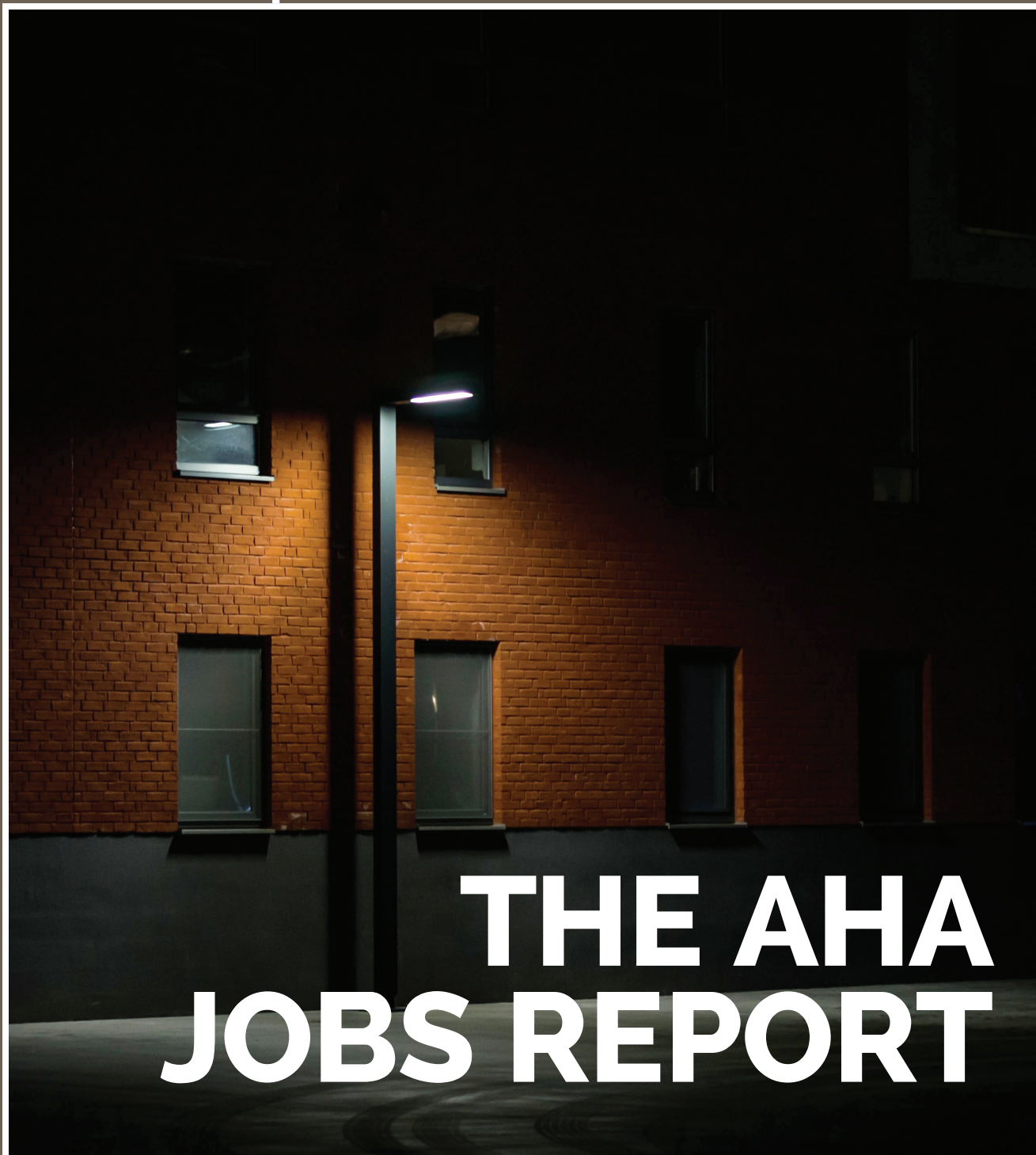


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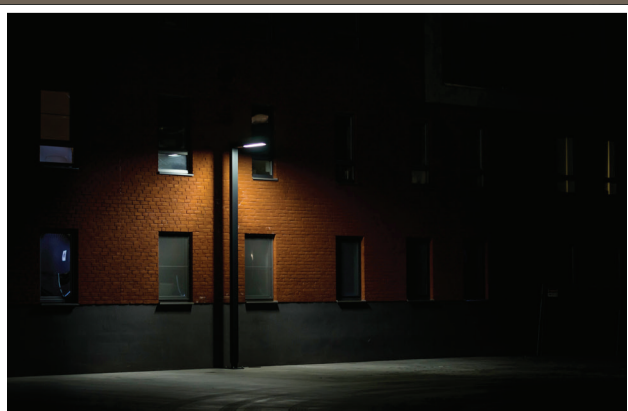
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This year's AHA Jobs Report comes as what we know about "the market" is evolving. Most readers will want to know how many tenure-track assistant professorships were posted last year, but the increasing number of nonacademic jobs for history PhDs has prompted the AHA to ask new questions: What is a job and where do historians find them? We can no longer look only in the light; we have to seek out what's in the shadows.

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ALLISON MILLER

TOWNHOUSE NOTES

How Much Longer for the Graph of Doom?

I have no illusions about the fact that many readers of this column are turning to it after skipping straight to this year's full Jobs Report. Dylan Ruediger's initial analysis appeared on *AHA Today* in November, showing another year of bad news: there were far more new PhDs than jobs advertised with the AHA. Accompanying this report was a double-line graph showing these competing data points, with the number of PhDs conferred winning the dubious contest. A version of the graph runs in *Perspectives* annually.

Among some in the AHA townhouse, this miserable visual has become known as the Graph of Doom. There is no way to sugarcoat its meaning. Although we collect data showing conclusively that history PhDs are employed in many industries (see *Where Historians Work*), the data also show that approximately half of us are in full-time, tenure-track academic jobs. These are the jobs most graduate students and recent PhDs want.

The Graph of Doom doesn't just prove that these jobs will be hard to find—everyone knows that—it also contributes to the toxicity of the hiring process. It reifies a supply-and-demand model that transforms graduate students and recent PhDs into a market “glut” (a word banned from *Perspectives*, by the way), denigrating them and their contributions to historical knowledge. Last year Dylan and Emily Swafford noted that supply-and-demand isn't the best way to think about the job market for historians, because it reinforces the belief that the only acceptable career outcome for history PhDs is professor.

Yet this realization doesn't displace the Graph of Doom as a fixture in our professional life. I asked former *Perspectives* editor Rob Townsend, who wrote the Jobs Report for a number of years, what he knew about the graph's history. He discovered that its first iteration appeared in the May/June 1993 issue of the magazine. The AHA had analyzed the pool of doctoral recipients for some time, but this was the first instance in which the

number of ads for the past few years was plotted against the corresponding numbers of new PhDs in a double line—the first Graph of Doom.

After Rob became editor, he expanded the “supply” data point for the number of new PhDs by using the federal government's Survey of Earned Doctorates, which had more complete data than we did. He also back-filled the “demand” data from AHA job postings going back to the 1970s. Whatever you think of the Graph of Doom, Rob's years of research have provided the profession with pioneering quantitative analysis.

Conversations about the Graph of Doom have been ongoing in the AHA townhouse for more than half a year. It's not that it's depressing (bad news is news, after all), it's that its representation of “demand” is increasingly out of whack with the ways history PhDs work as historians in jobs outside the professoriate. As I was working closely with Dylan, Emily, and Jim Grossman on the Jobs Report, a surprising back-and-forth ensued on the merits of one word regarding the Graph of Doom: “retire.” We ultimately decided that retiring the graph wasn't what we wanted, at least this year.

But we're not done thinking about how to represent visually the reality that history PhDs in most fields confront year after year, as they face a shrinking pool of full-time academic jobs and deal with departmental cultures that still often discourage diverse career paths. If anything takes the place of the graph, it must be more than a snapshot that leaves information outside its frame, however tightly focused the picture itself may be. The AHA has been a leader in trying to change the notion that nonacademic jobs are “Plan B”—consolation prizes for the washed out. The Graph of Doom doesn't help. P

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





TO THE EDITOR:

Thank you for your thoughtful piece on copyediting and writing (“Townhouse Notes: Writing, Copyediting, and Your First Book,” December 2017). I entirely agree with what you say about copy editors and professors. Neither is equipped to teach writing. Copy editors tend to make minimal interventions, as you indicate; but even when they are more proactive, they usually limit themselves to applying rather mechanically the *Chicago Manual of Style* or Strunk and White. If a point is really garbled, they do not have the knowledge necessary to sort it out and often make misguided interventions. Moreover, even when a graduate student’s professor makes detailed comments on a draft, these comments are usually on matters of substance, not style.

I think it is quite possible to learn how to write, however, and the best way is by imitation. Find someone in your own field who writes well—clearly, precisely, and gracefully, without undue elaboration or metaphor. Do not choose someone with a highly distinctive or embellished style; just take someone whose prose marches across the page. Analyze what he or she does. How does the writer get from one point to the next? What filler words are avoided? How is clarity achieved? Then try to write that way yourself. Even an awkwardly written first draft can be radically improved if you analyze and try to imitate the style of someone who writes well.

I wrote so badly in graduate school that one of my professors told me I sounded as if I were translating myself from the German. Then I had the good fortune to write something in collaboration with a senior professor and the wisdom to notice how much better he wrote than I did. “Why, I could do that,” I thought to myself. And so I tried. I learned over time that I could.

—CAROLINE BYNUM

Institute for Advanced Study (emerita)



TO THE EDITOR:

“Writing, Copyediting, and Your First Book” reminded me of a bizarre grad school incident in which I was summoned to the history department’s graduate adviser, who held up a first paper I had written, saying, “If you want to keep writing like this, you should leave this program and get a job at the *New Yorker*.” (I had already received an MA in history

from a previous institution and had been an editor at newspapers in Rome and at United Press International. I had also published poetry and written two unpublished novels.) This was not meant as a compliment; the adviser added: “This kind of writing intimidates other students.” Well, I did not apply to the *New Yorker*, I did complete the PhD, and I published a first book to excellent reviews that called the book historically sound, very readable, and literarily elegant. I followed this with history journal reviews and fiction. If you don’t know how to write or don’t trust your talent, grad school might crush you, creating a false dependency on someone else editing your work, or even crushing your talent.

—TY GELTMAKER

Los Angeles



TO THE EDITOR:

I never thought I would leap to the defense of *The Crown*—in both meanings of the phrase—but Sam Wetherell’s article “In England’s Dreaming” (December 2017) provoked me. Wetherell lays charges at both the TV series and the institution. The series, he says, ignores anti-colonial sentiment. Apparently, he did not see the program in the second season, which focused on Kwame Nkrumah’s role in Ghana. Wetherell charges that we are shown the queen “attempting to override democratically elected representatives” when, in fact, we see her refraining from this, despite provocation. More generally, he criticizes the British nostalgia for faded glory. It is an old charge, now largely out of date—Brexit is about other matters.

He should look across the Atlantic for his targets. Judging from recent events, it is not Britain that is yearning for a more glorious past. No one laps up British historical dramas more avidly than Americans and, yes, Canadians too. The more troubling counterpart to what he calls the “holering Commons” is the dysfunctional Congress. And we all know who has been most assiduous about overriding democratic institutions.

There are reasoned criticisms (and defenses) of all of the above matters to be made, but none are to be found in Wetherell’s choleric commentary.

—RICHARD HARRIS

McMaster University

MARY BETH NORTON

WHEN THE AHA TAKES A PUBLIC STANCE

An Inside Look



During my year as president-elect, I became involved in the AHA's taking public positions three times. At my first meeting as a Council member in January 2017, I was named to chair a subcommittee assigned the task of updating the Association's *Guiding Principles for Taking a Public Stance* (historians.org/public-stance), which had been developed in 2007 by the Professional Division and not altered since.

The decade-old statement showed its age and needed considerable revision, for it focused almost exclusively on issues involving research and teaching and failed to acknowledge the ways in which the historical profession had changed in recent years. The 2007 text primarily addressed situations in which public or private authorities attempted to prevent historians from having access to archival materials, hindered all historians' freedom of movement across national boundaries, tried to censor historians' teaching or writing, or failed to preserve and protect historical records. The statement said little about historians' work outside the academy, equally little about non-documentary source material, and nothing about digitization, then just beginning on a large scale.

Some of the changes made were stylistic—eliminating some overlap, clarifying various points, and so forth—but the subcommittee also made numerous substantive alterations, both large and small. For example, the 2007 version declared that the AHA had the “right” to take public positions in certain circumstances, but the 2017 statement has changed that term to “responsibility.” It also has an added paragraph explaining that the AHA can praise individuals or organizations for supporting the work of historians. We inserted explicit references to protections for those working outside the academy or without institutional affiliations, and for historians who might be facing a variety of retaliatory measures for engaging in what the statement termed “legitimate historical inquiry.” The revised statement stresses the need to ascertain the facts of any given case before the Association takes a public position.

Before the subcommittee even began serious work on the necessary revisions to *Guiding Principles*, the AHA confronted a circumstance that the Executive Committee quickly decided required us to take a public stand: President Donald Trump's ban on travel from seven (later six) largely Muslim countries. Even within the context of the 2007 guidelines, the ban clearly had considerable potential impact on historians, limiting the travel of historians from those countries to the United States to research, teach, or lecture, and probably also affecting American historians' travel to those same countries for similar reasons. In the midst of chaos at airports and the filing of multiple lawsuits, it also

The decade-old statement focused almost exclusively on issues involving research and teaching and failed to acknowledge changes in the historical profession.

seemed imperative for the Association to issue a comprehensive statement as quickly as possible. Members called to our attention a statement opposing the ban that was circulating among individual scholars in many fields.

Thus Jim Grossman asked an AHA member who was an expert on immigration to the United States to compile some appropriate historical background material, and he asked staff members to gather information about current circumstances—for example, the exact text of the order. The plan was to craft a statement blending two points: the historical importance of immigration to the United States generally and to the historical profession specifically, and



In February, the AHA condemned a law criminalizing public discussion of Polish complicity in Nazi war crimes, issued by Polish president Andrzej Duda (pictured).
Radosław Czarnecki/Wikimedia Commons/CC BY-SA 4.0

the potential impact of Trump's policy on our students and institutions. President Tyler Stovall prepared a draft, and Jim asked me to focus on editing and polishing, which I did, working for most of a day blending the other contributions with Tyler's draft. In the end, the statement was approved by the Executive Committee (the president, past president, president-elect, and three vice presidents), which is authorized to act on behalf of the full Council if speed is critical. After two days of intensive work, we issued our statement. We were pleased that eventually more than 50 of the AHA's affiliated societies also publicly endorsed it.

The second occasion came following the adoption of the revised *Guiding Principles*, approved at the June 2017 Council meeting. The new version has broadened the definition of when the AHA can take a public position, including a reference to the ability of the Association to comment when "the role of history in public culture" is at issue. The tragedy in Charlottesville in August, in which a neo-Nazi march through the University of Virginia campus was followed by violence and the death of a counter-protester the next day, soon sparked an extended public discussion that went far beyond the specifics of those events. Print and Internet publications quickly began to focus on the underlying controversy that had in part led to the public confrontations: the question of whether a statue honoring a Confederate leader (in this case, Robert E. Lee) should be removed from a public park. Just a few months earlier, the same arguments had roiled New Orleans after the city council voted to remove four similar statues from like venues.

Many individual historians offered their opinions on the subject in the days after the Charlottesville incidents; the AHA asked that members send links to their statements (in

op-eds and interviews), and soon a growing number were posted on our website. Meanwhile, an AHA member sent us a thoughtful letter pointing out the dangers of historical ignorance evident in the discussions about Confederate monuments and urging the Association to make a public statement and take action that could provide guidance to educational institutions. The recent revision of *Guiding Principles* proved valuable, for the statement now explicitly provides that individual members can ask the Association to take a public position on any relevant matter.

In this instance, little persuasion was necessary, for Jim Grossman had come to a similar conclusion as the public conversations about the appropriateness of Confederate—and other—public monuments burgeoned in newspapers and online. President Trump, in particular, raised the issue by decrying the "erasing" of "history." Did removal of statues constitute "erasing history"? What, indeed, was the "history" being referenced? Such questions seemed to demand a response from the AHA. Accordingly, Jim

Under the new *Guiding Principles*,
 individual members can ask the
 Association to take a public
 position on any relevant matter.

produced the draft of a statement, which Tyler Stovall and I both commented on and amended in extensive e-mail exchanges over several days. This time, speed was not so essential, although we wanted to publish an AHA statement in a timely fashion. After the three of us had a draft we thought worthy of discussion, though by no means perfect, we shared it with other members of the Council. Our colleagues offered many helpful comments and amendments over several more days. The finished statement, unanimously adopted and released publicly on the AHA's website on August 29, was thus truly a collective effort. It too was endorsed by a number of our affiliated societies and by the Organization of American Historians.

In all three instances, the AHA leadership operated collectively, guided by consensus, whether among the Council as a whole (the revision, the statement on Confederate monuments) or by the Executive Committee alone (the travel ban). I found the process to be civil, fruitful, and, above all, valuable. **P**

Mary Beth Norton is president of the AHA.

JAMES GROSSMAN

HUMANITIES FUNDING AND THE PROPOSED FEDERAL BUDGET

Will History-Related Programs Be Saved in FY 2019?



Last month President Donald Trump released his Presidential Budget Request for federal fiscal year (FY) 2019, which once again proposes to eliminate the National Endowment for the Humanities, along with the National Endowment for the Arts, the Department of Education's International Education programs, the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, and the Institute of Museum and Library Services. The request also calls for the elimination of federal funding for the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, which has collaborated effectively with the AHA's National History Center for over a decade.

We've seen this before. Since we recognize that an alert to members looks like the proverbial cry of wolf, we did not immediately e-mail a call to action. We try to save those for moments when time is of the essence. This is but the beginning of a long process. Congress will ultimately be responsible for writing the bills that fund the federal government. If FY 2018 offers any precedent—and most observers in Washington believe that it does—committees in each branch of Congress will pretty much start from scratch, or at the very least from their 2018 blueprints. There will be plenty of negotiating, plenty of bluster, plenty of posturing. And perhaps at the other end, not much more than a continuing resolution.

President's FY19 Funding Request for History, Archival and Education Programs
(Prepared by the National Coalition for History, February 12, 2018)

Agency or Program	Final Budget FY17	House Appropriations FY18	Senate Appropriations FY18	President's Budget Request FY19	FY19 Request vs. FY17 Actual	
<i>Note: white rows represent subcategories of blue rows, but do not necessarily add up to the full total</i>						
<i>Amounts are in millions of dollars</i>						
National Archives (Operating Expenses)	380.6	364.3	384.9	365.1	-15.5	-4%
International Education & Foreign Language Studies*	72	65	72	0	-72	-100%
Dept. of Education History & Civics Grants and Academies*	3.5	1.7	1.8	0	-3.5	-100%
National Endowment for the Humanities*	149.8	145	149.8	42.3	-107.5	-72%
Institute of Museum & Library Services*	231	231	235	23	-208	-90%
Smithsonian Institution	863.3	885	878.4	957.4	94.1	11%
Wilson International Center for Scholars*	10.5	10	10.5	7.4	-3.1	-30%
National Park Service						
Historic Preservation Fund	80.9	74.4	77.9	32.7	-48.2	-60%
National Recreation and Preservation - Cultural Programs	24.5	24.8	25	19.3	-5.2	-21%
Heritage Partnership Program*	18.8	19.8	20.3	0	-18.8	-100%
American Battlefield Protection Program*	10	10	10	0	-10	-100%
Save America's Treasures*	0.5	4	0	0	-0.5	-100%
Library of Congress	632	648	638	671.7	39.7	6%

* = Proposed elimination, with minimal funding to ensure an orderly closure

The FY18 budget has not yet been finalized, so numbers from the president's request and both houses of Congress are included for comparison.



The proposed federal budget puts important history-related programs on the chopping block.

Nonetheless, the AHA still considers it important that our members inform their representatives in Congress that these are items important to voters and to civic culture. The budget proposal itself—which calls for total elimination of these agencies and programs, not a mere reduction—represents a bold statement either that our work is not essential to the common good or that the federal government does not have an obligation to provide even the most basic support for the nourishment of civic culture. The NEH alone, through its support for research, education, and public programs, offers a visible symbol of the role of the humanities in American public life. On a practical level, all of these programs, taken together, enable Americans to develop the skills and knowledge to be citizens, and provide resources to decision makers in many contexts. Everything has a history, and what we can learn from that history should always inform policy conversation.

The House of Representatives and the Senate, both controlled by the president's own political party, apparently seem to understand this at some level, at least based on what they have on the table for the current year, which still remains to be finalized.

The actual dollars in the allocations matter to our members. But the money itself as a proportion of the federal budget is less than minuscule—in the case of the NEH, 0.0003 percent of the current budget. Every American tosses an amount totaling less than two quarters into the NEH toll box under the current

funding structure. So no, this is not about fiscal responsibility. The money is important to humanists and our audiences and collaborators. But more than anything else, total elimination from the federal budget is an attack on the very idea that our work represents an important aspect of public culture.

Last year, historians, other humanists, and Americans who understand the value of our work to public culture sent a forceful message to Congress about the imperative of spending even these small sums to maintain the vitality of civic life. Thus far Congress has rejected Trump's specific budget allocations at every turn.

Even if no bills are yet on the floor of Congress, conversations within committees responsible for individual agencies need to take place within a context of ongoing public pressure. The AHA urges all Americans who appreciate the imperative of historical work and thinking to public life to keep the pressure on their representatives through telephone calls and e-mails. Our nation needs not only the National Endowment for the Humanities, but also other agencies and programs that provide such vital resources as education in languages vital to national defense and global business, and access to documents that students need not only to learn history but to write it themselves. **P**

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

RACHEL VAN BOKKEM

GLOBAL DISSENT

Historians Argue against a Unitary “Politics of ’68”

In May 1968, French students and workers, protesting consumerism, capitalism, and US involvement in Vietnam, engaged in the largest general strike in the country’s history. Over the course of two months, activists nearly shut down the national economy and caused President Charles de Gaulle to flee to Germany briefly. The strike finally ended when de Gaulle dissolved the National Assembly and held new parliamentary elections on June 23. Four years later, during Nixon’s trip to China, Premier Zhou Enlai declared that it was “too early” to assess the impact of the “French Revolution.” Much to observers’ confusion, Zhou was referring to 1968, not 1789. The ideas and movements of 1968 were still lingering.

Now, on the 50th anniversary of 1968, historians are still evaluating the impact of that momentous year. The textbook interpretation is that it was an iconic moment of

rupture—a year that embodied the social change and political unrest of the so-called Long Sixties. More recent historiography adds a transnational analysis. In January 1968, the Prague Spring saw a period of political relaxation and liberalization in Czechoslovakia, which was to be invaded by Warsaw Pact nations in August. In April, Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated, setting off massive riots and protests in almost every major city in the United States. In June, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, a presidential candidate and former attorney general, was also murdered. And in October, Japanese police assaulted and arrested more than 1,000 activists during the International Anti-War Day mobilization. As the New Left rose in the mid-1960s to protest against US involvement in the Vietnam War, it was matched by a right-wing base that had also been growing around the same time.

At the 2018 AHA annual meeting in Washington, DC, historians concurred that there cannot be a “politics of ’68” because the actors and activists involved were so multifaceted. In a six-session mini-conference,

“Fifty Years after 1968: Research on the Global Sixties,” organized by Chelsea Szendi Schieder (Meiji Univ.), panelists integrated the concepts of race, class, and gender into ongoing transnational analyses of 1968. Their topics included global Black Power movements, Third Worldism, the rise of the global New Right, state and activist violence, social movements, and

Panther Party carried Mao’s texts with them and nurtured a growing sense of class consciousness that was in direct conflict with US capitalism; they were soon advocating for an international socialist revolution. This secular, revolutionary class framework, however, did not translate to all parts of the globe due to local and regional factors.

Even on 1968’s 50th anniversary, it may still be too early for historians to evaluate the year’s impact.

higher education. Protests, strikes, and riots rocked the world in 1968, but, these historians argued, simplifying their causes and effects homogenizes drastic change and revolution.

For example, the influence of various strains of Marxism in the 1960s can be seen on a transnational scale. Hongshan Li (Kent State Univ.) discussed the relationship between Mao Zedong and American civil rights leader Robert F. Williams, who sent the revolutionary’s books to black activists in the United States. Members of the Black

Stephanie Boyle (New York City Coll. of Tech.), in a presentation about Egypt’s student and labor protests in 1968, argued that Marxism in Egypt “was not acutely secular.” Rather, activists developed their own brand of religious Marxism, which, she said, emerged from a “rejection of Western imperialism.” During the sixties, activists embraced Gamal Abdel Nasser and pan-Arabism as antidotes to the uneven economic power balance between the formerly colonized Middle Eastern nations and the West. But Nasser’s loss to Israel in



Armored vehicles attempt to quell student protests in Mexico City's main square in August 1968.
Wikimedia Commons

the 1967 Six-Day War and his administration's subsequent actions discredited pan-Arabism and led to the 1968 protests. In the wake of the protests, religious conservatism began to flourish in the entire region, ultimately culminating in the 1979 Iranian Revolution.

The events in Egypt point to the importance of including global conservative reactions and movements in the historiography about 1968. Until relatively recently, argued Anna von der Goltz (Georgetown Univ.), books and journal articles about the sixties would underplay the parallel conservative movements opposing leftist groups. At the annual meeting, von der

Goltz showed that in West Germany, "center-right activists were a part of the mix in 1968" and had their own brand of internationalism. When historians include these activists in the narrative, it "complicates this reading of the generation. Not all people were left-wing activists," she emphasized.

Luis Herran Avila (Carleton Coll.) furthered this argument by analyzing the Argentine neo-fascist group Tacuara and the Mexican group University Movement Oriented toward Renewal (MURO) as "two distinct manifestations of the encounter between fascism, Catholic nationalism, and the revolutionary imagination of Third Worldism."

These groups, said Herran Avila, took pride in representing youth dissatisfied with "liberalism and the false solutions of Maoist leftism." As von der Goltz stated, conservatism was not, and is not, an "amorphous blob."

Conservative response partly grew from a fear of the massive changes occurring in the late 1960s. White American reaction to the Civil Rights Movement, as Ibram X. Kendi (American Univ.) pointed out, was built on a fear of black and African American supremacy. "In the racist mind," he argued, "resisting African Americans and the non-white world resisting Western imperialism worldwide were not merely fighting for power and

freedom; they were fighting to rule and enslave the white world." In 1968, reacting to years of civil rights protests and decolonization movements, US presidential candidate Richard Nixon baited white Americans by emphasizing a return to "law and order." In Japan, the police built their legitimacy in the late 1960s and 1970s on public fear of leftist activists. Takemasa Ando (Musashi Univ.) argued that in 1969, the media started calling protesters and activists "extremists" and "non-citizens" in an attempt to "isolate . . . and stigmatize" them. In contrast, the police branded themselves as the only defense against the lawlessness of these people. The fear present in 1968,

Kendi explained, was “fundamentally global and local.”

Panelists also decried the lack of race, class, and gender analyses in the existing historiography. In her discussion of student protests in Guatemala in 1956 and 1962, Heather A. Vrana (Southern Connecticut State Univ.) argued that the narratives surrounding the country’s early movements tend to focus on the “the figure of the heroic *universitario*—the young, Latino, middle-class, male university student—as the embodiment of the student struggle in popular memory.” But this, she argued, fails to consider the roles of women and secondary students who often protested the

government while studying in state-run schools. These groups were more likely to include youth from lower classes. Women were also less likely to receive a university education in Guatemala than their male counterparts, and therefore their active participation at the risk of deadly state violence was easily written out of narratives about the student protests. These Guatemalan protesters, Vrana contended, fell “outside the chronology of the summer of ’68” and thus the Western narrative of the global sixties privileging events in the United States and Europe.

Understanding these nuances has generally moved

historians to recognize the complexities of historical actors and groups. William Marotti (Univ. of California, Los Angeles) warned against the danger of forcing activists into simplistic groupings. When “‘students are students’ and ‘workers are workers,’ you just erase all of the motion and movement of what’s happening” in 1968, he said. Globally, people reacted to circumstances that seem similar but were actually place-specific. The Vietnam War was a flash point on both poles of the political spectrum, but local problems, such as the loss to Israel in 1967 for Egypt and the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, instigated demonstrations of their own.

“Politicization,” Marotti contended, “was both intensely local and global at the same moment, and was also multidirectional.”

High school and undergraduate students tend to view 1968 as a series of small fires throughout the world, appearing one after the other as the wind spreads the embers. This idea, however, presumes an original fire, commonly seen as happening in the United States. Marotti resisted this sense of a single origin, instead contending that historians can sense “shared political agencies” without assuming knowledge of “what this other person is experiencing.” “You can be moved by it and move in parallel,” he emphasized. In his conclusion, Marotti issued a warning to historians: “You will come across many, many actors saying very similar things and having no idea about each other. And that’s a deep level of synchrony that we have to pay attention to. This is a reality of this movement.”

As Stephanie Boyle argued, “1967 and 1968 is not over; it’s still going on.” The events that happen in the Middle East and globally are not just things that “happen over there”; they are major forces in the dynamics of politics and the geopolitical realities that are still happening. Fifty years on, she continued, 1968 is a “story that is still going on and absolutely not finished.” **P**

Rachel Van Bokkem is a recent alumna of American University’s history graduate program.

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ZOE JACKSON

"FOR THE FUTURE"

Doing Indigenous History after Standing Rock

In August 2016, Amber Annis, member of the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe and a doctoral candidate in American studies at the University of Minnesota, watched on Facebook as a man attached himself to heavy machinery at the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation in North Dakota. The man was part of a group of activists protesting the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) by Energy Transfer Partners. The 1,772-mile pipeline would transport crude oil from North Dakota to Illinois. "It was the first time that I'd seen nonviolent direct action by the protesters," said Annis, speaking at an AHA annual meeting panel titled "The #NoDAPL and Water Is Life Movements and Historians." Inspired by what was occurring, Annis and her family headed over to Standing Rock that September to join the protesters' encampments.

According to Donald Fixico (Shawnee, Sac and Fox,

Mvskoke Creek and Seminole), a historian at Arizona State University and chair of the AHA18 panel, the Standing Rock protests constituted the largest gathering of native people in US history. The significance of the #NoDAPL protests, said Fixico, should not be underestimated. Beginning in April 2016, indigenous activists, calling themselves "water protectors," started protesting along the route of the Dakota Access Pipeline, which lay within half a mile of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation and crossed Lake Oahe. The water protectors feared that construction of the pipeline would destroy ancestral burial grounds and other cultural resources and endanger their water supply. For native scholars, the #NoDAPL and Water Is Life movements struck close to home; bringing global attention to indigenous history and issues, the movements simultaneously called for personal and professional engagement.

The construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline and the protests against it take place in the shadow of a long

history of conflict between federal agencies and indigenous peoples over tribal lands and resources. "The development of the Dakota Access Pipeline is only a continuation of decades of abuses enacted upon the [Cheyenne River Sioux] tribe at the hands of government agencies," said Annis. In the mid-20th century, for example, the Army Corps of Engineers oversaw the con-

struction of five dams on the Missouri River, affecting seven reservations including the Standing Rock Reservation and the Cheyenne River Indian Reservation. The Oahe Dam, completed in 1962, displaced several native residents and resulted in the flooding of 160,000 acres of reservation lands. The dam, according to Michael Lawson, a member of the meeting panel and a

historical consultant who has provided research support for Sioux tribes filing injunctions against the Army Corps of Engineers, "caused more damage to Native American lands and resources than any other single public works project in the United States."

"When you identify as native, it's already a kind of resistance because of the structures and settler colonial legacies that we're still living with every day."

and land rights. As with the Dakota Access Pipeline, Lawson said, tribal members "were incensed that the United States was again so willing to breach the faith" of its treaty obligations and to sacrifice tribal interests in order to "satisfy a non-Indian desire for what was deemed as progress." According to Nick Estes (Lower Brule Sioux Tribe), an American Democracy Fellow at the Charles

Warren Center at Harvard University, the Army Corps of Engineers was only able to build the Dakota Access Pipeline because it claimed sole jurisdiction over the Missouri River despite native claims to the land. Estes notes to *Perspectives on History* that internal documents reveal that the Army Corps of Engineers intentionally built the pipeline so “the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe as well as downriver tribes would bear the brunt of the risks if there was a contamination of that river.” Similar justifications were used during the construction of the dams in the mid-20th century, he says.

Fixico says that the #NoDAPL protests constitute the first major US–Indian conflict in the 21st century. As it was in the past, Fixico explains to *Perspectives*, the issue now is American capitalism conflicting with tribal rights and concerns. But the protest movements today differ from previous conflicts in important ways. Lawson noted, for example, that there was little resistance to the dams built on the Missouri River in the mid-20th century. Now, he said, “tribes are more networked,” and their increased sovereignty has allowed them to facilitate protest movements at Standing Rock. Estes says that in the past, “Elders . . . were leading movements, and it was the young people who followed. And in this particular instance, it was actually the young people who were leading the movement,



#NoDAPL protesters march past the San Francisco City Hall in November 2016.
Pax Ahimsa Gethen/Wikimedia Commons/CC-BY-SA 4.0

and it was the elders who were following.”

Standing Rock has brought much-needed attention to indigenous history, indigenous historians, and issues facing native communities. Estes, for example, has been researching river and water developments along the Missouri River for over a decade. He says that while the communities he worked with found his research interesting, few people cared about the scholarship when he presented it at academic conferences. Standing Rock, he says, has brought more attention to the kind of work he does and has allowed historians working on these issues to present them in a broader historical context. According to Fixico, social media in particular

has amplified #NoDAPL and brought global attention to indigenous history and issues. At a more basic level, Estes argues, the Standing Rock moment has made indigenous history “mainstream.”

The #NoDAPL protests have also invigorated indigenous historical scholarship in other ways. At the annual meeting, Farina King (Northeastern State Univ.; Navajo) described how her oral history work with indigenous people in the Dallas area was made possible, in part, by Standing Rock. Activity related to the protests brought to King’s attention a community of Native Americans in Dallas she hadn’t previously known about. Until recently, she noted, there had been a sense that Native Americans

in the Dallas–Fort Worth region were “invisible.” But the “call to stand with Standing Rock,” said King, “brought a lot of people to un-erase that invisibility. And to become vocal. And shout out ‘We are here.’” King met J. Eric Reed (Choctaw), one of her sources, at a #NoDAPL rally in September 2016, organized by Yolanda BlueHorse (Rosebud Sioux/Lakota), another of her sources. As Reed told King, “The call to stand with Standing Rock is like a drum that all our people are hearing and were gathering around.”

But there is still work to be done. Standing Rock drew attention to indigenous issues and communities, but misperceptions about native peoples continue to pervade American society. Some

indigenous scholars see their scholarship as an attempt to correct this. Fixico tells *Perspectives* that he has “always had a purpose to help people have a better understanding of American Indians and their issues and concerns and their history,” especially when there is “so much misinformation that’s been written about American Indians.” Estes particularly notes that history, as a discipline, has yet to come to terms with its relationship to settler colonialism and imperialism in North America. Much of the work in indigenous history, according to both Estes and Fixico, has been done by non-Indians, many of whom lack knowledge of indigenous languages or hold no

discernible connections to the communities they were studying. In his scholarship, Fixico says, he tries to provide a native perspective and to change the thinking of the next generation. His work is “for the future.” Similarly, Estes, in his forthcoming book *Our History Is the Future: Mni Wiconi and the Struggle for Native Liberation* (2019), plans to highlight a non-anthropocentric view of history, centering on indigenous people’s relationships with such entities as the land, the water, and buffalo.

The protests have made it impossible for indigenous historians to see their work as separate from the broader movement for indigenous

History, as a discipline, has yet to come to terms with its relationship to settler colonialism and imperialism in North America.

rights and sovereignty. Fixico, for example, considers himself “something of an activist scholar.” In attempting to balance out what has already been written about American Indians, he says, his scholarly work is part of his activism. Estes notes that activism is not really a choice for his community. “When you’re a nation that is constantly under siege, anything that you do as an indigenous historian is political by default,” he says. King offered

a similar perspective: “When you identify as native, it’s already a kind of resistance because of the structures and settler colonial legacies that we’re still living with every day.”

The Dakota Access Pipeline began carrying oil in June 2017, but the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe continued fighting the pipeline and the environmental risks it presents. As plans for the construction of new pipelines and other industrial projects continue, efforts by indigenous activists and indigenous scholars to emphasize the importance of land, water, and other natural resources will also continue. Gesturing toward history, Annis ended her talk at the annual meeting by noting that the word *Oahe*, as in the Oahe Dam and Lake Oahe, translates to “a foundation to stand on” in Lakota. Her daughters, she hoped, “will understand that the foundations they stand on are made not only with sacrifices but with fortitude from our ancestors.” “They too will understand that they are water protectors themselves,” she concluded. **P**

Zoë Jackson is editorial assistant at the AHA.



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SEARCH HISTORY

Making Research Transparent in the Digital Age

At the 2018 AHA annual meeting, researchers, documentary editors, librarians, archivists, and educators gathered at a series of panels, “Primary Sources and the Historical Profession in the Age of Text Search,” organized by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission and AHA staff, to consider how the digital environment is affecting the way historians work. While the digital age has opened up vast research opportunities, it is also reshaping the research process in ways we don’t yet understand.

The digital age has wrought profound changes in the research process, as seen in the massive increase in digitized and born-digital archives that can be explored from anywhere in the world. But discovering materials digitally raises new methodological questions. For instance, researchers should ask why a particular search returned any one result. Additionally, scholars should want to

know why a document was digitized in the first place.

Historian Lara Putnam (Univ. of Pittsburgh) isn’t one to mince words about the topic. As she argued in her influential 2016 *American Historical Review* article “The Transnational and the Text-Searchable,” search engines are flawed research tools: they allow for breadth, but this can come at the expense of context and depth. Historians can use search engines to access relevant sources in an online collection without first gathering contextual information about the document, the collection, or the institution that prepared the collection. Search results tell historians little about the political forces that produced the archive, and they certainly don’t reveal inherent biases that cultural and historical knowledge of a physical institution or archive would.

At the annual meeting, Putnam elaborated on this point. Before the digital age, when archives were primarily place-based, historians would visit buildings to access collections. As they sifted through

documents, they gained considerable contextual knowledge about the sources and the institutions that made them available. Now, however, digital searches can be conducted remotely, allowing historians to sidestep the process or avoid it entirely. This complacency—doing digital research without understanding the technologies behind it—is dangerous, Putnam explained: “The historian’s craft is under threat” when schol-

gorithms, and they determine what we find when we do research digitally. Controlled vocabularies, for example, are predetermined sets of words used to describe and organize materials, and they more or less dictate which terms return results when researchers browse a database. Clancy asked, “What happens when controlled vocabulary and other systems impact our ability to find information?” With

“The way we do history now is very different, even if we aren’t digital historians, because we’re all digital consumers.”

ars “work in a digital environment without interrogating their sources or processes.”

There are good reasons why digital research tools can seem opaque. According to Eileen Clancy (City Univ. of New York), “mediating systems” that deliver information to historians affect historians’ ability to find information. These systems include databases, controlled vocabularies, and search

their result rankings, search engines also have inordinate power, said Ian Milligan (Univ. of Waterloo): “I think I’m writing history, but in reality the search engine is writing history because it’s determining what I click on.”

Databases themselves—created, maintained, and populated by humans—are far from impartial or infallible. Hussein Keshani (Univ. of British Columbia Okanagan Campus),



In the digital age, historians can conduct research without visiting physical archives.
Nheyob/Wikimedia Commons/CC BY-SA 3.0

who works with Islamic art, recounted the challenges of researching Awadh visual culture items across several databases. Each database presented different problems resulting from either incomplete controlled vocabularies or inaccurate data. For instance, the database at the British Library included the name of the artist Asaf al-Dawla in the controlled vocabulary for every field except author. Researchers could search for art that had his name in the title or description, but they could not directly look up works by al-Dawla because he wasn't listed as a creator in the database.

Even at the level of individual documents, the digital environment transforms a source. When a physical object becomes a digital object, or even when a digital object is copied

or transmitted in some way, changes can occur that are not always apparent to a researcher. A digital image of a primary source will have some relationship to the original, but exactly what characterizes that relationship is far from clear. Putnam pointed out that many historians access a digitized source but cite the physical document in the physical collection, without questioning whether they are really the same. Keshani noted that "the creation of a digital surrogate is a vulnerable moment"—physical features of a source can be changed. He discussed a mirror image of a painting printed in a book; without being familiar with the original, readers would not have known the image was flipped. Historians, he argued, must have the skills to analyze data attached to a digital file, to ask

more about the changes it might have undergone.

The alteration of sources is not a new concept or problem for historians. Clancy borrowed book history's notion of "instability": any time a text is transmitted from one form to another, changes can happen. When printers used movable type set directly from manuscripts, for example, compositors frequently misread author handwriting and introduced changes to the text. Instability is everywhere in the digital environment, especially as more of our research materials and processes are born digital. Martin Halbert (Univ. of North Carolina at Greensboro) provided a dramatic example of instability: new presidential administrations frequently change governmental websites. Many changes are small, but in some

instances entire sites are removed. Certain archival projects—in this case, the End of Term Web Archive—aim to preserve born-digital primary sources like these. Nonetheless, researchers should be aware of this instability.

Historians in this new age need to know about this digitally induced uncertainty and take appropriate action. Alison Langmead (Univ. of Pittsburgh) asserted, "I think we need to train every humanist" how to "sense the digital." Although we intuitively understand the physical world, she argued, the digital world is much less readily comprehensible, so we must tackle it head-on in our teaching, as early as possible. In the meantime, historians need to start paying more attention to their research processes. "As soon as you start using a search

engine,” Milligan advised, “you need to think about what’s going on.” Clancy advised historians to take the time to learn about the databases they are using. She introduced attendees to Beyond Citation, a project that amass-

Creators of digital projects small and large also share the responsibility of improving the digital research process. Much of that improvement hinges on transparency. Milligan encouraged everyone to create robust “About” pages

collaborators, and unresolved questions. Encouraging even greater levels of transparency, several presenters implored attendees to share their project data and code on GitHub, an online development platform that enables users to collaborate on digital projects. This added step helps preserve the project and enables other researchers to build on the work.

Ultimately, understanding an increasingly digital world is not optional for historians. Jason Rhody (Social Science Research Council) pointed out that algorithms govern much of our communication in the 21st century, and historians need to understand the digital environment in which

they live and work. “How do we understand the election of 2016 in the future without understanding Facebook and the way it works?” he asked. As Leslie Rowland (Univ. of Maryland, College Park) said, “The way we do history now is very different, even if we aren’t digital historians, because we’re all digital consumers.” If an essential part of being a historian is the ability to look critically at the world, then being a historian in the 21st century requires paying more attention to the digital processes that govern our lives and our research. **P**

Stephanie Kingsley Brooks is the AHA’s former associate editor, web content and social media. She tweets @KingsleySteph.

“I think I’m writing history, but in reality the search engine is writing history because it’s determining what I click on.”

es information about scholarly databases for researchers, including details about each database’s history, provenance, and search and browse features, as well as how to access and cite sources from it.

for online projects. These might include information about the process of creating the project and collecting the data, the capabilities and limitations of databases and visualizations (if any), credit to



The University of North Carolina Wilmington Department of History invites applications and nominations for the 2018 Virginia and Derrick Sherman Emerging Scholar Lecture.

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The Sherman Lecture provides a forum for an outstanding junior scholar (untenured assistant professor or researcher) to offer his or her perspective on a selected topic related to this year’s theme. The Sherman Scholar will meet with undergraduate and graduate students, share his or her expertise with faculty members in history and related fields, and be available to the local media. The centerpiece of the scholar’s visit will be the presentation of a major public address, which the university will subsequently publish.

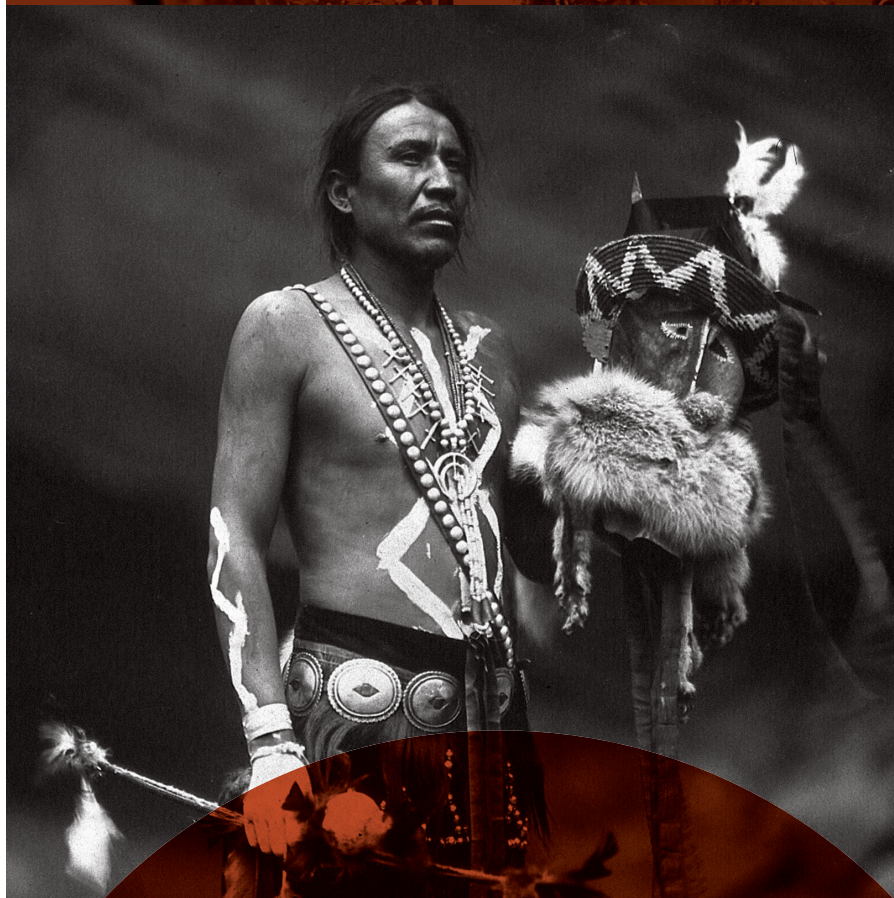
Applicants will be evaluated on the basis of scholarly accomplishment, relevance of the proposed talk to the year’s theme, and evidence of ability in speaking before a diverse audience. The scholar will receive an honorarium of \$5,000. The lectureship will take place on the UNCW campus **October 16-18, 2018.**

Applicants should submit a letter of interest with the title and brief description of the lecture they propose to deliver, current c.v., the names and email addresses of three references, and a recent scholarly publication. Materials should be sent as hard copy to Prof. Jarrod Tanny, UNCW Department of History, 601 South College Road, Wilmington, North Carolina 28403. We also welcome nominations that are accompanied by contact information.

The deadline for submission is April 15, 2018. Finalists must be available for Skype interviews before May 31, 2018

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ELIZABETH A. LEHFELDT

HOW DEPARTMENTS ARE TACKLING LOWER ENROLLMENTS

Lessons from AHA18

The AHA Teaching Division staged what might be termed a productive takeover of the Department Chairs Luncheon at the 2017 annual meeting (in Denver) to talk enrollments in history courses. Through lively and instructive small- and large-group discussions, chairs chatted and swapped war stories. But they also revealed creative strategies, programs, and a range of efforts to address the dilemma of declining or stagnant enrollments.

The infectious energy from the lunch inspired the Teaching Division to propose three roundtables for the 2018 annual meeting in Washington, DC. The goal of the roundtables was to foster a discussion of enrollments among a larger audience by presenting the ideas our colleagues have been developing all year. The roundtables were clearly a success, with each session drawing at least 50 attendees. Representing a range of institutions—including public and private, research- and teaching-oriented, and four-year and two-year colleges and universities—12 panelists (see sidebar) offered succinct, engaging presentations. Just as happened in 2017, discussion proved lively.

Generally, history departments have devised ways to raise their profile on campus and enhance their outreach

to prospective majors. At George Washington University, the department chair writes a regular online newsletter that provides updates on students, faculty, and alumni. Many departments have increased their social media presence. The department at Providence College even has a committee dedicated to social media and digital outreach. At Wright State University, faculty visibility and public engagement have surged through a department blog, social media, and appearances on the campus radio station. SUNY Cortland provides an annual retreat for faculty and students. And Texas Southern University has revitalized the history club and its chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, the history honor society.

Departments now recognize that history's message can reach an audience broader than students and potential majors. Some, like Grossmont College, have conducted community outreach and actively encourage parents and younger siblings of current students to attend department events. The University of Massachusetts Amherst department invites local high school students to sit in on history classes. Another way to reach parents, as the department at Wofford College found, is to collaborate with the admissions office by making them aware of the history major, its appeal to students, and the viable job prospects that history majors enjoy.

Presenters highlighted a number of ways to improve on the general message that history has broad appeal. George Washington now deliberately develops courses for students in other majors. Providence College's department sponsors faculty talks that build connections between

History departments have devised ways to raise their profile on campus and enhance their outreach to prospective majors.

history and timely topics like the *Hamilton* craze and the new *Star Wars* movie.

Even as they engage in outreach to students and the world beyond campus, departments have also looked inward, assessing the content and design of their majors to broaden and update their appeal. Although these efforts are necessarily specific to the environment of each institution, they include developing tracks within the major (UMass Amherst) and 4+1 programs (Wright State). George Washington now allows students to create specializations within the major. Several institutions are cultivating public history programs (including George Washington and Wright State) and an alternative to the

traditional capstone requirement for the major that allows for digital projects (George Washington).

Changes to general education requirements at some institutions have meant that enrollments in introductory courses have taken a hit. Since surveys are the place where most students will encounter history in college (if they do at all), drawing attention to these courses will ultimately enliven the major. Some of the presenters talked about efforts to rethink the history survey.

In a similar vein, some speakers emphasized working with student interests rather than against them. Recognizing the appeal of the business programs at its institution, Providence College deliberately designed a template schedule that would allow accounting majors to double-major in history. The department at Case Western Reserve University has made changes to attract students with top Advanced Placement scores: while it does not award credit toward the major for any AP test score, it invites students who achieve a 5 to take a one-credit course introducing them to college-level history and faculty research interests. Students who complete the course then earn three hours of elective credit.

All presenters agreed that helping students match their career aspirations and their interest in history was crucial. Many have leveraged the participation of alumni to achieve this. At Providence College's career forum, history graduates come back to talk about the work they're doing. The University of Wisconsin–Madison offers students a two-credit seminar, which includes presentations from former majors talking about their careers. UMass Amherst runs a “speed dating” event allowing students to interact with a range of alumni who majored in history. And George

ENROLLMENTS ROUNDTABLE PARTICIPANTS

Randi J. Storch, SUNY Cortland

Cary D. Wintz, Texas Southern University

Carlos Alberto Contreras, Grossmont College

Andrew Goss, Augusta University

Timothy J. Schmitz, Wofford College

Kenneth F. Ledford, Case Western Reserve University

Katrin Schultheiss, George Washington University

Edward E. Andrews, Providence College

Philip Anthony Howard, University of Houston

Laird Boswell, University of Wisconsin–Madison

Elizabeth Faue, Wright State University


Brian Ogilvie, University of Massachusetts Amherst

Washington sponsors alumni career panels.

Some presenters emphasized the importance of history faculty being visible and involved in activities and service beyond the department. The chair at Providence College encourages his faculty to be involved in the faculty senate and strategic planning at the university to make sure the needs of the department are represented in these larger forums. Others stressed that faculty should be aware of the broader issues confronting their institutions. At the University of Houston, the chair brought the upper administration to a department meeting to discuss the university's budget so that faculty could deepen their understanding of why enrollments matter. Augusta College's history department has taken advantage of the institution's centralized advising system to reach students.

In the words of one presenter, improving enrollments requires playing the short game and the long game. In the short term, targeted outreach and

appealing activities are popular. For the long term, however, departments are rethinking their majors, their introductory courses, and their place within a shifting educational landscape.

This summary does only brief justice to the rich presentations and discussion at all three roundtables. My thanks to all of the presenters for participating. Clearly, there is enthusiasm for this topic. And the Teaching Division is already at work planning follow-up roundtables for the 2019 annual meeting. We welcome your suggestions for how to continue moving the conversation forward. E-mail me at llehfeldt@gmail.com. 

Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt is vice president, Teaching Division, at the AHA.

DYLAN RUEDIGER

THE AHA JOBS REPORT

The 2016–17 Data Obscure as Much as They Reveal



EACH YEAR, THE AHA presents an article with information collated from our Career Center advertisements to represent the academic job market for historians (as we call it), or, less precisely, “the job market” (as many others term it). Featuring heart-stopping graphs and numbers, the piece usually implies that there’s a quantifiable “market” that can be summarized in a simple visualization. But we’ve become less satisfied with this type of article, because it’s clear that the clean surface of a graph fails to capture the many and diffuse professional opportunities open to historians.

The most stable and easily quantifiable numbers we can present only account for about three quarters of the faculty positions advertised with the AHA.

The idea of a singular job market for historians stems from still-powerful conceptions of what a history job looks like. Academic jobs are advertised in a number of forums, raising questions about whether any single source of postings fully represents academic hiring trends. By relying on data from the AHA Career Center, the AHA (and our members) risks succumbing to what social scientists call a “streetlight” problem—looking for answers in the places that are already illuminated instead of in the shadows, even though searching through both is most likely to produce accurate results. In recent years, we have experimented with compiling data from H-Net, another leading source of academic job listings, to ensure the comprehensiveness of our annual jobs report.¹ This year, H-Net once again generously shared its advertising data with us. Although the combined data allow for a fuller accounting of the state of the academic job market, they also raise fundamental questions about what it means to quantify it, especially since historians find employment opportunities beyond the professoriate, in altogether different job markets.

The Challenge of Quantifying Markets

The AHA Career Center ran ads for 529 positions in 2016–17, all but a handful for full-time work. As we reported in November, this was the lowest total number of advertisements since Ronald Reagan was president. During the same period, H-Net ran an additional 549 unique ads for positions either in history departments or open to historians. Adding them together suggests that there were 1,078 history and history-adjacent jobs last year. But what exactly is being counted? Adding up job ads does make basic arithmetic sense, but the resulting number obscures more than it reveals about the academic job market.

Perhaps the most straightforward category of history jobs is faculty positions in history departments, whether on or off the tenure track. The AHA is working to dislodge the notion that these listings serve as a proxy for the career options available to historians. Nevertheless, they are the traditional starting point of our annual jobs report and are closely watched by early-career historians. The AHA Career Center featured 295 tenure-track positions, 222 of them in history departments. H-Net turned up another 118, for a total of 340 tenure-track jobs in history. Between the two sources of listings, 166 non-tenure-track and visiting positions were advertised, a figure that suggests that there were approximately 500 academic jobs in history departments during 2016–17.

By relying on only AHA data, we risk looking for answers in the places that are already illuminated instead of in the shadows.

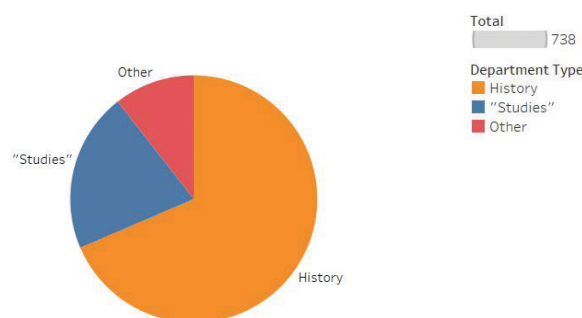
These are the most stable and easily quantifiable numbers we can present, but they only account for about three quarters of the faculty positions advertised in the AHA Career Center, which posted listings for more than 100 openings (tenure and non-tenure track) in departments other than history. These are positions we call “open to historians,” a useful but slippery category.

Fig. 1. Job Listings by Category, 2016–17.

Job Board	Tenure Track	Non-Tenure Track	Postdoc	Other
AHA	295	104	67	63
H-Net	212	127	139	71
Combined	507	231	206	134

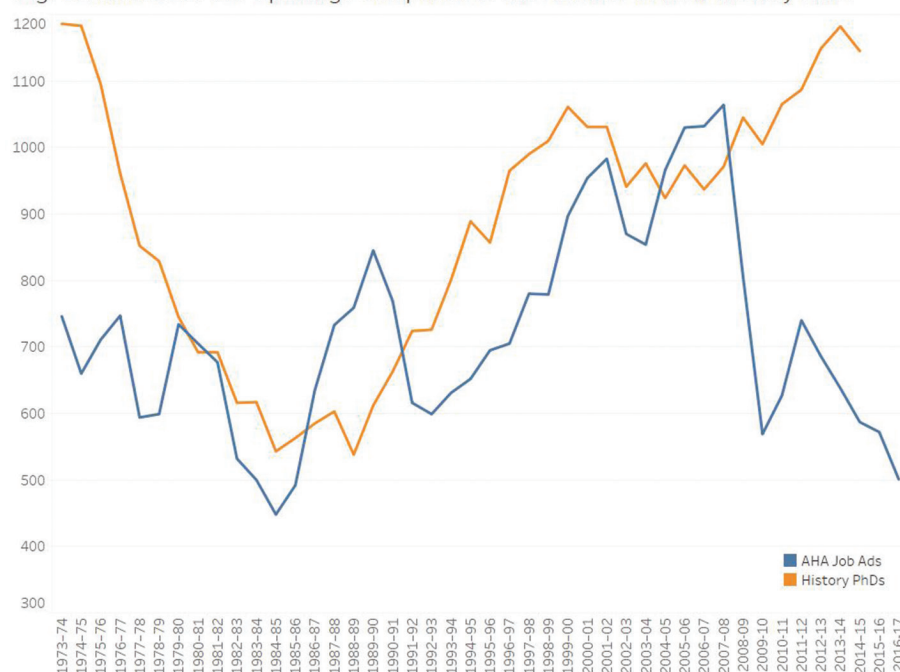
Major categories of unique job listings posted on the AHA Career Center and H-Net. Includes full and part-time positions.

Fig. 2. Departmental Affiliation of Faculty Positions Open to Historians, 2016–17.



Advertised on either H-Net or the AHA Career Center. Includes tenure-track, non-tenure-track, visiting and part-time appointments open to historians.

Fig. 3. Advertised Job Openings Compared to the Number of New History PhDs



Like the AHA Career Center, H-Net lists many jobs that fall into this category. Adding them up, however, requires careful judgment. When employers place ads with our Career Center, we can assume that they are interested in applicants with a PhD in history. But H-Net is a source of listings in multiple disciplines, not all of which are appropriate for historians. Obtaining a realistic number using H-Net data involves reading individual ads and deciding which would make a good fit for a historian. Some women's studies jobs, for instance, seemed to favor social theorists or social science

PhDs trained in quantitative analysis. A job ad from a Korean studies department calling for a specialization in contemporary film, TV, and social media might be a history job—there is almost certainly a historian out there who could fill the vacancy—but PhDs from Asian studies, media studies, and other disciplines are more likely to compete for such a position. Instead, analyzing ads in which the past or historical thinking figures in the desired areas of expertise provides a reasonable count, even if an irreducible fuzziness remains around the edges.

Some historians do find work in departments such as religious studies or American studies. How often this happens is unclear, but the AHA's Where Historians Work project, which tracks the career outcomes of all history PhDs earned from 2004 to 2013, suggests it is relatively rare. Our data set, currently comprising more than 6,000 history PhDs, has so far turned up only 17 with tenure-track appointments in religious studies, for example—an average of less than 2 per year. Area, ethnic, and cultural studies departments combined hire roughly 12 historians annually.

The 206 different postdocs advertised by the AHA and/or H-Net pose perhaps even greater difficulties, as most of them are open to PhDs from disciplines across the

humanities and social sciences. Less than a quarter of all the postdocs advertised last year were specifically targeted at historians. We lack the data to quantify how many historians earn postdoctoral fellowships in any given year, but surely their numbers are much smaller than the total number of available positions.

Continued on 35

JOÃO JOSÉ REIS | TRANSLATION BY JACK A. DRAPER III

SLAVERY REDUX IN BRAZIL

A Speech Given in Appreciation of the Machado de Assis Prize



Brazilian
author
Machado de
Assis
(1839–1908)
*Wikimedia
Commons*

João José Reis, a leading historian of slavery and African culture and an honorary foreign member of the AHA, gave the following acceptance speech upon receiving the Machado de Assis Prize from the Brazilian Academy of Letters. Given the gravity of recent political developments in Brazil, and the concerted efforts by the new (unelected) governing group to roll back basic rights for workers at every level of Brazilian society, Professor Reis's thoughts on Brazil's past and the parallels with its long history of slavery are especially timely.

I WANT TO THANK THE MEMBERS of this academy for considering my work worthy of the Machado de Assis Prize. As I am a historian of slavery (among other things), I hope you will permit me to imagine the granting of this prize, at a moment when the academy is celebrating 120 years of its existence, as an homage to those among its founders who . . . were anti-slavery activists—I am thinking of Rui Barbosa, Joaquim Nabuco, José do Patrocínio, and, most especially, Machado de Assis, who lends his name to this distinction. Grandson of slaves, Machado, in addition to being a shrewd, radical, though discreet abolitionist, was in his own way a historian of slavery, and on this matter I fully agree with one of his most distinguished interpreters, Sidney Chalhoub, also a historian of slavery.

[The] historian and member of this academy . . . Alberto da Costa e Silva . . . perfectly and concisely calculated the weight of [slavery as a] labor system and way of life for Brazil: “Slavery was the most important and profound process in our history.” It could not have been otherwise: it lasted close to 400 years, as opposed to only 129 years of freedom; the Luso-Brazilian transatlantic slave trade imported almost half of the 11 million victims trafficked to the Americas; and Brazil was the last country in the Americas to abolish slavery, in 1888. Slavery left indelible marks upon the society born from its foundations and still haunts us with a variety of ghosts—social and racial inequalities, systemic racism, episodic racism, now all the more rabid thanks to the anonymity of the Internet . . . the principal vehicle nowadays for preaching hate of all kinds, including racial hatred.

Brazil will require herculean strength to free itself from a past that refuses to pass. The primary path is perhaps an interlocking approach of more information, more education, and more affirmative action. In this regard, some measures demanded by the black consciousness movements were adopted in recent decades. Among these, I would highlight three: educational quotas, instruction in Afro-Brazilian history, and the creation of the University of International Integration of Afro-Brazilian Lusophony (UNILAB).

Socio-racial quotas for admission to public universities have already changed the color of these institutions, correcting in many cases the almost exclusive white presence in the academic fields of greatest prestige—medicine, law, engineering. Despite problems here and there, quotas are working.

The introduction, in elementary and middle-school education, of a discipline focused on Afro-Brazilian history and culture, emphasizing the history of Africa, promised to put the subject on an equal footing with material on the history of Europe. Regrettably, the discipline has disappeared from the new National Fundamental Common Curriculum. And Africa is again being reduced to the idea, denounced by black poet [João da] Cruz e Souza, of a “grotesque and sad, melancholy Africa, the haunted origin of cries of lamentation, Africa of supplications and eternal curses.” This is the Africa that predominates in the major media, hostage to what Nigerian author Chimamanda Adichie aptly terms a “single story.” I am rooting for the return of Africa to our schools.

A history of other voices is represented in UNILAB, established in 2011 as a gesture, even if a rather timid one, of solidarity with a continent pillaged by the Luso-Brazilian slave trade. That institution brings together in its classrooms almost 1,000 African students (out of 5,000 UNILAB students), well-qualified mediators between Brazil and their many Africas[.] Yet the community of UNILAB, a minuscule item in the federal budget, is threatened with having its funding cut. We must defend UNILAB!

Policies of racial inclusion as well as educating all Brazilians about the immense contribution of Africans and their descendants to the historical and cultural formation of the country are . . . necessary measures in the fight against the nefarious legacy of slavery, though I cannot say if they are sufficient. I prefer to believe that gestures of symbolic racism, such as naming a chic restaurant *Senzala* [Slave Quarters], are a product of ignorance rather than effrontery. I wish—we all wish—for a country in which it would not be necessary for a young black woman in a recent street demonstration to raise a sign reading: “The big house explodes when the slave quarters learn to read.”

Invoking slavery has become the order of the day. Prisoners in Brazil, a majority of whom (around 60 percent) are black, are crammed into tiny spaces, leading to comparisons between our prisons—where the good food of the *Senzala* restaurant is not served—and slave quarters. Perhaps this is an unjust comparison: slaves’ lives were worth more to their masters than today’s prisoners’ seem to be worth to the Brazilian government and to a society that remains in complicit silence. A prisoner does not count as a citizen: he is black or,



Ganhadores ("earning slaves") in Bahia. This watercolor has been attributed to Maria Graham, who spent 1823–25 in Brazil.
 Courtesy João Reis

if white, is also black for being so poor, as singer-writer Caetano Veloso affirmed. The precariousness of citizenship, a result of social and racial inequality, has been insistently tied to the history of slavery. Just last week, the novelist Milton Hatoum wrote in his column in [the newspaper] *O Globo*: "Almost four centuries of slavery, followed by a century or so of a deeply flawed democracy, interrupted by various dictatorships, could only produce a society of extreme inequality."

There is, meanwhile, another even more disturbing dimension to this general matter, which is when slavery, instead of operating as an allegory, actually insinuates itself as concrete or potential reality.

As in the past, the cycle begins with trafficking—of sex workers, or of domestic, industrial, or rural workers. Immigrants, both legal and illegal, are routinely rescued from insalubrious cellars in the big cities, where they work, live, and die. In rural areas there has been a flood of denunciations about people

being subjected to forms of labor (forced, exhausting, degrading) analogous to slavery. Today the matter gains international attention by mobilizing scholars, representatives of the Labor Courts,¹ and the International Labor Organization to investigate and combat this disgrace.

The very recent labor "reforms"² are cause for grave concern for experts in contemporary slavery. According to the labor inspector Luís Alexandre Farias, "the changes create new legal conditions and allow legislation that routinizes conditions which we identify as labor analogous to slavery." And with respect to the new legal principle of the negotiated arrangement within a particular firm taking precedence over the legislated protection, the Public Ministry of Labor prosecutor Maurício Ferreira Brito, who heads the National Coordinating Body for the Eradication of Slave Labor, warned of the danger of a kind of voluntary slavery. "Depending on what is negotiated," he stressed, "you can legalize practices of slave labor." . . . We must also mention that capital now

has dispensation to employ pregnant women in unhealthy work environments. If this is not degrading labor, what is?

... I cannot resist comparing the “intermittent labor” contemplated in the labor “reforms” with the urban systems of “earning slaves” (*escravos de ganho*) and “rented slaves.” In the first case, the master would send the slave out into the street to sell his or her own labor; in the second, the master would choose the renter. Earning slaves and rented slaves would circulate among one, two, or even more employers, as the intermittent worker will be able to do in the new Brazil. A professor or teacher, for example, will be able, as an autonomous intermittent worker, to labor in various educational establishments, one day in one, the next day in another; thereafter still another. And thus will be born the professor (or teacher) for hire.

Add to that the recent Outsourcing Law and we can nearly complete a picture of the radical precarization of labor. Outsourcing is now legal for every occupation.³ Even in the educational sector, companies that were previously limited to providing employees for security or custodial work may now offer teachers and professors to schools, colleges, and universities, and circulate them in accordance with market demand. And thus will be born the rental-professor and the rental-teacher.

Fortunately for me, my time for being an earner- or rental-professor has already passed. Full-time and exclusive employment at the Federal University of Bahia gave me the opportunity to be a research professor. To my university and to the entities that fund research, especially the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development, I express my gratitude for giving me the chance to write the historiographic work now being recognized with this prize. ...

I just want to add that my books, articles, chapters in anthologies, and so forth were and continue to be written with passion for the themes they address, without the stamped and sealed guarantee of perfect objectivity demanded by the positivist. I sought, rather, a Weberian understanding. Still, I do not permit my ideological inclinations and my utopian visions to dominate my interpretations of the processes, events, and individuals about whom I write. Propagandistic history is not for me! I bow to the evidence that springs from the archives, and the latter do not cease to amaze me as a window on a universe much more complex than a simple, perhaps Manichean analysis would permit[.]

My books are populated by slaves who flee from one place to another; create *quilombos* [maroon communities] on the peripheries of the city of Bahia [Salvador] or in the mangrove swamps of Barra do Rio de Contas,⁴ rise up in the name of Allah and Ogun.

But in these writings one also finds slaves who negotiate with their masters for a less oppressive captivity—slaves who want, and masters who allow, the accumulation of wealth and the purchase of freedom. The majority of my characters have names and subjectivity; they are not passive, anonymous cogs in the machinery of slavery. Bilal Licutan, Luiz Sanin, Manoel Calafate, João Malomi, Francisco and Francisca Cidade, Zeferina—men and women who led the Bahian slave revolts. The religious leader Rufino José Maria, a freed Muslim who became a slave ship’s cook and small-time transatlantic trafficker of human beings. Domingos Sodré, a Nagô/Yoruba diviner and healer who furnished medicinal herbs to slaves to pacify their masters, while being a slave master himself. Manoel Joaquim Ricardo, owner of dozens of slaves, a freed Hausa who prospered to the point of being counted among the wealthiest 10 percent of people in Salvador da Bahia. And a few more beyond that ...

However, I close with a warning to navigators: upward social mobility was the fate of very few of the slaves who disembarked or were born in Brazil. The majority died in captivity. In the final analysis, I agree with abolitionist Joaquim Nabuco, who wrote: “It does not matter that so many of [slavery’s] illegitimate children have imposed on their siblings the same yoke, and have associated themselves as accomplices to the fortunes of this homicidal institution; slavery in America is always the crime of the white race, the predominant element of national civilization ...” **P**

João José Reis is professor of history at the Federal University of Bahia, Brazil, and author of several books, most recently Divining Slavery and Freedom: The Story of Domingos Sodré, an African Priest in Nineteenth-Century Brazil (2015). Jack A. Draper III is associate professor of Portuguese at the University of Missouri and the author of Saudade in Brazilian Cinema: The History of an Emotion on Film (2017).

NOTES

1. As a result of the labor code issued in the early 1940s, Brazil has a separate labor court network that addresses violations of workers’ rights.
2. The controversial Labor Reform Law, signed into law by President Michel Temer on July 13, 2017, rolls back a long list of labor rights and allows “negotiated” agreements between workers and employers in a particular firm (with regard to hours, wages, vacations, etc.) to override accords reached by the union representing the occupational category as a whole. It has been denounced by labor unions, labor attorneys, and prosecutors as leading toward a radical precarization of work.
3. Signed into law by President Temer on March 31, 2017. Previously, in a work setting such as a school, functions judged as secondary to the entity’s operations (say, janitorial services) could be outsourced. Now primary functions (such as those performed by the teaching staff) can be outsourced as well.
4. Present-day city of Itacaré in southeastern Bahia.

SETH DENBO

ONLINE ONLY

What the Proposed Virtual Obama Presidential Library Means for Historians



A rendering of the planned Obama Presidential Center in Chicago. The center will not include a library for the study of the papers of the Obama administration.
The Obama Foundation

IN JANUARY OF THIS YEAR, more than 100 University of Chicago faculty, including over 20 members of the history department, signed a letter of concern regarding the proposed location of the future Obama Presidential Center. As the letter argued, building the center in Jackson Park, on Chicago's South Side, would unnecessarily develop historic parkland and not "provide the promised development or economic benefits to the neighborhoods." Professor of history at Chicago and former AHA president Jan Goldstein, who signed the letter, said that many felt "disappointment" at the "the tendency of the [Obama] Foundation to push plans and make decisions without consulting the community."

This is not the first time that the Obama Foundation, the charitable body responsible for funding, building, and operating the Obama Presidential Center, has attracted controversy. Last spring the foundation announced that the center would not include a library for the study of the papers of the Obama administration. The site plans include a museum, space for public programs, a community center, and outdoor recreation areas, but no research facility. Instead, the Obama Presidential Library will be virtual.

To put this in wider context, every president since Franklin Roosevelt has built a library housing the records of his administration. This break from tradition by the Obama Foundation followed an agreement with the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) that the foundation would fund digitization of all unclassified papers of the administration, with NARA subsequently providing access to the papers via the web.

The vastness of the archives of modern administrations demands new forms of access and means of discovery.

It remains to be seen, however, whether this arrangement will serve the needs of historians and other scholars. The vastness of the archives of modern administrations demands new forms of access and means of discovery. Digitizing the administration's records will serve a wide audience, connect printed records with born-digital ones, and allow for new means of exploring and interacting with the sources. But presidential libraries foster communities of researchers, and their archivists possess invaluable knowledge of the collections. State-of-the-art digital collections can be accessed globally, but this model also creates impediments.

The precedent for presidential libraries was established in 1939, when Roosevelt donated his archives to the federal government and asked NARA to run his library. When his successors did the same, Congress passed the Presidential Libraries Act in 1955 to establish a system of privately built but federally maintained institutions modeled on the Roosevelt library. In 1978, the Presidential Records Act made materials created by presidential administrations as part of their fulfillment of official duties the property of the US government. When a president leaves office now, custody of the records is automatically transferred over to NARA and the Archivist of the United States. Private foundations help build the libraries and continue to offer financial support and advice after NARA assumes responsibility for operation and maintenance. Thirteen libraries now make up NARA's presidential libraries system; libraries for presidents before Hoover are not part of this system.

As privately funded entities, presidential libraries and museums have cultural and financial interests in lauding their namesakes. Anthony Clark, author of *The Last Campaign* (2015), noted in *Politico* earlier this year that "presidential libraries are perfect examples of just how far presidents will go to control their own legacies." The LBJ Foundation's website, for example, describes its goal as providing "an ongoing legacy for President Johnson's accomplishments and his vision for our nation." NARA's mandate, on the other hand, is to provide impartial access to presidential records and to preserve them. These competing interests have sometimes caused tension between presidential libraries and NARA. In the case of the Nixon library especially, differences at times erupted into open, newsworthy acrimony. By not building a physical archival repository that researchers can visit, the Obama Foundation is divorcing the traditional presidential library's museum and memory functions from its need to provide services for scholarship.

Digitizing the Obama administration's paper records, however, will be neither cheap nor easy, likely costing tens of millions of dollars. In addition, NARA will have to address major infrastructural concerns about how it will provide access to the vast collection of records from the administration. In addition to paper records, recent presidential administrations have created terabytes of born-digital records. The Obama administration alone handed 300 million e-mails and over 500 million digital files to NARA. NARA is also preserving the administration's tweets, Snapchat postings, Salesforce documents, and more. While NARA has devoted a number of resources to managing the complexity and immensity of the task of archiving born-digital files, it is unclear what web-based access to records on this scale would look like.

The Obama Foundation won't be the first presidential library to digitize and provide access to paper records on the web. The Roosevelt library provides digital access to its collections through a "virtual research room" called FRANKLIN. The library has an "ongoing and ambitious digitization program," and adds digital content continually. Using FRANKLIN, scholars can browse and search through 800,000 pages of archival documents and thousands of photographs. But rather than rethinking the library's collections for a digital audience, FRANKLIN organizes digital records according to the logic of the original physical archive. While this works for a collection the size of FRANKLIN, modern digital presidential records will require an entirely different approach. The size of the Obama administration's digital collections means that more complex and robust systems of access will be required. And with millions of dollars committed to the task, the Obama Foundation and NARA have an opportunity to rethink the way scholars and the general public experience and use the materials.

The challenge of preserving and providing access to these records is paralleled by the problems of trying to do research in such a vast archive. Dan Cohen, former head of the Digital Public Library of America, argues that "Digitization of the archive can enable entirely new forms of research that will help surface new topics and ideas. Merely searching 300 million e-mail messages from the eight years of the Obama administration will require new techniques."

Digital-only access to the Obama administration records has several other implications for scholars. With no actual materials on site at the Obama Presidential Center, NARA staff will not be located in Chicago, but instead will work at the remote facility where the records will be stored. For scholars conducting research on the Obama administration, not having the option to travel to a library to access collections is a problem. Without a place to bring researchers with common interests together and allow interaction between archivists and scholars, some historians think that scholarship will suffer.

David Nelson (California Lutheran Univ.), for example, recalls finding the expertise of the archivists at the Eisenhower library invaluable while doing research for his book on Mormons in Nazi Germany: they "knew which collections could serve my purpose, something that could not always be discerned from the sometimes skimpy descriptions of the various collections." Similarly, Martha Hodes (New York Univ.) noted that working with the Nixon library staff offered her "a multitude of documents" she wouldn't otherwise have found. Presidential libraries also foster community through such activities as the weekly brown-bag history seminars at the Eisenhower

library or the document analysis workshops for educators at the Carter library. With no collections on site, the Obama Presidential Center is relinquishing this function.

Jim Gardner, former executive for legislative archives, presidential libraries, and museum services at NARA, expressed concern that the Obama Foundation is setting a precedent that will encourage other libraries to move toward independence. Gardner fears that this could lead to "not just no more libraries, but erosion within the system." It would be a great loss, said Gardner, because the libraries are places "where you can engage the American people in their own history."

With no actual materials on site
at the Obama Presidential
Center, NARA staff will not be
located in Chicago.

So far, however, no other libraries appear to be following the Obama Presidential Center's example. On November 30, 2017, Mississippi State University opened a new \$10 million addition to its library to house the Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library. Like the Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library & Museum in Staunton, Virginia, the Grant library is not part of the NARA system; its archives are private. The new institution includes selections from Grant's papers, as well as material culture exhibits. Even as the Obama Foundation and NARA look to pioneer a new kind of library, some are content with taking a more traditional approach to preserving and providing access to the records of past presidents.

But the scale of the holdings of a 19th-century president such as Grant is dwarfed by that of a 21st-century administration such as Obama's. Cohen views the vastness of this archive as necessitating digital access, which "can be much more democratic." "And the research community," he adds, "for better or worse, can be much larger and distributed across the globe." The Obama Foundation's effort to bring together the digital and printed archival records of the administration into one vast web-based resource will inevitably transform the way historians do research on the modern presidency. It is now up to the foundation and NARA to ensure that the promised digital archive serves the needs of researchers from around the globe. **P**

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

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SETH DENBO

AHA COUNCIL ANNOUNCES CHANGES TO THE *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*


At its January 3, 2018, meeting, the AHA Council voted to change some important features of the management and editorial structure of the *American Historical Review* (*AHR*). The most consequential of these was the decision, starting with the hiring of the next editor in 2021, to no longer require that the editor relocate and take up a position as a faculty member at Indiana University Bloomington (IU). Instead, the selected candidate will be able to remain at their current institution while serving as editor of the *AHR*. By widening the pool of candidates, thereby enhancing the Association's ability to recruit the most suitable candidate for the position, the new arrangement intends to continue the long tradition of high-quality editorial leadership for the flagship journal in our discipline.

The other important change mandates the creation of an advisory body that will provide guidance and recommendations for reviews appearing in the *AHR*. This new board of review editors will help guide decisions about which books and scholarly outputs are reviewed in the *AHR*, and will work to ensure that reviewers are qualified and reflect the diversity of the discipline. As editor Alex Lichtenstein has written in his editorial for the February issue of the journal, this body will be an "additional means of diversifying editorial practices in the journal's 'Reviews' section."

The *AHR*'s office was moved from Washington, DC, to Bloomington, Indiana, in 1975. According to the AHA's newsletter at the time, the "AHA Council had become increasingly concerned with costs, especially those generated by an editorial staff in Washington which has consisted primarily of professional editors." These concerns precipitated the agreement with IU, but at the time, the Council also recognized the advantage of associating with a research university: "The Council and the Indiana history department see pedagogical advantages in relocating the *Review* at a major university. With faculty members as editors and graduate students comprising most of the staff, the *Review* will continue its traditional scholarly functions but will serve also as a major training device in scholarly editing as an alternative career to now-scarce teaching positions in history."

Given the long and fruitful relationship between the Association and IU, which has seen the *Review* remain the most important general journal in our discipline, the Council considered these changes very carefully and made recommendations only after a long and deliberative process. Led by Edmund Russell, who recently completed a three-year term as the AHA's vice president for research, the Council explored a number of options for the editorial structure of the *AHR*. Russell said that "the most important considerations during these discussions were the necessity of achieving the AHA's goals for the journal, and ensuring that the journal would best serve the needs of the discipline for the long term." These needs include recruiting the best editor; enhancing intellectual leadership and creativity; diversifying review consultants; streamlining processes, and enhancing the flexibility and adaptability of the journal.

Much, however, will remain the same. The existence of a stable and well-established editorial office will ensure the long-term viability of the journal and the continuity of its editorial processes. The graduate student editorial assistants, who are the backbone of the process that makes possible the publication of over 800 reviews per year, will remain an important resource, and the AHA will retain its commitment to training future historians. While in the future the editor will not be expected to be based at IU, retaining the office in Bloomington will take advantage of the long-standing and established publishing operation that produces the *Review* five times a year, while maintaining the high-quality editing for which the journal is known.

As the AHA's current vice president for research, Sophia Rosenfeld will oversee much of the transition and the search for the next editor. Asked about the plans, Rosenfeld said, "While details will be worked out over the coming months, the AHA greatly values the long-standing relationship with IU and the IU history department. Maintaining this relationship while also developing new structures for consulting on reviews and hiring editors should ensure that the journal remains relevant well into the future." 

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



Suzanne Miers Oliver

1922–2016

Historian of Global Slavery

Suzanne Miers Oliver, professor emerita of history at Ohio University, passed away at her home in Placida, Florida, on September 11, 2016, at the age of 93. Word of this great loss to the historical profession that she loved is only now reaching her many friends and colleagues.

Suzanne Miers Oliver (née Doyle) was born in the Belgian Congo (now the Democratic Republic of Congo) in 1922 to American parents and educated in Brussels and London. She was awarded a BA by the University of London in 1944 and an MA in 1949, the same year that she married Brigadier Richard Miers, with whom she had two children. She taught at the University of London in 1947–48 and the University of Malaya (Singapore) between 1955 and 1958. After Richard's death in 1962, she took a PhD in African history at the University of London with Roland Oliver, the eminent founder of this then-new field of study, whom she subsequently married in 1990. He predeceased her in 2014.

Sue, as she was known to her many friends and colleagues, taught at the University of Wisconsin–Madison in 1967–68 and again in 1969–70 before joining the history department at Ohio University in 1970, where she remained until her retirement in 1990. At Ohio, she became an internationally known and respected leader in the study of global slavery and abolition. While Africa remained the principal focus of her scholarship, her dedication to deepening our knowledge and understanding of this fundamental problem in human history prompted her to pursue her interests as far afield as China.

Sue was the author of two major monographs, the first of which, *Britain and the Ending of the Slave Trade* (1975), encouraged interest in African and comparative slavery. Her second book, *Slavery in the Twentieth Century: The Evolution of a Global Problem* (2002), demonstrated that the history of abolitionism extends into contemporary global history. A series of co-edited collections—*Slavery in Africa: Historical and*

Anthropological Perspectives (1977) with Igor Kopytoff, *The End of Slavery in Africa* (1988) with Richard Roberts, and *Slavery and Colonial Rule in Africa* (1998) with Martin A. Klein—established the ubiquity of slaves in the continent's history and examined the contradictions between abolitionist pieties and practical accommodation during the decades of European colonial rule there.

Sue brought the scattered regional fields of our discipline together around an issue of global significance in *Women in Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape* (1994), co-edited with Maria Jaschok, and in several collections of diverse papers resulting from the series of conferences that Gwyn Campbell organized in Avignon: *Women and Slavery* (2 vols., 2007–08), *Children in Slavery Through the Ages* (2009), and *Child Slaves in the Modern World* (2011), all edited with Campbell and Joseph C. Miller. The extensive geographical and chronological range of these collections, with papers on Africa, the Americas, the Middle East, the Indian Ocean world, and Europe and the Viking north Atlantic, underscored not only the universality of slaving in human history but also the productivity of cross-regional exchanges setting this complex and problematic component of the human experience in its multifarious local historical contexts.

The international esteem in which Sue was held was made manifest in the 2002 conference in Avignon, when some 50 colleagues assembled in her honor. Many of these papers subsequently appeared in the two-volume *Women and Slavery*, published by Ohio University Press.

This accomplished and dedicated scholar leaves enlightened students and colleagues on every continent. Although saddened by her passing, those of us who knew Sue take solace from the fact that we had the good fortune, not to mention the honor, of having her presence grace our lives.

Joseph C. Miller
University of Virginia (emeritus)

Richard B. Allen
Ohio University Press

JOBS

Continued from 24

In other words, we have data on faculty and postdoc jobs, which we can begin analyzing with confidence. Much more difficult to quantify is the wide range of jobs that are truly open to historians. We now recognize that 20 to 25 percent of history PhDs will build careers outside the ranks of the faculty. Some find their positions through ads in the AHA Career Center or on H-Net. Combined, the two job boards advertised 136 such positions in 2016–17. AHA ads for these kinds of positions have increased over 400 percent in the past two years, a trend we hope will continue. Nonetheless, it's clear that we will never host even a fraction of the total that exists, even though we know that many careers “open to historians” are out there. The value of these positions and their importance to understanding the careers of historians is more important than ever. But how should they be integrated into our annual jobs report—if they are at all? At the very least, the increasing number of ads for jobs beyond the professoriate adds to our wariness about presenting a straightforward or definitive quantification of history jobs.

Conclusions

The question of what the job market for historians looks like is still an open one, but the framework for a new answer is starting to become clear. First, we need to fully abandon the idea of a singular job market. This means more than simply emphasizing the existence of two markets, the academic and the nonacademic; it also involves recognizing that there are multiple markets both outside the academy and within it. As historians, we know that one way to do this is to question the limits and biases of the primary sources we use as evidence.

Another method we know well is to diversify our source base in search of fuller perspectives.

We are still piecing through what this means, but a few key ideas—at least in relation to our annual feature on jobs in history—are coming into focus. Perhaps the most important of these is the need to reconceptualize what has long been the signature representation of history careers: a double line graph displaying “history” job listings and PhDs awarded. These charts have traditionally provided the foundation for hope or despair at the distance between the lines.

While the number of PhDs earned annually is easy to quantify, the number of jobs, even academic jobs, open to historians in any given year is subject to much greater uncertainty. Anecdotal evidence of a contracted academic job market and the best available data both support the basic trends reflected in the AHA Career Center advertisements. Recent research by Robert B. Townsend on history department rosters, for instance, has found that the number of new assistant professorships in 2016–17 was less than half the number of new hires in 2004–05. There is no question that there are fewer tenure-track positions than the number of well-qualified PhDs who would like to fill them. But it also evident that this workhorse underestimates both demand and the supply of jobs open to historians, even as it visually reinforces the idea that in a perfect world its twin lines would converge. The question remains: How best to quantify the job markets that historians navigate? **P**

Dylan Ruediger is coordinator, Career Diversity for Historians, at the AHA. He tweets @dylan_ruediger.

NOTE

1. Allen Mikaelian, “The 2013 Jobs Report: Number of AHA Ads Dip, New Experiment Offers Expanded View,” *Perspectives on History* (January 2014); Allen Mikaelian, “The Academic Job Market’s Jagged Line: Number of Ads Placed Drops for Second Year,” *Perspectives on History* (September 2014).

AHA CAREER CENTER

Positions are listed alphabetically: first by country, then state/province, city, institution, and field.

Find more job ads at careers.historians.org.



RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

New Brunswick, NJ

2018-19 Postdoctoral Fellowship in Race and Gender History. The Department of History at Rutgers University announces a post-doctoral 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.

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.



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Looking for an Edge?

Check out *AHA Today* (blog.historians.org) for a blog series on the **FIVE SKILLS** you can develop in graduate school to shape your career path — both within and beyond the professoriate.

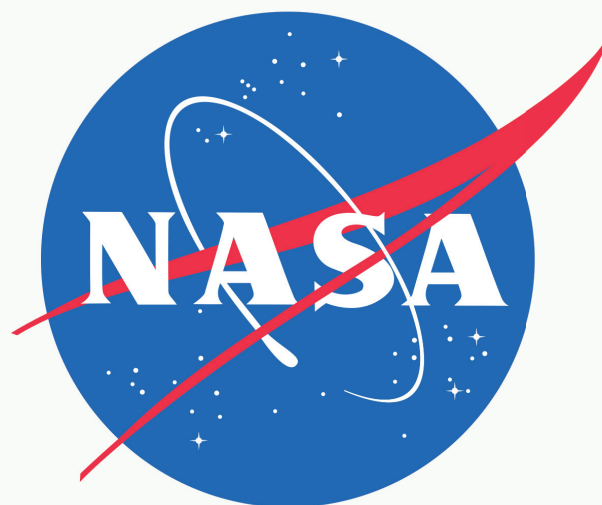
Watch historians.org/fiveskills for helpful resources!

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.
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