as has the common (and erroneous) perception of Europe as a "white" continent, populated exclusively by white people. At the same time, however, some people of color have perceived European history not only as irrelevant to their own experiences and historical interests but also unwelcoming, even hostile. As a result, in most history departments the Europeanist faculty are exclusively white. One irony is that questions of race, to an important extent invented in Europe,

have often been regarded as marginal to that historiography.

A combination of tradition and exclusion, or at least perceived exclusion, has added to the internal segregation of the profession. But it does not have to be this way, and in our profession, as in the world, there has been change over time. In the case of Europe, the rise of the new colonial historiography and transnational approaches has foregrounded the experiences of people of color and helped increase the diversity of those who study and teach this history. The increasing racial diversity of Europe has inspired new perspectives on that


region's history, and comparisons with other parts of the world have created a space for transnational discussions of race and identity.

Historians should feel free to study any field of history they choose. Our inability to live up to that ideal has shaped efforts to diversify the profession, so that diversity and segregation can coexist. The challenge is to use diversity to realize the goal of integration. This will not only broaden the horizons of individual historians but also, by bringing a multitude of perspectives to all fields, enrich history as a whole.

Tyler Stovall is president of the AHA.

Notes

1. Jonathan Zimmerman, "Diversity: Integration's Poor Step-Child," *Perspectives*, July 2013.
2. Robert B. Townsend, "History PhDs Grow in Number and Diversity in 2007–08," *Perspectives*, January 2010. See also Eric Foner, "On Diversity in History," *Perspectives*, April 2000; Carla Hesse, "Report on the Status and Hiring of Women and Minority Historians in Academia," AHA Committee on Women Historians, 2004.
3. George J. Sanchez, "Confronting a Crisis in the Historical Profession," *Perspectives*, October 2007.



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Individual Return and Public Good *The Worth of a College Education*

James Grossman

It seemed like a simple question: “Is College Worth It”? The e-mail came from WalletHub, one of those many online publications that thousands of people read, but I hadn’t a clue as to its existence. Its forums looked quite respectable and were often interesting. The editors routinely call on “leading experts” to answer financial questions, and I was flattered by that label, as I am more accustomed to being considered knowledgeable at best. But if the invitation was intriguing, it was also less than stirring. The answer seemed obvious, given the wealth of data correlating college degrees and such good things as income, health, life expectancy, and even divorce rates. Should I bother?

But wait—maybe not so obvious to all. Toward the close of 2015, Goldman Sachs calculated that it would take a graduate nine years to make up the “total all-in cost of college (net of grants and scholarships) and the wages foregone during the four years of study versus the wage premium that undergraduate degree holders enjoy versus high school graduates over their working life” (see Brooke Metz, “Is College Worth It? Goldman Sachs Says Not So Much,” *USA Today College*, December 10, 2015). Most important, the trend was ominous: in 2010 it took only eight years to attain the ever-important return on investment. *Caveat emptor* indeed.

More important, WalletHub framed its request in terms of whether college is a “safe investment” or “risky bet”—a calculus tailored to the interest of the individual. This depiction of the terrain has much to do with the shortsighted decisions of state legislatures to sharply decrease public funding of higher education. I’ve said it before in these pages, and I will say it in every venue to which I am given the privilege of access: higher education is a public good.

The good news? Generally, my fellow WalletHub experts (many of them more expert than I) also pointed to the public value of an educated citizenry, although they were less inclined to warn of the dire consequences of shortsighted parsimony.

The following is a lightly edited version of my WalletHub essay, available at wallethub.com/blog/is-college-worth-it/31935/.

Is College Worth It?

This question can be considered from two perspectives, the individual and the public. All too often it is posed as merely an individual, monetary query: whether a student is making a worthwhile investment of current resources vis-à-vis future income. The data here are straightforward: a student graduating from a public or not-for-profit college or university will earn a “college degree premium” over a lifetime that will exceed the cost of tuition.

But this is neither the only nor the best way to think about “value,” which is a correlate

or solely private good. Tables and charts that compare tuition with average earnings at different levels of education can neither truly measure nor adequately communicate the value of an educated populace. A nation where millions of voters and uncounted public officials are unable to appreciate the complex relationship between jobs, technology, trade, and outsourcing stands to benefit from more pervasive higher education. A nation whose leadership demonstrates little knowledge of a national hero such as Frederick Douglass (never mind when he lived), of its own place in the American political tradition or America’s place in the world, would benefit from a larger public investment in higher education. A nation that saw millions of its voters base fundamental decisions on “fake news” would benefit from an electorate with the critical thinking skills that higher education provides.

Education should never be regarded as merely a tool for individual advancement. It is also a public instrument to promote democratic citizenship and informed participation in a market economy. The system works better for all of us if more people can recognize a logical fallacy, read a data table, understand the text and context of the Constitution, and decipher debates surrounding the causes of the Great Depression, the legacy of Jim Crow, or the formation and history of NATO.

Individuals and families might question whether college is “worth it.” But to the community, the nation, and the globe where those individuals will develop, play, work, purchase, and vote, the question is whether underspending on higher education will result in an electorate and a political leadership insufficiently educated to recognize the value of an educated workforce and citizenry. A downward spiral begun by failing to accurately calculate *that* cost would eventually devastate our economy, impoverish community life, and endanger democracy.

James Grossman is executive director of the AHA. He tweets @JimGrossmanAHA.

The central distinction lies in whether we consider higher education a public or solely private good.

to “worth.” There are many ways to assess “worth,” even from the limited vantage point of the individual, for whom the benefits of a college education need not be measured by income alone, but rather by personal growth, the joy of intellectual activity, or the ability to do things that require skills learned in college.

Under the umbrella of our shared life—or, how to determine the worth of a college education *to the public*—we might calculate the value to our national economy of a more educated workforce or the value to civic culture of an educated citizenry, whether as voters or as participants in any community activity whose benefits accrue to everyone.

The central distinction lies in whether we consider higher education as a public

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No One Is a Stranger

Immigration Historians Mobilize to Educate and Advocate

Kritika Agarwal

The e-mails started flooding historian Erika Lee's inbox the week after the election of Donald J. Trump. Lee, who is director of the Immigration History Research Center at the University of Minnesota and has written extensively about US immigration history, recalls that her fellow scholars had "questions like 'what are we going to do when the deportation trains start running again?'" After all, Trump had promised throughout his campaign to deport "illegal" immigrants, build a wall on the US-Mexico border, and end the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program, or DACA, which allows some undocumented immigrants who entered the country under age 16 to apply for work permits. "Many of us started organizing right away to participate in the sanctuary campus movement," Lee said, referring to the nationwide effort by students and faculty to designate universities as sanctuary spaces that protect undocumented students. But she also started thinking about doing something that was "not just on our individual campuses." She found herself asking: "What is the role of the public intellectual right now? What's the role of historians specifically, and in particular immigration historians?"

One way to arrive at an answer, she decided, would be to team up with other historians to create #ImmigrationSyllabus (<http://editions.lib.umn.edu/immigrationsyllabus/>), an online resource containing links to primary documents, oral history interviews, scholarly readings, and multimedia. The syllabus follows in the footsteps of other crowdsourced reading lists created in the wake of the Ferguson uprising, the shooting at Charleston, and Trump's election. As Chad Williams (Brandeis Univ.), one of the creators of #CharlestonSyllabus, wrote on the blog *Black Perspectives*, the #syllabus format harnesses the power of "social media and the blogosphere" to produce and disseminate knowledge about a particular issue. A #syllabus, Williams wrote, can become a "vital tool for educators throughout the world" to help place current events in a historical context and to use in classrooms. In refining the #ImmigrationSyllabus, Lee and her fellow histori-



Jonathan McIntosh/via Wikimedia Commons

Immigrant-rights advocates march in downtown Los Angeles on May Day, 2006. This image is the backdrop of the #ImmigrationSyllabus homepage.

ans had similar goals—to create a resource that would "help educators, activists, and citizens in their teaching, advocacy, and public discussions about immigration in the United States."

Within two weeks of its launch on January 26—the day before President Trump's executive order banning refugees and immigrants from seven predominantly Muslim countries from entering the United States—#ImmigrationSyllabus had approximately 25,000 page views. Lee describes the response as "frankly overwhelming." Besides reactions from individuals who want to "take the course," the syllabus has garnered positive feedback from libraries that have used it to create book exhibits or are working with publishers to open access to content in the syllabus that is behind paywalls. The website of the AHA affiliate Immigration and Ethnic History Society (IEHS), which helped create the syllabus, now includes teaching modules paired with topics in the syllabus. Madeline Hsu (Univ. of Texas at Austin), president-elect of IEHS, also plans to build on the syllabus by developing resources to teach immigration history in AP and dual-enrollment history courses.

Lee hopes that the syllabus will attract interested members of the public regardless

of their political affiliation. Yet Mitch Pearlstein, founder of the conservative Center of the American Experiment, faulted the syllabus website in the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* for using as its backdrop an image of a "Justice for All" banner from a 2006 immigration rights protest in Los Angeles. Lee hopes, however, that with its combination of topics, reading lists, and "links to primary sources, archives, first-person accounts, and documentary films," the syllabus can function as a "broad educational resource" that will educate students as well as "the average citizen who explores the material and engages with it on their own terms, from their own perspectives, and comes to their own conclusion."

There is a great deal of scholarship on the history of immigration, but Lee worries that not all of it is making it into the public consciousness. "I think it has a lot to do with America's exceptionalist understanding of itself and in particular our immigrant past," she says. "We're constantly discounting, obscuring, or willingly forgetting" chapters of exclusion in immigration history, according to Lee, "so we can focus on the more positive narrative of

welcoming, and assimilation, and generational mobility.”

The ebb and flow of nativism is one aspect of America’s past that immigration historians view as a precedent to the present moment. “Anti-immigrant sentiment existed before the United States was even a country,” says Anita Casavantes Bradford, professor of history and chair of the Committee on Equity and Inclusion for Undocumented Students at the University of California, Irvine. For example, in 1751, Benjamin Franklin worried that immigrants from Germany would “Germanize” Pennsylvania and turn it into a “Colony of Aliens.” German immigrants, Franklin wrote, “will never adopt our language or customs.”

“When you go into the archives and you look at the primary documents,” says Casavantes Bradford, “people said the same things about immigrants: that they were a cultural threat to our identity, that they were the parasites, that they were takers, that they were enriching themselves at the expense of ‘American’ workers.” “The historical record,” she continues, “shows that immigrants, whether they are documented or not, have been consistently a net benefit to the country.” Casavantes Bradford notes, for example, that the American economy in general, and the economy of the American Southwest in particular, “has benefited tremendously from the presence of cheap, undocumented labor.”

But according to Lee, Trump’s “use of the executive order and the executive branch to institute wide-ranging changes in all aspects of immigration policy” is new. So far, the orders have covered building a border wall, renewing emphasis on enforcing immigration laws in the interior of the United States, pausing the refugee resettlement program, instituting a travel ban, and using punitive measures such as detention and deportation. “Taken together,” Lee says, “this is unprecedented.” She points to the sweeping Immigration Act of 1924, which instituted quotas on the basis of national origins for immigrants. That law is discussed in most high school American history textbooks, but Lee says that the path to passing the act took more than a decade: Congress needed 13 years to debate the 41-volume Dillingham Commission report (1911) on the origins and impacts of immigration to the United States. The IEHS’s Hsu echoes Lee: it’s “dismaying to see [executive] power wielded so cynically and with such devastating impact” on immigrants,

whose noncitizen status makes them one of the most vulnerable segments of society. “This is another reason why we need to know about history,” Hsu says.

These vicissitudes drive historians in their research and teaching, but they also advocate for students who could be affected by changes in immigration policy. One of the biggest uncertainties today is the future of DACA—ending the program was one of Trump’s campaign promises. And since DACA requires people to come out from “behind the shadows” in order to gain legal work authorization, many fear that the end of the program will lead to deportation orders against those who are registered with it. As Cindy I-Fen Cheng (Univ. of Wisconsin–Madison) recently told *Inside Higher Ed*, “When we say that students who registered in good faith [under DACA] are fearing imminent deportation in this political climate, it is not an overstatement.”

Casavantes Bradford believes that when universities admit undocumented students, administrators and faculty have an obligation to help them succeed. She suggests that faculty educate themselves on the issues undocumented students face, then work with their department and university to find ways to support students. These can include identifying resources on campus, maintaining

student confidentiality and privacy, and re-evaluating one’s use of immigration-related terminology or classroom content. “We may not as individuals have the power to transform federal immigration law or law enforcement priorities,” Casavantes Bradford says, “but as educators we do sometimes have the power to make decisions that determine whether that student earns their degree.”

Historians’ expertise, knowledge, and research, says Lee, gives them a unique perspective on the past and should have direct bearing on policy makers’ “decisions about immigration and their consequences.” “Is the travel ban a good idea or not? Well, what’s the historical precedent? How has it affected our international relations in the past?” says Lee, walking through the type of questions historians can pose and answer. Casavantes Bradford says that as a historian she doesn’t take positions on the sorts of legal restrictions that should be placed on immigration, but she does want to change how immigrants are talked about in the public sphere—to shift the conversation so it’s based on facts and empathy as opposed to “myth and uninformed emotion.” Hsu agrees. As she says, writing immigration history is “not political so much as kind of an obligation.”

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Fellowship Opportunities from the AHA

J. Franklin Jameson Fellowship in American History is sponsored jointly by the AHA and the Library of Congress and funds two to three months in residence.

The Fellowships in Aerospace History, supported by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), annually fund research projects from six to nine months.

Deadline is April 1, 2017

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Academic Presses Explore Open Access for Monographs

Seth Denbo

It is widely known that the market for academic books in humanities fields is shrinking. It might come as a surprise to many, then, that some presses are turning to open access publishing in an attempt to reduce costs and develop wider readership. A small but growing number of presses have started exploring new economic models that require authors or their institutions to help cover the costs of publishing while simultaneously making their work freely accessible online to readers from around the globe. This

paired approach—free digital editions based on pay-to-publish business models—has long been a feature of scientific journal publishing. Now, initiatives such as Luminos at the University of California Press (UCP) and Michigan University Press's (MUP) Digital Culture Books are entering the fray and applying this economic model to humanities monographs.

In a talk at the January 2017 AHA annual meeting in Denver, John Sherer, director of the University of North Carolina Press, was clear about the challenges

facing scholarly publishers. “Sales trends are clear and troubling, and only going to get worse,” he said. Current business practices, which rely on recovering publishing costs from readers and libraries purchasing print versions, “are based on obsolete assumptions.” Open access, however, allows presses to apply an economic model that puts digital at the heart of their publishing strategy. While they still have to account for pre-printing costs, focusing on digital open access allows presses to save money on both



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As sales of academic books decline, university presses are turning to open access publishing.

creating and distributing physical copies of books.

Definitions and meanings of open access vary, and not all open access publications are open or accessible in the same ways. The Scholarly Publishing and Academic Resources Coalition (SPARC), an open access advocacy group, considers a range of factors including readership and reuse rights, means of access, and formats when determining the “openness” of a publication. Publishers of open access books are primarily concerned with making the title available in at least one digital format for free under a Creative Commons license allowing for reuse. Some publishers make multiple digital formats (including, for example, PDF and EPUB) open and sell print versions, while others make only the web-based version available for free and charge for other digital versions.

As of early 2017, Luminos has published 23 titles, with another 17 to be available by June. Michigan’s website currently lists 74 open access titles going back to 2004. Both MUP and UCP make it clear on their websites that open access does not mean a lowering of standards. Luminos declares that open access books are afforded the “same high standards for selection, peer review, production and marketing” as titles in the press’s more traditional publishing programs. Alison Mudditt, director of the University of California Press, explains the goals of Luminos as being threefold: developing a sustainable business model, enabling publishing in fields with smaller markets, and increasing access to and the impact of scholarship. In the Luminos program, the first of these goals requires an up-front payment to cover a portion of the publication cost. All Luminos titles are available in print at prices comparable with other UCP titles, but authors are expected to provide a contribution of \$7,500.

Other presses employ hybrid models that include a free, open access version in addition to a variety of print or digital formats available for sale. For example, *Pastplay: Teaching and Learning History with Technology*, published by MUP in 2014, is available in an open access version for reading online—PDF, Kindle, and paperback versions are available for \$36.95 each; a hardback would set readers back \$80. Presses usually print physical copies on demand, allowing them to avoid the cost of large print runs and warehousing of books. These kinds of hybrid models appear to benefit both the reader and the press—the reader gets a

range of formats to choose from, and the press can recoup costs while making titles available freely and openly. Sherer described another approach that puts “digital first, followed by paid print.” Using this model, a press would be able to test the market for a title by publishing digital editions first. Should the title warrant it, a print edition could be undertaken, but it would not be part of the initial publication plan. This would allow further savings on costs associated with printing and distribution.

Subventions to offset publication costs such as permissions fees, often paid by authors’ departments or institutions, are routine in the world of scholarly publishing. In Canada and Germany, the author has long been expected to provide funds to offset the publication costs of scholarly books. There is concern, however, among many in the humanities about the general move toward pay-to-publish models. Randall Packard (John Hopkins Univ.) called the model “inherently inequitable” in the September 2013 issue of *Perspectives on History*. “Scholars at small colleges and universities and independent scholars may not have access to such funds at all,” he wrote.

Nonetheless, as sales shrink, presses tasked with supporting scholarship require approaches that allow them to publish in areas and fields where the market is so limited that traditional modes of publishing have become inviable. One approach, which avoids the problem of up-front author payments, is a consortium. This type of arrangement brings together a group of presses, university libraries, and other academic entities to enter into a fee-based arrangement that helps cover publishing costs. The most developed of these is the UK-based Knowledge Unlatched, in which libraries pay subscriptions to provide funds to “unlatch” titles. Lever Press, a new consortium of nearly 60 US liberal arts college libraries, works on a similar model. Institutions bear the costs of supporting all stages of the digital publication process through a sliding-scale annual subscription fee of \$2,000 to \$8,000 for five years. Fees are based on the acquisition budget of the participating library. The Lever Press initiative is still in its planning stages, but within five years aims to publish 40 open access titles per year.

Another response to the shrinking academic publishing market is a joint initiative by the Association of American University Presses (AAUP) and the Association of Research Libraries (ARL). Their joint Task Force on Scholarly Communication has worked with

a group of research universities to agree on a plan to create a pilot program that would partially fund open access monographs published by university presses. The project is particularly focused on fields and disciplines where market realities have made publishing difficult. The task force overseeing the project has set up a group to assess the impact of open access books published under the program over the next five years. Their research will undoubtedly influence the future of open access publishing in the humanities.

One way to measure the impact of open access publishing is to count the number of people who are accessing the work. Evidence shows that providing free and unrestricted access to digital monographs increases their usage significantly. In 2009, Amsterdam University Press made 137 books on their list open for 9 months. During that period, each title on the list averaged 1,900 uses. Other studies and anecdotal evidence provide similar evidence. The University of California Press reports 1,000–5,000 downloads per Luminos title. Open access affords global reach; Luminos in particular has seen significant downloads from Vietnam and other parts of the world that US-based university presses find difficult to reach. While number of downloads or views of an electronic file does not necessarily indicate that the book has been read, comparing this figure to the sales of academic books—which are usually counted in the hundreds rather than the thousands—makes it clear that allowing free and open downloads helps scholarship reach a wider audience.

While digital publication in various forms plays a growing role in the discipline, books still hold preeminence as a means for transmitting ideas, building communities of practice, and establishing professional and scholarly reputations. Just as the web and digital delivery have changed the way we find and use journals and primary sources, open access publishing offers the possibility to rethink how monographs are published. Initiatives such as Luminos and Lever Press allow publishers to investigate the possibilities offered by publishing on the web and provide a chance to explore alternative and mixed business models. With most traditional university press books unable to recoup publication costs, the need for new ideas is greater than ever.

Seth Denbo is director of scholarly communication and digital initiatives at the AHA. He tweets @seth_denbo.

Advocacy Briefs

AHA Celebrates Successful Outcomes, Prepares for Future Challenges

Earlier this year, the American Historical Association learned of two successful outcomes related to advocacy efforts undertaken in partnership with other individuals and groups. The AHA also released a statement condemning President Donald J. Trump's executive order restricting refugees and people from seven countries from entry into the United States.

Presidential Proclamation Establishes New National Monument to Reconstruction

Based on recommendations from historians including AHA members Kate Masur and Greg Downs, President Barack Obama designated several sites in Beaufort, South Carolina, as a national monument to Reconstruction. The monument will serve as a focal point for public engagement with this period of American history, which is especially relevant now as we reflect on the integrity of American democratic institutions and processes. The AHA supported this important expansion of the National Park Service system with a letter to the US Secretary of the Interior on November 16, 2016.

Federal Government Exempts Oral History from IRB Regulation

On January 19, 2017, the federal government released its final rule for Institutional Review Boards, which "explicitly removes" oral history and journalism from the Federal Policy for the Protection of Human Subjects. The rule states, "For purposes of this part, the following activities are deemed not to be research: (1) Scholarly and journalistic activities (e.g., oral history, journalism, biography, literary criticism, legal research, and historical scholarship), including the collection and use of information that focus directly on the specific

individuals about whom the information is collected." The new IRB rule goes into effect in one year, on January 19, 2018. The National Coalition for History has long argued that scholarly history projects should not be subject to standard IRB procedures, and in November 2015, the AHA issued a public statement in support of revisions.

AHA Condemns Executive Order Restricting Entry to the United States

The American Historical Association strongly condemns the executive order issued by President Trump on January 27, 2017, purportedly "protecting the nation from foreign terrorist entry into the United States." Historians look first to evidence: deaths from terrorism in the United States in the last 15 years have come at the hands of native-born citizens and people from countries other than the seven singled out for exclusion in the order. Attention to evidence raises the question as to whether the order actually speaks to the dangers of foreign terrorism.

It is more clear that the order will have a significant and detrimental impact on thousands of innocent people, whether inhabitants of refugee camps across the world who have waited months or even years for interviews scheduled in the coming month (now canceled), travelers en route to the United States with valid visas or other documentation, or other categories of residents of the United States, including many of our students and colleagues.

The AHA urges the policy community to learn from our nation's history. Formulating or analyzing policy by historical analogy admittedly can be dangerous; context matters. But the past does provide warnings, especially given advantages of hindsight. What we have seen before can help us understand possible implications of the executive order. The most striking example of American

refusal to admit refugees was during the 1930s, when Jews and others fled Nazi Germany. A combination of hostility toward a particular religious group combined with suspicions of disloyalty and potential subversion by supposed radicals anxious to undermine our democracy contributed to exclusionist administrative procedures that slammed shut the doors on millions of refugees. Many were subsequently systematically murdered as part of the German "final solution to the Jewish question." Ironically, President Trump issued his executive order on Holocaust Remembrance Day.

Conversely, when refugees have found their way to our shores, the United States has benefited from their talents and energy. Our own discipline has been enriched by individuals fleeing their homelands. The distinguished historian of Germany Hajo Holborn arrived in 1934 from Germany. Gerda Lerner, a major force in the rise of women's history, fled Austria in 1939. Civil War historian Gabor Boritt found refuge in the United States after participating in the 1956 uprising in Hungary. More recently, immigration scholar Maria Cristina Garcia fled Fidel Castro's Cuba with her parents in 1961. The list is long and could be replicated in nearly every discipline.

We have good reason to fear that the executive order will harm historians and historical research both in the United States and abroad. The AHA represents teachers and researchers who study and teach history throughout the world. Essential to that endeavor are interactions with foreign colleagues and access to archives and conferences overseas. The executive order threatens global scholarly networks our members have built up over decades. It establishes a religious test for scholars, favoring Christians over Muslims from the affected countries; and it jeopardizes both travel and the exchange of ideas upon which all scholarship ultimately depends. It directly threatens individuals currently studying history in our universities and colleges, as well as our

ability to attract international students in the future. It also raises the possibility that other countries may retaliate by imposing similar restrictions on American teachers and students. By banning these nations' best and brightest from attending American universities, the executive order is likely to increase anti-Americanism among the next generation of leaders, with fearsome consequences for our future national security.

Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, like many of his colleagues before and since, did think historically in ways that should inform consideration of President Trump's executive order. In a 1989 dissent (*Skinner v. Railway Executives Association*), Justice Marshall observed: "History teaches that grave threats to liberty often come in time of urgency, when constitutional rights seem too extravagant to endure. The World War

II Relocation—camp cases and the Red Scare and McCarthy-era internal subversion cases are only the most extreme reminders that when we allow fundamental freedoms to be sacrificed in the name of real or perceived exigency, we invariably come to regret it."

Many of the AHA's affiliated societies have endorsed the above statement. Please visit AHA Today (blog.historians.org) for an updated list.



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Building a Foundation for the Future

2016 AHA Equity Award Winner Al Camarillo

Melissa Stuckey with Allison Miller

This interview is the first in a two-part series featuring AHA Equity Award winners Albert Camarillo (Stanford Univ.) and the Department of History at the University of Texas at El Paso. The questions were e-mailed to both winners. Their responses have been edited for length.

Al Camarillo is the Miriam and Peter Haas Centennial Professor in Public Service, Leon Sloss Jr. Memorial Professor of American History, and special assistant to the provost for faculty diversity at Stanford. His unparalleled contributions to Mexican American history include seven influential books and dozens of articles. His more than 40-year commitment to mentorship has resulted in generations of scholars of color whose research, teaching, and leadership have influenced numerous fields of study and the profession as a whole.

What are the most important goals historians should work toward to advance equity (for example, getting more undergraduates into the PhD pipeline or diversifying course offerings)?

AC: Colleagues must first join together to make (or redouble) a commitment—and to develop concrete plans—for increasing graduate admission of students of color with fellowship aid. The departments must then make the case to their deans and/or provosts/presidents that fellowship support for students of color is a high priority, for the department and the university. There are a number of networks colleagues can tap into (e.g., lists of Mellon Mays Fellows) to help identify prospective graduate students of color. Reaching out to students in their junior

and senior years goes a long way in helping to recruit graduate students. The hiring of historians of color must also be a top priority.

How can individuals and institutions model leadership around issues of equity? What are concrete steps anyone can take?

AC: The commitment to equity and diversity must begin with a policy statement that reflects the goals and aspirations of the university or college. The policy must be articulated and supported annually by the president/provost and by the school deans. Department chairs should take responsibility to discuss the policies with colleagues and consider how the department can best address issues of equity and diversity in its curriculum, faculty hiring, and graduate admissions. Individuals should also reach out beyond their departments to establish collaborative relationships with like-minded colleagues in other departments/schools who share their concerns and commitments to advance diversity on their campuses.

What best practices need to evolve to promote equity, the interests of minority historians, and/or histories of underrepresented groups?

AC: Over the past four decades, I have observed and participated in many efforts at Stanford University and in higher education in general both to expand the number of young scholars of color in the academic pipeline and to promote the hiring of underrepresented minorities. What I have learned can be summarized in three key best practices: (1) the appointment of faculty of color is a crucial first step to which departments must

commit; (2) departments that successfully appoint faculty of color have the best chances of attracting students of color to their majors and graduate programs, all part of growing a more diverse academic pipeline; and (3) departments and universities that have made long-term commitments to the hiring of historians of color—many of whom write about underrepresented groups, particularly in the US field—have proven that diverse faculties contribute to the discipline in fundamental ways: by training more graduate students of color, by broadening the history curriculum, and by adding greater ethnic and racial diversity of conferees at our annual meetings.

What are the biggest obstacles individuals and institutions face around equity?

AC: Perhaps the greatest challenge is the competing demands for resources. To achieve greater diversity in the ranks of the faculty and in graduate programs, additional investment of resources will be required. It is incumbent upon colleagues to convince leaders of universities and colleges that diversifying the undergraduate and graduate student populations and the faculty must be one of the core goals of higher education in the 21st century. Given the demographic changes that are reshaping the composition of the US population, institutions of higher learning must begin to reflect this reality or face losing substantial relevancy.

Is there anything about history as a discipline that promotes or inhibits equity?

AC: As a student of modern United States history, the lessons I have learned about the past and how and why societies change over time provide powerful stories about how issues revolving around equality, freedom, and opportunity are central to our nation's past, present, and future. History as a discipline not only provides the lenses for understanding the past and for comprehending the legacies of history in contemporary society, it also provides a foundation for envisioning the future.

Melissa Stuckey is chair of the AHA Committee on Minority Historians. Allison Miller is editor of Perspectives.

Seeking Equity Award Nominations

Do you know an individual or institution with an exceptional record in recruiting and retaining students and new faculty from racial and ethnic groups underrepresented within the historical profession? If so, please nominate this person or institution for a 2017 Equity Award. Nominations are due May 15. For more information, see historians.org/equity-award.

The “African Personality” Returns

The Controversy over Gandhi at the University of Ghana

Sharika Crawford

On June 13, 2016, Indian President Pranab Mukherjee unveiled a bronze statue of Mohandas K. Gandhi at the University of Ghana in Accra: a gift from his country to Ghana. Hoping to inspire students at the country’s most prestigious university to learn from India’s successful path to political stability and economic progress, Mukherjee called on them to remember Gandhi’s list of the seven social sins: “Wealth without work; pleasure without conscience; knowledge without character; commerce without morality; science without humanity; worship without sacrifice; and politics without principles.”¹

Within three months, faculty petitioned the University of Ghana Council to remove the monument, noting some of the racist remarks Gandhi had made about black South Africans early in his career, when he lived in South Africa (1893–1906). The concerned professors also noted that they were not alone in seeking to eradicate symbols of slavery, racism, and colonialism. They pointed to efforts to remove a statue of Cecil Rhodes from the University of Cape Town in March 2015 and a Yale University employee’s destruction of a stained-glass window depicting slaves carrying cotton in July 2016. In the shadow of such events, the petitioners insisted on the immediate withdrawal of the Gandhi memorial. Despite uneasiness on the part of some Ghanaian officials, the government took action. In October, the Gandhi



MEPhotogallery/Flickr

Soon after its unveiling, this statue of Gandhi at the University of Ghana in Accra became the center of a controversy over racism and colonialism in Ghana’s past.

cenotaph was removed—just days after vandals defaced the effigy.

But this controversy was unique within the global movement to remove racist historical symbols from university campuses: the petition of the Ghanaian intellectuals also encourages us to consider the legacy of pan-Africanism and to interrogate the racial ideas hidden by Gandhi’s mythic stature.

The petition suggests the continuing importance of pan-African solidarity. The signers repudiated figures that disrespected the dignity and humanity of Africans, insisting, for example, that Gandhi’s use of the term “kaffir,” a racial slur for native South Africans, disparaged all black peoples. They also called for the erection of statues of African heroes and heroines in the most coveted spaces of Ghana’s premier university. Finally, they rebuffed the Ghanaian government’s efforts to strengthen strategic and financial partnerships with foreign nations at the expense of its own citizens. They cautioned: “It is better to stand up for our dignity than to kowtow to the wishes of a burgeoning Euroasian super power.”² Although they chose to use “kowtow,” often considered language that disparages Asians, their words mostly emphasized pan-African solidarity and Ghanaian nationalism. The petitioners warned officials not to choose the benefits of short-term alliances with new global actors, whether India or China, at the expense of their own people.

It is not surprising that claims for black solidarity, antiracism, and anticolonialism came from this Ghanaian university. When Ghana gained independence from Britain in March 1957 (exactly six decades ago), the new state’s prime minister, Kwame Nkrumah, inextricably linked its independence to pan-African unity. At his inaugural address, he declared, “The independence of Ghana is meaningless unless

it is linked up to the total liberation of Africa.” Subsequently, Ghana became not only a model for other African freedom fighters but also a bastion of pan-African mobilization in the 1950s and 1960s. The newly independent country even attracted African Americans and West Indians, who relocated to share in Nkrumah’s vision of black solidarity. In reinvigorating pan-Africanism as a strategy on the continent, Nkrumah’s actions recalled articulations of pan-Africanism going back to the 19th century among black Americans and West Indians, from Martin Delaney to Marcus Garvey.

Yet Nkrumah’s bold vision of a politically and economically united Africa never materialized. The military of his beloved country removed him from power in 1966. Exiled, he died in 1972. For many years, civilian and military governments never fully nursed a spirit of pan-Africanism. Like many parts of the continent, Ghana’s black star faltered in the bipolar world vision of the Cold War, in which officials struggled to manage the aspirations of the nation’s people.

Since 1994, however, Ghanaian and international observers have praised the country’s return to democracy and stunning economic growth. In recent years, news reports have routinely pronounced it the “rising star of Africa.”³ Those success tales often downplay the neoliberal policies that underlie this growth, particularly the role of foreign investors from Europe and Asia. American foreign policy makers and journalists worry that Africa is entering a new phase of neo-colonialism led by Asia.⁴ Among ordinary Ghanaians, these concerns are growing, too. Ghanaian officials have also pursued hazardous policies to attract foreign investment through heritage tourism. While Nkrumah’s pan-African vision sought to include diasporic Africans as full partners in the shaping of the political, social, and economic future of the continent, Ghanaian heritage tourism has relied on festivals and historical sites like slave castles to lure people to visit the country in hopes of stimulating a tourism industry rather than fomenting true pan-African unity.

Today, vestiges of Ghana’s historic role in anticolonial struggles can be found at the University of Ghana. Nkrumah’s name graces the Institute of African Studies, on the campus’s main road. Wandering around the picturesque institution, a visitor walks

along streets named for Ghanaian nationalist and opposition figure J. B. Danquah and even pan-Africanist W.E.B. DuBois, who emigrated to Ghana at Nkrumah’s invitation to complete his magnum opus, *The Encyclopedia Africana*. These honors are mirrored in the capital city of Accra, where global anti-colonial leaders from Egypt’s Gamal Nasser to India’s Jawaharlal Nehru have their own avenues and roads.

The university petitioners’ cries to withdraw Gandhi’s statue failed to reflect the clear and irrefutable link between India and Ghana. Mohandas K. Gandhi inspired Ghanaian anticolonial nationalists and helped shape the trajectory of the Gold Coast independence movement. Influenced by Gandhi’s strategy of noncooperation and civil disobedience, Kwame Nkrumah employed a similar approach: Positive Action. He led boycotts, strikes, and a leafleting campaign to raise the consciousness of Gold Coast residents. Like Gandhi, he was jailed for his actions. British colonial administrators quickly labeled him a communist. Despite these setbacks, the Gold Coast successfully won its bid for self-rule.

On the other hand, the University of Ghana controversy offers an opportunity to revisit the iconic image of Gandhi and examine his evolving racial ideas. Scholarship has often downplayed Gandhi’s anti-black views during his South African years and focused instead on his efforts in India after his return in 1914. There, Gandhi did indeed question aspects of the caste system and global racism, but on these subjects his views had to evolve. Without such a narrative, it is difficult to understand Gandhi’s place in history. Emerging scholarship on his early career and his impact on black American civil rights figures now explains how his racist views changed as he encountered other people of African descent, including the ideas of self-help advocate Booker T. Washington, in the United States.⁵ These counter-narratives depict the antiracist freedom fighter as a less-than-mythic human being and might clarify the actions of the Ghanaian university petitioners.

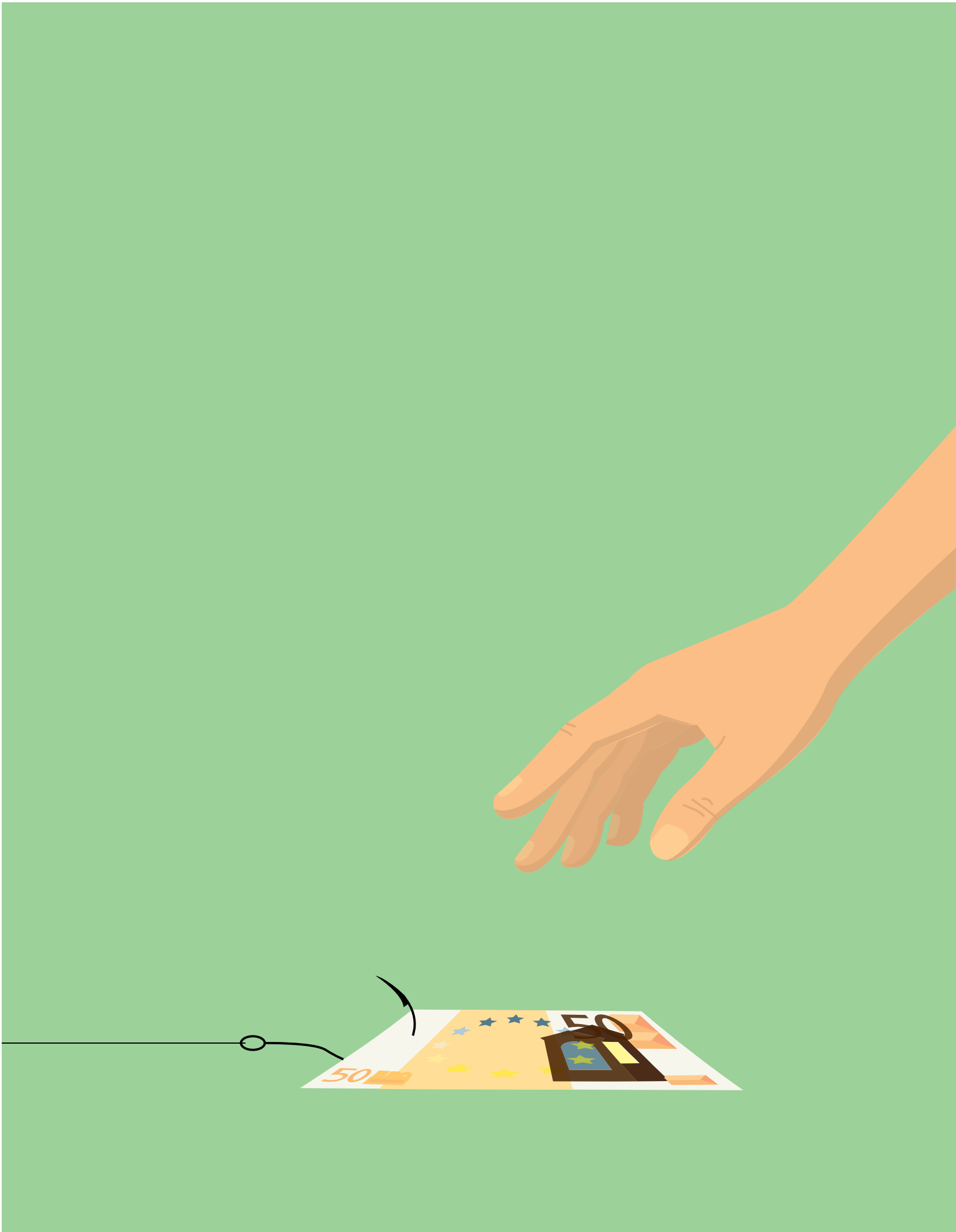
The outrage displayed over the Gandhi monument at the University of Ghana is not limited to Ghana—in 2015, an assailant vandalized a Gandhi cenotaph in South Africa—but it is unclear whether criticism of Gandhi is shared across the continent or the African diaspora. Put together with

the Ghanaian petitioners’ demands to promote and honor African heroes, it may also suggest the resiliency of pan-African solidarity—once viewed as an impossible dream to sustain. Their actions evoke Kwame Nkrumah’s words about a new African posture during his 1957 inaugural speech. “Today, from now on, there is a new African in the world! That new African is ready to fight his own battles. . . . We are going to create our own African personality and identity. It’s the only way that we can show the world that we are ready for our own battles.”⁶ These words hold true in 2017 as they did in 1957.

Sharika Crawford is associate professor of history at the United States Naval Academy.

Notes

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2. Gorbilor Aberqu, “Gandhi’s Statue at the University of Ghana Must Come Down,” <https://www.change.org/p/the-members-of-the-university-of-ghana-council-gandhi-s-statue-at-the-university-of-ghana-must-come-down>.
3. Laura Bruns, “Ghana: Africa’s Rising Star,” *Atlantic Monthly*, December 2008, <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2008/12/ghana-africas-rising-star/307196/>.
4. Howard W. French, *China’s Second Continent: How a Million Migrants Are Building a New Empire in Africa* (New York: Vintage Press, 2014); David H. Shinn and Joshua Eisenman, *China and Africa: A Century of Engagement* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).
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Class Divide

When Students Resist Material for Ideological Reasons, Start from Where They Are

Charles Upchurch

How do we communicate with individuals across an ideological divide, rather than talking at or past each other? This question seems all the more pressing within the polarized rhetoric of contemporary politics. It is also one that we as educators, and specifically as historians, are uniquely placed to answer. The divisions that cut across society are often reflected in our classrooms, and every class provides an opportunity to address those divisions and experiment with ways of bridging them. I offer my own experiences as one possible approach.

When I started teaching a 19th-century European history survey course in my first job after graduate school, I included the *Communist Manifesto* on the syllabus, contextualizing Karl Marx's theories in 19th-century struggles over unionization, worker representation, and European parliamentary politics. I do not consider it possible to teach a course on 19th-century Europe without discussing the work of Marx. This posed no problems at the university where I was trained, so I was surprised that a number of students at my new institution refused to engage with the material.

One student, when called on for a comment, declared simply, "I am not a communist." I explained that the point of the exercise was to allow him to understand the texts and ideas that had appealed to a great number of 19th-century industrial workers, and that his personal beliefs should not stand in the way of that. He seemed unmoved. Other students wanted to argue against Marx from a present-day perspective, using language and examples drawn from current events and employing polemical rhetoric that seemed inspired by popular media outlets. A significant portion of the large class participated in the discussion and grounded their comments in the readings and the historical period, but many other students stayed silent, and a few felt compelled to defend their personal beliefs, which they thought were

threatened by the material at hand. One student's comment on a course evaluation, for a class that spanned a range of topics from the French Revolution to the First World War, was simply "less Marx, more Adam Smith."

There were any number of things that I could have done with that criticism, but I ultimately decided to embrace it. This did not mean abandoning my conviction, based on reading hundreds of books on European history, that Marx was essential for understanding 19th-century Europe. But my course had no similar primary source reading for Adam Smith, in part because I prefer to assign complete books rather than excerpts, and *Wealth of Nations* is long. Even so, I decided to correct this imbalance, conscious of the fact that one does not

Students who worked through Smith's theories about markets seemed more willing to engage with the ideas of Marx.

have to read very far into *Wealth of Nations* to realize just how different it is from most depictions of it. Early in Book I, for example, Smith discusses the "natural price" of goods—one that provides sufficient profits to incentivize production, but no more. In other words, Smith believed that excessive profits disrupted and could even destroy markets.

But assigning such passages would not entirely engage the most skeptical students in dialogue, since they could raise questions about whether the excerpts I selected were representative of the larger work (especially when the passages contradicted expectations). I had success having students read an abridged version of *Wealth of Nations*, to

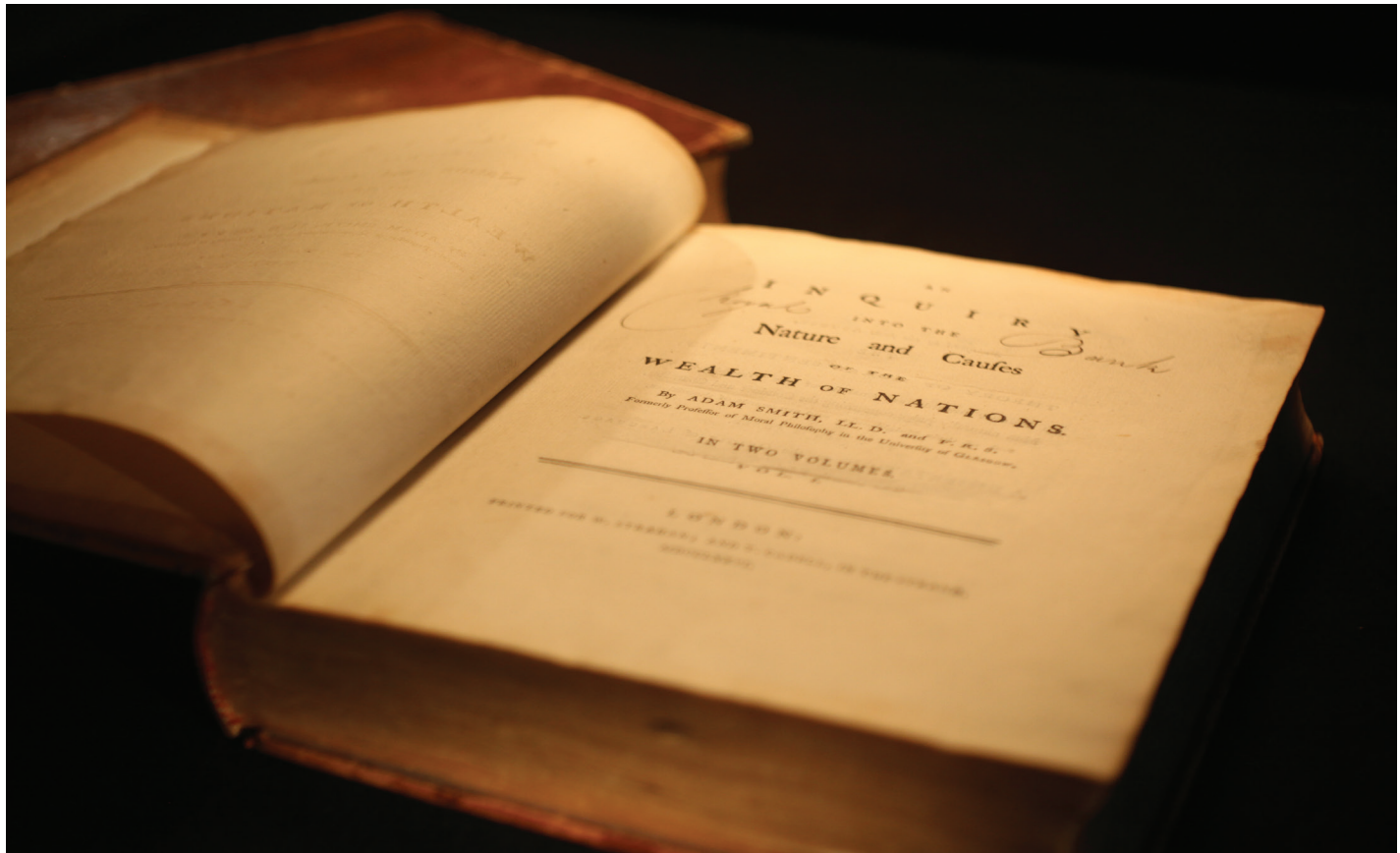
get the sweep of the overall argument, if not all its details. Were I to teach 19th-century European history again, though, I would look to an even better solution for reading Smith, one that draws on a technique I developed after I stopped teaching that particular course. Taking advantage of digital tools to reinforce the importance of the classroom as a cooperative community of learners, that approach is crowdsourcing an analysis of the entire book.

Full-text versions of *Wealth of Nations* are freely available online, and the book's 800-plus pages can be broken up into sections. Depending on the class size, each student may be assigned 20 to 40 pages. Students would report on their part of the reading to the class, in response to specific questions. I've employed this technique with other voluminous primary sources, such as Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor*, Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*, and *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. I have found that students read the assigned passages thoroughly and carefully, taking seriously their responsibility to the larger group. Having students raise their hand if certain concepts appeared in their section would quickly establish what Smith's argument is and is not. Some students already know that the phrase "invisible hand" appears just twice, but that fact will surprise many others. Based on my experience teaching with the abridged version of *Wealth of Nations*, most were unfamiliar with Smith's critiques of markets or his arguments for state intervention in the economy.

It is especially interesting (and fun) in this sort of discussion to walk students through Book V's long, complicated treatment of the division of labor. Smith argues that even though the division of labor has vastly increased the material wealth and physical safety of society, it has also hurt the large number of people who must engage in monotonous, repetitive work. Smith's solution is for the state to take action, creating a system of universal

Alvaro Castro Peña, "The People," from *World of Money*. Used by permission.

"One student, when called on for a comment, declared simply, 'I am not a communist.'"



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A first edition of Adam Smith's An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.

education to counteract the detrimental effects of the division of labor. The welfare of society at large takes precedence over the market: some things must be done by the state to benefit the society because private individuals cannot possibly undertake them profitably. Engaging with these theories complicates the idea that the late 18th and early 19th century saw a polarized debate between free markets and state intervention. Students who worked through Smith in this way seemed far more willing to engage with the ideas of Marx later in the term.

This technique cannot be applied universally; for example, it should not be used to engage with individuals who are skeptical of the Holocaust as an established historical fact or who insist that slavery was a benign or even benevolent institution. Yet we would do well to think about the assumptions underlying many students' beliefs and help them see how these assumptions have a history.

Once, at a conference, a hostile questioner asked what common ground I would hope to find with the ideas of the late Pastor Fred Phelps, whose vitriolic denunciations of LGBTQ people included enormous, offensive signs carried by his followers outside funerals of people with AIDS and even service members

who had died fighting for a country Phelps found decadent. Even if he were alive, I said, Phelps would never be in my classroom, but I do teach students who share his underlying view that God actively intervenes in his creation, rewarding the righteous and punishing the wicked. Thinking about these students influenced the way I developed courses on 17th-century England. I immersed myself in the details of a world in which the vast majority of people assumed God's active intervention in his creation and accepted it.

King Charles I, whom God ordained as rightful monarch, was executed for profoundly religious reasons, by one of the most deeply religious cohorts of political actors ever to control England. Still, the resulting crisis of governmental legitimacy in England led to Hobbes's secular theories of government, from which Locke and other Enlightenment figures built their theories. And as Christopher Hill showed, intense Protestant belief sometimes led to arguments for the leveling of all social hierarchies, the abolition of private property, justifications for sex out of wedlock, and even rejection of the word of the Bible in favor of heart religion. Presenting this history allows deeply religious students to explore several fiercely contested

issues on more neutral ground, considering and respecting alternative viewpoints even when they do not embrace them.

Finding areas of common ground with those whose beliefs differ from mine, taking their concerns seriously without compromising the experience and training that put me at the front of the classroom in the first place, prompted me to use a new range of historical examples and improved my ability to engage my students. Sometimes bad and even dangerous ideas need to be confronted and refuted in the classroom, and we should not shy away from doing this when necessary. But we should first ask if such situations might be opportunities to develop arguments that bridge previously disconnected viewpoints. The vast array of historical examples we might draw on makes this approach more accessible to us than to other educators, and by embracing it we may add an additional technique to help us break down dichotomies, foster critical thinking, and encourage responsible citizenship.

Charles Upchurch, associate professor of British history at Florida State University, is the author of Before Wilde: Sex Between Men in Britain's Age of Reform (Univ. of California Press, 2009).

Leading by Example

The Senior Thesis and the Teacher-Scholar

Adam T. Rosenbaum

Writing a senior thesis is a rite of passage for most history majors, but it is also a demanding ordeal. Many students thus aspire mostly to complete the paper, making the quality of the scholarship an afterthought. As a former history major, I can confirm that I once felt this way as I barely completed my own senior thesis. As a current history professor, however, I believe that my students can do better.

When I first taught the senior thesis course in 2012, several students did not finish their paper. As I prepared to teach the course a second time, I decided to make some changes. I rewrote the syllabus with a narrower focus on the history of the Third

Reich, abandoning the topical flexibility of the first incarnation. I created a five-page bibliography of English-language sources related to that subject, providing students with a significant head start. Then I had another idea: I would write a thesis paper alongside my students, completing all the assignments along the way.

Why? First, I recognized a chance to start a new research project with clear deadlines. Second, I saw an opportunity to reevaluate my expectations of students by seeing what I could do with the same resources available to them. Finally, I wanted to test the limits of the teacher-scholar model, which suggests that professors can “pursue an

active program of research and scholarship” that will “enliven and enrich their teaching and the student experience,” as education researchers George Kuh, Daniel Chen, and Thomas F. Nelson Laird argued in a 2007 *Liberal Education* article. I often referred to my own research in the classroom, but what would happen if I actively worked as a scholar alongside my students?

On the first day of the senior research seminar during the spring 2016 semester, I announced to my 12 students that I would also write a thesis paper and complete all the assignments, including a proposal, source analysis, annotated bibliography, and first draft. My fate was effectively sealed once I



University of the Fraser Valley/Flickr/CC BY 2.0

Think doing your own research and writing is hard enough? Try adding on the work you assign to your students.

identified myself as a contributing member of the group (which I styled a “Third Reich think tank”). I participated in early discussions of assigned readings alongside my students and updated them on my ongoing research during the weekly progress reports that jump-started each session. In short, I identified myself as one of them. But this new teaching persona troubled me. If I was one of them, then how could I fairly assess their work?

I would do so, I realized, by leading by example. On day one, I had promised that I would complete all the course assignments, but I did not indicate when. I decided that I would distribute and discuss my assignments the week before they were due. The benefits of this approach were clear after the submission of the first assignment, the paper proposal. A strong proposal can serve as a blueprint for the larger project, in addition to providing that initial pressure to craft an analytical argument. When I presented my students with printed copies of my proposal the week before it was due, I explained that the framework was a product of my own independent reading, while the hypothesis had been inspired by a book that we discussed in class. The next week, I received 12 proposals that varied in the level of detail and overall quality, but they all looked the same. Using my work as a template, the students had learned how to format and organize a paper proposal.

Still, informal feedback during in-class discussions confirmed that many students remained overwhelmed by the idea of writing more than 20 pages in one semester. I reminded them that they had already begun the process. For example, the hypothesis the proposal presented would likely change, but the final paper might recycle the proposal’s analytical framework and exposition. When I discussed my annotated bibliography the week before the assignment was due, I conceded that I had eliminated several sources that did not add anything to the paper. My research had not been entirely effective, I admitted, destroying the myth of professorial infallibility. I may have been leading by example, but this did not mean that my approach was flawless.

This transparency helped students realize that research was a process that included dead ends and the occasional step backward. After spring break, I described how I had begun to write my first draft, with a slide show featuring pictures of open books, notecards filled with text, a whiteboard with my

paper outline, and screenshots of my Word document. I hoped that this glimpse into my work routine would inspire students to action by providing them with ideas of how to transition from research to writing. They did not have to use notecards or a whiteboard, but these were methods that had worked for me.

In retrospect, these old-fashioned methods might have taken too long. With my own self-imposed due date approaching, I had to dedicate an entire weekend to completing my first draft. Late on Sunday evening, I realized that my paper would surpass the minimum length of 20 pages. I had to decide whether to stop at page 20, producing a draft that was incomplete but would let me get some sleep, or to complete the paper by taking it to its logical conclusion. I chose the latter, knowing that I regularly insisted that even poor drafts provided material that could be molded into something better. And my paper certainly needed work: the introduction was too long, the organization was too complex, and the conclusion was inevitably rushed. When we

I reminded the students that writing history was storytelling, but I was also reminding myself.

discussed my draft in class, I identified and even exaggerated these issues, as I taught my students that writing could be a frustrating process for all historians, even those with a PhD.

It is difficult to ascertain how my first draft influenced the students’ efforts. Inevitably, the quality of their drafts varied, but 11 of 12 students completed the assignment, one of them with a draft so good that I contemplated telling the student not to bother with a final revision. Nevertheless, when discussing our drafts collectively, I noted that many of us were struggling with our introductions, spinning our wheels at the beginning of the paper. I also acknowledged that many were successfully engaging with primary sources, but I warned against the temptation of making the paper a series of annotations. In general, I reminded the students that writing history was storytelling, and that our papers should contain preliminary exposition, clearly identified characters, a

plot, and a climax. On some level, I was also reminding myself.

I completed a second draft of my paper during the final weeks of the semester, but I did not distribute it to my students, who were presumably busy writing. I was done leading by example, and now it was time for the students to deliver. And they did. All 12 submitted a final paper, and several were relatively mature pieces of scholarship that revolved around clearly stated and compelling arguments. Others had not quite reached that level, but they were correctly formatted, clearly organized, and heavy on the use of primary sources. Furthermore, over half of my students collected their graded thesis paper during exam week, suggesting that they had wanted to produce a good thesis paper and were eager to see what I thought.

The changes I made when redesigning the course (such as the new syllabus and bibliography) might have explained those positive results. But the course evaluations suggested otherwise. Eight out of 12 students identified the teacher-scholar model as the most effective aspect of the course, confirming that the approach had motivated them. One even described a humanizing effect on the professor, which helped to make their struggles seem less daunting.

In retrospect, participating in a collective narrative of struggle and perseverance appears to be the main benefit of writing an extended research paper alongside my students. This experiment didn’t produce an article ready for publication, but it provided students with useful templates and allowed me to mentor and motivate as a genuine “guide on the side.” Admittedly, most professors do not have the time to adopt this approach, but sharing a book review or paper proposal with their students could have a similar impact.

The time and effort that this approach demanded, not to mention the adoption of a more vulnerable classroom persona, do leave me with some reservations about repeating the experiment. Yet these individual sacrifices are probably nullified by what the students stand to learn and produce. More selfishly, I have been meaning to look into tourism’s impact on Cold War politics in western Germany, and a senior thesis class could provide some motivation.

*Adam T. Rosenbaum is an assistant professor of history at Colorado Mesa University and the author of *Bavarian Tourism and the Modern World, 1800–1950*.*

Remembering Rondo

An Inside View of a History Harvest

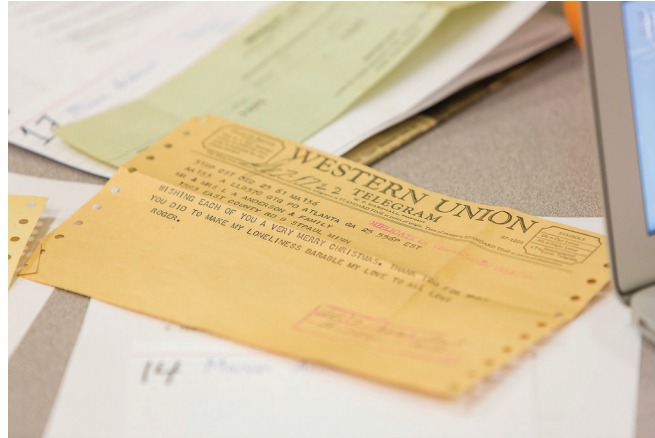
Rebecca S. Wingo and Amy C. Sullivan

In the late 1950s, the Department of Transportation started construction on I-94, linking the downtowns of Minneapolis and St. Paul. Planners had two options: a northern route along abandoned railroad tracks or a central route through Rondo, a majority black neighborhood in St. Paul. They chose the latter, splitting the community and bulldozing its business district. Some Rondo residents battled the construction in the courts; others were forcibly removed by police; still others accepted lowball offers for their homes and moved away. The process changed Rondo forever.

Yet for decades, community members implored the city: “Remember Rondo!” In July 2015, St. Paul’s mayor finally delivered an apology. “Today we acknowledge the sins of our past,” he said at a healing ceremony. “We regret the stain of racism that allowed so callous a decision as the one that led to families being dragged from their homes, creating a diaspora of the African American community in the City of St. Paul.”

The apology and long-standing efforts by the neighborhood to preserve its identity made a new partnership between Macalester College and Rondo Avenue, Inc. (RAI) apropos. We decided to team-teach a History Harvest course to learn more about Rondo. Macalester’s close proximity to the neighborhood made collaboration more accessible to our students. The History Harvest model aligned with RAI’s goal of preserving the history of Rondo and with Macalester’s emphasis on community-engaged curriculum.

In a History Harvest, members of a community bring personal artifacts to one location on a certain day to be photographed, digitized, and documented. An online digital archive results, and participants leave with their heirloom in hand. (One “Remembering Rondo” participant



Courtesy Macalester College

Mr. Marvin Anderson of St. Paul's Rondo neighborhood sent this telegram to his parents while he was at a student at Morehouse, explaining that he couldn't come home for Christmas.

brought in her grandmother’s 100-year-old soup tureen that she will pass down to her children.) The final digital project democratizes “the archive” and perhaps even history itself. Since communities generate their own virtual archives with assistance from students, a History Harvest acknowledges that archives, libraries, and museums highlight some histories and suppress others. The model empowers students to organize the event and develop the collection, and centers community members as attendees, recipients, and collaborators.

Remembering Rondo: A History Harvest combined three components: the history of African Americans in Minnesota, digital and oral history theory and methodology, and digital skills training. We hope that this chronicle of our steps, missteps, and innovations will help others run History Harvests of their own, particularly with marginalized communities.

Proposal: Seven months before our event, we met with Mr. Marvin Anderson, a beloved son of Rondo and an RAI co-founder. His enthusiasm encouraged us. He arranged for us to present our idea at an RAI board meeting. We also invited Paul Schadowald, director of Macalester’s Civic Engagement Center (CEC), who specializes in commu-

nity collaborations. One of the pillars of a Macalester education is community engagement, and the CEC facilitates and maintains relations with local partners for courses across the curriculum. We explained our course plan and outcomes for RAI and received unanimous board approval.

Community Liaison: RAI hired a liaison to help students pitch the harvest to the community. Lauren Williams, a granddaughter of Rondo, helped students arrange visits to local businesses, church groups, and retirement communities. Not all harvests require a liaison, but in our case

the community members’ anger, grief, and trauma lay close to the surface. Anticipating reticence toward outsiders “harvesting” their history, RAI’s decision to hire a liaison augmented our success.

“Rondo First”: We created a “Rondo First” policy, embodied in many details of the project. For example, save-the-date postcards, which our students passed out at local events and to businesses and church groups, featured the RAI logo but not Macalester’s. The archive was set up to direct web traffic to RAI instead of Macalester. These decisions showed our commitment to prioritizing RAI’s website and its local history project.

Transportation: Rondo remains a geographically tight-knit community. Many still live near I-94, so it made sense to select the community center in the heart of Old Rondo. Since Minnesota winters can extend into March, we thought participation might increase if we offered a shuttle service for the community’s elders. We were wrong. In fact, some community members found this demeaning. We underestimated the mobility of these elders and won’t make that mistake again.

Make It a Party: In keeping with the “Rondo First” policy, our students thought carefully about logistics. They decided that if they planned a fun event, they would have

good turnout. To avoid an assembly-line feel (check in, sign forms, get interviewed, digitize objects, good-bye), the students arranged the harvest stations along the walls. These included a welcome desk, an area for signing consent forms, interview tables for participants to share their stories about the artifacts, and a digitization station, with cameras and scanners. The setup reduced ambient noise in the artifact interviews.

Long tables in the center of the room provided a welcoming space for lunch. We ordered food from a neighborhood BBQ joint, thereby funneling nearly \$1,000 back into the community. Lunch was perhaps the most significant aspect of the day. The harvest became secondary to cross-cultural, intergenerational conversations, allowing the students to build trust with community members. It also happened to be Mr. Anderson's birthday, so we ordered cake and had a real party.

Oral History: For residents willing to share longer stories, we rented a room specifically for oral history. We enlisted four student volunteers from courses in documentary studies and photography. The professor and volunteers brought professional equipment, shot supplemental footage, and made a short documentary afterward. Our students later crowdsourced the transcriptions in 15-minute segments using Google Docs. Adding a longer oral history component created some minor challenges, so unless you have two instructors and other technical support, we do not recommend attempting the harvest and oral history on the same day.

Post-Harvest: After the harvest, the course shifted from event planning to archival production. The students spent three weeks on a shared metadata Google spreadsheet before they even received access to Omeka (an open source archival management system developed by the Roy Rosenzweig Center at George Mason University). Devoting time to the metadata meant that students were prepared to upload the artifacts to the archive, which they accomplished together in less than an hour. During this phase they learned marketable skills that expanded their résumés.

In retrospect, we made a couple of errors at this point. First, students struggled with the abrupt transition from community engagement to archiving. We could have continued incorporating community visits. Second, we attempted too much, including



Courtesy Macalester College

Mrs. Estelle Jones at Remembering Rondo, a community archiving project following the History Harvest model.

writing a Wikipedia entry as a class. This was to the detriment of the archive, and we professors spent hours post-semester providing artifact transcriptions complying with Americans with Disabilities Act standards. Students would have been better served by doing these transcriptions themselves; they would have learned more, felt connected to Rondo's history, and been able to transfer their knowledge to exhibit creation.

Budget: We overspent. Our harvest ended up costing nearly \$4,000, but the return—the partnership with RAI and the student experience—was incalculable. If you have the equipment, an appropriate venue, and can forgo transportation, you can run the event for virtually nothing. That said, we highly recommend hosting lunch.

Maintenance: After the harvest, we scanned the release forms and kept them with the items in Omeka (set to private). These will live in our history department until RAI installs its own instance of Omeka. Then we will download our database and hand everything over. Community members want even the virtual artifacts to reside in Rondo. We wholeheartedly agree.

As with many marginalized communities, building trust between residents and institutions requires a long-term commitment. After our event, we received e-mails and phone calls from residents who hesitated to come or were unable to attend. As Mr. Anderson put it, "They were waiting to see

if it would be fun." Well, it was fun, and we are thrilled to be hosting another Rondo Harvest in 2017. Moving forward, we hope to integrate the archive into local K–12 curricula and offer training to interested teachers.

Mr. Anderson loves the archive (as does RAI), but he's more enamored with what the students learned. Prior to the event, our students were so concerned about their relative privilege as middle-class college students that they felt nearly immobilized, but an hour into the event, their reservations vanished, due in large part to the community's kindness and compassion. In the wake of alarming realities like the nearby murder of Philando Castile by a police officer in July 2016, Rondo's history is also the history of our present. When Black Lives Matter protesters shut down the highway, they stood on I-94, which still cuts through Rondo. That symbolism is hard to ignore, and thankfully it is one that is no longer lost on our students.

Rebecca S. Wingo is the Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow in Digital Liberal Arts at Macalester College. She specializes in the history of the indigenous and American West, in addition to digital and public history. Amy C. Sullivan is an independent scholar in Minneapolis and occasional visiting assistant professor at Macalester, teaching courses on the history of medicine, childhood, and feminism.

History Goes Vertical

The Poster Sessions at AHA17

Mary Beth Norton

I begin with a confession: I had never previously attended an AHA annual meeting poster session.

But as incoming president-elect at the Denver convention, I decided to sample a number of different events, including the poster sessions on Saturday, January 7. The posters were conveniently set up in a main corridor of the cavernous Colorado Convention Center, which meant that many people wandered by during the day, some of them stopping to talk to the presenters. In addition, a steady trickle of others like myself worked their way down the whole row of posters—12 for each of two sessions, 11 for a third, on both sides of six corkboards.

I was impressed by the wide range of topics, the creativity with which some of our colleagues presented their work in that format, and the different stages of research and thinking represented by the posters. But first I need to acknowledge that the finest visual “poster” of all (actually, an exhibit on a tri-fold stand) came from a student: the National History Day (NHD) Senior Individual Exhibit winner, titled “The Transcontinental Railroad: Exploring the West, Encountering Pitfalls, and Exchanging Culture,” presented by Kelli Susemihl of LeMars Community High School, Iowa. Her proud mother occasionally filled in when she took a break from talking to admiring historians. Congratulations to Kelli for a great job. The AHA will continue extending such invitations to NHD winners in the future.

Presenters included graduate students researching dissertations, professors near the beginning or the end of research for books, an archivist, an editor, people demonstrating digital projects, high school teachers engaged in rethinking the US history survey, and public historians. Some distributed handouts that amplified their posters. All were there to explain their work to the passing parade of historians. The rest of this essay constitutes an impressionistic survey of a few of the posters and their themes. Apologies in advance to the many I have necessarily omitted.



Marc Monaghan

National History Day award winner Kelli Susemihl displays her research.



Marc Monaghan

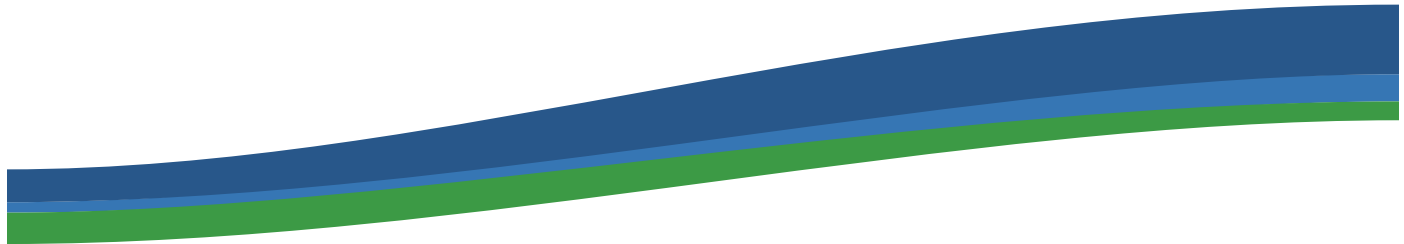
Robert Caldwell analyzes flawed maps of Native American language evolution.

Some of the most visually effective posters focused on cartography. Especially striking and complex was Robert Caldwell’s “Mapping Indian Country,” which showed

the evolution of representations of Native American languages and cultures from Albert Gallatin’s 1836 map to William Sturdevant’s in 1967. Caldwell (Univ. of Texas at



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Two historians listen to Hilary Miller expound on a 19th-century highway.

Arlington) demonstrated that the static and ahistorical maps he displayed were flawed and inadequate. Other posters employing cartography to good effect were “Mapping the ‘National Road’: Tracing the Creation and Expansion of American Culture and Identity along a 19th-Century Highway,” by Hilary Miller (Penn State Univ., Harrisburg), and “After the Fall: Opportunities and Land-Use Changes in the Longleaf Pine Ecosystem, 1880–2000,” by Stacy Roberts (Univ. of California, Davis). An unusual poster created a map where there had been none: Barbara Ellen Logan (Univ. of Wyoming) offered “Movement and Containment: Using Social Network Analysis to Map How an Anchoress’s Ideas Traveled When She Could Not.”

Other posters usefully employed reproductions of historical artwork. Patricia Baker (Univ. of Kent) contributed “Salubrious Spaces: Gardens and Health in Roman Italy, 150 BCE–CE 100,” including ancient wall paintings of gardens and medicinal herbs. With a poster focused on represen-



Marc Monaghan

Barbara Ellen Logan’s poster mapped the spread of one woman’s ideas.

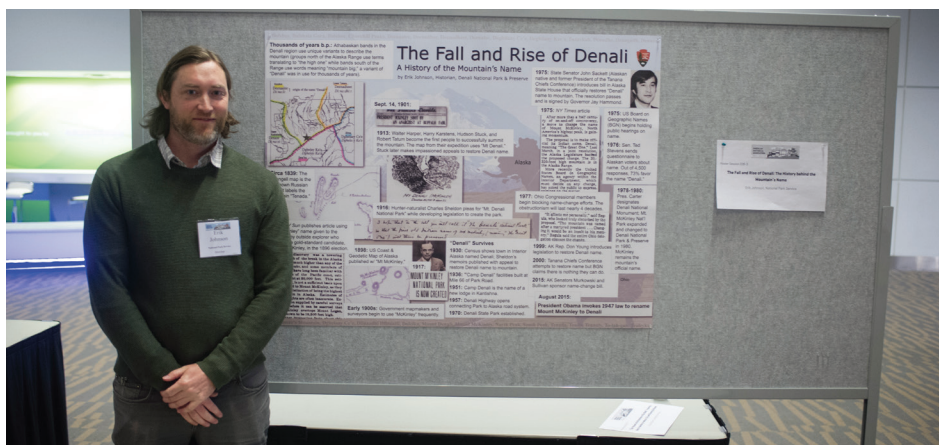
tations of Dutch Brazil, 1630–54, Georgia State’s Suzanne Litrel compared negative Portuguese accounts of the Dutch colony with (for example) a painting by Frans

Post and prints of flora and fauna by other Dutch artists. University of North Carolina, Greensboro, archivist Keith Gorman’s poster looked at efforts to mobilize students



Patricia Baker discusses gardens of two millennia ago.

Marc Monaghan



The tallest peak in North America is Denali. Erik Johnson explains its name.

Marc Monaghan



A parade float opens a path into history for Katherine Sharp Landdeck.

Marc Monaghan

at North Carolina women's colleges during World War I.

Some posters originated with public history projects. Erik Johnson of the National Park Service traced "The Fall and Rise of Denali: The History behind the Mountain's Name." Grand Valley State's Scott St. Louis used photographs of Victorian furniture made in Grand Rapids, Michigan, to explore the construction of civic identity there. Then there was my own particular favorite: "Our Eyes Are on the Stars: A Rose Parade Float as Public History," presented by Katherine Sharp Landdeck of Texas Woman's University, which illustrated the process of creating a prize-winning float in 2014 honoring the WASPs (Women Airforce Service Pilots) of World War II, who ferried planes across the United States so that male pilots could be deployed elsewhere.

Viewing the eclectic posters and engaging with some of the enthusiastic presenters turned out to be one of the highlights of my annual meeting experience. I strongly recommend that attendees in the future copy my example. I know that I will be back.

Mary Beth Norton is president-elect of the AHA.

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Faculty and Career Diversity for Historians

Emily Swafford

“How can I share your stories and experiences with my students?” At many other sessions at the AHA annual meeting, this might have been an unremarkable question for a faculty member to pose. But at *this* session, at *this* meeting, it was a welcome surprise. The “Many Careers of the History PhD” session in Denver featured historians in a broad range of employment, from the National Museum of American History to the Consumers Union. Now a staple at the annual meeting, panels such as this one usually attract an audience of graduate students and recent PhDs looking for career guidance. This time, however, the audience also included many graduate faculty, who peppered speakers with questions on how

to apply the lessons of the session to their graduate advising and teaching. Faculty engagement is crucial to the next phase of the AHA’s Career Diversity for Historians initiative—with generous funding from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the AHA will enable up to 20 departments to implement the lessons, programming, and activities developed over the past three years.

The annual meeting now routinely offers a variety of sessions and workshops oriented toward expanding career horizons and opportunities. Having focused initially on students, the AHA has broadened the scope of this activity toward faculty. Participants at the annual luncheon for directors of graduate studies, for example, heard about the AHA’s work, the Council of Graduate

School’s efforts to help universities gather information on the career aspirations of students and alumni, and the experiences of Annie Maxfield, associate director of graduate student relations and services at the ULCA Career Center.

The AHA also invited faculty to drop in on the jobs workshop, wander through the Career Fair, and attend one of 15 sessions highlighted on the Profession track in the AHA annual meeting app. Organized annually by the AHA Professional Division, the jobs workshop offers job seekers the chance to review application materials and discuss possible interview questions with volunteers from a variety of institutions, including independent schools, nonprofits, community colleges, and research universities.



Marc Monaghan

The Career Fair at the 2017 annual meeting attracted more than 100 visitors over three hours.

In Denver, 65 attendees and more than 20 volunteer advisers checked into the workshop.

Graduate students and early career historians also kept these events buzzing. At the fourth annual Career Fair, which attracted more than 100 visitors over three hours, attendees could speak with more than 20 advisers—history PhDs who had volunteered their time to talk about their career paths. In order to help attendees get the most out of the Career Fair, Maxfield led a pre-fair interactive workshop entitled “Decoding Work: Aligning Values and Careers,” which attracted around 20 participants. At the workshop, attendees discussed the results of a free, confidential online Life Values Assessment (a sort of Myers-Briggs for personal and professional values) and how these results might affect their professional choices. One participant described the workshop as “possibly life changing.” To Maxfield, the workshop reflected a familiar theme in her work: “graduate students do not feel empowered in the job search process.”

The AHA is pleased by the number of faculty who attended annual meeting sessions on careers and who want to incorporate ideas from the Career Diversity for Historians initiative into their graduate classrooms. Evidence shows that over the years of this initiative, faculty interest in these issues has increased: in applications for our departmental grants, in the grant-funded activities of our pilot sites and grant recipients, and anecdotally, from visits to departments and informal conversations at academic conferences.

Faculty interest in Career Diversity sessions at the annual meeting reflects the concerted efforts of AHA staff and the Program Committee to encourage sessions on careers at the annual meeting. It also reveals that initiatives similar to Career Diversity are building steam. Indeed, the next phase of Career Diversity will include an online “census” of career programming in history departments in an attempt to further collaboration and communication among interested parties. The most prominent related initiative is the recently funded Next

Generation PhD grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, in which many departments involved with Career Diversity are also participating.

In addition to the explosion of career programming for history PhDs, the proliferation of comparable initiatives points to a renewed emphasis on how important faculty are to their success. Faculty are—and ought to be—the guardians of graduate curriculum. As the AHA’s Career Diversity for Historians initiative moves into the next phase, it must help empower graduate students to feel in control of their education and career paths. This can be achieved only by understanding how the skills and experiences of a doctoral education align—and sometimes misalign—with desired career outcomes. Faculty are crucial to creating the cultural and curricular change essential to our goal of broadening career horizons and expanding opportunities.

Emily Swafford is manager of academic affairs at the AHA. She tweets @elswafford.

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AHA Advances Efforts to Serve Two-Year College Faculty

Dana L. Schaffer

The College Board estimates that nearly half of all undergraduate students in the United States are enrolled in two-year colleges. In 2009, the American Historical Association's Council created the Two-Year College Faculty Task Force to determine the professional needs of historians at those colleges to better serve them.

The task force issued its first report in 2012 and recommended that the AHA implement 29 changes in four areas: the annual meeting, publications and awards, professional activities, and administration. In June 2015, Council reconstituted the task force and asked that it evaluate the AHA's progress in each of these areas and identify places where significant work remained to be done. The reconstituted committee served for one year and consisted of four members—Trinidad Gonzales, chair (South Texas Coll.), Shannon Bontrager (Georgia Highlands Coll.), Sarah Shurts (Bergen Comm. Coll.), and Emily Sohmer Tai (Queensborough Comm. Coll.). In addition to analyzing the AHA's progress, the committee conducted a survey of current community college faculty to assess their needs and interests.

The Report

The report, presented to the AHA Council in January 2017, makes clear that while not all recommendations were fully realized, many were achieved "in spirit." For example, the original task force had recommended that the AHA increase attendance and participation of community college faculty at the annual meeting. The Association expanded the number of workshops and sessions related to community college issues, pedagogy, and the scholarship of teaching and learning, and attendance has steadily grown. The report also recommended that the AHA increase its output of articles and pamphlets of interest to community college faculty. While many pertinent resources and articles appear on the AHA website and *AHA Today*, fewer articles have appeared in *Perspectives on History*.

Still, the task force noted new inclusiveness of two-year faculty within the AHA. There is still work to be done, but the annual meeting and such programs as Bridging Cultures for Community Colleges and the Tuning project have begun to shift attitudes toward the Association in a positive direction. Testimonials indicate that two-year faculty are now more receptive to the AHA and its pedagogical and content resources, advocacy efforts, and opportunities for networking.

The Survey

The task force advised that "understanding who community college history faculty *are* would help the AHA serve them better in the future." In fall 2016, the AHA invited 1,500 community college faculty—members and nonmembers—to complete a survey consisting of 24 questions about their level of preparation and degrees held; their employment status and experiences; their participation in professional organizations; and their involvement and interest in the AHA's annual meeting. Over 300 historians completed the survey.

Types of Positions

The majority of survey respondents (69 percent) held full-time positions. Of these positions, 64 percent were tenured or tenure track, while 30 percent were secure appointments at institutions that did not offer tenure. Nearly all part-time faculty (95 percent) had short-term contracts.

Degrees Earned

Sixty-one percent of respondents held a PhD, and 33 percent listed a master's as their highest degree. Seventy-one percent of full-time faculty held doctorates. In contrast, the majority of part-time faculty (56 percent) held a master's as their highest degree. Additionally, compared to those in full-time positions, part-time faculty had received their highest degrees more recently. Forty-one

percent of part-time faculty respondents received their highest degree after 2010, compared to 23 percent of full-time faculty.

Graduate Program Preparation

When asked whether their graduate program had prepared them for their current position, most respondents said that it had but saw room for improvement. One remarked, "My graduate program definitely prepared me for the research aspects of being a historian. The teaching components I learned while in a Teaching Credential Program and on my own." Both PhD and master's degree holders noted that their graduate education could have had more opportunities for training in pedagogy, curriculum development, assessment, and effective classroom instruction.

Issues Concerning Community College Faculty

When asked what the AHA could do to address issues community college faculty currently face, many suggested that the Association provide more information about grants available to community college faculty for research and travel, expand its advocacy on behalf of adjuncts, and increase opportunities for professional development. Fifty-four percent of the respondents noted that the AHA's teaching and classroom content resources were an important factor when deciding to renew their membership.

Community college faculty serve a considerable and still-growing contingent of college students. Our commitment to those students and to our discipline will be greatly served by continuing to connect with two-year faculty. The AHA hopes to use the survey results to continue providing them with both the resources for research and teaching, and with collegial respect and support.

View the full report at historians.org/2016-two-year-report.

Dana L. Schaffer is deputy director of the AHA.

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Ida Blom 1931–2016

**Historian of Women and Gender;
AHA Honorary Foreign Member**

Ida Blom was a pioneering figure in the field of women's and gender history. She was a member of the first generation of second-wave feminist historians whose scholarship, institution building, and mentoring established the legitimacy and the permanence of the field.

Born in Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1931, Blom matriculated at the University of Bergen in Norway in 1954. She joined the history faculty as a lecturer there in 1961 and was the only woman in her department for nearly 30 years. She became professor emerita in 2001. Her doctoral dissertation (1972) examined a dispute between Norway and Denmark over the status of Eastern Greenland, a subject that made international relations an enduring interest for her. She turned to women's history after a conversation in the early 1970s with some women who were protesting Norway's entry into the European Union alerted her to the absence of women in leadership positions in that organization. "I had never thought of this before," she told Alice Kessler-Harris in a December 2006 interview in *Perspectives*. "To my amazement I discovered that in France, where I had spent some years of my youth, women got the vote only in 1944. Also I realized that I had been teaching history for more than 10 years without even mentioning, even knowing, that women did not have the same civil rights as men[.]"

Blom devoted the rest of her professional career to the study of women, opening new ground for historians with books on women's reproductive rights, conditions of birthing, caregiving, venereal disease, and politics. Her first book on reproductive rights appeared in 1980; her last book was *Medicine, Morality, and Political Culture: Legislation on Venereal Disease in Five Northern European Countries, c. 1870–1995* (2012). Blom was also a brilliant and generous collaborator. Working with colleagues from India, Japan, and South Korea, she organized a panel at the UN Decade for Women Conference in Beijing in 1995, the papers of which were later published in the *Journal of Women's History*. She was part of a team of 10 Norwegian and



Lars J. Løvteit

Ida Blom

Danish historians who produced a three-volume world history of women. Among other of her co-edited volumes is one she did with Karen Hagemann and Catherine Hall, *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* (2000).

As the authorship of that volume suggests, Blom was part of a large international network of feminist historians; her scholarship and her professional affiliations transcended national boundaries. So did her institution building. She was one of the founding members, in 1983, of the Nordic Women's and Gender History conferences and a co-founder, as well, of the International Federation for Research in Women's History. She served as president of that group from 1987 to 1995, during which time she played a key role in bringing women's history to the attention of the International Committee for Historical Sciences.

Blom's work received well-deserved international recognition. She was a member of the Norwegian Academy of Sciences and Letters; a member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities; and an honorary foreign member of the American Historical Association (2006). In 2009, the Norwegian Association for Women's Rights awarded her its Gina Krog prize. In 2013, the University of Bergen held the Ida Blom Conference on gender and citizenship, recognizing that her "groundbreaking work on citizenship, women's suffrage and women's health issues has inspired academics in Norway and abroad and has also had great public

impact." A book of the conference papers, including Blom's ("Troubled and Secure Gender Identities in a Changing Society: Norway at the End of the Long Nineteenth Century"), came out in 2016 as *Gendered Citizenship and the Politics of Representation* (edited by Hilde Danielsen et al.).

Ida Blom was a prominent figure in international history circles. She enabled conversations across the lines of nations and cultures (it helped that she spoke German, French, and English, as well as some Scandinavian languages) and across generations. Natalie Zemon Davis remembers, "Whenever I saw Ida Blom . . . she was surrounded by young scholars to whose projects she was responding with interest and to whose future she gave encouragement. She was a beacon for the new scholarship on women and gender throughout the Scandinavian lands, but also for scholarship with a critical edge. She was a fighter when it was needed, but also gracious and generous when she won."

Joan Wallach Scott
Institute for Advanced Study (emerita)

Doris Silk Goldstein 1927–2016

**Scholar of European Intellectual
History; AHA 50-Year Member**

Doris Goldstein died after a brief illness on May 23, 2016, in Durham, North Carolina. For more than 30 years she taught European history—and much else—at the Stern College for Women of Yeshiva University, where she was sometimes the only full-time historian on the faculty. A quintessential New Yorker, Goldstein was born in 1927 and graduated from Queens College in 1948. She earned her PhD in European intellectual history at Bryn Mawr College under Felix Gilbert in 1955, a formative experience that she spoke of with pride and gratitude throughout her life.

For those of us in a somewhat younger generation, Doris Goldstein was a caring mentor and role model. She was one of that tiny cohort of female scholars, devoted to the "Little Berks" conferences of women in the historical profession, who managed to carve out fulfilling careers within the



Doris Silk Goldstein

academic community. Because the discipline was so suffused with sexism during the 1950s and early 1960s, if it hadn't been for people like Doris, we might have assumed that women could not be serious historians. To her students, she was a warm and inspirational teacher who challenged them to engage with ideas at a higher level than they initially thought they were capable of.

A dedicated feminist, throughout her life Doris Goldstein was also a committed intellectual historian who published prodigiously in French and British intellectual history. She is best known for *Trial of Faith: Religion and Politics in Tocqueville's Thought* (1975), one of the first books to focus on what has since become a major concern of Tocqueville historiography. Delving into Tocqueville's religious views, Goldstein, an avowed secularist, had no investment in Catholicism or any other organized religion (despite devoting her entire teaching career to an Orthodox Jewish institution). Nonetheless, she was curious

about the role religion played in Tocqueville's political vision. The result was what one reviewer called an "illuminating" study that demonstrated, in her words, how that iconic thinker viewed "both religion and political participation . . . the two irreducible elements necessary to a good society."

When she moved to North Carolina after retiring from Yeshiva in 1992, it was primarily to indulge in another great passion of her life: bird-watching. It was a treat to accompany her on one of her near-daily bird walks in a park close to her home, to hear her enthuse about an "adorable chickadee" or a "gorgeous cardinal," while also explaining how the British historical profession had developed. Doris never abandoned her historical endeavors, becoming a faithful member of the Triangle Intellectual History Seminar, formed in 1995. She viewed its monthly meetings at the National Humanities Center during the academic year as the heart of her lively intellectual life in retirement. During the last two decades of her life, she focused mainly on British intellectual history,

especially British historiography. She presented some of this work to the seminar, producing two articles for *Storia della Storiografia*: "Confronting Time: The Oxford School of History and the Non-Darwinian Revolution" (2004) and "The Making of Social Evolutionary History" (2012).

She is survived by her daughter, Gina Goldstein, of New York City.

Ellen Schrecker
Yeshiva University

H. Paul Varley 1931–2015

Historian of Japan

H Paul Varley died at the age of 84 on December 15, 2015. A professor emeritus at both Columbia University and the University of Hawai'i, Varley was born on February 8, 1931, in Paterson, New Jersey, to Herbert Paul Varley and Katharine L. (Norcross) Varley. From 1952 to 1954, he served in the US Army during the Korean War and was stationed in Japan. Living there set him on his career path as a historian of Japanese language and culture.

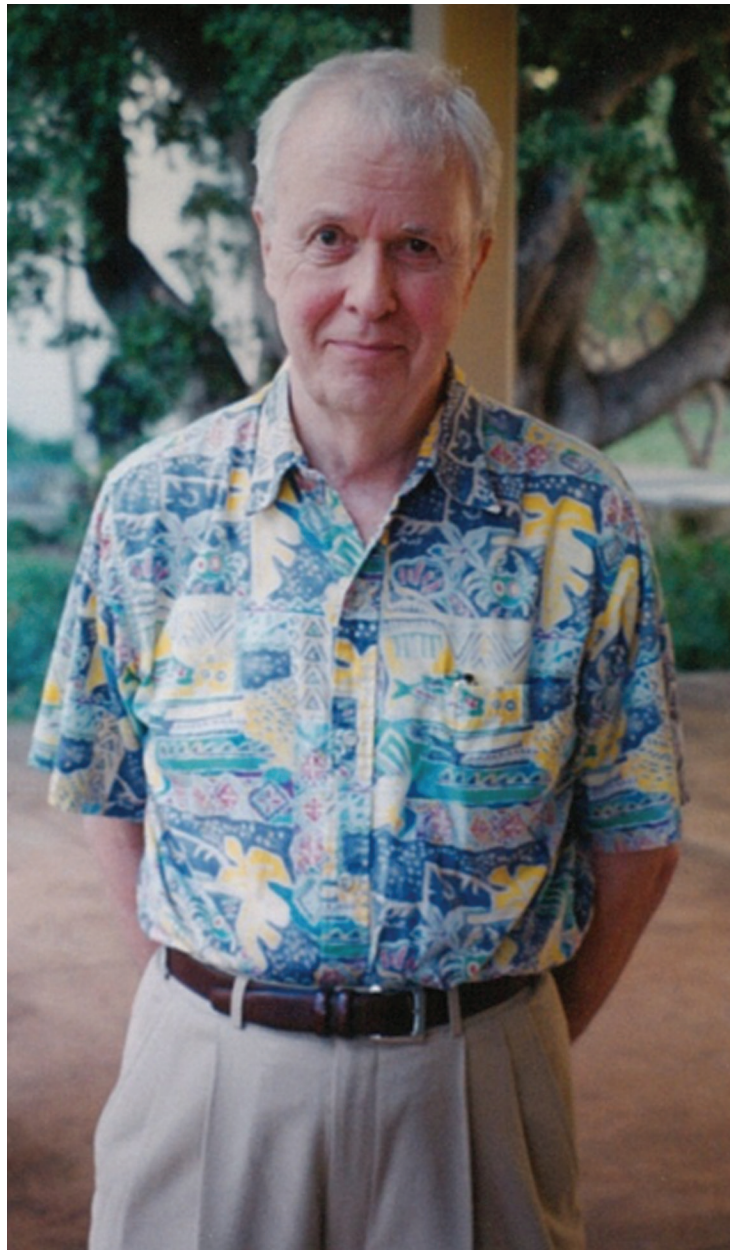
Varley received his BS from Lehigh University in 1952, his MA from Columbia University in 1961, and his PhD from Columbia in 1964. He married Betty Jane (Geiskopf) Varley in 1960 and began his career as a historian at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa in 1964. After an invitation to return to Columbia in 1965, he remained at his alma mater for the bulk of his early career, as a scholar of Japanese history in the Department of East Asian Languages and Culture. In 1994, Columbia honored Varley with emeritus status.

Contemplating early retirement, Varley had accepted the University of Hawai'i at Manoa's invitation to become the Sen Sōshitsu XV Distinguished Chair of Traditional Japanese Culture and History on a visiting basis, from 1991 to 1993. This became a permanent appointment after Varley retired from Columbia. The prestigious Sen Chair was associated with the Urasenke School of Japanese Tea Ceremony. In his 10 years at the University of Hawai'i, Varley taught seminars on Japanese culture, the history of the way of tea, the history of the samurai, and Japanese civilization until he retired again in 2004.

Varley was an internationally recognized expert on early Japanese culture, giving lectures and attending conferences throughout the United States and abroad. In 1996, the government of Japan awarded him the Order of the Rising Star, Gold Rays with Rosette for his work in spreading understanding of and appreciation for Japanese culture. He appeared in a series of videos sponsored by the East Asian Institute at Columbia University to educate teachers and colleagues about Japan. Always an entertaining speaker, he wove stories of Lady Murasaki Shikibu, the Tale of Genji, and *The Pillow Book* with tales of the samurai and narratives from Japanese picture scrolls. In Hawai'i, he was a member of the Association for Asian Studies, the Konnichi Kai, and the Japan Society, as well as a member of the board of the Japanese Cultural Center. In New York, he served on the board of the Urasenke Tea Foundation.

Varley's groundbreaking books engaged multiple audiences. *The Ōnin War: History of Its Origins and Background with a Selective Translation of the Chronicle of Ōnin* (1967), *Imperial Restoration in Medieval Japan* (1971), *Samurai* (with Ivan and Nobuko Morris, 1970, 1971, and 1974), *Japanese Culture* (1974), *A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns* (a translation from Japanese of *Jinnō Shōtōki* of Kitabatake Chikafusa, 1980), and *Tea in Japan: Essays on the History of Chanoyu* (with Kamakura Isao, 1989) were all published during his career at Columbia.

His best-known book is *Japanese Culture*, which has appeared in four editions. This work began with the "high culture" of early Japan and proceeded through the postwar and contemporary periods; it included analysis of religion, visual arts, literature, theater, philosophy, landscaping, and such



Courtesy Center for Japanese Studies,
University of Hawai'i at Manoa

H. Paul Varley

ceremonies as the way of tea. With his wife and photographer Joe Shulman, Varley had traveled to Japan in 1971 to take the book's photo illustrations, helped by a grant from Columbia's East Asian Institute. *Japanese Culture* described and explained valuable concepts such as the *kami*, Shintoism, the *magatama*, *haniwa*, *torii*, the military elite, the importance of the Ise shrine, Amaterasu, the introduction of Buddhism, the Code of Bushido, and songs of the *biwa hōshi* (traveling singers/historians) for serious scholars and introductory students alike.

Varley's writing was clear, well researched, accurate, and always fascinating. Teaching at the University of Hawai'i during summer sessions, he contributed to the Honolulu Academy of Arts' 1986 catalog of Japanese paintings from the Muromachi period (1392–1568), titled *Of Water and Ink* (with Watanabe Akiyoshi and Kanazawa Hiroshi).

After becoming the permanent Sen Chair, Varley published *Warriors of Japan as Portrayed in the War Tales* (1994), for which he made all of his own translations from the Japanese original texts and offered introductory historical settings for the tales. The war tales (or gunki-mono and senki-mono) recount stories of battles from the 10th to the 17th centuries and are based on real events. Calling the tales "literary histories," Varley explained Japan's samurai from the standpoint of "how they fight, what they think, what their weapons, armor, and other battle accoutrements are, what customs and personal relations govern their lives, [and] who their heroes are," as the book's introduction says.

Outside of academia, Varley entertained in other ways. With his proficiency in close-up magic, he served as president of the Society of American Magicians' New York area chapter from 1983 to 1984.

He relaxed from the rigors of his heavy speaking, research, and writing schedule by playing the piano. In a marriage of over 50 years, he and Betty Jane enjoyed daughter Sharyn Hennen, five grandchildren, and six great-grandchildren.

Varley retired from the University of Hawai'i in 2004, was awarded emeritus status, and later returned to New Jersey in his final retirement.

Barbara Bennett Peterson
University of Hawai'i (emerita)

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African American. The Department of History at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey (New Brunswick) is pleased to invite applications for a senior-level appointment in African American History. We particularly encourage

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

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

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

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

applicants with interests in questions of gender or sexuality. We seek a candidate suitable for appointment with tenure at the rank of distinguished professor or full professor, though truly exceptional candidates at the rank of associate professor are encouraged to apply. The successful candidate will be expected to play an active role in the department and university, including the regular teaching of both undergraduate and graduate students. Qualifications: PhD in history and a strong record of distinguished teaching and scholarly publication required. Candidates should submit a letter of interest addressed to co-chairs Marisa Fuentes and Walter Rucker, along with a current CV and the names of three referees via Interfolio: <https://apply.interfolio.com/40358>. Review of applications will begin February 20, 2017, and will continue until the position is filled. Rutgers is an AA/EOE with a deep commitment to promoting faculty diversity. Qualified applicants will be considered for employment without regard to race, creed, color, religion, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, national origin, disability status, genetic information, protected veteran status, military service, or any other category protected by law. As an institution, we value diversity of background and opinion, and prohibit discrimination or harassment on the basis of any legally protected class in the areas of hiring, recruitment, promotion, transfer, demotion, training, compensation, pay, fringe benefits, layoff, termination or any other terms and conditions of employment.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Carnegie Mellon University

Postdoctoral Fellowship/African American Urban. Center for Africanamerican Urban Studies and the Economy (CAUSE). The Department of History at Carnegie Mellon University seeks a scholar in the humanities and/or social sciences doing history-related research in African American urban studies. The fellow will pursue his/her own research project; interact with faculty, graduate and undergraduate students; and collaborate with the director on current center projects. The appointment is for nine months beginning August 14, 2017. The fellowship carries a stipend of \$50,000, and \$5,000 for research, benefits and other expenses. Send a cover letter, CV, two letters of reference, writing sample, and a three-to-five page project proposal. The proposal should include a project description, chapter outline, explanation of the significance to relevant fields, and plans and goals for the fellowship term. Send to Prof. Joe William Trotter Jr., CAUSE, Dept. of History, Carnegie Mellon University, 5000 Forbes Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA 15213-3890. Deadline for receipt of applications is March 31, 2017. (Notification of decision by April 21.) Carnegie Mellon considers applicants for employment without regard to, and does not discriminate on the basis of, gender, race, protected veteran status, disability, or any other legally protected status.

The American Historical Association has a long-standing commitment to teaching and history education at all levels, and supports teaching in a wide variety of ways. At the annual meeting, the AHA and its affiliates sponsor many sessions on teaching. The AHA also offers a number of prizes and awards and supports the good work of National History Day.

The AHA has developed resources for classroom teaching through the years. In Classroom Materials, you will find materials you can use in designing your own courses: syllabi, reading lists, sample assignments, course modules, etc. These are organized thematically, by resource type, and by the project or initiative that created the resource.

The AHA Teaching Division is actively working on advancing conversations about teaching history. Approaches to Teaching contains links to resources on issues such as defining the skills of history majors, dual enrollment, globalizing the US history survey, and teaching digital history.

We hope you will find these guides useful. To connect with other history teachers, join our Teaching and Learning Community on [AHA Communities \(communities.historians.org\)](http://AHACommunities.com).

Classroom Materials

We have sorted this wealth of documents by both geography and time period, as well as thematically, based off of categories used in the AHA Member Taxonomy. We hope to add resources to these pages as faculty either complete new materials or revise preliminary efforts as a result of ongoing consultation with their colleagues.

What you'll find:

- Linking Family and World History
- Images of Power: Art as a Historiographical Tool
- Social Science Laboratories via the Web
- Introduction to Ethnic Studies
- Teaching World War One History through Food
- The Triangle Shirtwaist Fire
- and much more!

Approaches to Teaching

The AHA is committed to advancing thought about the teaching of history at all levels. Recent projects that challenged instructors to approach the classroom differently include the Tuning and Bridging Cultures projects. AHA has also been involved in hosting a variety of events at which faculty have held discussions on important topics such as the introductory history survey, dual/concurrent enrollment, and teaching with digital tools. Here you will find information on the initiatives and links to resources that will help you think about new ways of approaching teaching.

What you'll find:

- Mock Policy Briefing Program
- Globalizing the US History Survey
- Assessing Dual Enrollment
- and much more!

