

The newsmagazine of the American Historical Association

PERSPECTIVES ON HISTORY

Volume 56: 2
February 2018

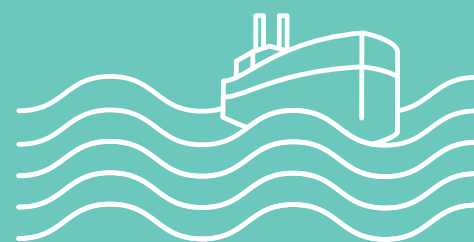




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ON THE COVER

Every February issue of *Perspectives* is devoted to the AHA annual meeting just concluded. If you missed AHA18, take a look at Eladio Bobadilla's recap, accompanied by our photographer Marc Monaghan's signature imagery. If you were there but missed the sessions on genealogy and genetics, former AHA assistant editor Sadie Bergen assesses the issues underlying the discussions. *Perspectives* is proud to promote the work of these graduate students!

Photo: Marc Monaghan

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News magazine of the

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Perspectives on History (ISSN 1940-8048) is published nine times a year, monthly September through May, by the American Historical Association, 400 A St., SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889. (202) 544-2422. Fax (202) 544-8307. **World Wide Web:** www.historians.org/perspectives. **E-mail:** perspectives@historians.org (editorial issues) or ppinkney@historians.org (membership and subscription issues). *Perspectives on History* is distributed to members of the Association. Individual membership subscriptions include an amount of \$7.04 to cover the cost of *Perspectives on History*. Institutional subscriptions are also available. For details, contact the membership department of the AHA. Single copies of *Perspectives on History*—if available—can be obtained for \$8 each. Material from *Perspectives on History* may be published in *Perspectives Online* (ISSN: 1556-8563), published by the American Historical Association at www.historians.org/perspectives. For information about institutional subscriptions, see www.historians.org/members/subscriptions.htm.

Articles, letters to the editor, and other items intended for publication should preferably be submitted online at www.historians.org/perspectives/upload. They may also be sent as attachments to e-mail messages addressed to perspectives@historians.org, or by regular mail (in which case, the hard copy text should be double-spaced). Manuscripts accepted for publication will be edited to conform to *Perspectives on History* style, space limitations, and other requirements. Prospective authors should consult the guidelines available at www.historians.org/perspectives/submissions.htm. Accuracy in editorial material is the responsibility of the author(s) and contributor(s). *Perspectives on History* and the American Historical Association disclaim responsibility for statements made by contributors.

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Periodicals class postage paid at Washington, DC, and at additional mailing offices.

©2018 American Historical Association.

Postmaster: Send change of address to *Perspectives on History*, Membership Department, AHA, 400 A St., SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889.

PUBLISHER'S STATEMENT

The American Historical Association is a nonprofit membership corporation founded in 1884 for the promotion of historical research, study, and education. The Association reserves the right to reject editorial material sent in for publication that is not consonant with the goals and purposes of the organization. The Association also assumes the right to judge the acceptability of all advertising copy and illustrations in advertisements published in Perspectives on History. Advertisers and advertising agencies assume all liability for advertising content and representation and will also be responsible for all claims against said publisher.



ALLISON MILLER

TOWNHOUSE NOTES

Nothing Personal

The most liberating thing anyone ever said to me was “Not everyone is going to like you, and that’s OK.” I wish I could recall the context. I might have been spewing palaver about not winning some prize, not having some article accepted for publication, not getting some research fellowship, or any of the other ego-denting disappointments that go along with advanced study. But maybe I was abusing this person’s patience with an enumeration of interpersonal slights.

It took a while, but this insight prompted better reflections on the difference between the personal and the professional. At the time, I probably had a hard time distinguishing them. Eight years in journalism had taught me that my writing would never be perfect, so I looked forward to critiques on chapters from peers and faculty alike. And unlike some other students, I had never gone into a tailspin when my mentors didn’t say hello to me in the hall. (Going back to school when you’re several years out of undergrad, these things don’t mean quite so much. I always assumed they had to pick up the kids, the dry cleaning, and dinner in under an hour.)

But pouring everything I had into an application or a journal article only to encounter a rejection was difficult, until I realized that the people behind this decision (most of them strangers) weren’t judging *me*. Except for the writing, which I loved putting together, the things about myself that I really liked were invisible on paper.

Being liked might give one an edge in some situations. The oft-cited notion of “fit” in academic hiring decisions is legitimate, but it can be heard by a job candidate as an imperative to be gregarious, a performance many of us have a hard time maintaining. Rejected candidates naturally want to figure out what they “did wrong,” and it can be easy to assume that someone on the search committee just didn’t like them. Plenty of stories percolate about candidates who did themselves no favors through

boorish behavior at dinner or by condescending to undergraduates. When no real misstep is evident, however, it can be tempting to attribute a “no” to the elusive “fit,” which can be hard not to hear as “we don’t like you.”

People who don’t fit mainstream notions of “historian” (which stock photo databases still think is basically a white person with a book or computer) are often at a disadvantage in job interviews and on campus visits, including people of color, women, gender-nonconforming or trans people, and people with disabilities. I look like an overdressed man sometimes, but I’m now used to seeing others’ double takes—and thankfully, I already have a job. Others can’t say the same. When people can’t deal with who you represent or what you look like, that can feel personal too. But it’s not—it’s both anti-professional and shameful.

Ultimately, believing you won’t get anywhere without being liked isn’t productive. Even if one *is* liked, a win isn’t guaranteed. We work in a relatively small, internally siloed profession, so inevitably people on a variety of judgment-enabled committees will make decisions affecting our careers, at every stage. Some of these might come like punches to the gut, but I take to heart the advice of Michael Corleone: “It’s business. It’s not personal.” So far, so good. **P**

Allison Miller is editor of Perspectives. She tweets @Cliopticon.



MARY BETH NORTON

A REPORT TO MEMBERS ABOUT AHA ACTION ON SEXUAL HARASSMENT



In fall 2017, as allegations of sexual harassment flooded into public view from women (and some men) employed in movies, television, journalism, and politics, behavior in academe and the historical profession at large almost inevitably became part of the conversation. Stories of the harassment of graduate students by their mentors and of junior faculty by more senior colleagues surfaced on and off social media. Many women who work as historians in a variety of settings, including myself, have similar tales to tell. In the past, such incidents have been treated in isolation and as individual experiences. The AHA has long been on record as decrying sexual harassment in employment, but that statement clearly needs expanding and updating.

The AHA has long decried sexual harassment in employment, but that statement clearly needs expanding and updating.

The AHA Committee on Gender Equity (CGE, formerly the Committee on Women Historians) and the AHA Professional Division began the Association's discussions during their regular fall teleconferences in October. The topic was also on the agenda for the November meeting of American Council of Learned Societies executive directors, attended by the AHA's Jim Grossman.

Shortly thereafter, on November 14, a large number of historians and others submitted a comprehensive Letter to the American Historical Association Concerning Sexual Harassment and Violence in the Profession. (About 45 percent of the eventual 868 signers were AHA members.) The letter asked historians "to take stock of our own professional culture, and the ways in which it may contribute to environments in which sexual harassment and assault are tolerated." It pointed out that in addition to the harm such behavior has caused victims, the discipline as a

whole has suffered when talented individuals have abandoned history for other fields of study. It lamented that scholars and colleagues have often counseled victims to keep silent in response to harassment, largely because of potential long-term negative effects on a victim's career. And it noted that harassment incidents could occur in settings other than particular workplaces, including at AHA annual meetings and similar professional gatherings involving people from different institutions.

In this context, the Professional Division, led by its vice president, Kevin Boyle, continued discussions by e-mail about how best to address the problem of sexual harassment as it relates to the work of historians. Grossman reported on how other professional associations—among others, the American Philosophical Association and the Society of Biblical Literature—have handled these issues and on what they have learned about relevant legal aspects. After consultations with Grossman, AHA president Tyler Stovall, CGE chair Katrin Schultheiss, and myself, Boyle drafted a memo for the Council, summarizing other associations' sexual harassment policies and sketching options the AHA might take, but not committing the Association to any specific course of action.

We collectively decided on the following strategy. Sexual harassment was already on the AHA Council's agenda for Thursday, January 4. To enable the Council to benefit from members' experience and wisdom, we decided to make sexual harassment the subject of a late-breaking session for Saturday, January 6, chaired by me as president-elect. We also scheduled another discussion for the Council's meeting on Sunday, January 7, with the goal of setting forth guidelines for an ad hoc committee that could draft a new AHA statement to be presented to the Council (with comments from committees representing the AHA's various constituencies) at its next meeting, in June.

The initial Council discussions on January 4 were wide-ranging. Councillors concurred that the AHA should adopt

a new statement on sexual harassment. Our general counsel advised us that the AHA should focus specifically on the spaces it controls—that is, its own office, the annual meeting, and any other committee meetings or conferences sponsored by the Association. Just prior to the meeting, we learned that the American Political Science Association (APSA) had recently conducted a survey of its members about experiences of harassment at its conventions for the past five years, and we were given advance copies of its analysis of the findings. The Council quickly agreed to submit essentially the same survey to the AHA membership, with the goal of obtaining comparative data. We decided to wait to make other decisions until after the late-breaking session.

On Saturday, January 6, between 100 and 120 people, primarily women but perhaps 10 percent men, attended the late-breaking session. Panelists—Stovall, Schultheiss, Marcy Norton (the spokesperson for the group that composed the letter), and Catherine Clinton (who as president of the Southern Historical Association had focused on sexual harassment in that organization)—each made brief presentations. Then I opened the floor for comments. Many audience members spoke, some movingly recounting episodes of sexual harassment or even assault they had experienced either at conventions or in other professional settings. They offered many thoughtful suggestions about policies the AHA could adopt, calling for statements of what we might term “best practices” to guide historians and their employers. That request for guidance was repeated by department chairs at a meeting Jim Grossman and I attended immediately after the session.

It therefore became clear that, rather than one statement, the AHA needed to adopt several: one on sexual harassment, setting forth principles and complaint procedures for our conventions and other meetings we organized, and others on such topics as hiring and mentoring, outlining principles and best practices in contexts over which we have no direct control.

Accordingly, at the meeting on Sunday, January 7, the Council made a series of decisions. It delegated two tasks to small groups of councillors: making final decisions about the details involved before distributing the APSA survey and reviewing the language in the staff handbook concerning sexual harassment to ensure it was adequate and up-to-date. Councillors—some of whom had attended the session the previous day—concurred that the AHA should issue new or expanded statements summarizing the practices required to create safe environments for historians and their work. The specifics of such statements remain to be developed but will rest on commonly accepted ethical norms.



Mary Beth Norton at the 2018 AHA annual meeting.
Marc Monaghan

Significantly, councillors agreed on the basic outlines of a new procedure, which will implement a restated and expanded set of principles and definitions of prohibited behavior at annual meetings and other AHA events. All registrants for AHA-sponsored meetings should be required to indicate that they are aware of these policies as a part of the registration process. Drawing on processes adopted by other professional associations but duplicating none of them exactly, we decided to name an ombuds team consisting of designated members of the Council and representatives from the AHA’s relevant constituencies to receive complaints about harassment at our meetings. Team members’ names and contact information will be publicized, and complainants may choose which individual to contact. That team member would acquaint the complainant with her or his options. If the complaint involves a possible crime, the team member could recommend that the individual report the event to appropriate authorities. In the event the complainant wished to pursue the matter further within the AHA, the ombuds team member would, after further inquiry into the circumstances, turn the information over to the executive director, who would consult the AHA president and general counsel before proceeding. Expulsion from the meeting is a possible sanction for an offender.

The statements and the new procedure will be drafted by a Council committee headed by Teaching Division vice president Elizabeth Lehfeltdt and including among its members Tyler Stovall and Kevin Boyle, along with a representative of CGE. We anticipate approval by the Council in June and full implementation at the 2019 AHA annual meeting in Chicago.

Mary Beth Norton is president of the AHA. 

JAMES GROSSMAN

PAST TENSE

History and Its Abuses in Washington



As I walk to work in the morning, the first thing I see as I head toward the AHA office is the US Capitol, which not only symbolizes a public sector gone awry but also shares the honor of host for the current orgy of disregard for the common good. This observation isn't partisan, at least not in the current moment: both Republican and Democratic policy makers from previous administrations have noted that "Washington" is not operating as it should. Nor, even, as it usually has.

The AHA's concern with this dysfunction is rooted most obviously in the fact that federal policy directly affects the practice of our discipline. It's not only access to the National Archives, the Library of Congress, and other federally funded research venues; it's also funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Institute of Museum and Library Services, and even the National Science Foundation. A number of programs provide vital support to international education and research, most of them in the Department of Education (with some in State). The Smithsonian Institution opens doorways to history for millions of Americans and foreign visitors. Many historic sites fall under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service.

But the threat posed by policy instability and an ominous tone of hostility toward evidence-based scholarship and vigorous inquiry doesn't end at agency doorways. The landmark tax bill passed in December could affect revenues at institutions of higher education and other employers of historians. The new law will likely affect federal expenditures and state taxing mechanisms, tax incentives for charitable donations, and in a few cases, endowments. The reauthorization of the Higher Education Act will also be controversial; the Secretary of Education's hostility to the public sector is no secret.

These issues bob well above the surface, and we have effective advocates, notably in the National Coalition for History and the National Humanities Alliance, to track and influence legislation—and they are working overtime lately. We can also

support our colleagues on the front lines: historians employed by the federal government, most of whom work in agencies challenged by declining respect, funding, and morale.

But there's something that is more pernicious, that drives at the heart of our role as historians and citizens. Much of what is happening in Washington rests in—indeed relies on—the abuse of history. The line between deliberate distortion and mere ignorance is akin to the difference between dishonesty and incompetence: the distinction matters, but the results are the same.

When a president is elected under the slogan "Make America Great Again," there can be little doubt that history lies at the heart of his politics—or rather, a particular interpretation of history that justifies undoing generations of work in its own name. The president does not hold a monopoly on such illusions. Washington is awash in people happy to invent a past for the purposes of the present. This is not new, of course, but there's a difference between bending the truth and proclaiming the legitimacy of "alternative facts." Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan had it right to recycle Bernard Baruch's willingness to grant anyone's right to an opinion, but not to their "own facts."

Historians are guided by rules of evidence. Our standards, and our ideas about proof and disproof, differ from our colleagues in the sciences, law, and many other disciplines. We don't even fully agree among ourselves. But living and working in Washington, seeing the Capitol every day, has reaffirmed my commitment to empiricism and to the need for every discipline to discuss the nature of evidence, in our classrooms and with the greater public.

Policy discourse at all levels can be so bereft of context that desired explanations outweigh historical understanding. Historians thus can and should do more than correct facts in every media outlet at our disposal—we need to contextualize these discussions. Can immigration restriction be intelligently discussed outside the context of Chinese Exclusion (1882), the National Origins Act (1924), and the Hart-Celler Act (1965)?




The US Capitol at the end of the 2013 government shutdown.
 Stephen Melkisehian/Flickr/CC BY-NC-ND 2.0

Context is one thing; analogy is quite another. Do references to populism mislead more than clarify? Is it specious to mention Nazi Germany when taking stock of the current administration's threat to democracy, a free press, and equal protection under the law? Should a policy maker who utters the word "Munich" be taken to task? Historical analogies are often simplistic if not downright misleading. But perhaps they are unavoidable. In a panel discussion at January's AHA annual meeting, Ibram Kendi pointed out that analogies attract attention; historians who reject them out of hand are likely to find themselves talking mostly to other historians.

My vantage point in Washington leaves me susceptible to an amplified sense of impending crisis—especially in the context of a government shutdown, overheated rhetoric punctuated by expletives, the emergence of a pattern of prevarication affirmed on both sides of the legislative aisle, and a frontal attack on established procedures for gathering and publicizing evidence. But a historian should perhaps urge caution about a discourse of current crisis that is itself ahistorical. A dozen historians recently suggested to *Politico* years that were even worse: 1860, 1861, 1865, 1890, 1919, 1920, 1968, and 1973–74

all won votes for moments that made 2017 look comparatively placid. On the other hand, comparison across time might enhance our understanding of the danger, less in its magnitude than in its locus.

The AHA and its members need to ask ourselves what our role can and should be in this unusual situation, as a scholarly association and as individual historians. Historians know that neo-Nazis are not "fine people." Nor are neo-Confederates. Historians know that for millions of Americans, family history includes migration (and yes, chain migration) from places with dysfunctional government, grinding poverty, and violence. Historians know that the long tradition of executive disdain for the press, including outright hostility, has never sunk to labeling the media "the enemy of the American people." Spiro Agnew's "nattering nabobs of negativism" now seems a mere trifle as an attack on the proverbial authors of the "first draft of history." The role of history and historians in public life has never been more visible or less clear.

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

A DIFFICULT PAST

Interpreting Slavery at Presidential Plantations

In 2016, excavations at Highland—the Charlottesville, Virginia, home of President James Monroe—led to a discovery that would completely reshape interpretation of the site. Historians believed that a small house, still standing on the property, had been part of the main residence, most of which had burned down. But archaeologists, looking at what was revealed in the digging, identified the foundation of Monroe's main residence. Highland staff realized that the smaller house was a guest house, built around 1818, by Peter Mallory and George, two carpenters enslaved by Monroe.

Each year, presidential plantations attract hundreds of thousands of visitors. People come to learn about the lives of the founding generation and to admire historic architecture and artifacts. But as places that were also working plantations, they can open conversations with the public about the role of slavery in the nation's history. In the last 30 years, presidential plantation sites, according to Sara Bon-Harper, executive

director of Highland, have made great strides in “presenting the narratives of slavery” to visitors. To tell these stories, the sites have lately turned to archaeology and to communities descended from the enslaved who lived and labored there.

Interpreting slavery at presidential plantations was the subject of two sessions at the 2018 AHA annual meeting: “Public History and Public Memory: Talking Slavery at Presidential Plantations” and “Returning the Landscape of Slavery to Presidential Plantations.” The sessions, organized by Jennifer Morgan (New York Univ.), included staff from four presidential plantations—Highland, Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, George Washington's Mount Vernon, and James Madison's Montpelier.

As the panelists demonstrated, each of these mansions has its own history of interpreting slavery. Mount Vernon, for example, has been doing it at least since 1929, when the Mount Vernon Ladies Association planted a memorial stone to mark the slave cemetery near

Washington's tomb. Even before that, said Douglas Bradburn, Mount Vernon's president and CEO, the plantation hired people who were once enslaved there to work as interpreters. In the 1980s, Monticello began informing the public about the enslaved people who lived there, with the first tours discussing slavery following in the 1990s. Montpelier began reckoning with slavery through archaeological work in 2000.

sites are white, and many have specific expectations about the history they will encounter there, making for another challenge for interpreters. As Brandon Dillard, manager of special programs at Monticello, put it: “When you're having a conversation at Monticello about how great Thomas Jefferson was as the guy who invented America, it's pretty hard to then move into a conversation about slavery.”

“We all stand united in knowing the presidents we interpret could not have achieved what they achieved without slavery.”

Interpreting slavery poses difficulties for historic sites. Since most enslaved people could not read or write, there are few documentary records or personal accounts of plantation life from their perspectives. Interpreters must convey the complexities of how slavery worked at each site, as well as each president's views about it, in the time of a house tour. The majority of visitors to these

Presidential plantations have been able to get at the history of slavery at their sites by collaborating with descendant communities. In Highland's case, a descendant of a family enslaved by Monroe contacted the site after hearing of the newly discovered main residence foundations. Since then, Highland staff have been able to connect with other descendants. Bon-Harper hopes that this

community will collaborate with Highland both as “informants about their families and oral histories” and as “advisers and participants” in future decisions.

While Highland is early in its work with descendant communities, other presidential plantations have been engaged in this work for much longer. In 1999, Rebecca Gilmore Coleman informed Montpelier staff that a decrepit cabin across from the main gate was built by her great-grandfather, formerly enslaved by Madison, and asked for it to be restored. This marked the beginning of a relationship between Montpelier and the descendant community. In “Returning the Landscape of Slavery to Presidential Plantations,” Elizabeth Chew, Montpelier’s vice president of museum programs, described how the site’s current exhibition—*The Mere Distinction of Colour*—emerged from relationships with descendants, who requested that it emphasize the “humanity of their ancestors” and not “leave slavery in the past.” A result of 20 years of archaeological and historical research, the exhibit features listening stations where visitors can hear “descendants tell the stories of their ancestors,” in the words of Christian Cotz, Montpelier’s director of education and visitor engagement.

Archaeology has also been crucial to each site. Gary Sandling, vice president of

visitor programs and services at Monticello, said that “for historic sites . . . archaeology plays as much of a, if not a more important, role in the ability to communicate and interpret slavery as the documentary record.” Projects include a continuing archaeological survey of the slave cemetery at Mount Vernon to determine burial sites and other details. Monticello has conducted long-standing efforts to restore buildings where enslaved people lived and worked, now including the South Wing and South Pavilion, which had been converted to public restrooms in the mid-20th century. The discovery of the base of a stove in one building has been particularly influential. Its foundations will

be left exposed, Dillard said, facilitating discussions about James Hemings, a chef enslaved by Thomas Jefferson. According to Sandling, much of the motivation to restore and reinterpret these structures comes from the need to address a criticism many African American visitors to Monticello raise: “You’ve erased where we were.”

But most visitors at presidential plantations are white and come to the mansions expecting to find an untainted celebration of the president in question. Sandling noted that “Wasn’t Thomas Jefferson a good master?” was the most common question interpreters received on tours at Monticello. In an

interview with *Perspectives*, Highland guide Martin Violette listed questions he often hears: How many slaves did Monroe own? How did he treat them? No matter the question, Violette said, the underlying concern is often the same: “How could our founding fathers, who created a country based on individual freedom, own slaves?”

To help visitors confront these questions, guides at Monticello start their house tour with slavery, discussing Sally Hemings and identifying Thomas Jefferson as the father of her children. According to Nancy Stetz, education programs manager at Highland, tour guides there are required to mention slavery in a “national



A furnished bunkroom allows visitors to learn about how enslaved individuals lived at Mount Vernon.

Zoe Jackson

The majority of visitors to these sites are white, and many have specific expectations about the history they will encounter there.

context” but also to refer to specific enslaved persons by name. The site also offers a “Slavery at Highland” drop-in station, where visitors can discuss slavery with interpreters.

Staff also ensure that the story of slavery is not extracted from the greater history of the plantation or the president associated with it. Bon-Harper said that a “central tenet” of the work on slavery at Highland is that the “lives of the enslaved and their contributions are discussed in the same set of narratives as those about Monroe.” Jessie MacLeod, associate curator at Mount Vernon, similarly hopes that visitors leave the current exhibition at the site—*Lives Bound Together: Slavery at George Washington’s Mount Vernon*—understanding that “slavery is deeply embedded in the story of Mount Vernon and George Washington’s life” and that it is impossible to understand Mount Vernon or that period in American history “without examining the impact of slavery and the contributions of enslaved people.”

As such, one important goal at the presidential plantations has been to emphasize

the individuality and humanity of the slaves. *Lives Bound Together*, MacLeod told *Perspectives*, is the first full-scale exhibition on slavery at Mount Vernon. The “growing dialogue of slavery in our nation’s founding,” she said, made this the right time to take advantage of Mount Vernon’s wealth of documentary and material evidence to contribute to the conversation. The exhibition highlights 19

enslaved individuals, and interactive screens allow visitors to learn about each of their lives at Mount Vernon, their families (if records exist), and, via maps, the places where they lived and worked.

Presidential plantations continue to add to their interpretations of slavery. An upcoming augmented reality tour at Highland will allow visitors to see representations of enslaved people conversing on the landscape. According to Sandling, Monticello is planning to develop “contemplative spaces,” recognizing that the story of slavery can be a traumatic

experience for some visitors. As each presidential site continues its efforts to interpret slavery, through collaboration with descendant communities and archaeology, each also stays committed to telling these stories humanely. Capturing a sentiment underlying the presentations at the annual meeting, Stetz emphasized, “We all stand united in knowing the presidents we interpret could not have achieved what they achieved without slavery.” **P**

Zoë Jackson is editorial assistant at the AHA.



CALL FOR SUBMISSIONS: 2018 BOOK PRIZES

The American Catholic Historical Association is pleased to announce its 2018 book prize competitions. Submissions for the **Shea Book Prize** for General Catholic history, the **Marraro Book Prize** for Italian history, and the **Koenig Book Prize** for Catholic biography are now being accepted.

For more details, visit achahistory.org/awards

JILL WHARTON

FAMILIAL INTRIGUE

A Historian's Attic Reveals Secrets from the Past

Alice Echols's discovery that her grandfather played a leading role in one of the biggest banking scandals in Colorado's history didn't originate in the archive. The revelation began over dinner with her parents while she was researching a separate project nearly 20 years ago. That evening took an unforeseen turn when a teasing remark about the family's shadowy history caused her mother to burst into tears and flee the dinner table in outrage. Bewildered, Echols persuaded her father to finally break the silence surrounding her mother's early life.

What she learned was that her grandfather, Walter Clyde Davis, whom her mother rarely mentioned, wasn't a banker who had simply lost his fortune in the Great Depression. Davis was, instead, a notorious criminal whose fraudulent business dealings had brought national disgrace on the family a mere generation before. Once considered a financial wizard, Davis

embezzled over \$1.25 million—nearly \$22 million in today's terms—from the City Savings Building and Loan in Colorado Springs before the Depression. In her latest book, *Shortfall: Family Secrets, Financial Collapse, and a Hidden History of American Banking* (2017), Echols reveals Davis's story and how the sidelined history of building and loan associations (B&Ls) altered national perceptions of Wall Street vs. Main Street capitalism, exerting a lasting influence on debates over deregulation in the housing industry. Quietly scrubbed from family memory, and exemplary of the virtual omission of B&L scandals in the historical record, the scale of Davis's fraud was surpassed only in 2015, when Wells Fargo, Colorado's top small-business lender, was deemed responsible for \$34 million in falsified commercial accounts.

Growing up in the suburb of Chevy Chase, Maryland, Echols, now a professor of history at the University of Southern California, was generally aware of a tense silence regarding her mother's past, as well as the incongruously swanky Art Deco

furnishings—evidence of gone-by opulence and prosperity—that distinguished her home from the “midcentury blondness” of the neighborhood. When she was five, she saw her father unpacking a box filled with her late grandmother Lula's custom-sewn gloves—the fingers of every pair were stuffed with \$100 bills. This memory led her, years later, to a survey of the family

these documents helped her overturn the vague childhood narrative in which her grandparents were financially victimized by the stock market crash. “All along,” she notes in *Shortfall*, “an intimate archive of the scandal had been cached inside our house. My mother held on to it all, even though doing so risked the possibility that one of her daughters might discover her family's secret.”

When she was five, Echols saw her father unpacking a box filled with her late grandmother Lula's custom-sewn gloves—the fingers of every pair were stuffed with \$100 bills.

attic. There, she found Louis Vuitton trunks, packed with memorabilia that had sat untouched over the years.

The documents Echols unearthed—transcripts of subpoenaed telegraphs, diaries, letters, and newspaper clippings—led to a FOIA request for her grandfather's 200-page FBI file. Ultimately,

The book elucidates a once-public tragedy of social climbing, contextualized by rampant state and federal regulatory corruption in the West. A portrait of governmental negligence and the policies that nourished antistate conservatism in the region, *Shortfall* considers the private and public motives behind investment

profiteering. The work reveals the widespread subterfuge that allowed Davis's actions to be replicated to varying degrees by manipulation of the B&L model across the country through the 1920s. In Colorado, Davis capitalized on opposition to the concept of regulation itself.

The building and loan industry figures as a vital component of our lending and investment landscape. As community-based nonprofits, B&Ls gained national traction after the Civil War. They were frequently operated by amateurs, with depositors meeting in churches, rented halls, and taverns. Prospective home buyers invested in shares, which could be borrowed against to finance mortgages at low interest rates. With real advantages for families of limited means, B&Ls helped launch homeownership as both a practical endeavor and a political ethos.

Yet the nature of the enterprise began to shift in the 1880s, when industrialists and banking executives, seeking to expand to new consumer demographics, started to consolidate, promote, and sell stock in B&Ls nationwide. These executives set up shopfronts that imitated established banking institutions and offered wildly inflated interest rates to lure new, middle-class depositors, frequently crafting agreements that obscured the restrictive circumstances under which clients could retrieve their funds. Revamped



Walter Davis's chicanery made the front page of the *Colorado Springs Gazette* on June 23, 1932. *The New Press*



CALL FOR PROPOSALS

Fourth Annual Conference of the Purdue Nanjing Joint Center for China Studies China, East Asia, & the United States: Rural Transformations

The Purdue Nanjing Joint Center for China Studies invites paper and session proposals for the conference theme "China, East Asia, and the United States: Rural Transformations." In addition, we invite paper and session proposals on any aspect of Chinese and East Asian politics, science, medicine, technology, education, economics, and cultural and social change. Papers linking China and East Asia with the United States will be particularly welcome. The conference will be held at Purdue University in West Lafayette, Indiana. Send paper and session proposals to Doug Hurt (doughurt@purdue.edu), Head of the Department of History at Purdue University, by May 1, 2018.

Conference Dates:
October 23-25, 2018

PURDUE
UNIVERSITY

B&L associations in large part catalyzed the consumer revolution of the 1920s, and 10 years later, they claimed nearly 50 percent of institutionally held mortgage debt on one- to four-family homes. By 1929, at least 1 in 10 Americans had invested in a B&L. *Shortfall* reconstructs the complex dimensions of this “legal chicanery aided by beneficent darkness” and unveils the American financial system as it grew ad hoc.

As B&Ls turned millions of ordinary Americans into homeowners, consumers, and investors, Walter Davis emerged as a figure typical of an abusive system. As the owner of City Savings, Davis siphoned extravagantly from investors, but his story proves exceptional in degree rather than in kind. Born into a family his daughter later described as “a bunch of nobodies from nowhere,” the Davis household moved to Colorado from Greensburg, Indiana, in 1905. The cash-strapped family, headed by its tuberculosis-afflicted father, Allen, sent only Walter through high school. Driven by an insatiable desire for upward mobility, as a young stenographer, Walter floated fake reports of his college education and socially prominent marriage to the local papers. He also presented himself as an attorney, shedding his actual vocation as stenography became feminized by the popularization of office machinery in the 1910s.

In a state and a town where the elite felt entitled to run the show, and where East Coast industrialists aided the governor’s office in defeating banking regulation measures, the realm of the legally permissible, Echols writes, was widening for all businessmen, including her grandfather. At the turn of the century, Colorado Springs was a town defined by the excesses of extractive industry. Top-heavy with millionaires and an elite tourist class that listed Theodore Roosevelt on the rolls of the Cheyenne Mountain Country Club, Colorado was also a state where coal-mining deaths occurred at twice the national average. Workers in the shantytowns of Cripple Creek and Colorado City referred to the Springs as Little London, where residents of Millionaire’s Row strolled streets paved, literally, with low-grade gold extracted from the Creek District’s mines. *Shortfall* documents a culture “loath to erect or enact anything that might act as a roadblock to ingenuity and enterprise,” encouraging ambitious men with unchecked entrepreneurial drive like Davis.

Just seven years after his arrival in Colorado Springs, Davis began operating formally as a moneylender, and in 1914, he acquired City Savings, which was struggling to stay afloat. Through shrewd marketing to middle-class homeowners, and with promises—and, initially, actual payment—of inflated interest rates, Davis began his ascent to social

prominence. He also started to take more audacious risks. By 1930, he had spent over \$150,000 on European travel and \$82,000 on luxury cars, and had purchased more than a half-million dollars of life insurance coverage.

As his spending grew more lavish, he used City Savings as a private honeypot, grafting money into his own accounts for the fictional sale of properties owned by his holding company. Dubbed “Captain Nothing” by a vitriolic press once the extent of his high-rolling theft became evident, Davis embodied the

institutions to rebrand themselves as savings and loans. These too would later fail spectacularly, during the Reagan administration.

Reflecting on the project of braiding together micro and macro narratives, Echols notes that while some people may think of family history as “disposable” and not “serious,” she is certain that her mother’s class anxiety and her own memories of it shaped the work definitively. To her dying day, her mother, despite inheriting an estate worth nearly \$1 million, considered herself a “no-

Through shrewd marketing to middle-class homeowners and promises of inflated interest rates, Davis began his ascent to social prominence.

paradoxes of a society riven by socioeconomic extremes. As the Depression deepened and depositors came calling for funds that were no longer on hand, Davis took the path shared by many exposed financiers, resigning from his B&L before going on the lam, and later committing suicide before he could be taken to trial (which would have resulted in the financial and social ruin of his wife and daughter). Along with City Savings, thousands of B&Ls imploded during the Depression, but the New Deal (and its federal deposit insurance policy) allowed these

body.” The long shadow of Walter C. Davis also falls across the legal landscape that abetted his crimes: “my grandfather,” Echols writes, “had a cruel disregard for his customers, whether they were looking for security, a lifeline, or fast money. I wish he had been an outlier, a lone maverick, but he wasn’t.” Reviving an all-but-forgotten history, *Shortfall* enriches our understanding of deregulation and anti-state conservatism, in all its personal and public discontents. **P**

Jill Wharton is a Mellon Visiting Fellow at the AHA.



AHA CAREER CONTACTS

Are you a graduate student or early-career scholar who is interested in learning about the career paths open to historians?

Are you a history PhD employed beyond the professoriate with advice and experience to share?

Jonathan Sureau, CC BY-NC-ND 2.0, flic.kr/p/fdp8i6

Sign up to participate in AHA Career Contacts, a service that matches graduate students and recent PhDs with historians employed beyond the professoriate for one-time informational interviews.

For more information and to sign up, visit www.historians.org/aha-career-contacts.
Questions and feedback about the program should be directed to Dylan Ruediger, Career Diversity Coordinator, druediger@historians.org

ANITA CASAVANTES BRADFORD

HISTORY'S FUTURE

What the AHA Might Do for Emerging Scholars

In its mission to advocate on behalf of the individuals, activities, and interests that make up the historical profession, the AHA's Graduate and Early Career Committee (GECC) supports the goals of graduate students and historians early in their careers. GECC also communicates the concerns of these constituencies to the broader membership of the AHA. My three-year term as GECC chair recently ended, but I want to reflect on the ways the AHA serves PhD students and recent graduates and to offer thoughts on what more it could be doing.

During the past three years, GECC members expanded and updated the AHA website's resources for graduate students and early career professionals. The materials now provide guidance on professional development, mentorship and publication, the academic job search, and the path to tenure. Meanwhile, the AHA has made significant strides in advancing career development for graduate students and early career professionals. Through the Mellon-funded Career Diversity for Historians initiative, the AHA has developed programs and resources for PhD students and recent graduates related to various career options. Through its Career Contacts program, for example, Career Diversity matches grad students and

PhDs to counterparts working beyond the professoriate.

The AHA also recognizes that many, perhaps most, history PhD students aspire to careers as scholars and educators. Despite the factors working against these aspirations—including reduced federal and state support for humanities education, the declining popularity of the undergraduate history major, and widespread reliance on adjunct instructors—we must support history departments as they prepare graduate students to be competitive for the scarce number of academic jobs.

As pressure grows to graduate doctoral students in as few as five years, we must forge a clear consensus about what constitutes essential training for graduate students. Through its Tuning project, the AHA has already helped clarify the key skills, understanding, and knowledge that go into the undergraduate history major. Now, the AHA is engaging graduate faculty around the country to define the essential components of the history PhD, especially teaching. This new phase of Career Diversity will ultimately assist graduate directors to ensure that their programs can respond to the reality confronting PhD students and early career professionals.

A collaborative and broad-based graduate-level program resembling Tuning would shed light on how to

provide graduate students with consistent professional training for careers in higher education. Although discipline-specific content and skills will always be central to doctoral education, so too should be coursework that provides training in other tasks that make up a scholarly career. Of course, these must include the skills essential to the research, writing, and publication process, but they should also cover grant proposal writing, guidelines for serving as an external reviewer, and instruction in teaching.

We must support departments preparing graduate students to be competitive for academic jobs.

Because these skills are often imparted through faculty mentorship—or imagined to be things students can “figure out on their own”—they are frequently not included in course syllabi. But the fact is that when graduate curricula don't require training and assessment in professional skills to graduate, students in the same department will receive vastly different preparation in these competencies. They will earn the same degree on

paper, but they will have received inconsistent grounding for a competitive academic job market.

Unsystematic professional training compounds inequities for students who are first generation, low income, and/or from communities of color. These students can lack exposure to higher education and the understanding of how graduate school works, which more-privileged students bring to their first seminars. In this area, the AHA could do more to serve its graduate student and early career members. By advocating for a clear statement of the professional skills that PhD curricula should include, the AHA can stand for

When curricula don't require training in professional skills, students in the same department will receive vastly different preparation in them.

the success of all graduate students and early career professionals, while also taking an affirmative stance on equity.

Since a majority of history PhDs will secure positions with high teaching responsibilities, the AHA needs to better prepare graduate and early career professionals for success in these institutions. A first step would be to increase outreach to graduate program directors, making them aware of the teaching and learning resources on the AHA website. The AHA should also encourage directors to share these resources with their

faculty and assign them to graduate students.

The AHA is now advocating for history departments to require discipline-specific pedagogical training in their doctoral programs. Nationally, an increasingly diverse student population now includes more English language learners and international students, many of whom have had little or no previous exposure to the history taught in US and world civilizations survey courses. Incoming faculty must be equipped to advance their research agendas while engaging these students. PhD-level coursework should explicitly address the skills early career professionals will need to develop course objectives and syllabi effectively and efficiently, and to employ best practices in teaching and assessment.

The fact that university faculty members typically haven't received such training makes this task more difficult and perhaps contributes to the tendency to pass off pedagogical development to campus-wide centers for teaching and learning. Through the second phase of Career Diversity, the AHA is seeking to find ways to encourage departments to offer discipline-specific instructional training themselves. Ideally, graduate students and faculty at different career stages would learn together in ways that would support early career success for aspiring historians, while also strengthening relationships between faculty and graduate students. This training would promote a culture of discussion and continuous professional development for all, and improve the overall quality of instruction the department offers.

Finally, we should consider ways graduate students and early career professionals can feature more prominently within the historically

grounded discussions the AHA seeks to advance within and beyond our community. The AHA should include more of their writing in its publications and create opportunities for them to lead initiatives to lend historical insight to the public sphere. In today's polarized political climate, it is more important than ever that our discipline work to reclaim a leading role in civic life. The AHA might forge partnerships with reputable news media, magazines, and other outlets willing to feature short, accessible essays by members linking historical scholarship to broader public concerns. Because many graduate and early career members actively engage with contemporary issues and are usually more fluent in youth cultures and idioms, these professionals could lead the way in translating scholarly insights for a broader (and younger) audience. Initiatives like this would allow the AHA to support the professional development of graduate students and newer faculty while increasing the visibility and prestige of the discipline as a whole.

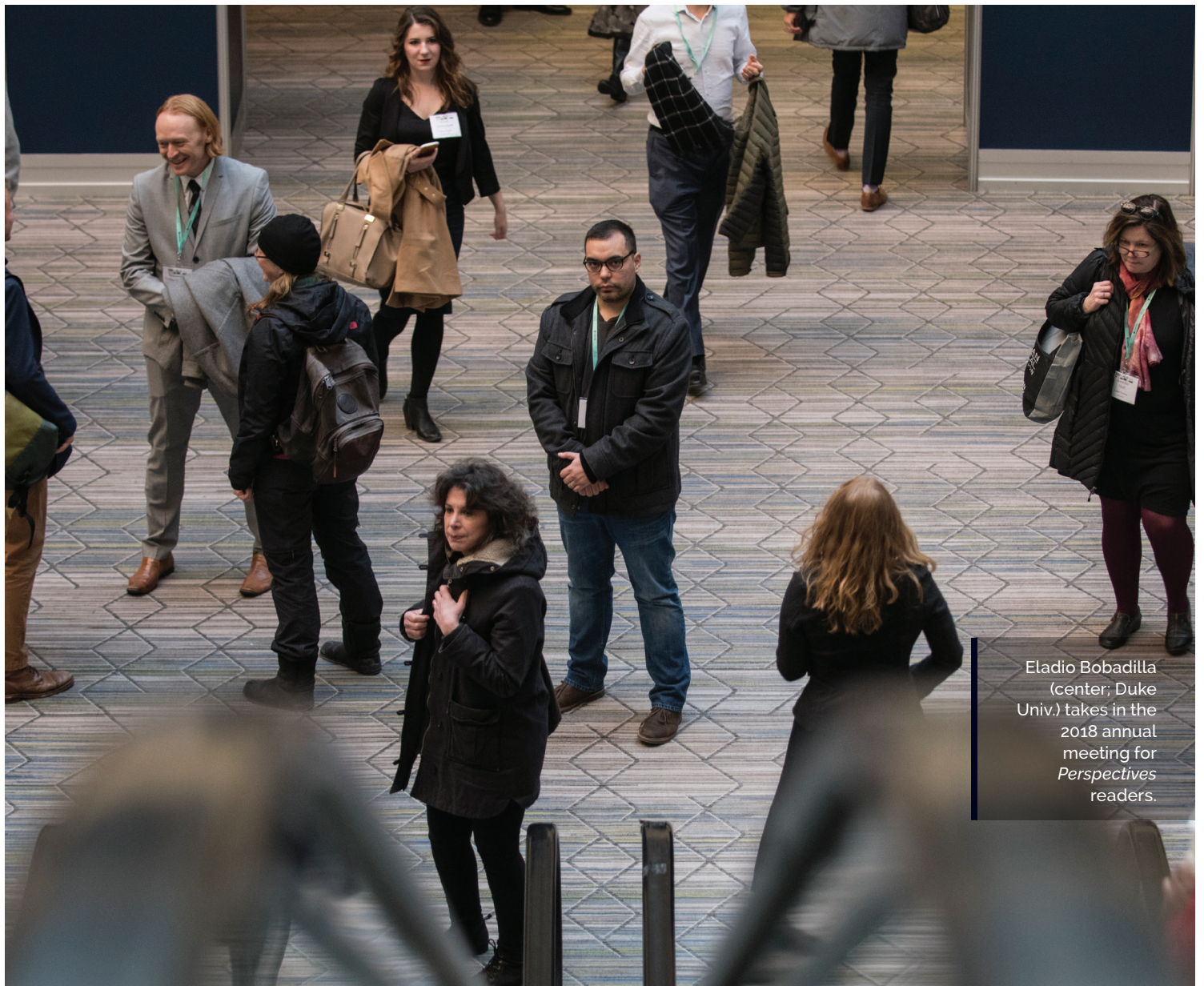
Today's history graduate students and early career professionals confront a different set of challenges from those that shaped the careers of previous generations. This means the needs of emerging historians are different from those of the faculty who teach and mentor them. As the AHA looks forward, it would do well to place the needs of our increasingly diverse graduate and early career members at the center of its agenda. The future of history is in their hands. If we hope to ensure that the study of the past retains—or perhaps regains—a preeminent place in our institutions of higher learning and in the public sphere, we must look forward. **P**

Anita Casavantes Bradford is associate professor of Chicano/Latino studies and history at the University of California, Irvine.

ELADIO BOBADILLA | PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARC MONAGHAN

NO TIME LIKE THE PRESENT

AHA18 and Life under Trump



Eladio Bobadilla
(center; Duke
Univ.) takes in the
2018 annual
meeting for
Perspectives
readers.

ALMOST A YEAR AFTER DONALD TRUMP'S inauguration, historians gathered in Washington, DC, just two miles from the White House, for the 132nd annual meeting of the AHA. The setting heightened the inescapable conversations about the historical significance of Trump's presidency and the administration's role in shaping the place of historians in public life. One needed only walk through the hotels—with their TVs tuned to news about Michael Wolff's Trump exposé *Fire and Fury*, released on the second day of the meeting—to understand just how strongly contemporary events now influence historians' conversations.

The issues of today were hardly confined to lobby chatter, nor were they limited to Trump's presidency. Perhaps more than usual, attendees anticipated discussing pressing issues, from immigration to voting rights to #MeToo. A cursory reading of the 2018 program revealed sessions about

teaching history in the “post-fact” age, the place of “master narratives” in today's historical debates, the relevance of capitalism to modern pedagogy, the history of “walls” and borders, and the historical roots of “fake news.”

Even sessions that didn't deal with issues of obvious contemporary significance revealed that historians couldn't escape the influence of current events. As Noa Shaindinger, a postdoctoral scholar who studies the history of urban cultures and the Middle East at North Carolina State University, told me, “Even the language that is being used, the choice of terms,” reflects what's happening today. Shaindinger observed that some panels on ancient or medieval history referred to historical boundaries as “the wall” or “the fence,” evoking media descriptions of contemporary Palestine and Mexico. The parallels, while certainly not all intentional, were unmistakable due to heightened sensitivity around these issues.



Award winner Kelsey Kauffman (left; Indiana Women's Prison) and Joan Francis (Washington Adventist Univ.) share a laugh at the Welcome Reception.



Robin Kietlinksi (LaGuardia Community Coll.) and Kevin Wagner (Carlisle Area Sch. District) confer about teaching World War I at the K-16 Educators Workshop.



These historians could be swapping strategies about fitting all the new books in their luggage. The struggle is real.



Kealoa Fox (Univ. of Hawai'i at Mānoa) discusses indigenous Hawaiian medical practice with incoming AHA president-elect John McNeill (Georgetown Univ.).



With the help of AHA president Tyler Stovall, Sowande' M. Mustakeem (Washington Univ. in St. Louis) celebrates winning the Wesley-Logan Prize in African Diaspora History.

Shaindlinger also lamented that many academics seemed apprehensive about engaging in classroom discussions of politics or directly confronting the ways history informs political discourse today. She meant going beyond keeping a healthy distance or maintaining “sober-mindedness and a respect for the past,” as Robert A. Schneider, professor of history at Indiana University and former editor of the *American Historical Review*, put it during the popular panel on walls and borders.

Whether speaking from the dais or asking questions from the floor, historians in a number of sessions said or implied that they felt silenced by what Shaindlinger called a “climate of fear,” which prevented them from “acting in more meaningful ways.” Ussama Makdisi, professor of history and chair of Arab studies for the Arab-American Educational Foundation at Rice University, described a “right-wing backlash in academia” mirroring a broader trend in American society. “Look at what happened at Drexel,” Shaindlinger said, referring to political scientist George Ciccariello-Maher’s resignation from that institution amid threats resulting from a controversial tweet. (In December 2016, Ciccariello-Maher mocked the term “white genocide,” used by some

alt-right groups, in a sarcastic tweet that went viral.) Emerging scholars and scholars of color remain particularly uneasy about being labeled “too political” or “too biased,” Shaindlinger added.

Even sessions that didn't deal with issues of obvious contemporary significance revealed that historians couldn't escape the influence of current events.

But some scholars urged discretion in engaging in punditry. On Twitter, Moshik Temkin, an associate professor of public policy at Harvard University, warned against “meaningless” historical comparisons, linking to a June op-ed he’d written for the *New York Times*. “We teach our students to be wary of analogies, which are popular with politicians and policy makers (who choose them to serve their agendas) but often distort both the past and present,” the piece cautioned.

Temkin elaborated on this point during the Friday-morning session “Commentary, Not Punditry: Historians, Politics, and the Media,” suggesting that historians today risk making facile analogies and “easy comparisons” between Trump and reviled historical figures like Hitler, Mussolini, and Nixon. The danger, Temkin argued, was that analogies could betray historical precision and simplify narratives; ignoring the complexities of Trump and his ascendancy would fail to serve the public interest. Georgetown University professor Michael Kazin also noted that using the “f-word”

(fascist) to describe Trump not only distorts the specifics of fascism (and of Trump); it also might induce a sense of powerlessness that paradoxically would aid the rise of authoritarianism. President Trump, Kazin pointed out, could not prevent the publication of *Fire and Fury*, signaling at least one limit to his power. But institutions, including those that represent historians, said Ibram X. Kendi, a professor and founding director of the Anti-Racist Research and Policy Center at American University, should nevertheless remain vigilant to growing attacks on intellectuals and institutions of knowledge, since “power works through institutions.”

The irony of the National Museum of African American History and Culture's proximity to the White House was not lost on some attendees.

Meeting attendees generally agreed that historians cannot afford to stand on the sidelines in these “bizarre times,” as Temkin called our present moment during his panel, or to fool themselves into believing they can do history without letting the present influence them. As Schneider noted, “It would be stupid and artificial to ignore the present” when teaching and writing about the past. Even Temkin agreed that “historians should be loud and engaged and involved.”



Bonnie Morris (left; Univ. of California, Berkeley) and Barbara Molony (Santa Clara Univ.) bring a bit of California to the LGBTQ Historians reception.



Incoming AHA president Mary Beth Norton (right) grills Elizabeth Willett (Central Connecticut State Univ.) at the Undergraduate Poster Session.

There were other reminders of the contemporary relevance of the historian's craft at the meeting. The Exhibit Hall, where historians perused the newest historical literature, showcased an array of recent "resistance books" with titles like *Antifa*, *White Rage*, and *How Democracies Die*. Some historians took time to visit Washington public history institutions like the National Museum of African American History and Culture, a sobering testament to African American resistance, located on the National Mall. The irony of the museum's proximity to the White House was not lost on some attendees.

Another necessary, if uncomfortable conversation spurred by contemporary politics occurred at the late-breaking session "Historians and Sexual Harassment: The Challenge for the AHA." (Editor's note: see AHA president Mary Beth Norton's report to members on AHA policy and sexual harassment in this issue.) A number of historians shared their own stories of sexual violence, including one who described being assaulted at her first academic conference. Just a few years ago, she said, she wouldn't have been able to imagine having this conversation. After the panel, several women attendees characterized it as "raw," "inspiring," and "emotional."



AHA life member Tsing Yuan (left) and Xiansheng Tian (Metropolitan State Coll. of Denver) meet and greet at the Committee on Minority Historians reception.

Rebecca Brenner, a graduate student at American University, told me that the stories historians shared at this panel (attended mostly by women) were "not surprising at all." But she also said she felt empowered by the testimonies of women "who have persevered through so much." "I felt a lot of solidarity in the sense that I knew these things were



Terrance E. Rucker discusses history careers in the federal government at the 2018 Career Fair, which drew more than 100 attendees. (The federal government is the nation's largest employer of history PhDs.)

common and were not my fault,” she said, referring to experiences of sexual harassment that she felt compelled to share on social media following the session.

Although gender politics was consuming the country—at least since the #MeToo movement ignited in October after allegations of harassment and assault against film producer Harvey Weinstein—Brenner and others suggested the sexual-harassment session might not have happened were it not for the precedent set by Trump, who was heard on a recording released during the 2016 campaign saying derogatory things about women and bragging about an apparent act of sexual assault.

As the annual meeting wrapped up and the deep freeze gave way, historians returned to their home institutions, where they will surely continue to ponder and debate their role in contemporary politics, examine ways in which the past shapes the present and vice versa, and grapple with professional issues that have finally surfaced as a result of broader discussions.

How the next few years will shape our profession is, as historians know better than most, impossible to predict. Our individual and collective choices as historians and as AHA members will steer our course. Talk of “crisis,” declining enrollments, and the imperiled academic job market does not have to define our discipline. As National History Center director Dane Kennedy argued, historians “are speaking to a receptive audience.” “What historians do always matters, but at this year’s AHA, our work felt even more pressing and important,” said Heather Ann Thompson of the University of Michigan; reflecting on the meeting, she added that “from weighing in on how fascism rises, to how we became the world’s largest jailer, to how sexual harassment persists, we have much to share with the nation.” **P**

Eladio Bobadilla is a PhD candidate in US history at Duke University.

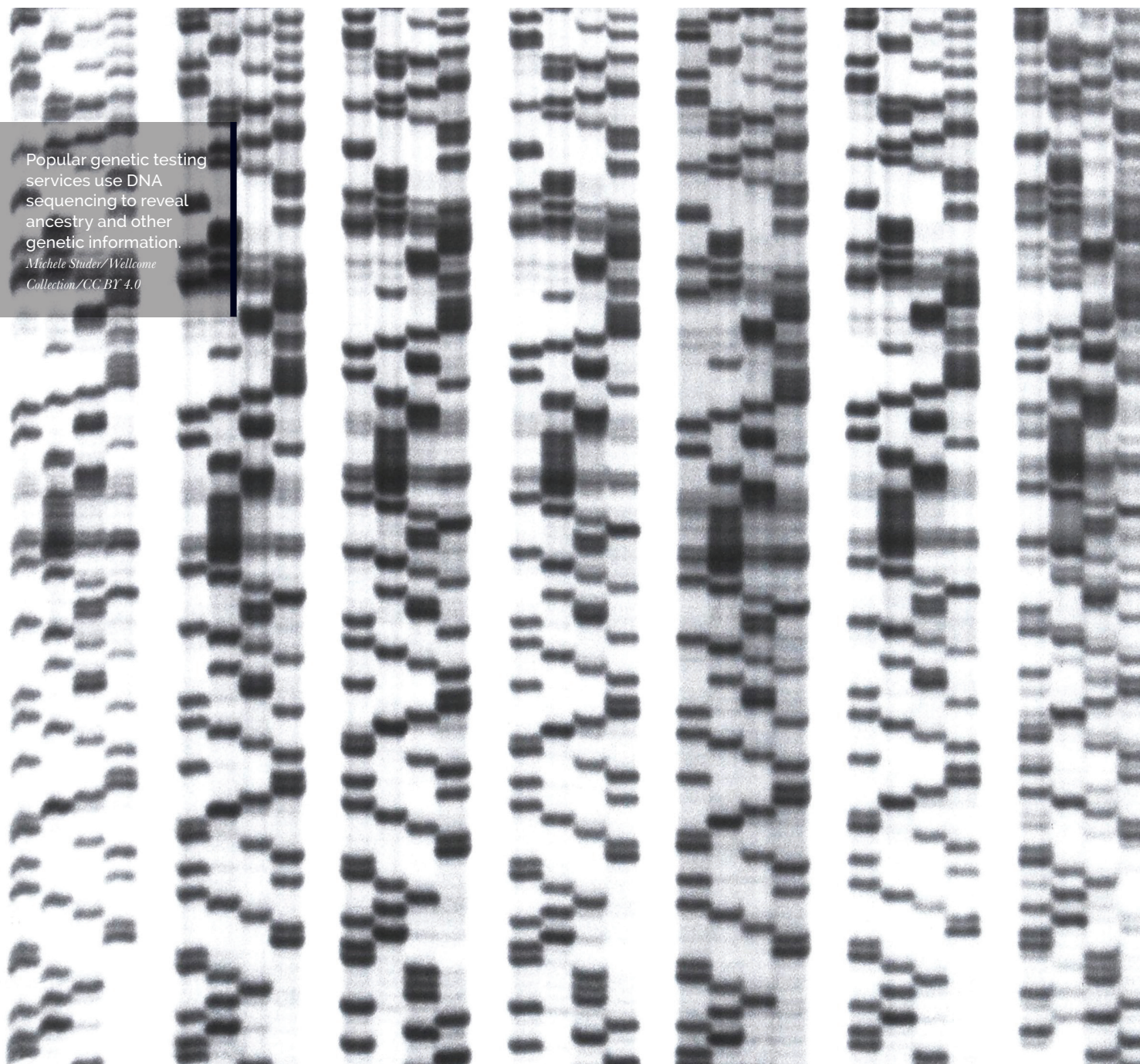
SADIE BERGEN

WHAT ARE YOU?

Historians Confront Race, Genealogy, and Genetics

Popular genetic testing services use DNA sequencing to reveal ancestry and other genetic information.

Michele Studer/Wellcome Collection/CC BY 4.0



THE ADVERTISEMENT OPENS ON a young woman named Lezlie. A collage of family pictures fills the screen, and she explains that all her life people have asked her, “What are you, what are you, what are you . . . Asian, or Moroccan, or something else?” Lezlie is selling AncestryDNA, a service from the genealogy website ancestry.com that promises to reveal one’s extended family tree and genetic background, broken down into a handy pie chart of ethnic percentages. Lezlie, it turns out, is 46 percent African, 25 percent British, 2 percent Asian, and 17 percent “other.” Even with that nebulous 17 percent, Lezlie proclaims a newfound sense of identity.

The idea that our biology contains definitive answers about who we are is seductive. Genetic testing services like AncestryDNA bring a veneer of scientific objectivity to racial and ethnic identity, cementing what many people already intuitively believe. Science, for its part, has done little to counter the notion that race is just another iteration of biological human difference; in our current “genomic era,” scientists and geneticists routinely use race as a tool to make sense of medical risks and genetic distinctions within human populations. For historians, humanists, and social scientists, this acceptance of biological essentialism, both in popular culture and in the scientific realm, presents a unique challenge: How to convincingly articulate to the public that race is a social construct rather than a biological fact?

In conversations during the 2018 AHA annual meeting in Washington, DC, historians and social scientists pushed back against the narrative that genes are carriers of essential truths about identity and heritage. In the social sciences and humanities, a consensus that racial categories are socially determined was reached in the mid-20th century. But this followed a long era of eugenics, when humans were racially categorized based on perceived physical differences and supposed genetic intellectual capacities. Since then, social scientists and humanists have spelled out the implications of using biology to map personal histories, affirm social hierarchies, and construct identities. Historians, especially, can attest to the dark consequences of viewing race as biological.

Yet the idea has lingered in cultural and scientific spheres and was reinforced in the late 20th century by medical geneticists’ efforts to identify genomic risks for disease. At one annual meeting session, “Science and Difference in History: Biology, Genetics, and the Politics of Race,” sociologist Joan Fujimura (Univ. of Wisconsin–Madison) explained that cultural assumptions about race were embedded in late 20th-century technological advancements in genetics research like the Human Genome Project, even as social

scientists increasingly emphasized the social construction of race. The Human Genome Project, between 1990 and 2000, mapped the complete DNA sequence of the human genome and identified its component genes.

When searching for genetic markers hypothesized to be associated with complex diseases like asthma, diabetes, and cancer, “geneticists built shortcuts,” said Fujimura, in order to draw connections between genes, diseases, and the human populations they coalesce within. One “shortcut” was to draw upon prevailing, socially determined racial categories to organize, analyze, and interpret research findings. The “populations” geneticists studied, however, were not neutrally constructed, but, like all knowledge, a “product of situated priorities, actions, and decisions,” said Fujimura. In other words, the decisions scientists made when drawing connections between race and genetics emerged out of a particular historical context.

At another session, titled “Racial Sciences, Old and New,” historian Daniel Smail (Harvard Univ.) called the Human Ge-

Cultural assumptions about race
were embedded in late 20th-
century technological
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like the Human Genome Project.

nome Project a “productive failure.” Its results, he noted, were not what people expected. Rather than unveiling the singularity of the human species and its vast internal variations, scientists found that the human genome was neither as large as nor as distinct from other living organisms as they had expected. Humans share more than 99 percent of their genes in common—the only race revealed by the genes was the human race.

Contests over the scientific reification of racial categories, however, began long before modern genetics research. Michael Yudell (Drexel Univ.) elucidated part of this history at the session “Science and Difference in History” with the example of W.E.B. Du Bois, who questioned the idea that health disparities stemmed from racial differences at the turn of the 20th century. Du Bois instead suggested that the racialized “conditions of life”—poverty, a lack of education, unsanitary living and working conditions—led to racial disparities in health. Thus, while race is not biologically determinative, it can masquerade as such when employed reflexively in scientific

research and medical practice. Yudell explained that scholars who criticize the use of racial categories as proxies for genetic diversity are reinvigorating Du Bois's critiques, revealing the historical inertia of the biological concept of race despite a century of scientific and technological advancements.

Direct-to-consumer genetic testing services have profited from this inertia. Companies like AncestryDNA and 23andMe can only communicate their findings via preexisting cultural scripts that assume race, ethnic heritage, genealogy, and geography to overlap seamlessly. In his presentation during "Racial Sciences, Old and New," historian Patrick Geary (Institute for Advanced Study) argued that genetic testing services are "too eager to equate ethnic with geographic origins." Once the layers are peeled back, it becomes clear that the neat pie charts of ethnic and geographic compositions that testing services like AncestryDNA generate are mired in historical contingency.

Migration and border fluctuations have been constants throughout human history, and the regional labels we have divided up the continents with—eastern Europe, South Asia, and so on—are similarly context-dependent. If DNA proves, for example, that one's ancestors were eastern European, then a host of follow-up questions would need to be answered to determine exactly what that means: how far back does the test reach? How do these tests define the point of origin—spatially and temporally—for a family line? Depending on the answers to these and other questions, the label "eastern European" could point to any number of ethnic groups and associated heritage, history, and custom—all important components of what we call identity.

Further, as Warwick Anderson (Univ. of Sydney) explained in his presentation during "Science and Difference in History," understandings of race and ethnicity, including its biological dimensions, change when the locus of knowledge production shifts to the global South. Anderson studies the "intellectual currents" of racial science: the ways race has been conceived and human biology interpreted in the global South. Taking an alternative geographic and social perspective, argues Anderson, unsettles the historical narrative of racial science and genetics that traditionally relies on Western knowledge production. Anderson has found that while approaches to understanding human differences were still racialized in the global South, they focused less on strict categorization of the races. In his article "Racial Conceptions in the Global South" (*Isis*, 2014), Anderson writes that, instead, settler societies shared an interest in "the intermingling and plasticity of races and inquiries into the formation of new races." For instance, in 20th-century Brazil, European immigration and interracial reproduction were considered positive ways of "'whitening' the nation."

Historian of science and medicine Keith Wailoo (Princeton Univ.) has pointed out in *Genetics and the Unsettled Past: The Collision of DNA, Race, and History* (2014) that genetic testing services are "as much about making meaning in the present as . . . about the past." People get DNA from both their parents, yet genetic analysis often draws upon only one of these lines. Thus from the outset, people curious about their heritage must make a choice about the histories they want to claim. Results are also constrained by the databases they draw upon. Like any information system built by humans, genetic data and the biases behind its collection are circumscribed by historical context. Limited genetic testing in non-Western or underdeveloped parts of the world means that less data from those regions is available for comparison. As Wailoo writes, the databases themselves "shape what past will be found."

For all the ways genetic tests are more complex than their taglines promise, they can also provide an unexpected avenue for reckoning with the past. Sociologist Alondra Nelson's (Columbia Univ.) presentation during "Science and Difference in History: Biology, Genetics, and the Politics of Race" focused on marginalized communities who have been "most subjugated by scientific racism" and yet have found "pockets of agency" by using genetic testing as a way to stake political claims. Such "reconciliation" projects include the #GU272, which attempts to identify through genetic testing and genealogical research the descendants of the 272 enslaved persons sold in 1838 to help finance Georgetown University. As a result of this effort, the university has promised an "edge" in admissions to descendants.

As the work of #GU272 reveals, it can be productive to leverage the complex ways genetics and race overlap. But interpretations of genetic test results must be grounded in historical detail and contingency. As the annual meeting presenters demonstrated, race and genetics are bound up together, and historians are ideally positioned to begin untangling them. The popularity of services like AncestryDNA demonstrates that people like Lezlie are searching for answers to "who they are." But the answers they currently get only reinforce the spurious connection between race and genetics, something the world of social scientists and humanists has long abandoned. Historians must provide better, alternative answers, pushing back against the biological concept of race while honoring the roles that heritage, genealogy, and geographical origins play in determining "who we are." **P**

Sadie Bergen is a PhD student in the Center for the History and Ethics of Public Health at Columbia University.

JULIA BROOKINS

ENROLLMENT DECLINES CONTINUE

AHA Survey Again Shows Fewer Undergraduates in History Courses

Some departments are seeing slight enrollment increases.
Jim Bauer/Flickr/CC BY-ND 2.0



IN 2017, THE AHA conducted a second broad survey of enrollment in history courses (see “Survey Finds Fewer Students Enrolling in College History Courses,” *Perspectives*, September 2016, for last year’s report). As in 2016, the results show that enrollments in history courses at both the undergraduate and graduate levels are declining, although trends vary from year to year and from institution to institution.

This new survey, which opened to department chairs in May 2017 and ran through July, received 113 responses that provided enrollment data. Respondents included 1 Canadian institution, 107 US four-year institutions, and 5 US two-year institutions. These institutions reported a total undergraduate student enrollment in the 2013–14 academic year of around 348,000. Last year, however, 123 substantive responses indicated a total undergraduate history student population of about 497,000 for the 2012–13 year. Despite the smaller number of responses this year, we may still gauge trends among institutional categories.

The 2017 survey asked respondents to provide enrollment numbers for four academic years, from 2013–14 through

2016–17. The survey found that at the history-only participating departments, total undergraduate enrollments in history courses fell 7.7 percent, from 323,883 to 298,821. (This excludes the approximately 10,000 history students at the new University of Texas Rio Grande Valley in 2016–17.) At interdisciplinary or joint departments, enrollments fell 6.3 percent, from 23,980 to 22,479.

Fig. 1 breaks down trends in the Carnegie Classification categories for which we received the most responses. At the 18 responding baccalaureate colleges with a curriculum emphasizing the arts and sciences, total undergraduate history enrollments rose 5 percent from 2015–16 to 2016–17. In sharp contrast, enrollment in undergraduate history courses fell 6 percent between 2014–15 and 2015–16 at the 17 responding institutions classified as Master’s Colleges and Universities: Larger Programs, with an additional 6.3 percent decline from 2015–16 to 2016–17. The drop-off at Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity universities was smaller, but it had fallen 2.3 percent last year, 2.35 percent the year before, and around 3.5 percent the year before that. Since the categories represent schools

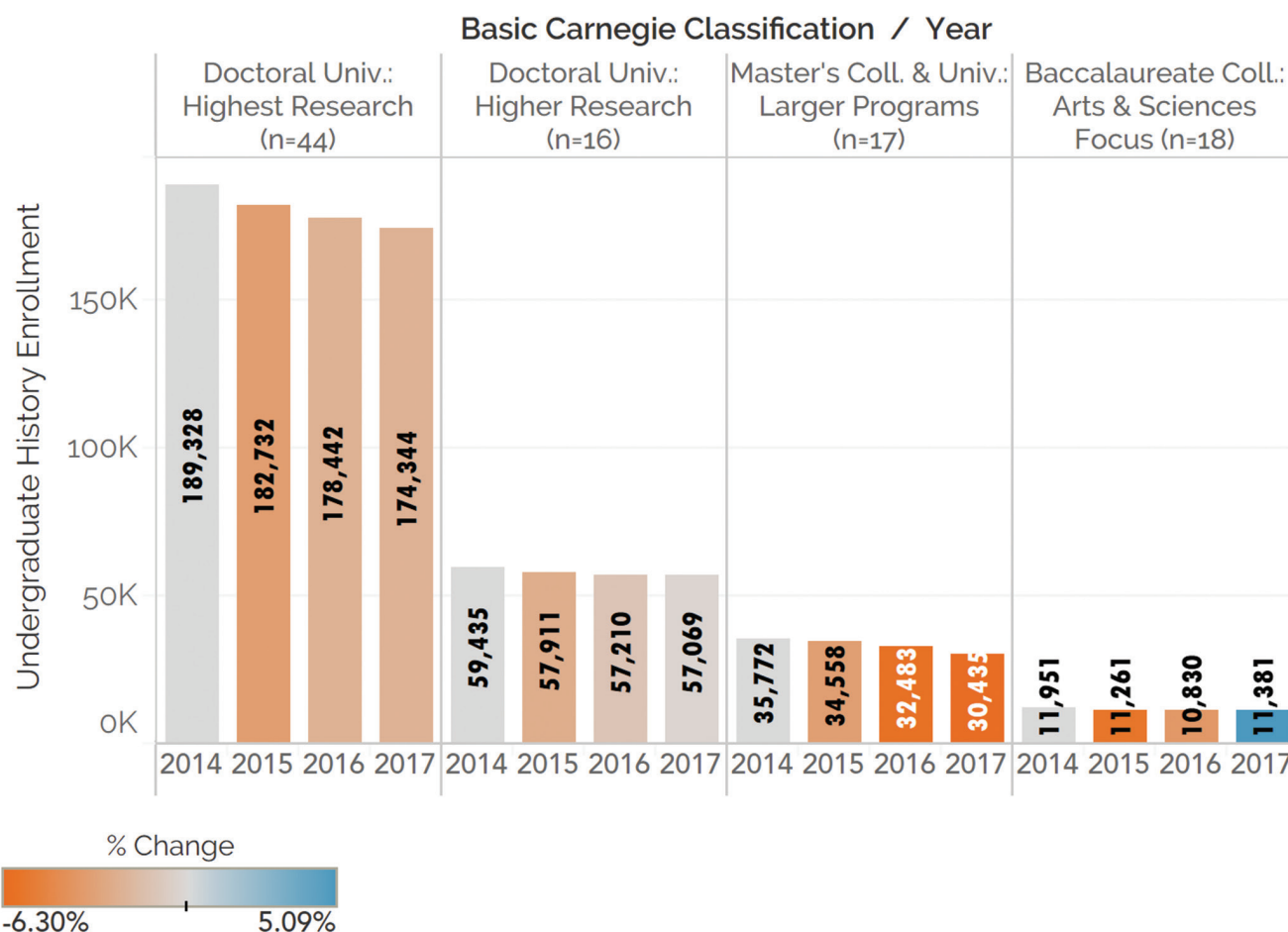


Fig. 1: History Enrollments in Key Institutional Categories.

of varying size, the decline at large universities offset the increase at the liberal arts colleges in terms of actual students. Averages thus tell us less than absolute numbers.

But in the survey's free-response sections, many department representatives commented that their enrollments were stabilizing after years of dramatic declines, with some even reporting signs of a rebound. Deliberate steps that might have helped stem the tide included scheduling the most popular classes during the time slots students find most convenient, developing a history minor or service courses that complement popular majors, and addressing students' and parents' concerns about the employability of history majors. One department decided to focus on improving student success and retention, so that their first-year students could stay around to take more history.

Departments also reported more faculty involvement in recruiting students to history courses and to the history major. While a slight majority of the responses in last year's survey indicated that "none" or "fewer than half" of instructional faculty in their academic units actively recruited, only about 37 percent of the 2017 responses fell into those categories. The percentage of respondents who said that all instructional faculty engaged in recruiting also rose, from 12 percent to 18 percent.

At individual institutions, enrollment trends were uneven. Overall, from 2015–16 to 2016–17, 49 institutions reported increasing or flat enrollments in undergraduate history courses—one outlier saw a rise of 52 percent in that one year—but 63 institutions reported single-year declines, one reaching 41.6 percent. Understandably, small institutions saw the greatest volatility, but some large history programs showed double-digit percentage changes from one year to the next.

The causes of declining enrollments are undoubtedly more complex than our data can show, but the survey revealed several possibilities. Faculty retention and research obligations might be a factor. Many also argue that history enrollments are declining because colleges and universities have restructured undergraduate general education and/or core requirements. But the data show that enrollment in introductory history courses does not appear to be leading the overall decline. While the numbers did drop, the fall was less precipitous than the overall undergraduate decline. From 2012–13 to 2016–17, the survey showed, the 4.96 percent decline in students taking introductory history courses was significantly less than the overall figure.

This year, there were fewer reports of institutions changing their general education program within the past 10 years: 55

percent said there had been no restructuring of general education, compared to just under half last year. The fraction that had experienced such changes recently—within the past year or the past three years—was stable: around 23 percent.

Even at institutions with existing general education programs, not all department representatives thought they were effectively engaging students. While the majority reported that they were contributing as many courses, sections, and faculty as possible to the institution's general education program, 17 percent said that the academic unit or department that includes history "could be doing more" in the general education program. Faculty in those departments might increase enrollments by offering more general education courses or sections.

Dual enrollment and dual credit offerings are part of the history enrollment picture at a significant minority of institutions. The percentage of respondents whose departments offered dual-enrollment courses dipped slightly, from 37 to 35. Within that group, just over half included those courses in their overall undergraduate enrollment figures. More departments seem to be getting credit for students in dual-enrollment programs, too. This is particularly important at institutions that allocate resources among departments and programs based on student numbers. This year only 34 percent of respondents said their unit did not receive credit for those programs, compared to 43 percent in 2016. Some departments also see the College Board's Advanced Placement program as a competitor, despite studies showing that AP history students are more likely to take a history course in college.

Notably, graduate enrollment is also down, more sharply than undergraduate enrollment over the same time period. About 60 percent of the institutions responding to the survey offered graduate-level history courses, and the average graduate enrollment fell over 12 percent, from 205 in 2013–14 to 180 in 2016–17.

The AHA plans to conduct the enrollments survey again in 2018, and the Association's Teaching Division has taken on the issue of enrollments as its focus under the tenure of Elizabeth Leffeldt (Cleveland State Univ.), vice president for teaching. As the AHA continues to collect both quantitative data and the stories of historians at a range of institutions, patterns may emerge showing the most effective strategies for increasing the number of college students who benefit from a history education. **P**

Julia Brookins is special projects coordinator at the AHA.



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EMILY SWAFFORD

FOCUS ON FACULTY

Next Steps in the AHA Career Diversity for Historians Initiative

What is the value and purpose of the history PhD—to the departments that grant it, to the graduate students who earn it, and to future employers? This was the central question faculty from three dozen PhD-granting departments explored in the AHA's Faculty Institutes, held over the last year as part of the next phase of the Association's Career Diversity for Historians initiative. Some attendees experienced the thrill of recognition, meeting colleagues facing similar issues and working on similar solutions. Others felt the satisfaction of finally being acknowledged for their hard work piecing together career programming and support. All, however, appreciated the time and space to contemplate doctoral education.

In December 2016, the AHA received a \$1.5 million grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation to expand Career Diversity for Historians—an effort to rethink doctoral education in history to better prepare PhDs for 21st-century careers, both inside and outside the academy. The grant allowed the AHA to sponsor three Faculty Institutes, bringing together representatives from 36 departments. They discussed the future of doctoral education and how to integrate Career Diversity into graduate curriculum and departmental programming. The goal was to prepare 20 departments for two years of Career Diversity programming, which the AHA will support through some funding and subsidizing a half-time Career Diversity Fellow (a PhD candidate or postdoctoral scholar who will gain experience in academic administration by coordinating the department's career diversity work).

Since so much of our past work has focused on outcomes for graduate students, it might be puzzling that the first step in expanding Career Diversity is highlighting the role of faculty. But as historians, we know that one way to see how change happens is to look for the interplay of agency, culture, and structure. Graduate student agency surfaced early as a key theme in Career Diversity work. As Leonard Cassuto says in *The Graduate School Mess* (2015), graduate students are the “CEOs” of their own educations. But they are frequently steered away from this mindset by definitions of success that



Faculty participate in the June institute, held in Washington, DC.

Elizabeth Elliott

privilege careers as research faculty. They can also be hampered by the need for faculty approval as they progress through the degree and seek employment. Faculty are therefore central to overcoming these cultural and structural barriers. They set the tone in departments and are the arbiters of graduate curriculum—as they should be.

Lessons gleaned from the four Career Diversity pilot sites—Columbia University; the University of California, Los Angeles; the University of Chicago; and the University of New Mexico—helped the AHA develop the institutes. From these pilot sites, we learned that while the conversation around Career Diversity needs to be national, the implementation of any solution must be departmental. And in the long view, graduate students' tenure in departments is typically several years, while faculty are there to stay. The pilot sites taught us how to create department-specific strategies and gave us ideas for programming, including professionalization seminars, internship programs and clinic courses, and forging ties with humanities centers, centers for teaching and learning, and other university and community partners.

The first institute, held in Washington, DC, in June 2017, introduced strategies and lessons learned from the pilot

programs and allied initiatives, such as the NEH's Next Generation PhD. The institute also provided a broad overview of structural changes in higher education in the last few decades. The conversation was driven by the AHA's recognition that Career Diversity must better support all career outcomes for history PhDs, including roles as faculty in the changing landscape of 21st-century higher education.

The most dramatic of these changes has been demographic: undergraduates come from increasingly diverse backgrounds. A growing number are first-generation students enrolled in teaching-intensive institutions. New faculty will need to understand how to teach them, but today's graduate students typically receive pedagogical instruction only in the context of the research-intensive institutions where they earn their degrees. Moreover, many programs neglect pedagogical training entirely. These factors, coupled with public skepticism toward history and the humanities as well as a general defunding of higher education, raise the stakes of graduate education. For future faculty who will work to combat decreasing enrollments in their classes and for PhDs who will bring the intellectual

What should the obligations of departments, faculty, and students be with regard to career preparation?

rigor and depth of historical thinking to jobs outside the academy, articulating the value and purpose of a history PhD has never been more important.

The second institute, held in Chicago in October 2017, featured small groups discussing strategies for changing departmental culture and curriculum. The institute format drew on the AHA's successful Tuning initiative, in which faculty "Tuners" organized discipline-specific conversations about the history major and its curricular structure, thus advancing the value of a history BA. With ideas for programs and partnerships gathered from our pilot institutions, and a commitment to their students' success, participants tackled such tricky questions as: What should be the obligations of departments, faculty, and students with regard to career preparation? Where does resistance to change come from, and how can faculty negotiate it? And, inspired by student focus groups they conducted: What messages about the value of the PhD and definitions of career success do your students seem to get from the department?

The third institute, held in January 2018 in conjunction with the AHA annual meeting in Washington, DC, allowed faculty to place their work in a disciplinary context. Attendees participated in three "tracks" drawn from sessions already on the annual meeting program. The first, "Career Diversity," featured sessions about implementing Career Diversity programming in history departments. The sessions in the second track, "Teaching, Pedagogy, and Curriculum," encouraged reflection on how, when, or even whether discussions about student learning and curriculum development occur in our doctoral programs. The third track, "Historians at Work," included sessions highlighting the careers of history PhDs and historians beyond the professoriate. Feedback from all the sessions was positive—and not just from the Faculty Institute participants. Panelists on sessions reported high engagement and sophisticated contributions from participants, marking one success of the three institutes: an extended, coherent conversation about the issues of Career Diversity.

The AHA embarked on this next phase of Career Diversity committed to the idea that the challenges of doctoral education require discipline- and department-specific solutions. Our experience with the institutes confirmed this. The departments participating in the initiative's pilot phase were chosen for the differences in their location, program size, and type of institution. The variation among departments participating in the Faculty Institutes was even greater: program strengths ranged from traditional history fields to interdisciplinary degrees, from programs with separate MA and PhD curricula to those with substantial overlap, from brand-new programs to long-established departments, from departments that admit a handful of graduate students a year to ones that number their total students in the hundreds. This spectrum naturally creates vastly different conditions for doctoral education, both for faculty and for students. AHA Career Diversity must be robust and flexible enough to address them all.

The year's intense focus on faculty has better prepared the AHA, and the departments that will eventually receive the grants under the expanded initiative, to center the experience and success of graduate students in the profession. Embracing different institutions, paths, and choices has proved central to the AHA's work on Career Diversity. Just as there is no one-size-fits-all career, there is no such thing as one-size-fits-all career preparation. The next stage of Career Diversity will explore these many paths. **P**

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

ALEX LICHTENSTEIN

GENDER AND WORK

In the February Issue of the American Historical Review

Venetian prostitutes, Victorian mothers, and Armenian captives. All of these women are featured in the *AHR* Forum “Gendered Bodies, Mediated Lives: New Directions in Women’s History,” which constitutes a large part of the February 2018 issue of the *American Historical Review*.

Regular readers of the journal will know that from time to time we publish a collation of interlinked articles, accompanied by an introductory essay or closing comment (see December’s “Follow the Money”). Quite often, this *AHR* Forum does not come to us prepackaged as a single submission, but is editorially conjured by combining separately submitted but clearly related articles. This may be serendipitous, but it also reflects our faith that in this era of increasingly unbundled academic publishing, the single-volume journal aiming to be

Emma Griffin mines hundreds of autobiographies to consider the emotional terrain of maternal love.

more than the sum of its parts still has an important place. To put it differently, in the age of the downloadable single, we still like to produce LPs or concept albums when we can.

In the February 2018 issue, we bring together three articles that came to us independently, yet address in some fashion the role of affect or feeling in mediating gendered social relations. At first glance, these pieces may strike readers as quite disparate. **Joanne M. Ferraro** (San Diego State Univ.), in “Making a Living: The Sex Trade in Early Modern Venice,” examines how women in the 18th-century republican city participated in sex work to advance their economic fortunes and social autonomy. Drawing on women’s testimony before the deliciously named “tribunal of the Executors Against Blasphemy,” Ferraro argues that Venetian prostitution remained deeply embedded in the city-state’s economic life

and household organization. The crucial breakthrough here is that Ferraro’s evidence allows her to recount this tale from the perspective of the women themselves, rather than through the eyes of their moralizing interlocutors.

Speaking of moralizing interlocutors, Victorian-era mothers in Britain faced plenty of those as well. In “The Emotions of Motherhood: Love, Culture, and Poverty in Victorian Britain,” **Emma Griffin** (Univ. of East Anglia) mines hundreds of autobiographies to consider the emotional terrain of maternal love. Griffin contends that historicizing differential norms surrounding motherhood can alert the historian to a wide range of gendered emotional experiences. Her account of the not always happy relationships between parents and children offers us a glimpse into the “emotional regime” of working-class Victorian motherhood. But her article also casts light on the methodological challenges of charting interior lives that may be indiscernible to us even in the present, let alone in the past.

The final article in the forum, by **Rebecca Jinks** (Univ. of London), revisits a topic treated by Keith Watenpugh in the pages of the *AHR* eight years ago: the humanitarian efforts to “rescue” Armenian women forcibly incorporated into Turkish, Kurdish, and Bedouin households in the aftermath of the 1915 genocide on the Anatolian peninsula. While that earlier article charted a transition to modern universalist forms of humanitarianism, Jinks’s “‘Marks Hard to Erase’: The Troubled Reclamation of ‘Absorbed’ Armenian Women, 1919–1927” focuses on the ambivalences generated by debates about the relative “recuperability” of these women, as measured by the tattoos that bore witness to their experience of captivity.

Here the affective relations between female relief workers and the women they sought to “save” were co-determined by corporeal marks that identified the latter as potentially unworthy investments in relief organizations’ project of national reconstruction. Through the lens of gender, Jinks concludes that modern humanitarianism continues to bear this classificatory habit of distinguishing those worthy of rescue

Pietro Longhi, *The Ridotto of Venice*, c. 1750. Oil on canvas, 55 x 72 cm. Photo by De Agostini/Getty Images. The Ridotto, a wing of Venice's Palazzo Dandolo at San Moisè, was established in 1638 as a government-owned gambling house. There, noblemen and women of various social ranks mingled in disguise, engaging in amorous flirtations and pursuing their desires. In Longhi's rendition, a gentleman lifts a gentlewoman's dress, and a less elaborately dressed woman exposes her bosom for male admirers. Such gambling houses, an important part of Venice's new entertainment attractions during the 17th and 18th centuries, facilitated the expansion of the commodification of sex, offering the anonymity that state-regulated brothels could not provide. In "Making a Living: The Sex Trade in Early Modern Venice," Joanne M. Ferraro moves the gendered analysis of sex work in an economic direction by focusing on how the market in sexual intimacy provided women as well as men with disposable income, economic value, and agency.



from those rendered unredeemable by their ordeal. As her richly illustrated article suggests, visual representations of those in need served as tokens of worthiness and thus offer a way into this historical narrative.

Of course, the risk in conjoining scholarship that comes to us under separate cover is that the articles at hand remain only tangentially connected. We assigned **Jocelyn Olcott** (Duke Univ.) the task of drawing the work of Ferraro, Griffin, and Jinks into a common frame. A scholar of 20th-century Latin American women's history, Olcott offers a comment on the three essays rooted in European history from a perspective honed by a very different historiographic tradition and set of preoccupations in women's history. Olcott observes that these histories of "domesticity and affect," while derived from distinctive national and social contexts, together call attention to the permeability between public and private realms of women's lives. Moreover, while they draw on very different kinds of sources—legal proceedings, personal narratives, and visual representations—Olcott reminds us that all three articles keep women in the forefront of the action.

The forum is followed by a very different kind of article, "The Spine of American Law: Digital Text Analysis and U.S. Legal Practice," by **Kellen Funk** (Princeton Univ.) and **Lincoln A. Mullen** (George Mason Univ.). If the articles in the forum rely on traditional methodologies to ask new questions, Funk and Mullen apply the tools of digital text analysis to wrest new meaning from old sources. Digitization makes possible macro-analysis of 38,000 pages of 19th-century US civil procedure statutes scattered across multiple jurisdictions, but based on a code adapted from statutes originally codified in New York. The patterns that are revealed, they contend, show how creditors' legal remedies against debtors reflected a shift from

the rhythms of agriculture toward those of emergent merchant capitalism in the wake of the American Civil War. This shift, in turn, helped unite the southern and western states against legal procedures emanating from the heart of American financial power. This essay in the legal history of financial remedies might be read in conjunction with, and as a follow-up to, the forum on financial history in the December 2017 issue.

It is just this sort of cross-disciplinary historiographic mix that the *AHR* seems best positioned to promote. Not every issue of the *AHR* contains a forum, but we do carefully construct each issue to ensure that it reflects a variety of fields, methods, and chronologies of potential interest to a wide array of historians. Our hope is that any scholar who opens the issue—or looks at the home page in search of an article—will always find something of tangential interest. Our profession contains many worlds, and the journal of the AHA should bring them together, rather than contribute to their balkanization.

Finally, recent books by Max Bergholz, Daniel Magaziner, Charles Maier, and Kim Priemel receive extended consideration in our Featured Reviews section. Here, too, readers will find a wide variety of topics on offer that can be read fruitfully together: territoriality in world history, nationalism and violence in the Balkans, the Nuremberg trials, and artistic training under South African apartheid. Future issues of the *AHR* will expand these types of reviews beyond current monographs to classics in the field, museums, films, documentary collections, and even historical fiction. **P**

Alex Lichtenstein is editor of the American Historical Review. His new book, co-authored with his brother, photojournalist Andrew Lichtenstein, is Marked, Unmarked, Remembered: A Geography of American Memory (2017).

ACTIONS BY THE AHA COUNCIL

June 2017 to January 2018

Through e-mail conversation from June 29, 2017, to December 5, 2017, and at meetings on January 4 and 7, 2018, the Council of the American Historical Association took the following actions:

- Appointed the following members of the 2019 Annual Meeting Program Committee: Ada Ferrer, New York University (Latin America, Caribbean, slavery, nationalism); David Myers, University of California, Los Angeles (Jewish, intellectual, cultural, Zionism); Mark Sheftall, Auburn University and Bucknell University (military, world, British empire); and John Thabiti Willis, Carleton College (Africa, diaspora, religion).
- Approved revisions to the AHA's open and third-party letters policy for *Perspectives on History*.
- Approved an amendment to the FY18 Capital Budget to include \$42,075 to upgrade the AHA's association management software and directories.
- Approved signing on to a letter from the Coalition for International Education to members of the United States House of Representatives Committee on Education and the Workforce in support of funding for Title VI.
- Approved a Statement on Confederate Monuments on the role of history and historians in public conversations about removing or recontextualizing monuments or renaming public spaces.
- Approved signing on to a statement with other scholarly associations opposing a proposal under consideration by the US Senate to tax graduate student tuition waivers as income, a provision included in the tax reform bill already passed by the US House of Representatives. During the earlier House debate, the Association had urged the full membership to contact their representatives in opposition to the proposed tax.
- Approved signing on to an American Academy of Arts and Sciences statement urging a greater national effort to strengthen language education so that individual Americans can more effectively participate in a global society and the nation as a whole can prosper in a global economy.
- Approved the minutes of the June 2017 Council meetings and interim minutes of the Council from June to December 2017.
- Approved the 2018 AHA committee appointments recommended by the Committee on Committees.
- Approved changes to Section 7 of the *Statement on Standards of Professional Conduct* to include "family status" among the criteria not to be considered when making decisions relating to employment.
- Approved reducing the number of members of the Graduate and Early Career Committee from five to four and removing the co-chair structure.
- Approved a hybrid geographic model for the *American Historical Review*, to begin in 2021, in which the editor and review consultants (associate review editors) can be located anywhere, while other operations remain at Indiana University. Staff in Washington, DC, and Bloomington, IN, will collaborate during the transition in establishment of new management systems. The AHA and its partners at Oxford University Press will work together to maximize the value of the *Review* to members of the Association.
- Approved directing the *American Historical Review* to change any references on its website and other official spaces from "Book Reviews" to "Reviews," in order to reflect the mission of reviewing important historical work in any medium.

- Approved directing AHA management to synchronize the beginning and ending dates of its contracts with the *American Historical Review* editors-in-chief and host institutions.
- Approved the development and distribution of a survey to assess the scope of sexual harassment in the discipline.
- Approved the appointment of a committee to articulate a policy framework developed by the Council at its January 7, 2018, meeting that will include statements of best practices regarding the prevention of sexual harassment in the discipline, and policies and procedures for managing sexual harassment issues within AHA spaces (annual meeting and committees, for example). The committee will submit these documents and statements for Council approval at its June 2018 meeting. AHA Teaching Division vice president Liz Lehfeldt will chair the committee, which will also include Kevin Boyle (vice president, Professional Division), Tyler Stovall (immediate past president), Katrin Schultheiss (outgoing chair, AHA Committee on Gender Equity), and Monica Mercado (member, AHA Committee on Gender Equity).
- Received the audit conducted by the independent CPA firm for the fiscal year ending on June 30, 2017.
- Approved hiring Wegner CPA as the AHA's new independent CPA firm to conduct auditing and tax-filing services.
- Approved removal of references to the controller in the AHA Bylaws to align them with the constitutional changes made in 2016.
- Appointed William Wechsler, vice chair, Capitol Peak Asset Management, to a three-year term as AHA treasurer, beginning July 1, 2018.
- Appointed Keith Hocter, investment consultant and president, Bellwether Consulting, to a three-year term as Investment Committee chair, beginning July 1, 2018.
- Appointed Noel Salinger, director of individual giving at the Smithsonian Institution, to a three-year term as a member of the Finance Committee, beginning July 1, 2018.
- Approved adding the AHA president as a member of the Investment Committee.
- Approved the appointment of a one-year ad hoc committee on the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning to draft a statement on the value and significance of the scholarship of teaching and learning to the discipline of history. Members appointed to the committee include David Pace, chair, professor emeritus at Indiana University and president of the International Society for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning in History; Laura Westhoff, associate professor of history and education, University of Missouri–St. Louis; Natalie Mendoza, postdoctoral research associate and project lead for the History Teaching & Learning Project (HTLP) at University of Colorado Boulder; Adam Beaver, associate director for teaching and learning, Derek Bok Center for Teaching and Learning, Harvard University.
- Appointed Joshua L. Reid, University of Washington, chair, and Sarah Shurts, Bergen Community College, co-chair, of the 2020 Annual Meeting Program Committee.
- Selected the 2018 honorary foreign member (name to be announced in fall 2018). [P](#)



Cissie Fairchilds

1944–2017

Historian of France

After a distinguished career, Cissie Fairchilds, professor of history emerita at Syracuse University, died of lymphoma on September 25, 2017, at age 73. A graduate of Bryn Mawr College in 1966, she earned a master's degree in history from the University of Chicago in 1968. She then studied early modern French history at the Johns Hopkins University under the direction of Robert Forster. After completing a PhD in 1972, she began teaching, first at Macalester College, then at the University of California, San Diego. In 1977, she moved to Syracuse, where she taught until retirement in 2004.

During her long career, Fairchilds produced a number of consequential works. Her first book, *Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence, 1640–1789* (1976), analyzed the interaction between classes through charitable assistance. At first, private organizations provided charity with some assistance from the state. Donors and officials scrutinized the indigent, who responded with ingenuity and agency. But by 1760, the state assumed responsibility for direct assistance to the poor with greater financial aid and fewer moral judgments. Whereas some scholars had argued that the state provided too little aid, an action that encouraged the poor to embrace revolution, Fairchilds countered that new governmental control was inevitable and actually responded better to deteriorating conditions in the countryside.

This study marked Fairchilds's place among social historians who sought to uncover the history of ordinary people. From it sprang Fairchilds's highly influential 1978 article "Female Sexual Attitudes and the Rise of Illegitimacy: A Case Study," published in the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. Having noticed rising illegitimacy in Aix, she expanded her inquiry over a broader geographic and statistical sample. Instead of locating the phenomenon in economic status, as others had, Fairchilds emphasized emotional states and the internalization of masculine privilege. Her reading of a cache of women's pregnancy declarations allowed women's voices to be heard.

Already a force in social history, Fairchilds continued into women's history. *Domestic Enemies: Servants and Their Masters in Old Regime France* (1984) drew on the few depositories with substantial documents on the subject, but also relied on literature and memoirs, cookbooks, domestic manuals, and other sources. Influenced especially by psychological theory, she plumbed emotions, sexual behaviors, and domestic squabbles, illustrating the complex texture of household arrangements. The book highlighted the transition of the household from a place of display or production to the family nest during the 18th century.

Fairchilds's last book, *Women in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1700* (2007), surveyed a vast literature. Although written as a textbook, it presented in clear, pithy, and accessible prose the state of the literature on a number of topics: women and the family, women and religion, women and work, and women and the state (including women rulers and women in overseas empires). Unlike scholars who emphasized the lack of opportunity for women during the 16th and 17th centuries, Fairchilds found signs of progress. Once again, she contributed to reframing a field, partly by emphasizing women's agency.

In her teaching, Cissie Fairchilds displayed a playful imagination, compatible with a traditional view of the historical profession and a desire for personal attachment with the past. As she saw it, faculty should not shy away from teaching responsibilities within their area of expertise. For many years, she taught the first half of the European history survey course because she believed in its importance. She brought history to her students in a deeply committed way. Colleagues who asked students which courses had really mattered to them often heard Cissie's name. She knew how to make history exciting and important in the classroom.

Doing what needed to be done, whether professionally or privately, was very Cissie. On search committees, her judgment was almost always correct. As a colleague, she quietly but firmly took positions and did so on the basis of what she thought was right and ethical.

A consummate professional, Cissie Fairchilds was also a wonderful friend and host. With her mother, who long resided with her, she greeted her friends and their children with warmth and grace. She is much missed by friends and colleagues.

Jack R. Censer, Linda L. Clark, Michael B. Miller



Peter A. Porter

1967–2017

Historian of the US and Europe; AHA Member

Peter A. Porter Jr., adjunct professor of history at Seton Hall University and a history teacher at Montville High School, New Jersey, died on November 28, 2017. He was 49 and had been suffering from brain cancer.

A native of San Diego, Peter joined the United States Marine Corps after graduating from high school, serving in Operations Desert Storm (1990–91) and Desert Shield (2006). Between these two tours of duty, he received his BA from Seton Hall (where he was a formidably energetic president of the History Club) and his MA from Rutgers University–Newark (where he worked with Peter Golden writing a thesis on Russia in the Seven Years War).

As a college and high school teacher, he concentrated on 19th-century US and European history and offered a special course on the Holocaust. His research interests lay in Jacksonian America, especially in Andrew Jackson’s “kitchen cabinet,” about which he could speak at length and with endless enthusiasm. Peter had an omnivorous historical appetite. “In the fifth grade, my teacher gave me a high school history text, and I read the whole book over Christmas,” he said in a 2013 *AHA Today* interview. “You could say the die was cast then.”

History, for Peter, was a passion, almost an addiction. He loved to teach it. He loved to talk about it. He loved to discover it for himself. A new museum to explore, a new site to visit, a new class to inspire: this was his idea of happiness. The past, for Peter, was not a foreign country: it was his homeland and his hinterland, the landscape that never grew stale. He delighted in introducing it to others, and they in turn shared his delight. If anyone was a born teacher, it was Peter. Gracious in praise, gentle in correction, with a ready laugh and a mile-wide smile, he was the professor that students—and colleagues—remember for the rest of their lives. That his own life has ended so soon adds to the sorrow of his passing.

Peter gave generously to the profession that gave him so much. He joined the AHA in 1996 and was elected to the Teaching Division, participating in the Association’s Tuning project, which examined the core elements of history and reassessed the goals of the undergraduate history major. As he said in the interview, meeting and interacting with “some of the best and brightest minds in the field” was “incredibly rewarding.” Membership on the executive committee was “the experience of a lifetime, and I wouldn’t trade one minute of it for the world.”

Peter was also a driving force in the New Jersey chapter of the National Council of History Education, bringing some of the nation’s leading historians to the chapter’s annual conference in Princeton. He relished these occasions, meeting old friends, making new ones, bringing together people who shared a passion for the past. Never for a moment did he complain of the work involved, the time consumed. Working for and with historians was time well spent.

Peter enthusiastically supported National History Day. He encouraged his high school students to participate, and quite a few did. More than once, they went on from the state to the national competition, with Peter along to encourage them.

Peter enjoyed the performing arts (he had been an actor in his undergraduate days) and music. Through thick and thin, he supported the New York Yankees, the Dallas Cowboys, and the New Jersey Devils. He was very active in local charities in his home town of Montclair, New Jersey.

Peter Porter is survived by his wife, Val; his daughters, Meg and Kathleen; his father, Peter Porter Sr.; and his brother, Matthew. He was a man of very large gifts of mind, heart, and spirit who will be greatly missed by all who knew him.

Dermot Quinn
Seton Hall University

AHA CAREER CENTER

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NEW JERSEY

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

New Brunswick, NJ

2018-19 Postdoctoral Associate in African American History.

The Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis announces a postdoctoral position for scholars pursuing research in African American history, 1940-present. The successful applicant must have the doctorate in hand at the time of application and be no more than six years beyond the PhD. The position, with a salary of \$60,000, is for one year with the possibility of renewal for a second. It includes health benefits and a \$5,000 per year research allowance. The primary duties of this postdoc will be to administer and supervise research for the "Scarlet and Black Project" on the history of Native and African Americans in Rutgers History. The recipient will also participate and present in the "Black Bodies" seminar series. Consult <http://rcha.rutgers.edu/black-bodies> and <http://scarletand-black.rutgers.edu/> for details. Applications should be addressed to Professor Deborah Gray White, Postdoc Search Chair, and submitted electronically to Interfolio at <https://apply.interfolio.com/48017>. Applications should include the following: letter of interest, CV, research proposal, writing sample, and at least three letters of reference. The deadline for applications is March 1, 2018.

2018-19 Postdoctoral Fellowship in Race and Gender History.

The Department of History at Rutgers University announces a postdoctoral fellowship for scholars

pursuing research in race and gender studies. The successful applicant must have the doctorate in hand at the time of application, be no more than six years beyond the PhD, and be able to teach history courses. The fellowship of \$60,000 is for one year and includes benefits and a \$5,000 research stipend. The recipient will teach at least one small course in the history department and participate in the seminar series at the Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis. The theme for the seminar series is "Black Bodies" and the seminar seeks to pull together several interdisciplinary frames of inquiry about "black bodies" in various times, spaces, and geographies. Attentive to the intersections/assemblages of race, gender and sexuality, the seminar asks and invites questions concerning the many ways in which black bodies are subject to epistemic, historical, archival, state/non-state, biopolitical, and praxes of violence and erasure in global configurations. A successful applicant will address how their research project relates to the theme, "Black Bodies." Applications should be addressed to Professor Deborah Gray White, Postdoc Search Chair, and submitted electronically to Interfolio at <http://apply.interfolio.com/47914>. Applications should include the following: letter of interest, CV, research proposal, writing sample, and at least three letters of reference. The deadline for applications is March 15, 2018.

2018-19 Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis Postdoctoral Fellowship.

The Rutgers School of Arts and Sciences and the Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis invite applications from all disciplines and interdisciplinary fields for postdoctoral resident fellowships to be held

during the academic year of 2018-19 from individuals working on topics related to "Black Bodies," directed by Professors Marisa Fuentes and Bayo Holsey, Rutgers Department of History. With vital urgency and new technologies of story-telling, we daily witness black bodies in peril. From histories of slavery and discrimination to more present modes of state violence, black bodies have been figured as disposable and resistive, silenced and demanding. This RCHA Seminar, "Black Bodies," seeks to pull together several interdisciplinary frames of inquiry about "black bodies" in various times, spaces, and geographies. Attentive to the intersections/assemblages of race, gender and sexuality this seminar asks and invites questions concerning the many ways in which black bodies are subject to epistemic, historical, archival, state/non-state, biopolitical, and praxes of violence and erasure in global configurations. We will also consider how we remember, grieve, represent, signify, and reclaim black bodies and lives in a variety of contexts. Our project pursues several questions to attend to and address black embodiment from interdisciplinary perspectives. These questions include but are not limited to: How do "black bodies" come into our frames of view? In what historical and geographic contexts are black bodies legible? How does "blackness" travel globally? How do we account for systems of racialization that mark a range of non-white bodies? What are the structures, ideologies, systems, and forms of power that subject black bodies around the world to different practices and forces of violence? How can we assess the negative health outcomes, psychological traumas, and increased mortality rates that accompany racism? This RCHA project

explores how various communities of color have reckoned with the trauma of/on black bodies. It also asks: what alternative visions of black selfhood have they constructed? How do empowering experiences of embodiment involving sexuality, procreation, and physicality challenge the widespread devaluation of black bodies? What strategies, methods, and paradigms are adequate to understanding how conditions of precarity continue to threaten black bodies in public and private—in material, structural, and theoretical ways? We recognize the urgency of these questions given the increased visibility of state and other forms of violence against black bodies around the world, represented in images of gunshot-riddled African American bodies left dying on US streets, victims of police violence, and African migrant bodies that wash up on European shores, the casualties of political crises and neo-liberal economic policies. We also recognize the powerful responses to this violence by activists, artists, and scholars who have reimagined black bodies in creative and meaningful ways. We invite applications from all fields with relevance to the seminar themes including, but not limited to History, English, Anthropology, Women's and Gender Studies, Africana/Black Studies, Critical Race Studies, Cultural Studies and fields engaging medicine, science and race. Fellows will receive stipends of \$42,000 annually as well as an annual research allocation of \$2,000; they will also receive Rutgers University health benefits. During the appointment, fellows will pursue research and participate in seminars and other activities at the Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis. Applications consisting of a CV, a three-page description of your

AD POLICY STATEMENT

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

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

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

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

research project and its significance to the theme, "Black Bodies," and 3 letters of recommendation should be submitted electronically via Interfolio at <https://apply.interfolio.com/48012>. Applicants must have received the PhD between July 1, 2013, and June 30, 2018. Applicants must have finished all requirements for the PhD by July 1, 2018. Applications must be received by February 23, 2018.

PENNSYLVANIA

MISERICORDIA UNIVERSITY

Dallas, PA

Modern World. The Department of History and Government at Misericordia University invites applications for a tenure-track position as an assistant professor in modern world history to start in the fall of 2018. Preference will be given to candidates with demonstrated strength in East Asian, Latin American, Middle East, or African history. Applicants must be

able to offer courses in the Core Curriculum, teach upper-level courses in the candidate's field of study, as well as be able to offer writing-intensive courses and/or the department's version of the University Writing Seminar. Duties include preparing and delivering lectures; evaluating and grading students' classwork and assignments; and initiating, facilitating, and moderating classroom discussions. The University seeks a candidate who holds a PhD in history by August 15, 2018. Preference will be given to candidates who have demonstrated excellence in teaching, who will engage in peer-reviewed scholarship, who have the desire to serve the department as well as the University, and who bring a commitment to the University's mission. Misericordia University, founded in 1924 by the Sisters of Mercy, is located adjacent to the Pocono Mountains region of Northeastern Pennsylvania, approximately two hours from New York City and Philadelphia. The university's approach of combining a quality liberal arts education with professional preparation and service to others has resulted in its wide regional acclaim.

Misericordia is committed to student, faculty, and staff diversity and values the educational benefit this brings to campus. Candidates should indicate any experience and/or leadership that contribute to this goal. Review of credentials will begin January 2, 2018, and continue until the position is filled. For confidential consideration, applicants should submit a letter of application, CV, teaching evaluations, and three letters of recommendation at https://workforcenow.adp.com/jobs/apply/posting.html?client=mucougars&-jobId=219223&lang=en_US&source=CC2 or by mail at Misericordia University, Attn: Human Resources, 301 Lake St. Dallas, PA 18612.

Grants for AHA members

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The deadline for all research grant applications is February 15.



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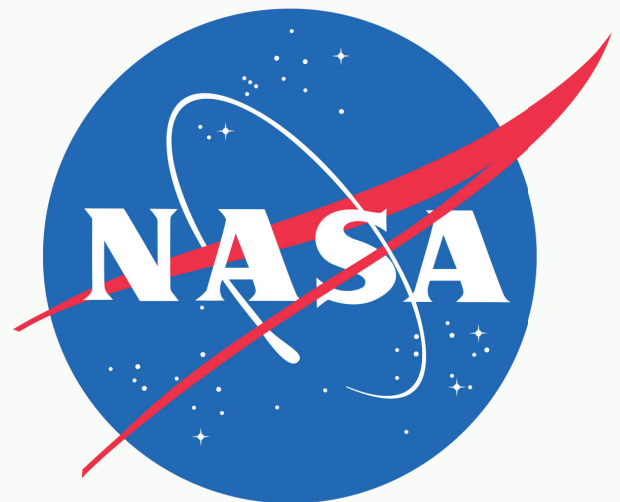
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J. Franklin Jameson Fellowship

Apply for 2-3 months of research at the Library of Congress with a stipend of \$5,000. PhD must have been awarded within the past seven years.



Applications due April 1.
Information at historians.org/grants.



Fellowships in Aerospace History

Apply for 6-9 months of research at NASA with a stipend of \$21,250.
Preference given to early career historians.