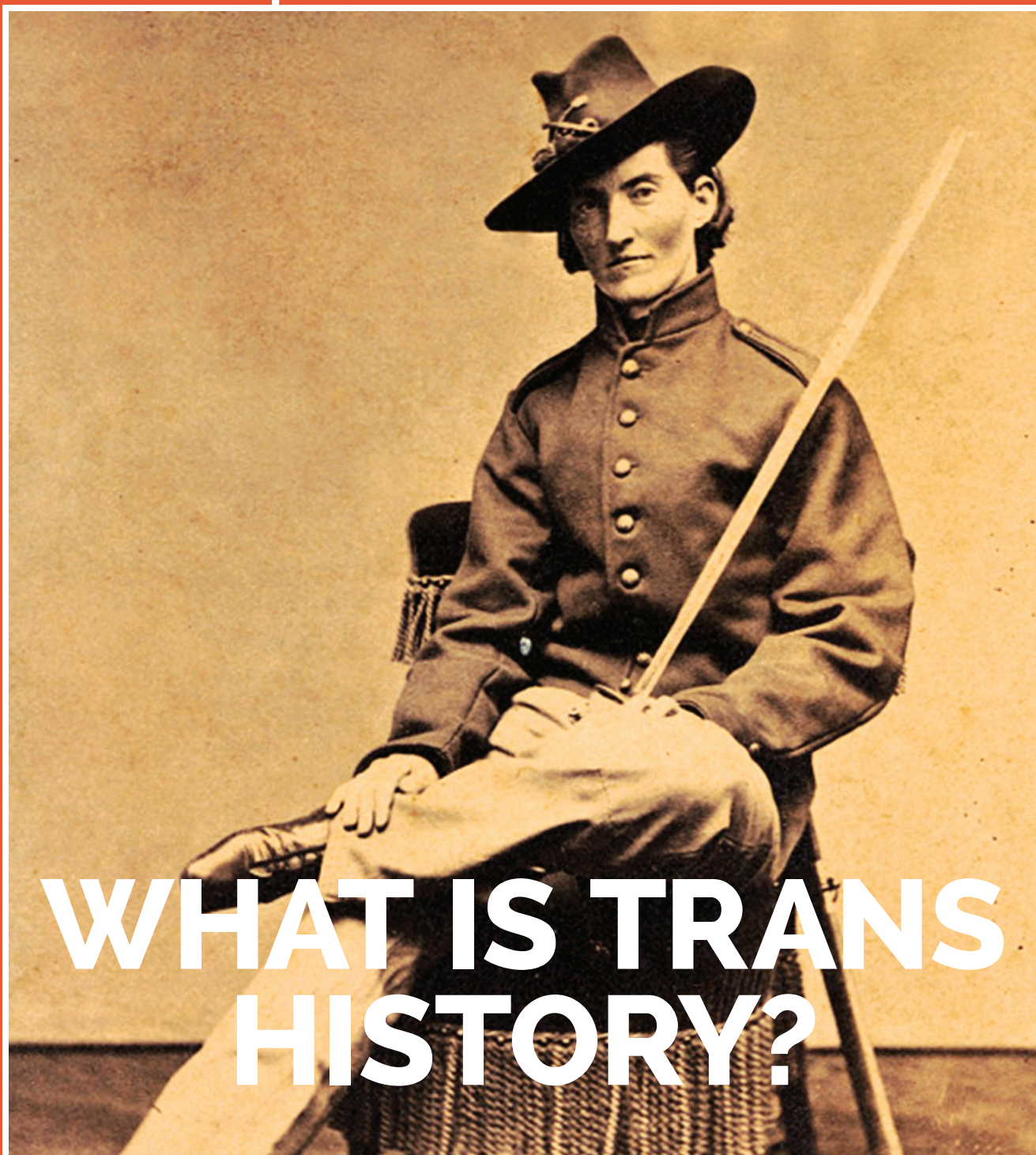


The newsmagazine of the American Historical Association

PERSPECTIVES ON HISTORY

Volume 56: 5
May 2018





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News magazine of the

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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

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

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

©2018 American Historical Association.

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

PUBLISHER'S STATEMENT

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



ALLISON MILLER

TOWNHOUSE NOTES

Feeling Good as Hell with a PhD

It's May, which means about a thousand history PhD candidates nationwide will have the opportunity to get hooded. Lots of people skip commencement, but as a ritual it matters—beyond the trimmed gowns of faux silk. It marks the terminus of a winding path through thickets of emotion that have taken root and grown over years of study.

The investment of feeling happens quickly. Grad school immediately opens your mind in ways you never imagined. You encounter people from different backgrounds and intellectual assumptions. You read things you always wanted to read and things you never knew existed. You take notes. You daydream. You get up to make coffee.

You worry. Everyone has a dissertation topic except you. Everyone has full funding except you. Everyone else is polished, exceptional, driven. You feel alone, like you can't say anything.

You have a breakthrough one night and finish your first truly brilliant seminar paper as the sun comes up. You rework it into a presentation at a regional conference, which goes so well you email your adviser to ask whether it would make a good dissertation topic. You finally hear back with an offer to talk over coffee. You're given the blessing along with a number of relevant readings and weird tangential ideas that you wonder if you're obligated to pursue.

Your time in the archives flies by, and soon enough you're writing. You polish off a chapter, then another, to good reviews from your adviser. Your dissertation fills your conscious hours with the presence of the divine, alternating between sanctification and damnation. Not knowing which aspect of the dissertation deity will show up when you sit down to write, you find "research" to do, cruising JSTOR before taking a social media break. You post about your lack of productivity.

Your friends are moving on. People in cohorts who came in ahead of you are defending and getting jobs. You're impressed by some of the name-brand appointments but soon learn that they're VAPs, and your silent concern about academic employment prospects grows.

A journal accepts your article for publication. You present a paper at a national conference. You're on fire, and your adviser says you're ready to start applying for academic jobs. You try distilling your research to a paragraph for a job letter and find it surprisingly difficult. Deadlines creep to your door. You set a defense date, then push it back. You get two videoconference interviews for academic jobs, but they're somehow not as impressive as the in-person AHA interviews everyone you know seems to be getting. And you still need to defend by the summer. You revise and file.

Maybe you have academic employment secured—maybe it's a plum job, maybe it's a postdoc or a VAP, maybe it's an adjunct appointment. Or maybe you're ready to slough off the carapace of academia and figure out the difference between a CV and a résumé. Maybe you've got nothing.

But you do have a PhD. You've produced original scholarship, and you've put something in the world that wasn't there before—a big something.

It's possible that the emotional life of graduate school has caused you suffering, perhaps a great deal of it. But graduation isn't only about you; it's also about the community you've been immersed in for several years. Your devotion to your work, your mentoring of newer students, your friendships and rivalries—all have contributed to making your PhD meaningful. You're in the company of giants now.

Congratulations. **P**

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



CORRECTIONS

In "Familial Intrigue" (February 2018), we reported that the "scale" of Walter Davis's embezzlement from his building and loan association was "surpassed only" by the Wells Fargo scandal of 2015. Davis's crime was very large, but it was comparable to a few other contemporary cases. In "Search History" (March 2018), we misattributed a quotation to Leslie Rowland. The remark was made by a different individual. In "How Departments Are Tackling Lower Enrollments" (March 2018), Elizabeth Faue's affiliation was misidentified. It is Wayne State University, not Wright State University. *Perspectives* regrets the errors.

CFP: "HISTORY UNCLASSIFIED"

What form can history take today?

The *American Historical Review* plans to create a new section of the journal called "History Unclassified," with Kate Brown as consulting editor. This section will feature unusual and surprising contributions that do not fit our usual article format. We conceive of this new format as capacious and experimental in approach and content. We welcome authors' archival stories and offbeat discoveries, unexpected connections with other fields, and research experiences that raise new methodological questions. We are open to historical writing and presentation in new formats, and to literary explorations of new epistemologies derived from emergent technologies, insights from the age of the Anthropocene, or recent developments that have transformed our understanding of what constitutes an archive and an archivist. We are soliciting contributions of 2,000 to 5,000 words. Please send to ahr@indiana.edu and kbrown@umbc.edu, with the subject heading "History Unclassified."

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MARY BETH NORTON

AN EMBARRASSMENT OF WITCHES

What's the History behind Trump's Tweets?

"WITCH HUNT!"

That's how President Donald Trump's tweets tend to refer to the investigation led by Robert Mueller into possible collusion between his presidential campaign and Russia.

Except for modern adherents of the Wiccan religion, people today do not believe in witchcraft—and Wiccans do not believe in the sort of witchcraft that became the subject of prosecutions in early modern Europe and America. The consensus among historians now is that witches did not exist in the past, and so by employing the term "witch hunt," the president is implying that he is as innocent today as were the persecuted "witches" of centuries ago.

He is assuming, probably correctly, that Americans today understand his phrase in exactly that way. Anyone raised or resident in the United States has surely heard of the most famous "witch hunt" in American history, that which occurred in Essex County, Massachusetts, in 1692–93, named for the town in which the trials occurred: Salem. Indeed, many high school students today must read Arthur Miller's famous 1953 play, *The Crucible*, which effectively used the vehicle of the Salem trials to comment on the House Un-American Activities Committee investigations of the 1950s, which had ensnared Miller and many of his acquaintances. Even though Miller changed many historical details to make his points—for example, turning the elderly John Proctor into a younger man and the child Abigail Williams into a femme fatale who seduces him—his image of the trials retains its hold on the American imagination.

Therefore, when President Trump or other Americans refer to "witch hunts," the Salem trials are the point of reference, even though earlier "hunts" in Europe produced many more trials and executions. (An excellent overview of these trials is Robin Briggs's *Witches and Neighbors*, now

sadly out of print; another good survey is Bryan Leveck's *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, recently updated in a new edition.)

The scholarship on the Essex County crisis is vast, and interest in the subject appears never-ending. As the author of a well-known book on the crisis, *In the Devil's Snare* (2002), I receive many inquiries from students doing National History Day projects on the Salem witchcraft trials each year, regardless of the competition's official theme. For seven years, concluding this past fall, I taught an undergraduate seminar at Cornell focusing exclusively on Salem witchcraft, which always attracted healthy student enrollment.

Even though Arthur Miller changed many historical details, *The Crucible* retains its hold on the American imagination.

Interest in the trials extends beyond the classroom. Multiple television networks have been sufficiently fascinated by the story to attempt to recreate it visually without any contemporary evidence besides documents that omit many pertinent details. I have appeared as a talking head on numerous such shows, which have varied considerably in quality. I am also one of the scholars interviewed on the video about the trials that is now shown at the National Park Service headquarters in Salem, and which is better than most such efforts. (Among ourselves, historians of Salem refer wryly to the "screaming girls" that dominate many reconstructions.)

Because the trials have drawn attention since shortly after they concluded (the earliest historical treatment came in Daniel Neal's *History of New-England*, published in London



in 1720), the facts have been overlaid for centuries with layers of myth, some nearly impenetrable. Myths are so much a part of the story that it is almost impossible to reveal the truth. Here I will address just a few.

First is the shorthand name of the event: the Salem witchcraft trials. True, the trials took place in Salem Town, but the crisis began in the outlying area then known as Salem Village (now Danvers). Further, the more than 150 accused people came from all over Essex County, a plurality of them from Andover. So, attentive readers of my book might ask why its subtitle is *The Salem Witchcraft Crisis of 1692*, rather than my preferred phrase, *The Essex County Witchcraft Crisis of 1692*. Answer: the tyranny of online search terms. I knew that if I used the more accurate subtitle, some readers (or purchasers) would never find the book.

Among ourselves, historians of Salem refer wryly to the “screaming girls” that dominate many reconstructions.

Second is the story that the crisis began when some young girls became hysterical after practicing some sort of black magic with the African slave Tituba in the household of Samuel Parris, the Salem Village minister. Arthur Miller included a vivid such scene in his play. But there is no contemporary evidence to back up the tale. Tituba obviously interacted with the two children who lived in Parris’s home—the first to be afflicted—but there is no evidence that she associated with the later afflicted young people, most of whom were older teenagers. Nor is there an account of the accusers experimenting with magic together. Even Thomas Brattle, a contemporary critic of the trials who blamed the young accusers, did not suggest that their accusations arose either from Tituba’s influence or practicing witchcraft with one another.

Moreover, scholars now accept that Tituba was Native American, not African. She is always referred to as “Tituba [or some variant spelling] Indian” or “the Indian woman” in surviving records. So why has she been frequently presented as African, or possibly mestizo, including in Maryse Condé’s compelling 1992 novel *I, Tituba*? The identification of her as African goes back to the 19th century, when no one realized that early New Englanders frequently enslaved Indians as well as Africans. Since she

was clearly enslaved, authors thought she had to be at least partly African, despite the repeated references to her as “Indian.”

Historians today do disagree about where she came from: Elaine Breslaw, author of *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem* (1996), thinks she was born in South America, captured, and transported to Barbados, where Parris acquired her; I concluded that she was most likely captured at the Spanish missions in Florida or the Georgia Sea Islands. Thomas Hutchinson, who in his youth knew people involved in the trials, called her a “Spanish Indian” in a draft of his 1765 *History of Massachusetts Bay*. And historians now know, thanks to Ann Marie Plane and other scholars, that “Spanish Indian” refers to people captured in raids on Spanish missions—people who might indeed have been sent to Barbados before being brought to New England.

I have neither the time nor the space here to address in detail many other enduring myths, such as: only women were accused and executed (no; 25 percent of the accused and 6 of the 20 executed were men); the only accusers were the “afflicted girls” (no; many witnesses against the “witches” were their neighbors and even some relatives); convictions were based entirely on spectral evidence (no; charges of sickening or killing people or their animals were offered in nearly all the trials); and, finally, the convicted were burned at the stake (hanged, yes; burned, no).

If readers of this column want more information about the truth of the iconic American witch hunt, I refer you to my book, to Emerson Baker’s exemplary *A Storm of Witchcraft* (2014), or—if you would prefer to consult an accurate edition of the surviving records—to the definitive *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt* (2009), edited by Bernard Rosenthal and an international team of scholars.

And a further note to those interested in the replies to the second and third questions in the unscientific survey I first reported last month: you will have to wait until my fall columns. My discussion of the answers to the second question was preempted by . . . witchcraft. **P**

Mary Beth Norton is president of the AHA.

JAMES GROSSMAN

MYSTERIES OF THE AHA ANNUAL MEETING



Why does the AHA hold its annual meeting when and where we do? Why don't we have more "coffee breaks"? Why does the program still feature so many scholars reading papers in the same manner our ancestors did a century ago? Why is it so expensive? Why can't everyone who wants to be on the program have a place, instead of a gatekeeping committee picking and choosing? And how do they choose?

These are good questions, and AHA staff hear them frequently. Before joining the AHA staff in 2010, I asked all of them myself, even though I'd co-chaired the program committee of the Organization of American Historians five years earlier. Although this service provided an introduction to the intricacies, obstacles, and possibilities of organizing a large convention, it did not take long after my arrival at the AHA for me to realize that I was still clueless, despite regular conference participation dating back to 1978.

I vividly recall a single aspect of that first academic conference. It was a narrowly gauged gathering, a subfield with a regional identification, held at the University of California, Berkeley, where I was a graduate student. For my presentation, I adapted a seminar paper that had been the seed of my dissertation proposal. My performance was most likely rather stiff. Substantively, it was less than successful, and the commentator was less than merciful.

Two years later, the OAH met in San Francisco, an easy trek across the bay from Berkeley. Other than the excitement of an off-site session relating to maritime workers, I recall only the anticipation of attending a session highlighting the senior scholar whose work was probably more influential than any other's in shaping my dissertation. He rambled and found it impossible to finish turning his sheaf of papers in the allotted time. Not even close.

My first AHA annual meeting came in 1981 (for a job search, of course). But at none of these moments did it cross

my mind that I would play a major role in organizing one of these circuses. "Becoming a historian" of the working class did not include considering the work required to build the academic conference that I was privileged to attend. Becoming a historian of communities did not include thinking about what it takes to build communities of historians, or the effect our gatherings had on our host cities.

One thing is required above all else to plan an annual meeting: reflection on the purposes of the conference. What was once largely a space for presenting research, gathering affiliated societies, maintaining professional networks, and serving employment purposes has also become a site for building community, nurturing the work

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of students and early career historians, communicating with non-historians (the AHA plenary is now open to the public and widely advertised), offering opportunities for professional development, exploring ideas about teaching and learning, and networking in more democratic forms. This list of purposes increases after the meeting, as we monitor social media, analyze surveys, read email, and take the lessons of hallway conversations to next year's planning meetings.

Change can be difficult. The majority of session proposals still comprise three or four formal presentations of current research, augmented by a learned commentary. But actual attendance is highest at workshops, roundtables, conversations about teaching and professional issues, and

experimental modes of presentation (lightning rounds, for example). A cynic might contrast our eagerness to stand and deliver our own work with our apparent preference for more dynamic formats when others are at the front of the room.

But first, a stimulating program must be created, in accordance with reasonable standards of evaluation. The AHA president recommends two program co-chairs to the Council, then collaborates with them to select the full committee. Each proposal is read and ranked by two members of the committee and one of the co-chairs. Proposals whose ratings fall into the middle range are discussed by the full Program Committee when it meets in late spring.

The meeting includes vigorous discussion; the selection of committee members takes into account a scholar's ability to evaluate work whether or not they agree with its interpretation. Committee conversations typically include such remarks as "Yes, this proposal is brilliant, but will anybody outside the field be interested?" and "Will this

The Program Committee does its best to make it worthwhile for members to attend the annual meeting.

roundtable stimulate thinking across fields or methodologies?" It costs time and money for our members to attend the meeting, and the committee's role is to do its best to make those investments worthwhile.

Time and money raise issues of venue and cost. Some aspects of the program and the meeting's general ambience are affected because of substantial expenses for seemingly minor details—from adding sophisticated elements of technology to coffee. (We would love to have coffee flowing between sessions, but the \$150/gallon price tag is a bit too dear.) Our registration fees are about the same as peer organizations and even low compared with most other associations. Meeting at another time of year would dramatically increase hotel costs—not only for us but for our members who book rooms in our meeting hotels. (The first week in January is always difficult for the hospitality business.)

But the location of the meeting always generates the most intense conversation. A recent AHA survey dramatically

avored airline hubs, hardly surprising given shorter travel time and lower airfares. Our members also prefer venues located in their home region—with the major exceptions of New Orleans, which remains attractive beyond its hinterland, and New York City, which considerably outdraws other northeastern locales by a factor of 20–25 percent. Members seem to prefer New York, as it generates the highest annual meeting attendance by far.

Cultural amenities and hotel costs contribute to preferences as well, but to a lesser extent. Many respondents pointed to the advantages of "second tier" cities, such as St. Louis, Pittsburgh, and Cincinnati. Others wondered whether a more democratic site selection process could lower costs even more by meeting in such places as Little Rock or Albany. Our space requirements rule out the latter category. The overwhelming preference for airline hubs diminishes the appeal of secondary airline markets (AHA staff actually plot out sample journeys).

Surveys also reveal quirks. Los Angeles elicits striking levels of enthusiasm and dismissal, with more extreme ratings than other cities. Even Midwesterners seem uninterested in Minneapolis compared not only with Chicago but just about anywhere else as well. Relatively few respondents ranked "legislative climate" as a high priority, but those who did still were inclined to rank New Orleans above locations where state legislation poses fewer problems in terms of equal treatment of our members, perhaps prioritizing city over state legal and cultural frames.

It's clear that venue shapes attendance potential. Our surveys and attendance point to a narrow band of choices. But when it comes to *what* we do at the meeting, it's imperative to tilt toward breadth, to be as expansive as our imagination will stretch. Although some things are not possible for reasons of cost, technology, or even legal constraints, there is plenty of space for experimentation. Keep the new ideas coming. If we can't do it, we'll say so. It's much more rewarding, however, to figure out how to say yes. **P**

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

ZOË JACKSON

ARCHIVING THE FINAL FRONTIER

Preserving Space History for the Future

In July 1975, a NASA Apollo spacecraft linked up in space with a Soviet Soyuz capsule. With the spacecraft docked in place, an American astronaut shook hands with a Soviet cosmonaut, signaling an end to the space race between the two nations. To ensure that the trailblazing joint mission was captured accurately for the historical record, NASA contracted two historians, Edward Clinton Ezell and Linda Neuman Ezell, to record its development and results.

The two, as they described later, scoured the correspondence of participants and “stalked the halls of joint meetings in Houston with tape recorders in hand,” eventually producing a compelling narrative of the US-Soviet partnership. Such instantaneous access to sources and materials, however, is atypical in the field of space history and, in this case, was only made possible because of institutional support from NASA.

Space history is a thriving subfield within the history of



An artist's rendering of the docking of the two spacecraft on the Apollo-Soyuz mission, 1973. NASA/Wikimedia Commons

technology. Studying the history of space programs and spaceflight, as historian Pamela E. Mack wrote in 1989, can provide valuable insights into “the interactions of government policy, public opinion, and scientific and technological progress[.]” Newer work in the field puts space history into conversation with cultural, social, and economic history. Yet

research in space history is often hampered by large gaps in the archives—many relevant documents related to space programs were never officially archived due to neglect or to a lack of understanding of their worth. Now, with the emergence of New Space—the entry of private industry into the business of spaceflight—the field faces a new challenge: ensuring that

future historians have access to archival materials representing the full range of both public and private actors in the field of spaceflight.

To answer this challenge, Gregory Good, director of the Center for History of Physics; Angelina Callahan, head of the US Naval Research Laboratory history office; and Jonathan Coopersmith, professor

of history at Texas A&M University, organized “To Boldly Preserve: Archiving for the Next Half Century of Space Flight.” The conference was aimed at “identifying under-represented historic actors (including New Space firms and groups of people)” and “demonstrating what records can be collected from contemporary practitioners.”

One scholar said there could be gaps in the archives so “profound” that historians don’t even know they exist.

Attendees included historians and archivists from NASA centers, archivists and curators from the National Air and Space Museum, directors of private museums and libraries, university archivists and librarians, and engineers. For two days in March, stakeholders discussed the work they and their institutions are doing to archive space history, offered suggestions about best archival and preservation practices, and brainstormed next steps. The conference was sponsored by the National Science Foundation and hosted by the Center for History of Physics at the American Institute of Physics (AIP) in College Park, Maryland.

Attendees discussed why certain people or stories were never recorded in archives. Holly McIntyre-DeWitt, archivist at NASA’s Goddard Space Flight Center, pointed out that many engineers

working in space programs held on to their papers instead of donating them to archives because of the sense of legal and intellectual ownership they felt over them. Michael Robinson, professor of history at the University of Hartford, described his project researching Connecticut aerospace contractors and their significance to NASA

achievements in the 1960s through the 1980s. The engineers designed and built crucial equipment like portable life support systems, but their stories were never recorded because they were contractors. It’s possible, attendees speculated, that these records are still stored in people’s attics, their existence long forgotten. In general, attendees noted, from the 1950s to the 1960s, a major period for space exploration, neither private companies nor the government had much concern for history. John D. Ruley, a freelance science, technology, and history writer and editor, noted that it’s possible that during these periods, there were no archivists preserving relevant records.

There’s also a dearth of underrepresented voices or perspectives in the archives and the historical record. Richard Paul, co-author of

We Could Not Fail: The First African Americans in the Space Program (2016), asked: “What’s not yet in the collections? What will be lost if it never gets there?” Erinn McComb (Del Mar Coll.) spoke about wanting to teach her students about the Cold War by focusing on Latinos as users of technology but found that little had been written on the subject. Tracy Grimm, the Barron Hilton Archivist for Flight and Space Exploration at Purdue University Libraries, explained that although institutional archives may be more stable than community archives, their commitment to “archival neutrality”—an approach that mandates objectivity in collection-building—can result in a paucity of minority representation and the preservation of the status quo.

Companies are thinking about the future and how to promote their products, not the past.

One way to get to these voices and to recover important stories concerning the history of space is through oral histories. Robinson spoke of the need to conduct oral history interviews with engineers to capture their stories before they passed away. Reagan Grimsley, head of special collections and university archivist at the University of Alabama in Huntsville, said that UAH collects oral histories to get the memories of minorities and women and to “illuminate

factors other than the technical” in the history of space exploration. Grimsley noted that UAH collaborates with local individuals and community partners to preserve these interviews. Charles House, an engineer and chair of the Association for Computing Machinery History Committee, pushed for getting amateurs involved to help collect oral histories. Attendees also discussed using oral histories to engage engineers, managers, and other leaders in the field with space history.

In fact, a prevailing challenge facing historians and archivists is to get the leadership of government agencies, private space agencies, and other organizations to care about space history and archives. When the leaders don’t care, organizations face

severe constraints regarding funding, staff, and storage to properly archive materials. Resources for historical work at the NASA Johnson Space Center, for example, have “dwindled,” according to Jennifer Ross-Nazzari, a historian who works at the center. Lack of resources, she said, has resulted in less staff time to deal with the thousands of digital records and images that the center is supposed to be cataloguing. NASA’s chief historian, Bill Barry, stated

that he constantly has to justify the need for a chief archivist to his leadership.

Presenters stressed the need to educate leadership and to emphasize the value of creating archives and hiring archivists. One way to get leaders on board, presenters noted, is to show how knowledge of the history of space exploration can be useful to companies and agencies because they can learn from what was successful or attempted in the past. When all else fails, use flattery to engage management, some attendees counseled.

Even when space agencies are willing to work with historians, there's often a disconnect between their interests and historians' objectives.

Geoffrey Nunn of the Museum of Flight in Seattle spoke about his institution's dedication to recording and educating visitors about the contributions of New Space agencies. Nunn ascribed the apparent disregard for preserving history to a lack of understanding of its significance. Companies are thinking about the future and how to promote their products, not the past. He described an engineering model on loan and displayed at the museum that a company recalled because it did not reflect its current direction.

In archives that have already committed to preserving materials related to the history of space exploration, scholars often face problems using or accessing records. Cameron

Hunter, a PhD student at the University of Bristol, related a concern with overclassification that makes many sources unusable. Hunter described documents so redacted, it was impossible to glean any meaning from them. He argued that there could be gaps in the archives that are so "profound" that historians don't even know they exist.

Difficulty with obsolete and digital formats is also a widespread problem for archivists and researchers alike. Other thorny issues include privacy, access, and copyright. Molly Stothert-Maurer, processing archivist at the University of Arizona Special Collections, noted that many documents they receive cannot be made available to all researchers as a result of

regulations such as ITAR (International Traffic in Arms Regulations)—some restrictions, for example, allow them to release materials only to US citizens.

Both days ended with brainstorming sessions about specific actions that could be taken to improve archival collections. A common refrain was the importance of establishing and maintaining standards for the preservation and description of physical and digital records. Attendees also stressed the need for members of the space community to get to know one another and to collaborate. Williams suggested developing a listing of each archive's collection goals and ensuring that objects and records get to the most appropriate place. Grimsley quoted Donald Ritchie who, in *Doing Oral History* (1995), encouraged scholars to "think forward or get left behind." In organizing and attending the conference, this community of space historians, archivists, and engineers took one small step toward ensuring that the field and its records would endure. **P**

Zoë Jackson is editorial assistant at the AHA.

The Concord Review

Since 1987, *The Concord Review*, a unique international quarterly academic journal at the secondary level, has published 116 issues with 1,274 exemplary high school history research papers by students from 44 states and 40 other countries.

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Bill Fitzsimmons, Dean of Admissions at Harvard, wrote: "All of us here in the Admissions Office are big fans of *The Concord Review*."

ALLISON MILLER

THE STORY OF THE MULTIGRAPH COLLECTIVE

Thirteen years ago, in Montréal's university community, four scholars (three of them recent transplants, and all four feeling somewhat isolated) came together and quickly bonded around a set of shared scholarly interests: book history, print culture, and European intellectual history. Over plenty of coffee, Susan Dalton and Nikola von Merveldt (both from the Université de Montréal) and Tom Mole and Andrew Piper (then both at McGill Univ.) threw out ideas about print with the intensity of thinkers on the verge of a breakthrough.

What linked all their concerns together, they thought, was the way the material experience of reading was inherently interactive. They were also dissatisfied with the received narratives of book history, typically confined to specific nations. Members of the quartet pushed each other in unexpected directions. In 2006, they applied for federal and provincial government grants using

Interacting with Print as their project title and, when the funding came through, declared themselves the Interacting with Print research group. They began assembling an interdisciplinary network of scholars from Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom to talk about new research in small annual workshops. (Concordia University's Jonathan Sachs joined the Interacting with Print research group in 2010.)

Eventually 17 scholars were tapped to form a cohort of 22 that would embark on a new project led by the Interacting with Print research group. Joining Dalton, von Merveldt, Mole, Piper, and Sachs were Mark Algee-Hewitt, Angela Borchert, David Brewer, Thora Brylowe, Julia Carlson, Brian Cowan, Marie-Claude Felton, Michael Gamer, Paul Keen, Michelle Levy, Michael Macovski, Nicholas Mason, Dahlia Porter, Diana Solomon, Andrew Stauffer, Richard Taws, and Chad Wellmon. Only Dalton, Cowan, and Felton were trained as historians and worked in history departments, but all were



In the 18th century, creating botanical specimens out of finely cut paper became popular. This collage is made up of 230 pieces of paper.

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sorting through historically situated questions.

As the larger group came together, Piper had the idea of disseminating the work through an ambitious collaboration: a jointly authored book that would draw on everyone's research interests,

with writing and editing undertaken electronically, via wiki software. Anyone would be able to write or revise, insert or delete, expound or qualify. The book wouldn't have one author but 22, each taking responsibility for all of its contents: instead of a monograph, it would be a

“multigraph.” (The word wasn’t Piper’s originally, but it fit.) And so a massive collaborative enterprise—which came to be called the Multigraph Collective—was born. Its opus, *Interacting with Print: Elements of Reading in the Era of Print Saturation*, was published by the University of Chicago Press earlier this year.

The choice of a printed book (instead of, say, a digital project that could take advantage of the work’s methodology) was both ideological and practical. A book, says Dahlia Porter (Univ. of North Texas), reflects the group’s commitment to the materiality underpinning the inquiry. And, she adds, a print book “is useful for pushing academic departments and institutions to think harder about how large-scale collaborative scholarship in the humanities is valued and evaluated.” Sachs also acknowledges that the academic community might one day accord digital publication equal respect as print, “but our sense was that it hadn’t gotten there yet”; therefore, one goal of the work was “to push the envelope and see just how much innovation was possible in a traditional print format.”

Interacting with Print refutes the assumption that print is static and less interactive than other media. For 18th-century readers, writers, editors, censors, printers, artists, vendors, satirists, and advertisers, manipulation and modification were inherent to the meaning of print. They

dog-eared pages, they scribbled in margins, they took new books to be bound and vacillated anxiously about selecting socially impressive covers. They responded to advertisements and flipped from index to text and back. They convened salons to banter and bat around ideas, many that had appeared or would appear in print: poems, novels, plays, treatises, essays. They picked wildflowers and pressed them carefully between the pages of treasured volumes.

There is no one narrative framing *Interacting with Print*; each of the 18 chapters is an essay focusing on a keyword that reflects one aspect of the experience of reading, from “Advertising” to “Thickening” (or interleaving new material into a printed text). Within each essay lie not only scholarly citations but also bracketed cross-references to other chapters, somewhat like hyperlinks. In “Engraving,” for example, we learn about the aspirations of English engravers to political and artistic legitimacy by depicting grand historical events, and we’re referred to “Frontispieces,” which complements the discussion with a deeper examination of the artwork opposite title pages. *Interacting with Print* may be read from cover to cover, but there’s no one way to approach it: it embodies interactive practices developed centuries ago.

The keyword structure was an outgrowth of the way the book was conceived and written, which collaborators describe

using organic metaphors. As the book explains, the Interacting with Print research group first gathered short contributions from participants “on a key concept from any area of their own research”—half a chapter or so. These contributions became “seeds” that the research group offered to the larger collective. Through a second process, “grafting,”

devoted to one seed—and notably without the original author present—the 22 scholars got a chance to interact closely, identifying new connections and directions for further inquiry in the process. Some writing was accomplished, but sessions emphasized brainstorming improvements and devising assignments for other members—with deadlines.

There’s no one way to approach *Interacting with Print*: it embodies reading practices developed centuries ago.

members of the collective elaborated on and edited the original seeds via wiki. “As in any good garden,” the book reads, “the point of the graft was that it must take—it required consideration of the ideas of someone else and an attempt to draw connections with thoughts not one’s own.” (McGill University’s Brian Cowan says a seed on pornography never took, despite its historical relevance and obvious interactivity.) In the third process, “pressing,” the final versions of the keyword essays emerged.

Despite the productivity of the electronic collaboration, the project wouldn’t have been finished without face-to-face meetings. The Interacting with Print research group organized two annual workshops to bring the collective together. In rotating small-group editorial sessions, each

The two workshops were caffeine-fueled excursions into common inspiration, as collective members decided how to graft the short sections into coherent essays. David Brewer (Ohio State Univ.) remembers a spirited debate over the project’s periodization—“basically whether or not to stop circa 1850”—when Andrew Stauffer (Univ. of Virginia) exclaimed, “I go all the way to 1900, muthafuckas!” “I really enjoyed that combination of faux-gangsta and nerdy historicism,” says Brewer. Being edited by so many other scholars, according to Paul Keen (Carleton Univ.), was unnerving but also “weirdly liberating. It gave us all a license to put our authorial sensitivities on hold and put our faith in this larger brainstorming process.”

Indeed, Piper too describes the endeavor as a “leap of faith,” since no one knew how

the final work would be received by tenure and promotion committees or by UK Research Excellence Framework evaluators. One Multigraph Collective member, says Piper, was told that since there were 22 collaborators, the member's work on *Interacting with Print* would count as 1/22 of a book—by word count, not even the equivalent of a journal article.

In the thick of it all, however, the process was thrilling. Hierarchies of academic rank and disciplinary territoriality dissolved in a shared commitment to the work. “This project fundamentally changed my ideas about what humanities scholarship could look like and what it could achieve,” says Porter. As Susan Dalton recalls, “Everyone felt energized by the exchange of ideas. . . . I also experienced the pleasure and relief of talking through [intellectual] problems with friends and colleagues who were really invested in the ideas I wanted to discuss.” Individual scholars say that the humility behind the project solidified trust within the group.

After the workshop sessions, the collective would take on the evening together. At the last dinner, to bolster resolve about actually getting the book out, the idea of a blood pact was floated. “Someone got safety pins and some rubbing alcohol to sterilize, and we all pricked our fingers and pressed them against a handwritten contract that someone else had drawn

up,” says Brewer. Cowan recalls Angela Borchert (Univ. of Western Ontario) drawing his blood at the dinner table. “It certainly reflects the gothic taste of many of the romanticists involved with the project,” he quips. (Porter, who is in fact a romanticist, still has the contract.)

Members of the Multigraph Collective say they would undertake a similar project again, but with stipulations. “Making this [type of collaboration] work requires people who are willing to get along,” says Sachs. “But it also requires people who are willing to stand up for certain points when necessary, though in a way not to offend. It’s delicate

from top to bottom. You have to care enough about your sentences to write your best, but you also have to trust other people enough to let

germinative network of correspondents that materialized in the Atlantic world over 200 years ago. Collaborations on the scale of *Interacting with Print* might

At the last dinner, to bolster resolve about actually getting the book out, the idea of a blood pact was floated.

them rewrite the work that you thought you had crafted so carefully.”

Dalton likens the project to collaborative writing of the 18th century. The Multigraph Collective, she remarks, reminds her of the Republic of Letters—a

be one direction for scholarship in the future, but they also call upon habits ingrained in the past, both mundane and profound. **P**

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



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ADVOCACY BRIEFS

AHA Defends Humanities Funding and History Education

The AHA actively promoted history education and the protection of historical resources this spring. With federal appropriations season underway, the Association joined efforts to secure funding for critical federal programs in the humanities. In March, AHA president Mary Beth Norton issued two letters about developments that would negatively affect history education and research. She also joined a letter objecting to the Trump administration's decision to include a citizenship question on the 2020 Census.

Update on FY18 and FY19 Federal Funding for the Humanities

For the second year in a row, the Trump administration's budget proposal recommended shuttering the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) and drastically cutting funds for other federal humanities programs. In conjunction with our partner organizations and fellow scholarly societies, the AHA

protested these cuts. Due in large part to the activism of individuals and groups across the country, congressional support for these programs is increasing. On March 23, Congress approved and President Trump signed an omnibus appropriations bill that includes either level funding or small increases for critical humanities programs. Notably, the NEH received an increase of \$3 million. At press time, advocacy groups are working to continue this momentum with the FY19 appropriations.

Letter of Concern Regarding the 2020 Census

AHA president Mary Beth Norton signed a letter protesting a change that could "threaten to undermine the scientific integrity" of the 2020 Census. Representing the AHA, Norton joined numerous public policy and social science experts to explain how the decision to include a question about citizenship could "lead to a lower participation rate and substantial undercount of certain geographic regions and demographic populations." Read the letter at historians.org/letter-citizenship-question.

Letter Protesting Access Restrictions at Phillips Library

AHA president Mary Beth Norton sent a letter to the director of the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, to raise concerns about plans that could reduce access to the Phillips Library. Norton encouraged the director to maintain adequate opening hours and retain knowledgeable staff to avoid disrupting access to the collection. Read the letter at historians.org/letter-phillips-library.

Letter Regarding Proposed Elimination of the History Major at University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point

AHA president Mary Beth Norton sent a letter to administrators at the University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point in response to the university's announced plan to eliminate many majors, including history. Norton emphasized the valuable role that liberal arts generally, and history in particular, play in preparing students for careers. She noted that the plan contradicted the university chancellor's goal of

teaching students "to communicate well, solve problems, think critically and creatively, be analytical and innovative, and work well in teams." Read the letter at historians.org/letter-stevens-point.

AHA Joins Letter Supporting HEA-Title VI and Fulbright-Hays Funding

On March 12, the AHA signed on to a letter from the Coalition for International Education (CIE) to urge congressional representatives to reject the Trump administration's proposal to eliminate funding for HEA-Title VI and the Fulbright-Hays program. The letter to the chairs and ranking members of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees outlined the critical role that these international and language education programs play in "maintaining and strengthening [the United States'] ability for successful global engagement." Thanks to the advocacy efforts of scholars across the country, these programs received level funding in the FY18 budget. Read the letter at historians.org/letter-international-education. **P**

KRITIKA AGARWAL

WHAT IS TRANS HISTORY?

From Activist and Academic Roots, a Field Takes Shape



Scholars of trans history study gender nonconformity and how people have historically moved between genders. Jack Williams, a.k.a. Frances Clalin Clayton, bent gender norms to fight in the US Civil War.

Library of Congress

WHILE IN GRADUATE SCHOOL at the University of California, Berkeley, history department in the 1980s, Susan Stryker wrote a dissertation on the development of Mormon identity and community. Just as she was finishing up her PhD, she transitioned. “Let’s just say that the employment prospects in the historical profession as an out transsexual person doing early 19th-century religious and cultural history were zero,” she says dryly.

By necessity, she turned to writing about transgender history: “I did it out of formal academic training, and I did it strategically and tactically out of conditions of employability as an out trans person a quarter century ago.” What followed was a 17-year career publishing articles in academic journals, producing exhibitions and public history programs, serving as executive director of the GLBT Historical Society in San Francisco, and making an Emmy Award-winning documentary film—*Screaming Queens*—about the 1966 transgender riot at Compton’s Cafeteria in San Francisco. In 2009, Stryker joined Indiana University Bloomington as a tenured professor in the Department of Gender Studies, and from that year till 2013 she sat on the LGBTQ Historians Task Force of the AHA. Stryker had effectively helped establish an academic field she would finally get hired into.

Today, transgender studies and transgender history are legible fields of academic study: there are two volumes of *The Transgender Studies Reader*, a journal (*TSQ: Trans Studies Quarterly*), a number of new or forthcoming books from major university presses, and a spate of recent job ads seeking people with research and teaching interests in trans studies or trans history.

Unfortunately, the advances in academia paralleling the increased visibility of trans people in the public sphere have been accompanied by political efforts to regulate the lives of trans people. This includes the ability to access public spaces and basic necessities such as healthcare and economic security. More than a dozen states considered “bathroom bills” in 2017, and violence against trans people, especially trans women of color, continues to rise, according to the Human Rights Campaign and the Trans People of Color Coalition. With so much at stake and an audience that’s finally paying attention, trans history is a field filled with a sense of urgency and potential.

Prior to the emergence of trans history in the academy, much of the writing on the lived experiences of trans people was written either by medical professionals and psychologists, or by trans people themselves as autobiographies.



Gender nonconforming individuals frequently suffer prosecution. Stella (left) and Fanny, a.k.a. Ernest Boulton and Frederick Park, were arrested in 1870 by the London police and charged with “conspiring and inciting persons to commit an unnatural offence.”

Frederick Spalding/Wikimedia Commons

Many trans people encountered themselves as historical subjects through such popular works as Leslie Feinberg’s *Transgender Warriors: Making History from Joan of Arc to Dennis Rodman* (1996)—“I couldn’t find *myself* in history,” Feinberg wrote. “No one like me seemed to have ever existed.”

In terms of scholarship, most academics cite Yale historian Joanne Meyerowitz’s *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (2002) as foundational. “When that book came out, it went a long way toward creating a field,” says Elizabeth Reis (Univ. of Oregon), author of *Bodies in Doubt: An American History of Intersex* (2009). It was important, says Reis, “to have a history written where then other historians could start looking up the footnotes and seeing where to even go to find material.” In another seminal moment, Stryker co-edited *The Transgender Studies Reader* (2006, with a second volume in 2013) and soon published *Transgender History*, an accessible book for the general reader on the history of transgender people in the United States.

According to Stryker, there are two ways scholars today approach trans history. In the first, historians analyze people in the past as trans, whether or not they used the label for themselves. In *Transgender History*, Stryker uses *transgender* to “refer to people who move away from the gender they were assigned at birth.” Even though the term only emerged in the mid-20th century, many scholars find this definition useful and methodologically liberating. Emily Skidmore (Texas Tech Univ.), author of the recently published *True Sex: The Lives of Trans Men at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (2017), says, “Even though the term transgender is modern, people have moved from one gender to another for a very long time. And transgender history looks at that movement.”

Rutgers University PhD candidate Jesse Bayker concurs. Bayker, whose dissertation examines people who crossed gender boundaries in the mid-19th to early 20th centuries in the United States, notes: “For me, transgender history really is about personal reinvention, transformation, and the possibilities for people to change their identity.” In this vein, it has encompassed such topics as shifts in the social stigma that those crossing gender boundaries have faced; their interactions with the state and the medical establishment; and their social and political activism.

This sort of historical scholarship presents significant archival challenges. As Skidmore notes, “any sort of marginalized population has had a hard time finding their sources present in traditional archives.” When sources are present, says Bayker, they’re often “produced by people looking from the outside in—law enforcement officers, judges, newspaper reporters.” And many of these sources provide only a marginal glimpse at the subjectivities of trans people. Reis once came across a doctor’s report describing a person as “stubbornly” refusing genital surgery that would have aligned their physical traits with the doctor’s assessment of their gender. Since the report provides no additional explanation, “stubbornly” becomes the only glimpse scholars get into their subject’s interiority. Even when trans voices are present, scholars are cautious about taking them at face value—trans voices usually emerge in the archives when they’re interacting with authorities who have power over them, and as Skidmore notes, in these contexts, “the trans person probably curated responses they hoped would allow them to continue to live.”

A second way to approach the field, says C. Riley Snorton (Cornell Univ.), is to think of trans more abstractly, as an analytic with which to study change. In his book *Black on Both Sides: A Racial History of Trans Identity* (2017), Snorton describes trans as a “movement with no clear origin and no



Sylvia Rivera, a trans activist, sits between her partner Julia Murray (right) and Christina Hayworth at the 2000 Pride Parade in New York City.

Luis Carle/National Portrait Gallery/Smithsonian Institution; acquisition made possible through the Smithsonian Latino Initiatives Pool, administered by the Smithsonian Latino Center

point of arrival[.]” More than describing crossing gender boundaries, then, trans destabilizes gender itself as a category. “How is it that you decide who’s a man and who’s a woman? How do you understand the practice and the existence of a wide range of gendered practices?” asks Stryker. This interpretation moves scholarship away from a search for trans people in the past and toward using trans as a lens through which to see the world. It permits one to ask new questions about gender categories and other forms of human difference.

This view of trans, say Snorton and Stryker, comes from forms of feminism originally pioneered by women of color and queer people of color. Thinkers like Gloria Anzaldúa and Audre Lorde, explains Stryker, developed what’s called

“theory in the flesh.” Writing in *This Bridge Called My Back* (1981), Chicana feminist Cherrie Moraga explained theory in the flesh as a site “where the physical realities of our lives—our skin color, the land or concrete we grew up on, our sexual longings—all fuse to create a politic born out of necessity.” Trans scholarship, says Stryker, asks “what the world looks like when it pays attention to the kinds of knowledges produced by being gender non-normative, gender incongruent, gender changing, gender minoritized.” This scholarship, she says, draws “on a lot of cultural theory as well as empirical archival research and becomes very philosophical at some level.”

Considered this way, trans history also offers an entry point to gender history and LGBT history. Gender history, says Stryker, is often “predicated on a binary model of gender” that looks at the historic subordination of women. “To say that there’s two genders and one of them is subordinated by the other,” she argues, “masks” a much larger process of how we got “to those terms in the first place.” More than just documenting the lives of trans people, Stryker says, trans history facilitates a critique of the gender binary system as one that subordinates women as well as “people who fail to fit into one of the two dominant categories.”

Similarly, trans history pushes LGBT history beyond the study of same-sex desire or sexuality. “I think it would be a mistake to say that we just need to study same-sex desire and that this will teach us everything we want to know about LGBT history,” says Bayker. Studying same-sex desire, Stryker points out, also assumes “sex” is a stable category; trans history, she says, shows that gender expression (not just sexuality) can also be opposed to social biases that assume people in the past were heterosexual until proven otherwise. Yet scholars agree that trans history is deeply indebted to LGBT history—many cut their teeth on queer theory, which also emerged in the early 1990s, and they caution against seeing the fields as being in tension.

Many possibilities for the future of trans scholarship remain open. Historians must grapple with the so-called medical model, which assumes that transgender expression requires bodily intervention, through surgery or hormones, for example. Bayker encourages historians to push trans history back into the more distant past, especially before the development of modern medical technology. This, he says, can help us think about “what it was like for people to change their identities without changing their bodies.” “The transgender experience isn’t only about medical intervention,” he emphasizes. Still, because medical discourse has been so central to the emergence of trans

identity, scholars also suggest paying it more attention. “The papers of physicians, psychiatrists, sociologists who worked with trans folks have been, to this point, rather underwritten in terms of scholarship,” says Snorton.

And despite the work done by cultural theorists and activists about the intersections of race and gender, many academics note a relative absence of scholarship on the lives of trans people of color. “So far, the subjects that we talk about tend to be fairly white,” says Skidmore. She hopes that scholars “can recover more histories of trans people of color.” “The relation between race and trans identities,” notes Reis, “is an avenue that I imagine will be pursued by scholars in the next few years.”

For many, the subject is a deeply personal one, and one they study despite not always feeling welcomed in academia, whether as trans people or as people who study trans history. As Stryker explains, some scholars of women’s and gender history think that trans history “devalues what they prioritize.” Some scholars acknowledge that trans history and trans studies have met with some backlash. The AHA’s 2015 LGBTQ Task Force report includes the experience of a historian who said they faced rejection from a blind reviewer of a US history journal who called their “work in applying trans studies to US history a ‘manifesto’ rather than scholarship.” In another, more public instance, in 2017 several trans scholars called for a boycott of WMST-L, a popular women’s studies online discussion group, after moderators failed to intervene in discussions that insisted on biological reproduction as an essential marker of what it means to be a woman.

At a time when trans people are experiencing increased media visibility simultaneously with waves of hostile legislation, negative political rhetoric, and violence, scholars say that studying trans history is particularly valuable. So many people are “talking about trans [issues] today,” says Bayker, “and we really need to know the history in order to be able to have a productive conversation” about what it means to regulate trans lives. “What undergirds a lot of the political rhetoric about trans bodies,” says Skidmore, is the idea that “they’re new and they’re threatening.” Trans history, she says, “can have incredible power because it suggests that trans people are not new; they’ve been around for a long time.” **P**

Kritika Agarwal is associate editor, publications, at the AHA. She tweets @kritikaldesi.

NANCY AGUIRRE, CRISTÓBAL A. BORGES, JOHN PAUL A. NUÑO, AND JAMIE STARLING

THE REAL ACADEMIC WORLD

Experiences and Lessons from New Historians



Four UTEP history PhDs say graduate education should prepare students for the jobs they'll get.
Courtesy of UTEP

INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS with people you appreciate, trust, and value can lead to great insight. At the 2017 Organization of American Historians annual meeting, the four of us—former peers from the University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP) Borderlands History PhD program—got together and realized that we all had similar concerns as young professors early in our careers.

Unfortunately, those concerns were based on more than just the idiosyncrasies of the individual institutions at which we now worked; they pertained to how history PhD programs train historians to meet the needs of their future students, communities, institutions, and careers, inside or outside academia. Despite attending a program attentive to innovative methodology and pedagogy, we felt that our preparation assumed our future employment would be on the tenure track at a research-intensive university with light teaching responsibilities.

In reality, most PhDs—about 88 percent, according to the most recent AHA data—will settle in at other types of work: teaching schools (on and off the tenure track), in museums and parks, or outside of higher education. Why, then, are most of us trained as if we will produce multiple books while spending minimal time in the classroom and doing little community-based work? Here, each of us discusses our own experiences and suggests ways that doctoral training could be more attentive to preparing students for the careers most of them will ultimately have.

Nancy Aguirre, The Citadel: My situation is much different from that of my three colleagues because I teach Latin American history courses in the military environment of the Citadel. Students there have a low interest in Latin America, so I attract students by emphasizing military themes and readings in my upper-level courses. I also teach survey courses exclusively, even at the upper and graduate levels, since students' lack of familiarity with Latin American history makes it nearly impossible to teach more focused topics. As a graduate student, I taught a variety of survey

courses, but I did not anticipate being unable to teach specialized courses as a professor.

But in comparing my experiences with those of my colleagues, I have found some commonalities across institutions. Citadel undergraduates largely come from working-class families, and many are first-generation college students, much like UTEP students. Moreover, students enter college with varying capacities for critical reading, writing, and analysis. I cannot make assumptions about the basic skills my students will have upon entering my class—some do not know how to take notes, understand primary sources, or write a historical analysis. Finally, the number of history majors has dropped at the Citadel, reflecting a national trend. My pedagogical training emphasized ways to teach college-level history and what to do in the classroom, but I would have also benefited from more discussions on addressing cultural and institutional forces (like greater investment in STEM programs) that affect our students and our work as educators.

Cristóbal A. Borges, North Seattle College: Graduate pedagogy seminars seldom provide the experience needed to teach history. Instead, we readily find relevant tools from other areas in our lives. In my community college classroom I use skills I learned while interviewing *braceros* (farm laborers) for oral histories, helping to launch an H-Net website (H-Borderlands), and working at an Apple Store. I did not realize I would use all those skills until I was in front of students. My first three years taught me that it takes all the energy (and creativity) a new professor has to develop an approach that connects with students.

Facing a population of first-generation college students, international students, returning undergraduates, high school students, veterans, retired elders, and everyone in between, I realized that professional success would require flexibility and nimbleness. Once I accepted that, I began to understand that all the experiences outside my doctoral program, which I pursued at times over advisers' objections, provided the know-how to excel. Developing questions that provided space for ex-*braceros* to express themselves helped me craft questions that allowed students to explore their own knowledge. Figuring out how to present information on a website provided me with techniques for creating an online presence for my courses that could extend the learning experience beyond textbooks and the classroom. Helping elders set up email apps on a smartphone inculcated patience and the straightforwardness necessary to reach a diverse classroom.

Those first three years of teaching showed me that a professor's courses are a sum of all of their academic and life

EDITOR'S NOTE

We welcome the insights of these four authors. A central tenet of the current phase of the AHA's Career Diversity for Historians initiative is that learning to teach history is an important part of career preparation for PhDs, no matter where they eventually find employment (whether inside or outside the academy). For more information, see historians.org/careerdiversity.

experiences. In the classroom, educators figure out what works for them. A broad scope of experiences benefits the individual, and I pursued many out of my own curiosity and economic need. It is clear that I benefited from a program that allowed this kind of exploration. Doctoral programs could serve their students well by incorporating similar experiences in their preparations.

John Paul A. Nuño, California State University, Northridge: Eager to enter the classroom, I taught my first course right after receiving my MA. I graduated from the PhD program having accumulated five years of teaching experience, which I suspect helped on the academic job market. Hired at another Hispanic Serving Institution, I assumed I would make a seamless transition to California State University, Northridge.

Soon, I was asked to teach my first course in our MA program. As a recent PhD, I loaded my reading list with a book and articles for each week. Determined to shape the next generations of scholars, I emulated the kind of graduate course I had taken. The reaction from my students informed me that I failed to adjust my expectations for an MA program. Although the students that first semester valiantly labored on, I had done them a disservice. Few of these students desired to enter PhD programs, while nearly all of them worked part-time, if not full-time, jobs while dealing with familial responsibilities.

Consequently, I have worked to vary my reading assignments, using more articles and fewer books, as well as group reading presentations. Working with MA students has been an ongoing learning process that I was not initially ready for. Although I had years of teaching experience, all of it was in undergraduate survey courses. I would have benefited from teaching upper-division courses or assisting a professor in a graduate course that included MA students. More varied teaching training as a graduate student would have better prepared me to work at an institution where we teach students at every level—except the one I knew best, the doctoral level.

Jamie Starling, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley: In many respects UTEP prepared me for the wide variety of teaching I perform at my current university, as it has a very similar geographic and cultural setting to where I now work. I taught US surveys and Texas history, and the latter prepared me to teach upper-level courses in my field. I did not, however, teach at the graduate level as a doctoral student, and to prepare these courses I had to rely on the mentorship of professors and colleagues.

Another critical area that I had little preparation for is teaching online, which was not emphasized in my doctoral program but is very central to undergraduate and graduate teaching where I now work. Contending with the challenges that come with online or distance courses is a central part of my teaching now, but online pedagogy was not a major consideration during my graduate education. PhD students who face the possibility of teaching at campuses that emphasize online courses might not obtain that experience as doctoral students.

I would have benefited from teaching upper-division courses or assisting a professor in a graduate course that included MA students.

In other regards, though, I feel that UTEP did prepare me for my experiences, as it serves a similar community to that of my current institution, and UTEP's Borderlands History PhD program made the most of its setting. As universities across the United States become more diverse, the experiences doctoral students have at institutions such as UTEP will better prepare the professoriate for the university of the 21st century.

In general, our experiences lead us to advocate that doctoral programs better prepare students through teaching assistantships, creative teaching opportunities, experiences outside the classroom, and pedagogy classes that incorporate a wide array of experiences at all levels of university instruction. This long-overdue curricular reform should prepare students to do an activity central to their professional lives: teaching. Doctoral programs will also need to consider the needs and training of an increasing number of their students now seeking employment outside academia. We hope that by sharing our experiences, we have demonstrated that graduates of the same doctoral program face a variety of professional situations and challenges, and that this will encourage debate about how to better serve the next generations of doctoral students. P

Nancy Aguirre, Cristóbal A. Borges, John Paul A. Nuño, and Jamie Starling received their PhDs in history from the University of Texas at El Paso.

JENNY BARKER-DEVINE

COMMUNITY VALUES

Using the Clio App in Undergraduate Classrooms



Students created Clio entries for sites in Jacksonville, Illinois, including the town's historic Ferris wheel.
Angela Saylor/Courtesy Jacksonville Area Convention & Visitors Bureau

HISTORIANS READILY agree on the importance of our discipline to building an engaged citizenry, but faculty often struggle to impart this idea to students who have learned history through lists of names, dates, and dry facts. As I have found, students can enjoy opportunities for civic engagement in general education courses by combining digital tools with content knowledge and skill-building assignments.

As they settle into college life, students in my first-year seminar—*Is There an App for That? Doing Digital History*—work with the mobile app Clio to learn digital history methods, network with community leaders, and develop a sense of place. At Illinois College (IC), a private, liberal arts college in Jacksonville, Illinois, first-year students participate in learning communities, in which discipline-specific seminars are paired with either English composition or public speaking courses. Working with Clio, a crowdsourced app, students conduct original research about their community that everyone who uses the app can access. But since the course is paired with Chris Oldenburg’s *Speech Fundamentals*, students take their work with Clio one step further by presenting it to community organizations using newly acquired public speaking skills.

Created by David Trowbridge of Marshall University, Clio (available at www.theclio.com) lets users find nearby historic sites with their smartphones. The app is free for Apple and Android, and it uses familiar resources, like Google Maps, to pinpoint sites and create tours. The highly intuitive interface guides students through the process of creating an entry, while a variety of tools allow for instructor oversight.

My growing interest in digital history spurred the creation of the course. In 2014, Illinois College was awarded an NEH Challenge Grant to build a state-of-the-art archival facility. Thanks to the generosity of the Council of Independent Colleges’ Consortium for Digital Resources in Teaching and Research, I was part of a team focused on outreach through digital collections. I initially hesitated to involve first-year students in that work, but Clio offered an ideal entry-level platform. I wanted students to not only learn technical skills, but also to take on a local history project that would develop their research capabilities, promote civic engagement, and foster a connection with Jacksonville, the students’ home for the next four years.

Still, I was nervous about how it would all play out. I would not describe myself as an expert in digital history and didn’t know if I would be able to handle the technology. I also wondered how the students would respond to the idea of

doing research on Jacksonville (founded in 1825), though it harbors countless historical gems. Students in first-year seminars have yet to declare a major, but rarely do they intend to study history. More often than not, they arrive skeptical that history has any practical applications outside of the classroom. Over the course of four years, they will enjoy numerous extracurricular opportunities for community engagement, and the completion of a curricular civic engagement unit is required for graduation. Students are introduced to this institutional expectation during their first weekend on campus. As new students, however, they’ve not yet connected concepts of service with studying the humanities.

Both times I taught the course, we began the semester by touring campus, which features historic homes and the original college building from 1829. We then took field trips to local historic sites, including a house museum, the Governor Joseph Duncan Mansion, and a historic post office currently undergoing renovations to become the Heritage Cultural Center Museum. The students completed a scavenger hunt

One assignment added professionalism and project management to the skill sets students could develop through the project.

around the downtown square, visited wayside exhibits managed by the Looking for Lincoln commission, and combed through goodie bags of tourism pamphlets provided for free by the Jacksonville Visitors and Convention Bureau. The students readily observed that the people of Jacksonville not only appreciate local history, but they bank on historical tourism for economic development.

In developing Clio entries, students conducted research at the campus library and archives, as well as at the Jacksonville Public Library. In fall 2017, the students also hosted David Trowbridge, who provided feedback and helped the class understand what motivated him to create the app. For most of the students, publishing their work online marked their first attempt at writing for a public audience. This challenged them to negotiate competing narratives and to distinguish between much-beloved local myths and history.

Chris Oldenburg reinforced the public nature of the Clio project through the study of rhetoric and audience-appropriate

language in Speech Fundamentals. He and I created several shared assignments that we graded and assessed separately: students wrote outlines for speeches, they revised multiple written drafts, they gave informative speeches about their Clio entries at midterm, and they worked in groups to give persuasive speeches to a public audience. For that final speech, they researched their audience and developed an appropriate message for a specific business or institution. Our careful and clear collaboration helped students understand that their success in my course depended on developing public speaking skills in Chris's.

In fall 2016, students did not engage with community organizations until they presented their work at the end of the semester. As small groups of four students, they spoke to the Morgan County Historical Society, the Morgan County Historic Preservation Commission, the marketing and admissions departments at Illinois College, and the Noon Rotary Club. Initially, the four students who presented at the Rotary Club were puzzled as to why their audience of business and civic leaders would want to know about Clio. Yet simply attending the lunch meeting was an education in civic engagement. They learned how Rotary members supported one another professionally and raised money for community projects. For lunch, they were seated at the same table as the director of the Jacksonville Area Convention and Visitors Bureau, who immediately saw potential in the project. After their presentation, a representative from Jacksonville Main Street, a local economic development organization, approached us about developing a historic walking tour of the downtown area.

Building on this suggestion for fall 2017, I required students to collaborate with three different community groups that stood to benefit from an online tour. The first group of students worked with Jacksonville Main Street to create a tour of town square murals that depicted events in local history. The group paired with the Morgan County Looking for Lincoln Working Group helped develop a tour of wayside exhibits about the 16th president's time in Jacksonville. And a third group worked with the college's admissions department to develop a historical walking tour of the state's oldest degree-granting institution. This added professionalism and project management to the skill sets students could develop through the Clio project. Each group met their community partner three times throughout the semester to learn about the organizations' specific needs and receive feedback on their project.

The final component of the project was assessment. Because learning how to receive constructive criticism is an important

aspect of college-level work, students needed to understand whether they were successful in conveying their message. In 2016, students developed an audience survey that revealed the value of their work to the community. The majority of audience members had never heard of Clio, but following the presentations, 63 percent said they would consider using the app for their business or organization, and 78 percent indicated they would use it in their leisure time. Many responded enthusiastically with lists of sites and monuments to feature in future entries, and several indicated an interest in future collaborations.

In 2017, students assessed their projects by writing press releases. With guidance from the IC marketing department, they interviewed their community partners and members of their audience, described their work to general audiences, and revisited the historic value of their project, as well as the importance of their work to the community. The press releases were subsequently synthesized and posted on the college website, providing a secondary publishing opportunity.

Audiences, including civic and business leaders, educators, historians and historic preservationists, and other professionals, responded warmly. Jacksonville mayor Andy Ezard was particularly excited to learn about the app as Illinois celebrates its bicentennial in 2018. He said, "With the development of the Clio app for our area, it gives Jacksonville the opportunity to become more modern while still promoting our past."

Overall, students in 2016 and 2017 were enthusiastic about the project. At the end of the semester, they indicated that Clio strengthened their historical understanding of the local area and thereby their connection to Jacksonville and to Illinois College. As one student wrote, "[Clio] made me feel that I have roots here." Working with Clio also helped the students gain a deeper appreciation for the role of historical research in civic engagement; as one student remarked, the community presentations showed her "how people actually use history for economic development." As they honed a variety of skills, from historical research and writing to public speaking and marketing, they came to appreciate the broader applications of history outside of the classroom and as a vehicle for civic engagement. **P**

Jenny Barker-Devine is an associate professor of history at Illinois College.

CLAIRE POTTER AND BRIAN OGILVIE

CHICAGO SCOOP

A Preview of the 2019 AHA Annual Meeting

While students marched on Washington, and with media (traditional and social) abuzz about protectionism, gerrymandering, and adult movie actors, historians have been hard at work too. Hundreds of us have brainstormed with colleagues and submitted proposals for the 133rd Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, to be held in Chicago on January 3–6, 2019. Each of these proposals has been carefully considered by the Program Committee, which has accepted approximately two-thirds, a limit set by the amount of meeting space in our hotels.

The AHA annual meeting was once upon a time a “research conference.” The Program Committee diligently sifted piles of paper, evaluating claims to innovation, synthesis, controversy, and significance to be revealed by three scholars reading papers, followed by a learned commentary or two. We still receive many such proposals, perhaps even still a majority of the submissions. But we now also see more dialogues on professional issues, conversations about pedagogical practices, and discussions about the ways history is vital to its public audiences and policy communities. We also offer a wider variety of formats, including roundtables, interviews, lightning rounds, and posters.

How does a proposal make its way onto the program? It’s not always clear to AHA members, after they press “submit” on their proposal, what goes on in the Program Committee’s meeting room—despite stereotypes, it’s not full of smoke, though it is overrun by laptop cords. The Program Committee plays several roles. At its fall meeting, it brainstorms potential sessions to be organized by the committee itself and by the different divisions and committees of the AHA. In the spring, it also ranks the proposals (more than 350) submitted by AHA members and affiliated societies, and it selects those that seem most suitable for inclusion. Each proposal is read by the chair or co-chair and at least two other members of the committee. And unlike our forebears, who dickered with one another and the president to get their favored students on the program, committee members recuse themselves from evaluating panels when there is a conflict of interest.

Contrary to persistent rumor, the Program Committee does not automatically favor proposals that address the meeting’s theme. The president, who chooses the theme, develops sessions that often advance the theme of the meeting, but the committee strives to create a diverse program of interest to the many constituencies that attend, and to represent the best scholarship submitted. This year’s theme is “Loyalties,” chosen by AHA president Mary Beth Norton. Topics for presidential sessions developing around that theme include loyalism in the age of Atlantic revolutions, enslaved people’s loyalty and disloyalty, treason in Europe and the Americas, the conflicting loyalties of migrants and immigrants, and the relationship between political and religious loyalties. The Program Committee, too, has been creating sessions on the theme. We will hear about disciplinary loyalties to literature and history in writings

Contrary to persistent rumor, the Program Committee does not automatically favor proposals that address the meeting’s theme.

on Saint-Domingue, about women’s loyalty to individual or collective power in the African diaspora, and about historians’ loyalties to archives.

One of the great pleasures of serving on such a committee is having a broad overview of contemporary historical research. Some of our panels will also take advantage of the wonderful resources Chicago offers. As many proposals show, historians are just as caught up in current events as anyone else, sometimes informed by a more recent past, but often by a much longer perspective. The majority of research proposals address 19th- and 20th-century history. But the committee considers proposals from all time periods and subjects imaginable, including the medieval and early modern periods, and on subjects ranging from the



The Raymon Sutedjo/Wikimedia Commons/CC BY-SA 3.0

Mughal Empire to taxation in the Atlantic world and cartography in colonial borderlands.

But, although we are also pleased to note that, despite the turmoil of the last 18 months, historical inquiry also continues fruitfully in areas that are remote in time and space from our present anxieties, some panels will reflect recent headlines and debates. Some of these are roundtables tentatively titled “Neoliberalism: The History and Future of the Word,” “Nostalgia and Narrative after Charlottesville,” “Free Speech on Campus,” and “Prison/Education: Historians Take On a National Debate.” Others commemorate anniversaries, including events of 1969 and 1919.

Other proposals reflect the annual meeting’s emphasis on teaching and professional issues, whether it’s making history relevant through service learning, engaging students in the survey course, ensuring that surveys are up-to-date with the latest scholarship, or integrating nontextual material in our courses. Program Committee member Timothy Smit (Eastern Kentucky Univ.) is developing a pair of sessions tentatively titled “Teaching a Diverse Medieval Europe,” one on the undergraduate classroom and another on graduate training, while Ada Ferrer (New York Univ.) has developed two roundtables that feature historians who have collaborated with artists. We will learn about outcomes assessment and dual-credit courses; there will be sessions on career development and on social media and the academy, and at least one on how to prepare for a career at a two-year college. Other topics will include

academic publishing, strategies for mid-career scholars, and community engagement.

We are particularly excited that the Modern Language Association’s annual convention will be meeting in Chicago at the same time as the AHA. The AHA and MLA have agreed to honor each other’s registration badges. That means that members of each association can attend the other’s meeting and participate in both programs without having to register for separate meetings. We have solicited proposals for sessions involving both AHA and MLA members, and for parallel sessions in which the same theme would be addressed from distinct disciplinary perspectives. The associations’ hotels are about a half-hour walk apart. Start planning your wardrobe now!

As this article goes to press, we are still finalizing the program. We can assure you that it will show that the historical profession is thriving; that there is exciting research being conducted on the history of all places and times, that we are meshing the best traditional and innovative teaching approaches, and that we are giving due attention to important issues and controversies in our profession, whether in the academy or elsewhere. We hope you’ll join us in Chicago for these important conversations—and for late-breaking sessions whose topics we cannot yet imagine! **P**

Claire Potter (New School) and Brian Ogilvie (Univ. of Massachusetts Amherst) are chair and co-chair, respectively, of the Program Committee for the 2019 AHA annual meeting.

Coming June 2018

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ALEX LICHTENSTEIN

BREAKING THE RULES

In the June Issue of the American Historical Review

In February and April 2009, the *American Historical Review* published a two-part forum, “The International 1968.” Is there anything new to say nearly 10 years later, to mark the half-century after that tumultuous moment in world history? While the six essays in that forum effectively captured the spirit of 1968, focusing on youth culture, popular mobilization in diverse forms, and the global impact of the counter-culture, they were rather traditional in form. Yet the political and cultural epoch captured by the catch-all concept of “1968” was, above all, about experimentation, about a search for utopian ideals, about breaking the established rules—whether those rules came from an older generation, inadequate democratic processes, capitalist diktats, or sclerotic socialist or revolutionary regimes.

To that end, the forum on 1968—appearing under the heading “Reflections”—in the June 2018 issue of the *AHR* does break a few rules. First, there is the format, with which we took editorial license. When commissioning the 13 short essays (around 2,000 words each), I explicitly asked contributors to eschew scholarly intervention in favor of reflections examining the legacy and meaning of 1968 from the distance of a half century. That loose format and deliberately vague charge produced some traditional academic prose, but it also generated what one contributor called “politological meditations.” It allowed some personal contemplation, as well as an emphasis on the shifting meanings of 1968 over time—as more than one scholar has observed, the half-century mark is the twilight moment at which living memory begins to shade into archive-based history.

In addition to this unusual format, the essays create an unorthodox social geography of 1968. Yes, Prague and Paris and West Berlin, but also Warsaw and Turin and East Berlin. Not London, but Belfast. Mexico City, of course, but also places with less exact timing: China, Africa, the Arab world. Canada, rather than the United States. Not Columbia University, but the Left Coast, and the emergence there of Third Worldism and revolutionary black nationalism—with unanticipated

results. As was the case in 2009, the burgeoning historiography of the “global sixties” has yet to settle on a comparative or transnational explanatory framework: Did events happen in synchronicity in 1968 because distinctive societies underwent similar experiences of post-World War II modernity and discontent, or were these local explosions set off by sparks leaping from place to place? Was 1968 a “moment” or, as one of the contributors puts it, a synecdoche for a whole host of decade-long transformations? It depends where one stands, and readers may be inspired to develop their own East-West, North-South, and even South-South comparisons. While these collective reflections cannot offer a definitive answer to these questions, my hope is that when read in conjunction with the 2009 forum, they will scatter many seeds for further contemplation and research.

The reflections on 1968 are followed by a far more regular feature, one of our serendipitous *AHR* Forums assembled from three articles submitted under separate cover. This one, “Vernacular Ways of Knowing,” showcases methodological innovations providing new insights into aspects of the past often regarded as largely unknowable. As Meso-Americanist **Camilla Townsend** (Rutgers Univ.) notes in her introduction to the forum, all three articles, with their common emphasis on language, both oral and written, return us to the original meaning of the vernacular—namely, the power of the mother tongue as an antidote against linguistic traditions imposed by others.

In “Bereft, Selfish, and Hungry: Greater Luhya Concepts of the Poor in Precolonial East Africa,” **Rhiannon Stephens** (Columbia Univ.) draws on historical linguistics to reconstruct conceptualizations of poverty in precolonial East Africa. Her article explores how people speaking Greater Luhya languages redefined what it meant to be poor as they settled new lands and interacted with other communities over time. The concept of poverty in this region, Stephens shows, gradually evolved from the economic insecurity implied by the loss of a household member to being associated with the selfishness and

Muslim Books in the Multilingual Market of Ideas. Photo by Nile Green. The 19th century saw the birth, then massive growth, of vernacular language printing all around the Indian Ocean, particularly in pluralistic ports like Rangoon (today's Yangon) that were the hubs of oceanic exchange. Yet despite the ascendancy of Indian Ocean history over the past few decades, such sources remain woefully underexplored; they offer vital test cases for the much-vaunted cosmopolitanism of Indian Ocean societies.

As Nile Green demonstrates in "The Waves of Heterotopia: Toward a Vernacular Intellectual History of the Indian Ocean," such materials show that the intense interactions of the 19th century generated a more complex variety of attitudes than "cosmopolitanism," suggesting in turn that the region may be better conceived through the model of "heterotopia": a space for encountering difference. Read through this more capacious conceptual model, such vernacular materials equip researchers to respond to recent calls for the writing of global intellectual history in a way that recognizes both interconnections and regional distinctions. Green's article is part of an *AHR* Forum titled "Vernacular Ways of Knowing," which highlights methodological innovations used to uncover previously neglected histories.



deceit practiced by those without resources to share with others. Through an analysis of the shifting geographic and chronological landscapes of language, Stephens highlights the dynamism in Greater Luhyan economic thought, tracing linguistic and thus conceptual change well before the advent of colonialism, Christianity, and capitalism in Africa.

James Pickett (Univ. of Pittsburgh) similarly recuperates lost voices in "Written into Submission: Reassessing Sovereignty through a Forgotten Eurasian Dynasty." As he notes, the Central Asian city of Shahrisabz (in present-day Uzbekistan) has remained little more than a historical footnote, regarded merely as a thorn in the side of its more powerful neighbors during the 17th through late 19th centuries. In fact, Pickett shows, Shahrisabz was an autonomous city-state in its own right. The mechanisms obscuring this city's past reveal much about historical methodology and premodern logics of sovereignty. To recover Shahrisabz's story, Pickett revisits Persian texts that dominate historical knowledge of this region, piecing together scattered fragments composed within the city itself. In doing so, he illustrates how seemingly contradictory forms of sovereignty routinely coexisted within a single polity. In Pickett's account, approaches to sources and concepts of sovereignty stand as two domains intrinsically intertwined, with insights into the latter possible only with careful attention to the language and logics embedded in the former.

Finally, in "The Waves of Heterotopia: Toward a Vernacular Intellectual History of the Indian Ocean," **Nile Green** (Univ. of California, Los Angeles) focuses on this polyglot region's diverse vernacular spheres of writing that rapidly widened in the era of print. Green contends that the characterization of the colonial-era Indian Ocean as an arena of "cosmopolitanism" proves a poor fit with the variety of intellectual transactions evident across so heterogeneous a

space. By widening his conceptual apparatus across multiple print traditions, Green challenges the premise that oceanic actors operated under the intellectual hegemony of a "colonial episteme." Overall, his essay argues for understanding the 19th-century Indian Ocean through an alternative conceptual framework of "vernacularism" and "heterotopia" that allows for the multiple intellectual trajectories of such world-historical contact zones.

The June issue also contains another entry in our ongoing "Reappraisals" series. This one features anthropologist Eric Wolf's *Europe and the People without History* (1982), one of the first major texts to insist that societies and cultures outside the orbit of what came to be called Europe were equal partners in the making of modernity. Pekka Hämäläinen offers a reconsideration of Wolf's foundational work in forcing a rethink of "core and periphery" in world history, emphasizing subsequent development in indigenous history.

Collectively, the article revisiting Wolf's classic, the forum on new ways of thinking about neglected sources and the vernacular, and the effort to allow multiple voices to speak about 1968 reflect the ongoing efforts of the *AHR* to attend to the exciting multiplicity of approaches to the past that now define the historical discipline. A forthcoming initiative, called "History Unclassified," will soon add new forms of historical writing to this endeavor: academic.oup.com/ahr/pages/history_unclassified. Please join us in continuing to break the rules. **P**

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

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Lerone Bennett Jr.

1928–2018

Historian of Black America

*Courtesy of the Bennett Family and
Vivian G. Harsh Research
Collection, Chicago Public Library*

The historian and journalist Lerone Bennett Jr. passed away on February 14, 2018, at age 89. Born in Clarksdale, Mississippi, he and his family moved to Jackson when he was young. An avid black reader in the age of white supremacy, he had the good fortune of finding a white used-book seller who allowed him to read when the store was closed. His love of history took a serious turn when he discovered a volume of Lincoln's writings and speeches that challenged the image of the Great Emancipator. A revisionist historian was born.

At Morehouse College, Bennett majored in history, graduating in 1949. After serving in the Korean War, he began his career at the *Atlanta Daily World*, but before long joined Johnson Publishing Company in Chicago. He worked first for *Jet* and then for *Ebony*, becoming the executive editor in 1958. Bennett's close relationship with company owner John H. Johnson underwrote the journalist's historical ambitions. With a circulation that peaked at 2 million, Johnson's *Ebony* and his book division made Bennett's works common in black homes.

During the 1960s, Johnson's editor became the black community's historian. In 1961, amid the Civil Rights Movement, Bennett authored a popular black history series in *Ebony* that became the basis for his general history, *Before the Mayflower* (1962). Historian Benjamin Quarles noted "its unusual ability to evoke the tragedy and the glory of the Negro's role in the American past." In 1964, Bennett wrote a biography of his Morehouse classmate: *What Manner of Man: A Biography of Martin Luther King*. He told the story of the first blacks to exercise political power in *Black Power U.S.A.: The Human Side of Reconstruction 1867–1877* in 1967. The following year brought *Pioneers in Protest*.

Bennett was much more than a popularizer. He captured the zeitgeist of the black baby boomers and led the shift from "Negro" to "black." His books brimmed with militant black people who questioned the promise of America and protested their treatment, displacing the patient, patriotic Negroes who

longed for citizenship. Before young scholars could come out of the archives and focus on the black protest tradition, Bennett had culled the secondary literature and printed primary sources, and put the new interpretations before the black public. He became a beacon for young scholars associated with the Black Power generation.

When he returned to his initial interest in Lincoln, Bennett found a much less receptive public, especially among academics. In 2000, Johnson Publishing released *Forced into Glory: Abraham Lincoln's White Dream*. For years, he had treated Abraham Lincoln as a white supremacist, but now he viewed Lincoln's every act to advance black freedom and equality as a grudging concession to reality. Negative reviews followed, and few treated his work as a needed corrective. While Bennett relished his engagement with the overwhelmingly white community of Lincoln scholars, he prized both support of and opposition to his views from within the black community. He spoke most fondly of his black readers who would see him on the speaking circuit and wholly reject his interpretation of Lincoln, as theirs was the view he sought to challenge his entire life.

Bennett's scholarly home was the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, founded by Carter G. Woodson more than a century ago. Not surprisingly, Bennett played a leading role in changing "Negro" in the association's name to "Afro-American" in the early 1970s. Like John H. Johnson, who served on the board in the 1950s, Bennett used his renown to support the association. In the early 1980s, he served as vice president, and in the mid-1990s as a council member. In 2003, the association awarded him its most prestigious scholarly award, the Woodson Medallion.

Daryl Michael Scott
Howard University



Charles Joyner

1935–2016

Historian of the US South

Renowned and beloved historian of the American South Charles Joyner died on September 13, 2016. He was a scholar who championed new approaches to historical analysis, a teacher who inspired, a musician connected to and fascinated by the roots of his music, and an activist dedicated to the cause of racial justice.

Joyner's career is not easy to summarize because, to employ one of his own phrases, it "stubbornly resists synthesis." He lived in the South most of his life—writing, teaching, and lecturing on southern history from slavery and the Civil War to segregation and the Civil Rights Movement; on southern literature from William Faulkner to William Styron, Julia Peterkin to Natasha Trethewey; on southern folk culture from tales and legends to material culture; on southern music from ballads to blues, spirituals to classical, country and bluegrass to jazz. Much of his work explored what he described as "large questions in small places."

Joyner double-majored in history and English at Presbyterian College in Clinton, South Carolina. In 1956, he began graduate study in history at the University of South Carolina (receiving his MA in 1958), but induction into the US Army intervened. After two years of active duty, Joyner completed his PhD, a study of John Dos Passos's participation in World War I and its impact on his literary achievements. Joyner's cultural self-education during this period, often disclosed in late-night conversations, is the stuff of legend.

In 1963, he married Jean Dusenbury. He taught at several southern colleges before moving to St. Andrews Presbyterian College in Laurinburg, North Carolina, where he thrived for 14 years. A deepening interest in folklore and folk culture led Joyner into fieldwork on both sides of the Atlantic, and in 1975 he earned a second doctorate at the University of Pennsylvania in folklore and folklife, the only discipline, his wife joked, that paid less than history. Following a stint as a visiting professor at the University of South Carolina, in

1980 he joined the faculty of the University of South Carolina's regional campus in Horry County, Coastal Carolina College, in the area that was also his main research interest. That research resulted in the prize-winning *Down By the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (1984). The original has never been out of print, and the University of Illinois Press published a 25th-anniversary edition in 2009.

After visiting appointments at the University of California, Berkeley, and the University of Mississippi, Joyner joined the tenured faculty at the University of Alabama. In 1988, he returned to Coastal Carolina as the inaugural Burroughs Distinguished Chair in Southern History and Culture. Joyner was a global ambassador for southern history and culture, encouraging audiences with heartfelt addresses and pounding on pianos everywhere he went, urging all to "study war no more." Throughout his career he drew on the mutual traditions of southern folk culture and the sense of place in southern literature. In 1999, he published an important collection of essays, *Shared Traditions: Southern History and Folk Culture*.

Joyner taught at Coastal Carolina until his retirement in 2007. In 2012, the institution, now a separate state university, awarded him its first University Medallion, established a Charles Joyner Reading Room, and instituted the Charles Joyner Institute for Gullah and African Diaspora Studies.

His numerous honors and awards include the Governor's Award for Lifetime Achievement in the Humanities and induction into the South Carolina Academy of Authors. He served as president of the Southern Historical Association and of the North Carolina Folklore Society. In 2011, Coastal Carolina University hosted a conference: "Writing the South in Fact, Fiction, and Poetry," which resulted in the Festschrift *Becoming Southern Writers: Essays in Honor of Charles Joyner* (2016).

Joyner is survived by his wife, Jean Dusenbury Joyner; his son, Wesley; his daughter, Dr. Hannah Joyner; her husband, David Meyers; and Joyner's grandson, Abraham. We have lost a truly great historian and humanitarian, and for me an even better friend. He made the world a better place. We shall not see the likes of a Chaz Joyner again.

Orville Vernon Burton
Clemson University



Phyllis B. Roberts

1932–2018

Medieval Historian;
AHA 50-Year Member

Phyllis Barzillay Roberts, a groundbreaking scholar in medieval sermon studies, died on January 14, 2018, in New York City.

Born in Baltimore, Roberts received her BA from Goucher College with a major in classics. After time on a kibbutz in Israel and teaching in Hebrew schools in New York, she received an MA from Hunter College in 1959 and her PhD from Columbia University in 1966. At Columbia, Roberts joined Suzanne Wemple and Jo Ann McNamara as the only women in John Hine Mundy's doctoral seminar. She forged a new path for historical scholarship in the United States when she examined preaching and sermons not as theology but as sources for understanding medieval life and issues of church and state. Her dissertation focused on Stephen Langton, the archbishop of Canterbury at the time of the Magna Carta. She went on to teach history for nearly 30 years at the College of Staten Island and the CUNY Graduate Center before retiring in 1995.

Roberts's impeccable scholarship was always done with an eye to facilitating the ongoing work of scholars and students. *Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton* (1968) contributed an innovative comparative method for determining authentic texts. *Selected Sermons of Stephen Langton* (1980) made available Latin texts of key sermons of this famous biblical scholar and preacher, along with an introduction and notes. Langton dedicated a shrine in Canterbury Cathedral to the martyr Thomas Becket, who became a favorite saint among the English people in spite of royal attempts to erase him from the historical record. Roberts's *Thomas Becket in the Medieval Latin Preaching Tradition: An Inventory of Sermons about St. Thomas Becket c. 1170–c. 1400* (1992) enabled scholars to follow this homiletic trajectory and its impact on the expansion of Becket's cult. Roberts continued to track the fortunes of Becket in text and pulpit into the early days of the English Reformation. In a major public lecture, "King Henry VIII and the War Against St. Thomas Becket," Roberts revealed the variety of responses to the king's order to expunge the archbishop's name from the liturgical record.

Whereas some excised his name or blackened it from view, others drew a faint line through it or placed a delete sign in the margin, preferring to maintain Becket's place in ecclesiastical history.

Through her research and publications, Roberts persuaded many scholars to include sermons as key sources for studying the Middle Ages. She strengthened and enlivened her work with the images from daily life that preachers employed to illuminate spiritual teachings. Among her many scholarly articles, book chapters, and reviews, her 1999 essay in *Medieval Sermon Studies*, "Sermon Studies Scholarship: The Last Thirty-Five Years," stands out as a guide to the field she helped to shape as a multidisciplinary focus among those in history, theology, literature, art history, and performance theory.

Roberts showed a special devotion to younger colleagues and students, whom she nurtured professionally and personally with great generosity. She was a founding member of the International Medieval Sermon Studies Society (1988) and its first secretary. She set a lasting tone of collaboration and encouragement, helping to shape a strong and mutually supportive academic community. International scholars deeply respected her and valued her warmth, humility, and confident lack of self-promotion in her interactions with other members. The rich output of publications in the field of medieval sermon studies today is a tribute to her foundational work.

Even in her last years, Roberts continued to be active. She presented a poster at the International Medieval Sermon Studies Society Symposium in St. Augustine, Florida, in 2016 and contributed the entry on Langton to the *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*, published in 2017.

Phyllis Roberts is survived by her husband, Earl Roberts; her son, Jonathan Roberts; his wife, Lisa; and their son, Aidan.

Beverly Mayne Kienzle
Harvard Divinity School (retired)
Anne T. Thayer
Lancaster Theological Seminary

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