

The newsmagazine of the American Historical Association

PERSPECTIVES ON HISTORY

Volume 57: 3
March 2019



**ERASING
IDENTITY**

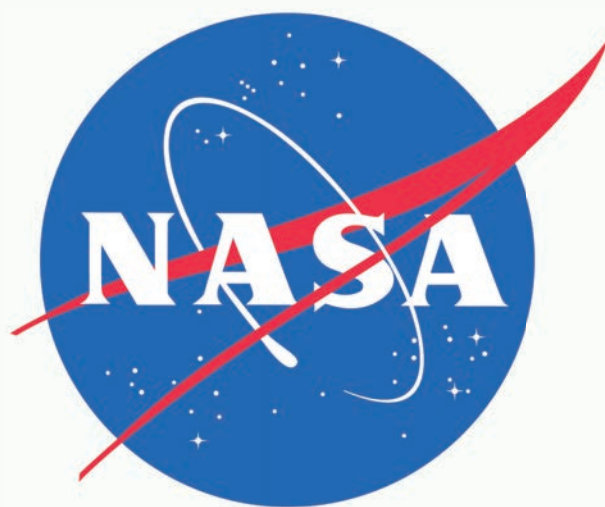
J. Franklin Jameson Fellowship

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



Applications due April 1.

Information at [historians.org/grants.](https://historians.org/grants)



Fellowships in Aerospace History

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

FEATURES

ACADEMIC ACTIVISTS19

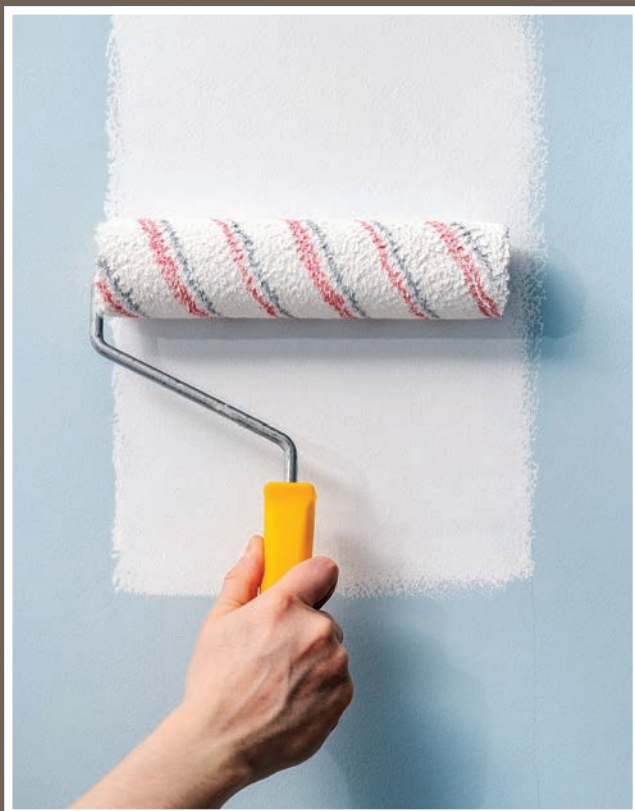
The Coordinating Council for Women in History at 50

SASHA TURNER, BARBARA MOLONY, AND
SANDRA TRUDGEN DAWSON

CONFRONTING THE PARADOX OF EXPERTISE23

Leave Your Comfort Zone and Reinvigorate Your Teaching

DAVID A. GERBER



ON THE COVER

Historians are no strangers to speaking out over issues of whitewashing the past. In recent months, historians have called out Massachusetts Senator Elizabeth Warren for her claims to Native identity based on DNA and for muddling the distinctions between ancestry and sovereign citizenship. Meanwhile, in Australia, historians have denounced the redaction of words such as “Aboriginal” from archival records. Read more in this month’s issue. *Image: depositphotos*

3 | FROM THE EDITOR

Townhouse Notes
ALLISON MILLER

5 | FROM THE PRESIDENT

Starting from Scratch
JOHN R. MCNEILL

7 | FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Talk to Historians
JAMES GROSSMAN

9 | NEWS

White Lies
ELIZABETH POORMAN

Plan S and the Humanities
SETH DENBO

16 | VIEWPOINTS

See No Evil
ANN MCGRATH

26 | IN MEMORIAM

28 | AHA CAREER CENTER

Newsmagazine of the

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

400 A Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003-3889

PHONE: 202.544.2422

FAX: 202.544.8307

E-MAIL: perspectives@historians.org

WEB PAGE: historians.org/perspectives

PERSPECTIVES ON HISTORY

Editor

ALLISON MILLER

Managing Editor

KRITIKA AGARWAL

*Associate Editor, Web Content
and Social Media*
ELYSE MARTIN

*Manager, Data Administration
and Integrity*
LIZ TOWNSEND

Editorial Assistant
ZOE JACKSON

AHA STAFF

Executive Director

JAMES R. GROSSMAN

Deputy Director

DANA L. SCHAFER

*Director of Scholarly
Communication and Digital
Initiatives*
SETH DENBO

*Director of Academic and
Professional Affairs*
EMILY SWAFFORD

Meetings Manager
DEBBIE ANN DOYLE

Marketing Manager
KATIE KAEFER

Accounting Manager
BETSY ORGODOL

Membership Manager
PAMELA SCOTT-PINKNEY

Assistant Membership Manager
MICHELLE HEWITT

Special Projects Coordinator
JULIA BROOKINS

*Coordinator, Career Diversity
for Historians and Institutional
Research*
DYLAN RUEDIGER

Program Associate
MEGAN R. CONNOR

Archives and Office Assistant
MATTHEW KEOUGH

Meetings and Executive Assistant
VICTOR MEDINA DEL TORO

Operations and Marketing Assistant
DEVON REICH

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.

Individual articles in *Perspectives on History* for which the American Historical Association holds the copyright may be reproduced for noncommercial use under Creative Commons license CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0. Attribution must include author name, article title, *Perspectives on History*, issue date, and a link to the online version of the article (which can be found at www.historians.org/perspectives). For more on the Creative Commons license, please visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0>. This license does not apply to text or images reproduced here for which the AHA does not hold the copyright.

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

©2019 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

Meritocracy and the Job Application Arms Race

It may be that assistant professor applications became onerous with the very best of intentions. There are historians today who remember when academic job offers were made through the old boys' network, at AHA annual meeting "smokers." Some number of jobs in history were advertised, of course, but it's wise to assume that others were not. (*Perspectives's* In Memoriam essays occasionally mention prestigious departments that were seemingly handpicked by influential chairs. Read carefully.) I don't know the backstory of application materials for entry-level jobs in history, but I would surmise that they increased as the discipline faced pressure to dismantle the old boys' network, to give women and minority applicants a fair shake, and, not least, to comply with anti-discrimination laws. Moreover, a commitment to meritocracy—especially the idea that the best candidate for any job (or undergraduate admissions slot) might not be the one with the shiniest pedigree, or white, or male, or Christian—was an article of faith in academia by the late 20th century. One way to show a commitment to that ideal in hiring would certainly be to seek out more and better evidence of merit.

This is what I surmise, at any rate. But whatever the origin story, the fact of the matter is that today applications for many jobs, especially at the most elite institutions, require much more extensive documentation of qualifications than a cover letter and a CV. Maybe that's why AHA Council's decision in January to recommend that hiring committees ask for letters of recommendation from applicants only after the initial screening was greeted with round approval. The discussion continued, however, when the AHA posted a job ad for a teaching position that required applicants to submit four sample syllabi. Some people suggested that the AHA forbid job postings that require the submission of so many materials. It would be impossible for Council to determine "how much is too much" in order to make an enforceable policy. Yet a discussion about materials beyond the cover letter and the CV, and what they can show, is probably overdue.

It's not just sample syllabi; it's also research agendas, teaching philosophies, statements of potential contribution to campus diversity, publications and dissertation chapters, and, bizarrely, sometimes even graduate transcripts. Even if you've given serious thought to teaching, research, and service, it's hard at first to articulate concrete ways your professional practice relates to them. Moreover, applications should be customized to each school's mission statement, to the department's course offerings, programs, and strengths, and, of course, to the ad itself. I well recall applying for fancy postdocs with themes, which required me to design courses related to those themes basically from scratch. A fair number of people are pointing out that as the number of advertised jobs in history continues to track far below the level it was at before the great recession, requiring all these materials of candidates facing such long odds feels cruel.

It's perplexing, in such a competitive ecosystem, that anyone could think that just having more evidence of worthiness from all candidates will make a difference in the cross-sector outcome of entry-level searches in academic history. Statistical evidence shows that the prestige of an applicant's program correlates with the likelihood that they will secure a job in the professoriate. Meritocracy simply doesn't function without gatekeeping of some kind. But it also implicitly requires us to trust the gatekeepers. This is not to judge any individual candidate or hiring committee. But it is to question whether, in the big picture, requiring a raft of additional materials from job applicants will make a difference in the composition of the professoriate.

Are we back to the old boys' network, just with teaching philosophies? Maybe we never left! **P**

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



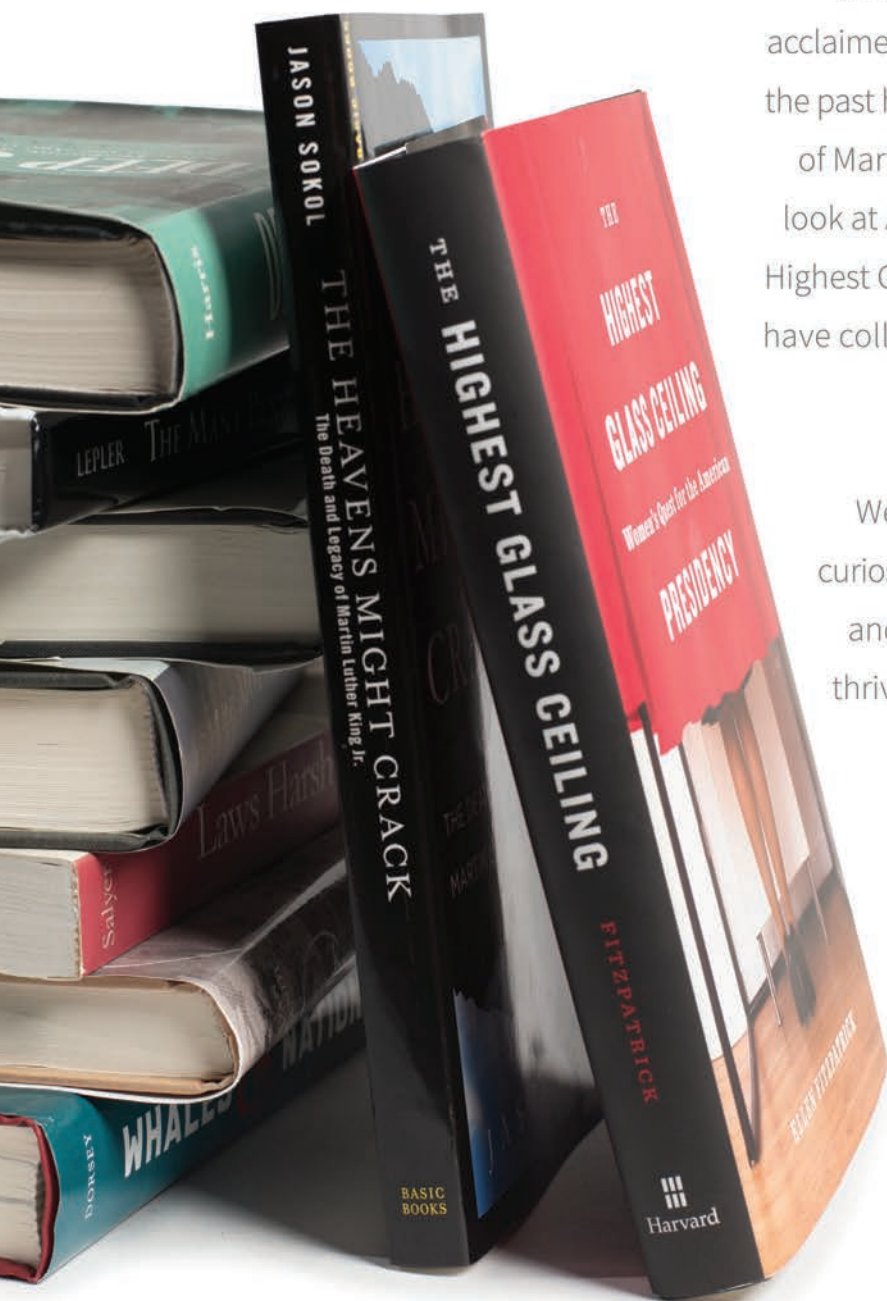


WE'RE MAKING HISTORY. AND HISTORIANS.

Our history professors look to America's past for insights on its present — and future. Take Jason Sokol, whose acclaimed recent book “The Heavens Might Crack” explores the past half-century of race in America through the legacy of Martin Luther King Jr. Or Ellen Fitzpatrick’s prescient look at American women’s quest for the presidency, “The Highest Glass Ceiling.” It’s no wonder our faculty members have collected the field’s major honors, including multiple Guggenheim Fellowships and Bancroft Prizes.

Welcome to the edge of possible, where intellectual curiosity is rewarded with exciting research opportunities and challenging academic programs. Here, students thrive under the mentorship of faculty whose passion for the past creates historians of the future.

unh.edu/edge



University of
New Hampshire

JOHN R. MCNEILL

STARTING FROM SCRATCH

How to Teach Something You Know Nothing About



In an interview published in the January issue of *Perspectives*, I mentioned in passing that I had more than once taught courses on subjects I knew nothing about and that it was a great experience for me. At least one person read the interview, because José Rigau, of San Juan, Puerto Rico, wrote to say that it might be interesting if I were to explain how one goes about teaching subjects one knows nothing about. Here goes!

First, my qualifications. As mentioned in the interview, I taught world history while in graduate school, which required me to wrestle with pre-Columbian American history, ancient Chinese history, and a host of other subjects on which I had previously read nothing. When I began as an assistant professor, at Goucher College in Maryland, I was expected to teach Russian history, in which my education consisted of a one-semester course I had taken as a college sophomore. When I moved to Georgetown University, my arrival coincided with the departure of the teacher who had offered an African history survey, so the genial chair of my new department asked me, a few months before classes began, if I would agree to take on a two-semester African history survey. I knew that, as a newcomer to the department, the only correct answer was “yes,” despite the fact that my exposure to African history went no further than one course in graduate school that focused almost entirely on the 20th century. More recently, a dean decided that Georgetown should have an undergraduate course devoted to the study of grand strategy and that I should teach it, together with a political scientist. At that point in my teaching career, after 25 years at Georgetown, I did not have to say yes. But the dean in question had been a colleague for all that time, and I regarded her highly. (Plus, she used her discretionary funds to allow us to buy about 50 books on strategy and great power behavior over the past 2,500 years.) So I said yes.

In every case, I had a few months to prepare—and in every case, that was not enough to allow me to pose as, let alone

to become, an authority on my subject. So I told my students, on day one, that I was no expert and that we were about to undergo a voyage of discovery together. I cribbed this formula from one of my own teachers long ago. When students asked questions that I could not answer, I said that I didn’t know and that I would try to find out before the next class; I explained how I would do it and offered my best guess for the meantime. It happened often—and, in fact, it happened again yesterday: What were the Persian motives for financing the development of a Spartan fleet in the latter stages of the Peloponnesian War? (As soon as I finish this column, I need to find out, and see if my best guess was anywhere near what the experts think.) I like to think that students can benefit from seeing that it’s OK to say “I don’t know” in public and that when you don’t know something, you take the trouble to try to find out. In any case, my first rule of teaching subjects one knows nothing about is to admit it up front.

I told my students, on day one, that I was no expert and that we were about to undergo a voyage of discovery together.

Occasionally, I expect, students complained to their deans (or parents) that their teacher wasn’t an expert. When I told my first African history class the truth about the shallowness of my expertise, four students complained to me, saying in effect that Georgetown ought to have a real Africanist. It was easy for me to agree with that and to urge them to present that view to the deans and provost. (One of those four went on to get a PhD and become a professor of African history.)

By and large, I have found my first rule helpful in managing expectations and emphasizing the merits



If you're asked to prepare a course on an unfamiliar subject, be honest with your students.

monkeybusiness/Depositphotos

of curiosity and discovery. But as a white man, I have presumably been given the benefit of the doubt by many of my students and faced fewer challenges to my legitimacy as an instructor. Following my first rule might be harder for others. But it has the virtue of honesty.

My second rule is obvious: to use the months before the first day of classes to reduce my ignorance. The world historian Arnold Toynbee (1889–1975) once wrote that there is no joy on earth greater than having 12 hours of work to do and only 6 hours in which to do it. I think he underrated other joys on earth, but nonetheless I found it exhilarating to read furiously and try to make sense out of subjects new to me. Without enough time to read more than a few monographs, I often relied on overviews prepared by veteran scholars, published in the UNESCO *General History of Africa* or the *Cambridge History of China* or the *Oxford Handbook* of this or that. I asked everyone I could think of for recommendations about what should go on my syllabi. When preparing to teach Russian history in my first job out of grad school, I knew only two or three people who could be of any help. When preparing to teach

grand strategy in 2013, I knew dozens and could easily find plenty of syllabi online to consult. Now one can ask for guidance via #Twitterstorians or the AHA's Communities site and harvest the wisdom of colleagues around the world.

Even with several weeks of furious preparation, I normally found myself struggling to stay one day, or a few hours, ahead of students. My Russian history and African history classes were lectures, and it was a good week when I had lecture notes prepared by the night before. Too often I was still working on my lectures early in the morning for a 10:15 a.m. class. In those days, if I needed to be in my office at 5 a.m., I could be. Parenthood changed my schedule, improved my time-management skills, and for 20 years reduced my enthusiasm for teaching courses I knew nothing about. But now, with the kids grown up, I'm happy to do it again. **P**

John McNeill is president of the AHA.

JAMES GROSSMAN

TALK TO HISTORIANS

What's Behind the Lamentations over History?

Many years ago, the distinguished urban historian Richard Wade half-jokingly noted two truisms available to students cramming for exams at the last minute: the middle class is always rising, and community is always declining. I recalled Wade's cheat sheet last month as I considered an analogous bromide: rising specialization renders historians' work increasingly inaccessible, and historical literacy among the general public is always declining.

The latest version of this lamentation came from *Washington Post* columnist Max Boot, who links the long-term decline in history majors to his claim that "history professors have retreated from public debate into their own esoteric pursuits." These pursuits, according to Boot (citing historians Hal Brands and Francis Gavin) are "cultural, social, and gender history," initially a "welcome corrective to an older historiography that focused almost entirely on powerful white men. But like many revolutions, this one has gone too far, leading to the neglect of political, diplomatic, and military history—subjects that students need to study and, as enrollment figures indicate, students want to study but that universities perversely neglect."

This is one part of the argument. The other, closely related, pertains beyond the classrooms to public culture: the failure of academic historians to connect with the general public, and their disdain for "popularizers," whether outside of the academic guild or within its ranks. On campus and in their publications, professional historians have tilted toward identity issues and away from the things that truly matter: electoral politics, diplomacy, and war.

So two questions are on the table: What is responsible for the decline in college students majoring in history? And why don't academic historians write things that something called the "general public" wants to read?



Both questions are historical, implying change over time. It's impossible to answer either of them with a singularly present focus. We can't know why something has declined if we don't know what conditions have changed. Otherwise, we are back to Wade's clichés: interpretations of current data based on conventional wisdoms about the past.

Max Boot's questions imply change over time. But we can't know why something has declined if we don't know what conditions have changed.

This matters because Boot wants to link the decline in majors to a supposedly contemporaneous decline in the presence of academic historians in public culture. He attributes both to that turn toward identity and culture and away from politics, diplomacy, and war. One supposition is correct: many history departments are paying little attention to electoral politics (as opposed to "politics" in general), to diplomacy, and to the military. I'm struck by the number of large history departments that don't even include "political history" as a category of faculty specialty. The annual Congress and History Conference has trouble identifying historians who study the Congress as an institution. Military history courses are not staples of undergraduate offerings. But what evidence do we have that this turn away from those subjects has had an impact on majors?

None. Boot's evidence on what undergraduates seek lies mainly in his autobiography, specifically the inspiring professors from his undergraduate years and his master's degree program. Six white men, at least one of whom scarcely changed his course syllabi over at least a decade

(I know because I took one course and audited another). Yes, many history departments were still dominated by white men writing traditional political and intellectual history in the late 1980s, but the faculty at Boot's undergraduate and master's institutions had by then a substantially more diverse faculty than Boot celebrates, both demographically and by topic. Boot is entitled to his individual interests, but the question is whether today's students share his enthusiasms. Higher education now is a place different from the world he inhabited—more diverse and (to the dismay of many who agree with Boot's concerns) more engaged with issues of identity and culture than its predecessors. If college campuses have become overrun by students as obsessed with identity issues as Boot and others lament, then histories of gender, race, ethnicity, and culture should be magnets.

The implication is that this vast wasteland of historical illiteracy is something new. It is not.

And perhaps they are. We don't know because we don't have good data on enrollments by course. Anecdotal evidence points to the continuing attraction of courses with the words "Nazi," "sex," "Vietnam," and perhaps even "pirates," "food," or "sports" in the title. But since Boot didn't bother to ask department chairs, the AHA, or anyone else with knowledge in this area, he's unlikely to have been exposed to even this impressionistic evidence.

Here lies the heart of the matter: Boot's disinclination to talk to any historians other than the scholars who share his lament but who are not involved in the discourse about enrollments and majors—a landscape populated by department chairs and professional associations. Boot's documentation for the crisis in public historical literacy, for example, rests on studies conducted by the National Association of Trustees and Alumni, whose sensationalist references to eye-popping factoids, such as greater public familiarity with Michael Jackson than the Bill of Rights, stand in for any exploration of change over time. The implication is that this vast wasteland of historical illiteracy is something new. It is not, and a quick call to a historian would have yielded this crucial insight. Everything has a history, including jeremiads about public historical illiteracy. Frances Fitzgerald explored this in considerable detail 40 years ago (in *America Revised*), and numerous historians have published similar reminders

every few years. Moreover, rising specialization has over time been frequently cited as the reason for the declining influence of professional history in public education and public culture.

In a subsequent column, Boot wryly noted the defensive reaction of historians on Twitter because "90 percent of the reaction focused on 10 percent of the article—namely, my contention that historians 'bear some blame for the increasing irrelevance of their discipline,' because many 'have retreated from public debate into their own esoteric pursuits,' neglecting the study of political, diplomatic, and military history." We're back to the real source of Boot's complaint: a reprise of a lament that has, in fact, been engaged in sessions at the AHA annual meeting and in this magazine.

Boot's praise of the "prominent exceptions" and public historians who "do a wonderful job" leaves aside the hundreds of historians working in the academy who have been publishing in local venues and in blogs about all sorts of important contemporary topics, such as a scholar of early modern Europe who helped readers of a Cleveland newspaper place a papal election in context. Had Boot consulted the AHA, as many reporters do on a regular basis, including his colleagues at the *Washington Post*, we could have delivered numerous such sources, including a substantial bibliography of AHA members' commentaries relating to Confederate monuments: work written by historians coming from specializations in politics, gender, race, regional culture, and all sorts of other angles.

Boot is not wrong about the lack of incentive for academic historians to reach wider publics, an issue frequently discussed in this magazine. Had Boot read even a few of these pieces, however, he would know that this is related less to what historians study than to traditional definitions of scholarship itself. Our discipline does have to rethink its definition of scholarship to consider whether and how to include scholarly interventions in public culture.

Talk to historians, Max. I asked you to do that on Twitter, and I'll ask you again. I'm happy to organize a session at our next annual meeting where you can discuss these issues with the people whom you admire and the people you dismiss. **P**

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

ELIZABETH POORMAN

WHITE LIES

Indigenous Scholars Respond to Elizabeth Warren's Claims to Native Ancestry

It was like clockwork. Every semester, a few white students in Julie Reed's classes on US history at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, would boast that they had Native American heritage. "They all descend from full-blooded Cherokee great-grandmothers," Reed quipped during the late-breaking session "Rapid Response History: Native American Identities, Racial Slurs, and Elizabeth Warren" at the AHA annual meeting in Chicago. "Or maybe it's their great-great grandmothers? Or maybe it's a great-great-great..."

Reed, who recently joined the history department at Penn State, would always probe her students further: Were they connected to the Eastern Band, the United Keetoowah Band, or the Cherokee Nation? She generally received blank stares. It was clear to her that the students didn't know the differences between the three federally recognized Cherokee tribes, or even that they existed at all. And not one of

these students, she noted, had ever reached out to a tribal community to help verify their ancestry.

The "I Have a Native Ancestor" American folktale—as the AHA19 panelists described it—can be traced back to the 19th century. But Reed and five other indigenous scholars had convened at AHA19 to discuss a more recent high-profile example of the trope: US Senator Elizabeth Warren and her repeated assertions that she

is of Native American descent. Utilizing their collective expertise on issues of Native identity, kinship, and sovereignty, the scholars argued during the session that Warren's ancestry claims are problematic.

Less than a week before the session, Warren had announced that she was forming an exploratory committee to run for president. (Warren has since confirmed her candidacy for the country's highest office, and

journalists recently uncovered a 1986 registration card for the State Bar of Texas on which Warren identified herself as "American Indian.") "We are now explicitly debating the relevance of American Indian identity to the 2020 presidential election," explained participant Malinda Maynor Lowery (Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), a member of the Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina. "While we organized this panel knowing that American Indians are always



Elizabeth Warren announced her candidacy for the 2020 US presidency at a February 2019 rally in Lawrence, MA.

Elizabeth Warren/Flickr/CC BY 2.0

relevant to American politics, we did not necessarily anticipate this particular urgency,” she continued.

Controversy over the Massachusetts senator’s claims can be traced back to April 2012, when the *Boston Herald* revealed that Harvard Law School, when Warren was on the faculty decades earlier, had touted her as Native American. Journalists, however, could find no records of this heritage. While Warren denied that she had ever used minority status to her professional advantage, she insisted that her Indian links were real. According to Warren family lore, her parents had been forced to elope in Depression-era Oklahoma because of prejudice against her mother’s Cherokee and Delaware ancestry.

Six years later, in October 2018, just a few months before the annual meeting, Warren released DNA test results and a report analyzing those results by Carlos D. Bustamante, a professor in the biomedical data science department at Stanford University. In the report, Bustamante concluded that the results of Warren’s DNA analysis “strongly support the existence of an unadmixed Native American ancestor . . . likely in the range of 6–10 generations ago.” In conjunction with DNA test results, a group called ElizabethForMA released a short video, narrated by Warren and her family, called “Elizabeth Warren’s Family Story,”

about her Native American heritage. At the end of the video, Warren says, “I am not enrolled in a tribe, and only tribes determine tribal citizenship. I understand and respect that distinction. But my family history is my family history.”

Doug Kiel, an assistant professor of history at Northwestern University and a citizen of the Oneida Nation, explained at the session why that final sentence of Warren’s statement betrays a deep misunderstanding of Native nationhood. “Even though histories of colonialism have made our processes of defining citizenship messy, complicated, painful, and even racist,” he said, “Native nations have a fundamental right to weigh in when one makes a claim to kinship.” The Cherokee Nation, for its part, does not recognize Warren as kin, just as it has never recognized DNA test results as a qualification for enrollment. Kiel argued that Warren’s actions, unwittingly or not, reinforce notions that tribes are merely racial genetic groups.

Jean O’Brien-Kehoe’s talk built upon Kiel’s. A professor of history at the University of Minnesota, O’Brien-Kehoe (White Earth Ojibwe) said, “Nearly all public discussions about Senator Warren’s claims use the language of ancestry, background, and blood, rather than citizenship, nationhood, and sovereignty, which subtly undermines recognition and the sovereign

status of tribal nations.” Much of the general public, due to troubling gaps in civic education, O’Brien-Kehoe noted, is unaware that many American Indians are dual citizens of their own tribal nations and the United States. She argued that Warren’s language reinforced the notion that “Indians possess special rights that discriminate against other Americans, rather than sovereign status.”

“This is not the first time a scientific method has been deployed against the interests of indigenous nations’ criteria for belonging,” noted Lowery. “Now DNA testing holds sway, but during the first half of the 20th century, eugenics was the most common method.” She described how in the early 20th century, the US Office of Indian Affairs subjected members of the Lumbee community to invasive physical examinations to measure the “purity” of their “Indian blood.” The Lumbees were ultimately denied land allotments and federal acknowledgment because many lacked a sufficient level of “Indian” features. “When one believes that ancestry is the most authentic criteria for identity,” Lowery said, “one can imagine the logic that allows a single ancestor to stand in for community affiliation and reciprocal relationships.”

Reed, who is an enrolled member of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, was willing to give Warren the benefit of the doubt when

the senator’s claims first surfaced, in 2012. At first glance, Reed’s family story is similar to Warren’s. From an early age, Reed was conscious of family tensions concerning her father’s Cherokee heritage. But, Reed noted, “The difference between my story and Elizabeth Warren’s is that I found a document”—her father’s birth certificate, which listed the name of her Cherokee grandfather.

Since the late 18th century, Cherokee enrollment offices have used censuses, pension records, court filings, and a wealth of other archival materials to make determinations of belonging. Given the sheer number of records, it would be highly unlikely for a person with legitimate Cherokee ties to go unnoticed in the region where Warren grew up. “For a family in Oklahoma claiming white Cherokee connections to lack any trace of connection in the records produced in the last 200 years, or any viable community connections, speaks *volumes* to enrolled Cherokee people,” Reed stressed. She described historical cases of non-Native people using bribes and other fraudulent methods to stake their claims on land in Indian Territory.

Reed also pointed out that in recent months, likely as a result of the backlash to the DNA test, Warren has dialed back claims of her specific Cherokee and Delaware connections. Instead, she has been projecting a more

generalized “Native American” background. But Reed finds this a problem, too. “It glosses over the very real questions posed by Cherokee people for the last six years,” she explained. “There’s not an appreciation for many of the ways Cherokees are asked, on a daily basis, to both defend their own status and take the onslaught of individuals who make claims that both appear like our family stories and yet are remarkably absent of the pain and challenges the community has shared collectively over time,” she noted.

Warren’s political opponents, including Rush Limbaugh and Donald Trump, have mocked the senator’s claims by calling her “Pocahontas.” This carries its own weighty context. Alyssa Mt. Pleasant (Tuscarora), an assistant professor in transnational studies

at the University at Buffalo, whose research focuses on the gendered violence of settler colonialism, clarified the implications of using “Pocahontas” as a slur. “For Native people, especially Native women,” she explained, “the use of her name can be a dog whistle that calls to mind the myriad ways we are stereotyped, maligned, characterized as disposable, and silenced.” Mt. Pleasant says she is troubled that the 2020 campaign and its rhetoric “promises to extend and expand the circulation of misogynistic demands” on Native women.

Toward the end of the session, chair Deborah Miranda (Washington and Lee University, Ohlone Costanoan Esselen Nation) challenged the audience to give the group hard-hitting questions: “You will probably not

have this kind of firepower in front of you again for a long time!” One audience member asked a particularly poignant question—like the panelists, he frequently heard students claim to possess Native ancestry and wanted to know why. He wondered, “Is it because people want to feel like they are more American? . . . Or is it because there is some perceived benefit that they can exploit?”

“Both,” the panel responded in chorus. In the South, for example, said Reed, the historical forced removal of Cherokees to westward lands has created a situation in which current inhabitants can choose “to remember or *not* remember” that actual Cherokee people once lived there. Some non-Natives attempt to lay claim to Native identities because they no

longer have to answer to real indigenous communities.

Ultimately, the panel expressed hope that instead of continuing to double down on her ancestry claims, Warren would do more to engage with the full meaning of Indian sovereignty. O’Brien-Kehoe noted that non-indigenous people can also serve as allies by “moving off the ancestry and blood stuff” and educating themselves about the legacy of racism and settler colonialism. The group reiterated a 2016 quote by anthropologist Kim TallBear as summing up Indian country’s stance on the issue: “It’s not about what identity *you* claim,” TallBear said. “It’s about *who claims you*.” **P**

Elizabeth Poorman is assistant to the chief librarian at the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles.

Gift Membership

Share the benefits of AHA membership with the historian in your life.

AHA membership supports historians in all fields, all professions, and all stages.

Contact

members@historians.org to learn how you can give the gift of AHA membership.



AHA CAREER CONTACTS

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

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

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

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

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

SETH DENBO

PLAN S AND THE HUMANITIES

Funders Push Harder on Open Access

In recent weeks, something called Plan S has caused no shortage of doom mongering among some people and emancipatory zeal among others. In brief, Plan S is a global strategy coming out of a group of funding agencies in Europe, called cOAlition S, to move academic journal publishing to an open access model. Plan S mandates that funded research be published under open access—that is, that it be freely accessible to anyone with an internet connection and licensed as CC BY under the Creative Commons suite of licenses. In addition to national funding bodies in 13 European countries (including France and the United Kingdom) and one African country, Plan S has received endorsements from four foundations, including Wellcome and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. When Plan S is implemented in 2020, researchers receiving funding from these entities will be expected to publish their work in journals that are fully open access.

Funders that have adopted Plan S see it as a vital step in the process of making “full and immediate open access to research publications a reality.” But questions remain about the appropriateness of Plan S to all academic publishing models. In February, the AHA sent a letter to cOAlition S noting that several provisions of Plan S, “as applied to the humanities,” are “likely to limit scholarly discourse, even close some doors.” But why should US-based historians care? What are the likely implications of the mandate for scholars to publish in open access journals, and how will Plan S affect scholars and journals in history?

Origins of Plan S

The Budapest Open Access Initiative (BOAI) declaration in 2002 is often seen as a watershed moment in 21st-century academic and scientific publishing. The declaration was meant to address several big problems in the publication of scientific literature, including the length of time it took to publish an article and the rising costs of institutional subscriptions to

scientific journals owned and controlled by for-profit publishers.

The solution to these problems, according to the authors of the declaration, lay in open access digital publishing. The Budapest declaration promised a more equitable, fluid, affordable, and, of course, open route to publishing scientific research, which would “lay the foundation for uniting humanity in a common intellectual conversation and quest for knowledge.”

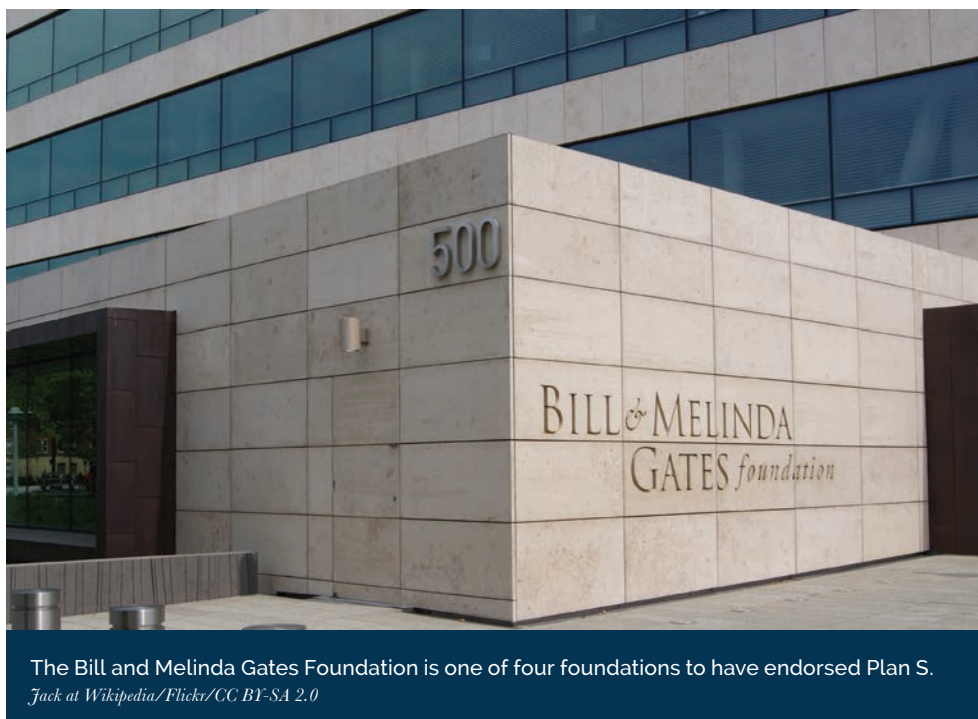
Initially, the movement toward greater open access was largely driven by scientists. In the 17 years since Budapest, much has changed. Many journals in the sciences, and even some in the social sciences and the humanities, have changed policies and, in some cases, business models to comply with expectations to move toward open access. The Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ) at Lund University in Sweden lists over 12,000 titles, more than 100 of them in history. Many of these journals charge authors what’s known as an article

processing charge (APC) to make their work open access. On the *Scholarly Kitchen* blog, David Crotty, editorial director for journals policy at Oxford University Press, has characterized this growth as “evolutionary”—a slow but steady increase that has brought significant changes without entirely overturning the world of scholarly publishing.

Despite this movement, progress toward greater open access has not been comprehensive or fast enough for some of its proponents. Over half of all academic articles are still published in subscription-based journals. Furthermore, big scientific journal publishers like Elsevier and Springer Nature have monetized open access to such an extent that they have to date taken in over €50 million in APCs. Plan S is the latest effort to spur action toward greater open access.

What Is Plan S?

Plan S applies to all journal articles funded by cOAlition S members, no matter what discipline they’re in; it does not distinguish between journals



The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation is one of four foundations to have endorsed Plan S.
 Jack at Wikipedia/Flickr/CC BY-SA 2.0

in the sciences, humanities, or social sciences. (Monographs will also be subject to the same restrictions at some undetermined point in the future.) Initiatives that are based on the imperatives of scientific research and communication, but that nonetheless expect compliance from humanities and social science journals, have long characterized open access policy. The highly influential 2012 Finch Report, commissioned by the UK government, on expanding access to research publications, for example, favored “gold” open access, in which APCs cover publication costs, as a business model. The report’s recommendations were based on the assumption that researchers would have large-scale grants to defray publication costs. Other possible routes to openness that had better potential to work in humanities publishing—so-called green open

access, which would allow for the publication of an article in a subscription journal with an “open” version made available in a repository of some kind—were viewed as less desirable.

Plan S continues this “one size fits all” approach to open access. The basic requirement of the plan is that “after 1 January 2020 scientific publications on the results from research funded by public grants provided by national and European research councils and funding bodies, must be published in compliant Open Access Journals or on compliant Open Access Platforms.”

Open access requires more than simply making a digital version of the article available online for free. It also often directs authors to release their work under a

public license that allows for broad reuse. Increasingly, the only license that many open access mandates will accept is CC BY, a Creative Commons license that only asks users to give creators “appropriate credit,” but allows commercial reuse or the creation of derivatives of the original article without any requirement to seek permission.

Plan S signatories, by requiring authors to publish in open access journals or venues, go beyond these two basic requirements. Crotty characterized this as a “deliberate attempt to accelerate change,” like “throwing a comet into a complex ecosystem in hope that it will produce mammals, rather than mass extinction.” Only a very small number of journals currently meet the criteria laid out in Plan S—one recent study found that less than 9 percent of journals

listed in the DOAJ are currently compliant. Risky and audacious, Plan S will make publishing in most journals off limits to researchers funded by agencies and foundations that endorse the plan.

Plan S and the Humanities

Many humanities scholars, in addition to those in the sciences who work on a different funding and research model than biomedicine or other well-funded fields, argue that policy about how and when something should be made open access should take a more flexible approach to defining openness, and should take into account disciplinary distinctions. Essentially, critics argue, Plan S has no provisions for handling diversity within the academy.

Many experts on scholarly communication also say that the expectation that authors publish in journals that are entirely and immediately open will only further benefit large for-profit science publishers that have the resources to shift business models. Marcia McNutt, president of the National Academy of Sciences and former editor-in-chief of *Science*, recently wrote that she has been quoted “estimates in the range of \$1 million per journal” to transition to full open access. Few, if any, humanities journals published by societies like the AHA and smaller nonprofit publishers have these kinds of reserves.

Part of the reason some observers think that Plan S favors large publishers is the bias toward APCs. Last September, André Costopoulos, vice provost and dean of students at the University of Alberta, wrote that Plan S “keeps commercial publishers firmly in control of the landscape.” While not an absolute requirement of the mandate, the plan is likely to lead to the creation of more “gold” open access journals. In fields with little available research funding, scholars are less likely to be able to pay APCs, which vary greatly from a few hundred dollars to thousands. (According to the Office of Scholarly Communication at the University of Cambridge, the average APC paid by the university between January 2017 and March 2018 was £2,147, or over \$2,800.) As the AHA letter states, APCs would exclude “our colleagues who are independent scholars, faculty in community colleges and other higher education institutions that lack significant financial support for research, or employees of museums or even parks.”

Plan S also creates a potentially harmful expectation, critics say, for authors to publish their work under a CC BY license. While Creative Commons exists to encourage sharing (articles in this magazine are published under a CC BY-NC-ND license), limiting all scholarship to a CC BY license disadvantages scholars in history and the humanities. In the

November 2016 issue of *Perspectives*, Rick Anderson explained why such open licenses might be of concern to historians. One problem, for example, is that a CC BY license could allow a poor or misleading translation of an article to be published without the copyright holder’s permission. A more flexible approach to CC licensing would give copyright holders more control. For example, a license that allows broad reuse of the entire article, but expects commercial users or those looking to use parts of the work to seek permission, would be much more in keeping with the intrinsic needs of historians.

Not all scholars are against Plan S. An open letter with 1,900 signatures, published on

the website of open access pioneer and University of California, Berkeley, genetics professor Michael Eisen, praises the coalition and the move by funders to accelerate the transition to open access. The signatories, the letter states, “recognize that funder mandates may superficially limit our publishing options in the short term, but believe they will lead to a system that optimizes what we really care about.”

Responses from humanities societies, however, are generally much more doubting of the long-term effects of Plan S. Stringent regulations like Plan S coming from European funders threaten to fracture the international community that is so vital to excellent historical scholarship. When scholars are unable to publish

in the journals where the scholarly conversation is happening in their field, scholarship will inevitably suffer.

Plan S itself is nascent, and it’s not clear yet how it will be implemented. At a recent conference in Berlin, its architects made it clear that each agency that signs on to Plan S will be allowed leeway in implementation. As funders put Plan S into action—by 2020 for journals and further in the future for monographs—historians should keep themselves informed about the ways the mandates will change the landscape of scholarly communication. **P**

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

Is your AHA member profile complete?

- Update your position or employer
- Add fields for your Twitter handle and ORCID number
- Use one of our new gender options
- Identify your field with new taxonomy choices

Go to historians.org/updateinfo and make changes today!

SEE NO EVIL

Can Archives Prevent Offense? Should They?

When Garry Smith visited Western Australia's Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages in 2013 to retrieve copies of his great-grandmother's death certificate, he was shocked. The word "Aboriginal" had been removed. Previously, when he had searched online, he had found a certificate from 1915, originally inscribed "Kitty Aboriginal"; in the physical archives, it was just "Kitty." When Smith and a relative of his asked why the word had been removed, they were told that it was because "Aboriginal" was an "offensive" term. Smith's great-grandmother's identity had been "whited" out. Smith said later that the erasure made him feel sick, as if he was expected to be ashamed of being Aboriginal. He also feared that this might create more obstacles for those who make native title claims to Australian land and waters.

In order to research indigenous histories, Aboriginal families, legal researchers, and historians rely heavily on text-based archives, even though they cover limited time scales. Many colonial and state archives were created out of imperial sovereignties and continue to work within colonial historical periodizations. As Smith's case

implies, archives are, however, mutable in many ways. The controversy also raises another question: Can the archive ever be buttressed against offense? Historians are acutely aware that state archives are curated sites reflecting historical and ongoing power structures. Archives are a conversation between those who created them, the people whose records they contain, the archivists who organize and regulate access to them, and the changing audiences who use them.

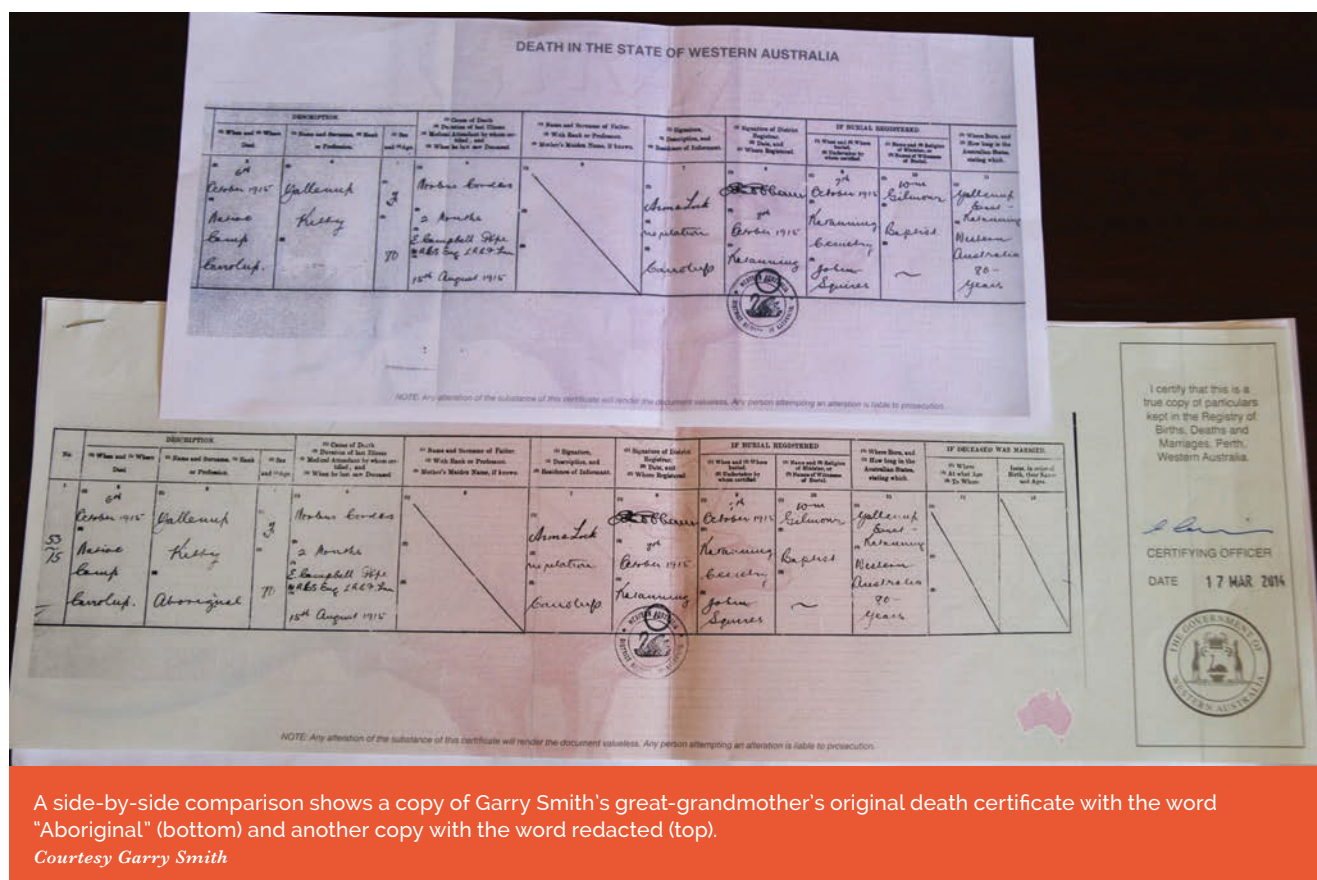
Last year, after Smith lodged a complaint of racial discrimination with the state registrar, the issue of the redacted word reignited. Both the History Council of Western Australia and the Western Australian Genealogical Society accused the state registrar of tampering with history. Jenny Gregory, president of the History Council, stated: "No one should change the past." The registrar's office responded that its obligation was to provide only specified data and that "Aboriginal" was not the only term it censored. Words such as "bastard," "illegitimate," "half-caste," and "incinerated"—presumably for cremated stillborn babies—were all deemed offensive. Applicants can obtain true copies of originals, but only if they sign a statutory declaration stating that they will not be offended.

The word "Aboriginal" has a specific history in Australia. Early British arrivals to the southern continent in the

late 18th century used the terms "Indians," "Natives," and "Australians" to describe its inhabitants. The generic term "Aboriginal"—meaning having lived in a place since the earliest known time—eventually attained standard usage in legislative terminology. In Australia, for its different land-owning and linguistic groups, of which there were once 500, the word took on new meanings.

The word "Aboriginal" has become a proud badge of pan-continental identity.

The term "indigenous" appeals to many because it is used in international human rights discourse and includes Torres Strait Islanders, but many first Australians prefer "Aboriginal." Archaeological evidence points firmly to their ancestors having lived in what was once the greater continent of Sahul for approximately 60,000 years. British colonization and intermarriage across colonizing boundaries led to complex trans-generational identities; race-based descriptors such as "quadroon," "half-caste," and "octoroon" that were used in related legislation are now also deemed highly offensive. "Aboriginal," on the other hand, has become a proud badge of pan-continental



A side-by-side comparison shows a copy of Garry Smith's great-grandmother's original death certificate with the word "Aboriginal" (bottom) and another copy with the word redacted (top).

Courtesy Garry Smith

identity. To be officially recognized as Aboriginal, individuals have to prove some indigenous ancestry endorsed by a suitable Aboriginal community organization.

In 1915, when Smith's great-grandmother passed away, Aboriginal people lacked full citizenship in Australia and were subjected to various restrictive laws that governed their residential, marital, and parental rights. These "protective" laws were gradually lifted in the 1960s and '70s, and in 1992 the High Court of Australia declared that the concept of *terra nullius*—wasteland or land belonging to no one, which had justified the refusal to create treaties—was a "historical fiction." With these changes, Aboriginal people had less incentive to obscure their identities, and the power of written documents was heightened; a historical death certificate could serve as

the proof required to access certain privileges and legal entitlements.

Smith's story is but one demonstration of bureaucratic interventions attempting to renegotiate the past and the present. Many Aboriginal people research their family history, especially because of Australia's historical policies of child removal. The records often contain material that is derogatory, cruel, and heartless. To ameliorate the trauma that these records can cause, some agencies greatly restrict access; others employ counselors. The Queensland State Archives, for example, has Aboriginal officers on hand to de-identify or to block out personal names in materials that are deemed offensive. The underlying principle behind this practice, which enables researchers to view sensitive materials, was that research is potentially useful, knowledge is power, and records

should be accessible. These processes work efficiently and potentially add value to the research process.

Until the Australian national government took over responsibility for Aboriginal policy in the 1970s, state governments were responsible for all Aboriginal policy (except in the Northern Territory). Consequently, state archives hold most of the key archival records relating to Aboriginal families. Many governmental departments, libraries, and archives have now become strict gatekeepers of the past. Several delay or block access to written and visual records containing indigenous content. Whether this flows from an admirable ethic of redress against past intrusions or mere risk aversion against offending someone, these practices impede research. Sometimes obstacles preventing access have stemmed from a fear of enabling state-funded

entitlements, including the release of information that might lead to remedial justice—for example, compensation for earnings unjustly seized by government trusts or related to the emotional cost of child removal. While the records themselves do not necessarily change, archives mediate the ways in which they permit different audiences of the present to access them.

Smith's story demonstrates how bureaucratic interventions attempt to renegotiate the past.

Each time someone looks at materials in an archive, the past erupts, creating a new imprint on the multilayered ground of the present. We have seen how, a century and more later, a word used to enable state surveillance has become associated with pride in identity. The word “Aboriginal” may be a modern English word, but it now describes people with an exceptionally long, enduring history. To say that one has been in a place since time immemorial, that one is Aboriginal, is a powerful assertion—not only politically and legally, but historically.

Indigenous leaders have long recognized the importance of text-based historical practices to their sovereign entitlements and their future well-being. In the 1830s, under threat of removal from his community's sovereign lands, Cherokee chief John Ross set out to create an official archive of Cherokee history. He asked the literary figure John Howard Payne to collect histories from the old chiefs and write them down. The state of Georgia confiscated this archive and

imprisoned both men. Fortunately, the manuscripts were returned, ending up in the Newberry Library.

The story of removing the word “Aboriginal” from the public archival record gives us an opportunity to reflect upon the archive's intermediary role in a changing present. But it is not only the state that is blocking our vistas of the past. Our profession's love of the text-based archive has meant that historians have allowed these institutions too much power not only in setting our subject matter, but also in concretizing the time frames of history. Antoinette Burton has pointed out in her book *Archive Stories* (2005) that for women's history, it is imperative to look beyond the state archive. This is also true for indigenous history. Historians, however, have been slow to appreciate the great unwritten archives beyond those of the colonizer state. Perhaps this is because these other kinds of sources are perceived as too unstable, too mutable, or simply too hard to decipher. Yet historians have proved adept at developing rigorous techniques for using oral and visual history, material objects and geographical insights. If historians fail to research and preserve the deep history archive, a whole chunk of Aboriginal and indigenous time will continue to be left out of our history books.

Aboriginal people continue to enact their own modes of historical practice. Aboriginal archival practices are largely landscape-based and transmitted via three-dimensional performances. Their archive lives on in rock art, artifacts, and a living memory that is spoken, sung, danced, painted, crafted, filmed, and digitized (see deepeninghistories.anu.edu.au). The artifacts, hearths, and burials that surface in the present reach out beyond nation-state-based periodizations. Indigenous peoples maintain detailed narratives of the ancient past.

Cultural and language revivals are reinvigorating these deep histories from indigenous memory—ancient rock art is re-engraved, stories reframed across generations. Geographers and linguists are increasingly interested in the climatic, ecological, and astronomical knowledge of those who lived through the Holocene and the Pleistocene and adapted to both dramatic events and slower change over deep human time.

Controversy over the term “Aboriginal” reminds us not only of the curated nature of government archives, but also of the self-delimiting thinking of historians who are stuck within the imperial time zones of state archives. As historians, perhaps it is our great love for the written archive that is partly to blame for trapping us in the shallow end of time and for creating a *historia nullius* spanning 60,000 years. Surely this is a greater offense than the use of a word that historically stole privileges and that now, through native title rights, allows at least some to be returned? **P**

Ann McGrath is distinguished professor and Kathleen Fitzpatrick ARC Laureate Fellow at the Australian National University.

SASHA TURNER, BARBARA MOLONY, AND SANDRA TRUDGEN DAWSON

ACADEMIC ACTIVISTS

The Coordinating Council for Women in History at 50



The 2017 Women's March in Washington, DC.
Mobilus In Mobilis/Flickr/CC BY-SA 2.0

THIS YEAR MARKS the 50th anniversary of the Coordinating Council for Women in History (CCWH). Although the CCWH as we know it today came together in 1995, its story begins in December 1969, at the annual meeting of the AHA.

Over two dozen historians, led by Berenice A. Carroll, had been circulating a petition to press the AHA to take action to improve the status of women historians. The AHA Council responded by appointing members of the first Committee on the Status of Women at that December meeting.¹ This was seen as a step forward but not a substantial move, since the AHA remained a male-dominated organization. It was therefore important to start and sustain a group that could advocate for women in the discipline. For 50 years, the CCWH has done just that.

Coming Together

That 1969 AHA meeting has been mythologized, mostly for challenges to the profession from antiwar and radical historians, many (though not all) of whom were men.² But the activism of 1969 also included a women's caucus meeting that saw the formation of a new group, the Coordinating Committee of Women Historians in the Profession (CCWHP). Its goals were to recruit more women into the profession, to alleviate discrimination against women students and faculty, to secure greater inclusion of women in AHA annual meetings and committees, and to encourage the growth of women's history through teaching and research. Two days after the caucus meeting came a panel that did not appear on the program. Initiated by Hilda Smith, its subject was the status of women in history. The room, Smith later recalled, was packed.³

Two days after the 1969 women's caucus meeting came a panel on the status of women in history. The room was packed.

As the CCWHP grew, other groups were founded that promoted women's history and women historians, including the Conference Group on Women's History (CGWH), created in 1974, and several regional associations. These organizations had many overlapping members. In 1995, the memberships of the CCWHP and the CGWH voted to merge into one group, becoming the CCWH.⁴

Last year, when the CCWH marked the life and passing of Berenice Carroll, we reflected on her work as a pioneer of women's rights and women's history. Carroll's work not only offers us a rich legacy, it also exemplifies the labor and success of the CCWH. Under her leadership, we created course bulletins, newsletters, and research progress reports, crucially mapping emerging scholarship and the state of the field, and reconceptualizing the very constitution of history.⁵ The work of creating women's history, Carroll reflected, was academic, to be sure; yet to deny that such labor was also activism was to make marchers or boycotters the only legitimate image of activism. The struggle "to change history—to change the profession of history, to change historical scholarship, and to change the direction of our own history"⁶ was, to Carroll, inherently activism, for it demanded the "strength of both action and intellect."⁷ It still does.

Building Bridges

After its organizational merger in 1995, the CCWH continued its work to center women as subjects of history and promote them as history professionals. This, as Nupur Chaudhuri and Mary Elizabeth Perry reflected in 1994 (on the occasion of the CCWHP's 25th anniversary), required coalition building—an aspect of activism that can be both rewarding and precarious. Over the years, the CCWH built coalitions with other historical associations and scholars.

The CCWH inspired the Organization of American Historians and the AHA to create formal committees on the status of women in the profession and assisted in establishing them. Significantly, the CCWH encouraged the inclusion of women in the leadership of the AHA, and initiated and funded the AHA's Joan Kelly Book Prize in Women's History and Feminist Theory.⁸ The CCWH organizes and co-sponsors panels for the annual meetings of the AHA and its affiliated societies, as well as for other groups, such as the World History Association and the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations. The Annual Awards Luncheon held at the AHA annual meeting showcases some of the most innovative new scholarship in all fields of history and provides a space for networking. The CCWH award committees also create service opportunities for our members, helping them build CVs and tenure files.

We have met with and sponsored conference panels and celebrations with other associations (notably the

Berkshire Conference of Women Historians), LGBTQI historians, African American women historians, environmental historians, and such regional associations as the Western Association of Women Historians and the Southern Association of Women Historians. The CCWH is also the United States representative to the International Federation for Research in Women's History (IFRWH), which seeks to foster transnational scholarship and gender-justice solidarity. CCWH's recent collaboration with IFRWH to pressure the Hungarian government to preserve academic freedom at the Central European University is representative of the broad nature of our work and its wider implications.

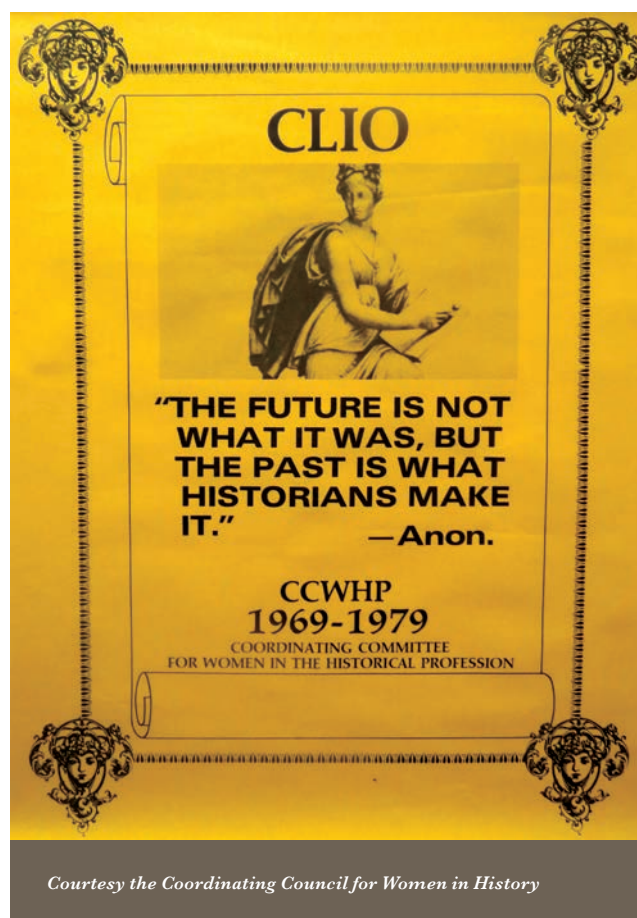
Activism in our discipline also includes mentorship, and some of the most important functions of the CCWH continue to be support for women in the profession. As Barbara Ramusack and Nupur Chaudhuri wrote in 2010, "This work proceeds within and beyond existing institutions."⁹ Indeed, through the energetic work of the CCWH Mentorship Committee, this takes place remotely in the form of e-mentorship sessions, as well as at regional and national conferences.

Precarity and the Future

The future of our intellectual work continues to depend on our activism. The history of women and gender is well established at some universities but endangered at others, for reasons that have a great deal to do with structural issues. Labor conditions are particularly troubling. The reliance on low-paid, part-time adjuncts led to a sense in the CCWH that contingent academic employment had become feminized; in turn, the group undertook a survey of its members on this issue.¹⁰ In 2016, the late Rachel Fuchs, Adriana Bitoun, and Mary Ann Villarreal found that approximately 42 percent of the mem-

The academic world is denied the benefit of potentially cutting-edge research when a class of faculty has to struggle to pay the bills.

bership of the CCWH were adjuncts, with rates of pay that varied immensely. The adjuncts we surveyed teach at multiple institutions and prepare multiple new classes each year, and still find it difficult to earn enough to live.¹¹ The corporatization of American higher



education continues to create contingent teaching positions, including adjuncts and postdocs, with few or no health or retirement benefits.

A soft academic job market means we all suffer—tenure-track and tenured faculty continue to carry out the same amount of committee work and service even as their percentage among the faculty declines. But more broadly, the academic world is denied the benefit of potentially cutting-edge research when a class of faculty has to struggle to pay the bills. One answer is definitely unionization, but addressing the problem also entails another form of coalition building: between tenured and adjunct faculty. Thus, precarious employment in the historical profession is a feminist issue. By lobbying departments and universities on behalf of endangered faculty, the CCWH fights against the marginalization and invisibility of women in the profession.

Reflexive, intersectional work remains pressing in our time of rising totalitarian regimes, threats to academic freedom, limits on freedom of the press, and cuts to humanistic disciplines such as history, literature, philosophy, and women's and gender studies. The specific issues

addressed by our founding mothers a half century ago—invisibility and scorn for research on women’s and gender history and those who practiced it—have now been joined, and to some extent superseded, by new issues, including problems of workplace contingency, economic inequality, and racism.

Reflecting on the past, particularly a past as accomplished as CCWH’s, evokes nostalgia. Yet our many gains do not suggest we abandon our activism in the present and future. In fact, the awakenings of the 1960s—the movements for peace, civil rights, women’s liberation, free speech, and Black Power—which sparked and shaped the founding and activism of the CCWH, mirror many of today’s concerns. Academic issues of sexual harassment and assault; the absence and insufficiency of maternity leave; and inequality in the pay gap, administrative work, hiring, promotion, and

Activism in our discipline also includes mentorship, and some of the most important functions of the CCWH continue to be support for women in the profession.

tenure reflect the #BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo movements, as well as the struggles for reproductive justice and the rights of workers, children, LGBTQI people, Muslims, immigrants, and incarcerated people. The academy is a microcosm of the society in which it is imbricated. Organizing must take place despite the inevitability of critique (for example, on grounds of racial exclusivity); such criticism therefore must become a site of productive engagement that informs our work, both intellectual and activist.

As a multigenerational organization, the CCWH will face the next half century invigorated and inspired by our foremothers and prepared to confront the concerns of our newest members. **P**

Sasha Turner is co-president of the CCWH for 2018–21. Barbara Molony is co-president of the CCWH for 2016–20. Sandra Trudgen Dawson is executive director of the CCWH for 2017–20.

NOTES

1. Hilda Smith, “CCWHP: The First Decade,” in Hilda Smith, Nupur Chaudhuri, Gerda Lerner, and Berenice A. Carroll, *History of CCWH-CGWH* (CCWHP-CGWH, 1994), 7.

2. Carl Mirra, “Forty Years On: Looking Back at the 1969 Annual Meeting,” *Perspectives on History* (February 2010).
3. Smith, “CCWHP,” 8.
4. *History of CCWH-CGWH*.
5. Berenice Carroll, “Scholarship and Action: CCWHP and the Movement(s),” *Journal of Women’s History* 6:3 (Fall 1994), 79.
6. Carroll, “Scholarship and Action,” 82.
7. Carroll, “Scholarship and Action,” 83.
8. Nupur Chaudhuri and Mary Elizabeth Perry, “Achievements and Battles: Twenty-five Years of CCWHP,” *Journal of Women’s History* 6, no. 3 (Fall 1994): 97–105.
9. Nupur Chaudhuri and Barbara Ramusack, “The Coordinating Committee on Women Historians: Accomplishments and New Goals,” *Perspectives on History* (December 2010).
10. Eileen Boris, Sandra Trudgen Dawson, and Susan Wladaver-Morgan, “Perspectives on Contingent Labor: Adjuncts, Temporary Contracts, and the Feminization of Labor,” *Perspectives on History* (May 2015).
11. Rachel Fuchs, Adriana Bitoun, and Mary Ann Villarreal, “Results of the CCWH Survey Concerning Contingent Faculty,” *Insights: Notes from the CCWH* 47, no. 3 (2016): 6–11.

DAVID A. GERBER

CONFRONTING THE PARADOX OF EXPERTISE

Leave Your Comfort Zone and Reinvigorate Your Teaching



You might think you're teaching at
students' level . . .
Judy van der Velden/Flickr/CC BY-NC-ND 2.0

IN A RECENT *New York Times* op-ed, provocatively titled “Those Who Can Do, Can’t Teach,” Adam Grant, a professor of organizational psychology at the University of Pennsylvania’s Wharton School, attempted to explain “why the best experts sometimes make the worst educators.”¹ As a classic example, Grant chose Albert Einstein, whose disorganized style in the classroom made finding teaching positions difficult in the early years of his already promising career as a theoretical physicist. Administrators at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology were reluctant to hire Einstein and relented only when a friend intervened on his behalf. Grant also recalled his own undergraduate experience at Harvard University, where the “world-class experts” he longed to study under disappointed him in the classroom. For all their mastery of their subjects, they couldn’t explain why what they did should interest anyone else.

A cartoon accompanying Grant’s essay makes the point especially well. A student sits at a desk taking notes. Sweat springs from his brow, and in a bubble over his head is a tricycle. At the front of the room stands a professor, declaiming with one finger raised; in the bubble over *his* head is a state-of-the-art motorcycle—a huge, complex piece of precision machinery.

How to explain this paradox? Grant refers to “the curse of knowledge” (the variation applied especially to educational

instruction is “the curse of expertise”). Appropriated from social science, in its original iteration the curse of knowledge sought to explain the difficulties a better-informed individual might have trying to understand the thinking of someone less informed. Behavioral economists used the concept to explain why better-informed people often had difficulty profiting from their knowledge while bargaining with a less-informed party who nonetheless had to be taken seriously in negotiations. “The curse of expertise” closes in more precisely on teaching: learners seeking to acquire skills sometimes find instruction at the hands of experts less effective than they find instruction from graduate assistants or assistant professors. In short, the more you know, the less effective you may be at communicating it to those who know much less. You not only risk getting lost in the details and nuances of your subject, but you also may fail to explain why your subject has a claim to anyone’s attention—not so much as an intellectual proposition, but as an avenue into understanding or benefiting oneself.

Grant’s contentions were a revelation to me. I’d picked up the Sunday paper to read the news and instead found a blunt and convincing explanation for something that bothered me and a few senior colleagues with whom I regularly discussed teaching. My evidence here is clearly anecdotal, but these anecdotes have piled up with the passage of time. As we matured as thinkers and became established, productive scholars with



... but you might be trying to explain a motorcycle to new learners.
pyntofmyld/Flickr/CC BY 2.0

authority in our chosen fields, we found it harder to convey to undergraduates the riches that we had discovered there.

With the knowledge I had acquired about population movements and the resettlement of migratory peoples, for instance, why was my teaching of US, immigration, and ethnic history so labored? For a book on immigrant personal correspondence, I read thousands of intimate letters sent home to families and friends in Europe. I wrote about difficult, very human situations captured in the writing of ordinary people, such as the immigrant men and women who lied to their parents about their successes in America in order to spare them worry and to save face. Why was it so difficult to convey these compelling human dramas in the classroom? I hadn't stopped preparing or begun taking the assignment less seriously, as senior professors are routinely (and, I believe, mostly mistakenly) thought to do. In fact, I was preparing for class longer and more strenuously than I had early in my career. A colleague of mine, a very distinguished historian, regularly told me how much more time it took him to feel prepared for class. The experience of recurrent frustration impressed us both with the likelihood that it might not be possible to recapture the excitement (mixed, to be sure, with a good deal of anxiety) that characterized our earlier efforts in the classroom. Maybe it was time to retire.

Retirement isn't the route that Adam Grant wants to urge on senior professors, whom he believes need to stay active with research and writing as well as with mentoring pre-professional students. To that end, Grant advocates that colleges and universities move further in a direction many of them have already begun to take: formalizing the separation of teaching and research duties in the structuring of faculty, leaving those accomplished in the latter with instructional duties outside the undergraduate classroom, principally (in research institutions) with the training of advanced graduate students. The logic of that option seems plausible from a pragmatic standpoint: why not utilize, to the maximum degree, the skills possessed by our most accomplished publishing scholars in their sphere and our most accomplished teachers in theirs?

One reason not to segregate research from teaching is that it risks further degrading academic employment, which has already succumbed to a type of class system driven less by concern for the quality of undergraduate teaching than by fiscal exigencies. Few students emerge from history departments as mature analysts and interpreters. Those with an inclination to research and publication need years to develop their minds and deepen their knowledge. Increasingly, a burden is placed on younger historians, whose scholarly ambitions are frustrated as they enter an expanding group of nomadic

instructors with no job stability and little institutional opportunity to develop themselves as publishing scholars.

There is another option, a way out for those who find themselves caught in the paradox of expertise but who want to continue teaching. To stay relevant as an instructor, leave your comfort zone and teach something new—a fresh subject to which you can apply the analytical abilities developed from years spent toiling in your chosen field. This was precisely the route I took as I developed an undergraduate seminar on the First Amendment, which cycled from one semester to the next between Supreme Court decisions on the freedom of speech and expression, followed by readings on the religion clauses. Because the syllabus proceeded simultaneously from history, political science, and constitutional law, it forced me to direct my mind beyond the well-worn paths it had grown accustomed to traveling. In confronting my own lack of knowledge about how the courts work and the evolution of American jurisprudence, I was learning alongside my students.

This proved a particularly energizing experience in teaching of the sort that Ken Bain urges on professors as an effective practice for productively narrowing the gap between themselves and the undergraduates in their classrooms.² Nothing can completely narrow the age gap (nor the consequent cultural differences) between professors and students. The former will get older while their undergraduates stay the same age: somewhere between adolescence and young adulthood, participants in a youth culture from which their individual professors will grow ever more distant. No change in our dress, personal grooming, or colloquial speech can change that, and the mere attempt can make us look like fools. But students are hardly immune to the excitement of ideas, if only we can find the right formulas to engage them. Blaming students for our frustrations in the classroom is unproductive. Wherever they are developmentally and culturally, our job remains the same: to instruct the minds they present to us. The search for a formula to do so, however unsettling, sometimes begins with recognizing the need to change ourselves. Knowing how to deploy the full range of skills that constitute the expertise we have developed as interpreters of the past includes taking risks and prodding ourselves to grow at the very point when it might seem easiest to rest on our accomplishments. **P**

David A. Gerber is distinguished professor emeritus at the University at Buffalo.

NOTES

- 1 Adam Grant, "Those Who Can Do, Can't Teach," *New York Times Sunday Review*, August 26, 2018, 10.
- 2 Ken Bain, *What the Best College Teachers Do* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2004), esp. 141–142.



Eugene J. Kisluk

1948–2018

Appraiser; AHA
member

A member of the American Historical Association since 1973, Eugene J. Kisluk was an erudite scholar and a born raconteur. His broad interests and training as a historian made his chosen profession—he was an appraiser of rare books and manuscripts—a suitable one. Each of his appraisals not only comprised a research project, but also allowed him to tell a story. His clients included university libraries, museums, and law firms. Early in his career, Kisluk served as an expert witness for the New York County District Attorney's Office to establish the value of a cache of stolen documents.

Known for his fluency and skill with Slavic languages, Kisluk was regularly asked to evaluate collections of eastern European printed and autograph materials for either sale or donation. He always physically inspected the books and papers, which included portrait photographs inscribed to the great Russian opera singer Fyodor Ivanovich Chaliapin by such contemporaries as Anton Chekhov, Leo Tolstoy, Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, and Giacomo Puccini. Kisluk once appraised a coronation album and memorabilia from Tsar Nicholas II and his wife, Alexandra Feodorovna. Retired professors frequently approached him for the assessment of personal papers, manuscripts, and book collections.

Kisluk's most celebrated projects include his participation in the private sale of a trove of letters exchanged between the future Pope John Paul II and the Polish-born American philosopher Anna-Teresa Tymieniecka. Their correspondence documents the unusual friendship that developed between Cardinal Karol Wojtyła, then archbishop of Kraków, and Tymieniecka, which began in 1973 and lasted until shortly before his death in 2005. What began as a professional relationship—she offered to assist the cardinal with the translation of his book *The Acting Person*—became a more intimate bond. After Tymieniecka disclosed her personal feelings for him, Cardinal Wojtyła continued to value her companionship. Despite speculation about their relationship, Kisluk made clear that while the cardinal's letters reveal an

emotional attachment to Tymieniecka, they also show that he never broke his vow of celibacy. The correspondence was the subject of a 2016 BBC documentary, for which Kisluk provided his expertise.

Born in Poland in 1948, Kisluk immigrated with his parents and younger brother to the United States in 1961, moved to Connecticut, and graduated from New Britain High School in 1967. He earned his bachelor's, master's, and PhD degrees in history from Columbia University, with a dissertation devoted to the Great Emigration from Poland following the anti-Russian uprising of 1830–31. Kisluk's study focused on the nearly 10,000 people—including the poet Adam Mickiewicz and the composer Fryderyk Chopin—who left Poland and settled in France, England, and elsewhere in Europe, as well as in the United States. In 1832, Polish exiles living in Paris established the Polish Democratic Society (TDP), considered the first modern Polish political party. Examining the role of the TDP during the European revolutions of 1848–49, Kisluk's work was published in 2005 with the title *Brothers from the North: The Polish Democratic Society and the European Revolutions of 1848–1849*. In his review of the monograph, John Stanley observed that although many of the archival documents were destroyed, Kisluk managed to explore hundreds of primary and secondary sources in different countries, presenting not only an extraordinary amount of evidence but also a coherent narrative.

Though he specialized in 19th-century history, Kisluk also worked on other periods. His chapter for the 2007 exhibition catalog *Fragile Diplomacy: Meissen Porcelain for European Courts, ca. 1710–63* explained the historical circumstances that saw Friedrich August, elector of Saxony, ascend to the throne as King August II of Poland.

At the time of his death, Kisluk was preparing a book that examined the history of prisoners of war, a project that required extensive research ranging from antiquity to modern warfare and the Geneva Convention. It is regrettable that he was unable to complete this project, particularly given his gift for making complex historical issues accessible to all readers.

Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide
New York, NY



Leo Ribuffo

1945–2019

Historian of the United States

Leo Paul Ribuffo, a professor of history at George Washington University, died unexpectedly on November 28, 2018, in his Washington, DC, home at the age of 73. Only a week earlier, he had attended an intellectual history conference in Chicago that featured a special session honoring his best-known work, *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War*. First published in 1983, this award-winning book ushered in a new era of scholarship on conservatism, one that did not simply dismiss right-wing political figures, in the manner of Richard Hofstadter, as irrational fanatics.

Born in New Jersey's Bergen County to a Catholic father and a Protestant mother in a working-class household—those demographic markers were important to his later identity as an intellectual and a historian—Ribuffo graduated from Rutgers University in 1966. He benefited from his contact with the remarkable group of historians assembled there, including Eugene Genovese, Warren Susman, and Lloyd Gardner. They persuaded him to attend graduate school in history and helped him gain admission to Yale University's history department and American studies program, where he studied under Sidney Ahlstrom. *The Old Christian Right* began as his doctoral dissertation and reflected the influence of Ahlstrom in its emphasis on religion but also Ribuffo's idiosyncratic interests in culture and politics.

The Old Christian Right started Ribuffo's career-long interest in people he described as “right-wing weirdos.” It also introduced the term “Brown Scare” to the literature that, as Ribuffo later explained, “was meant to show that the often over-wrought rhetorical response to the Right fitted within the American countersubversive tradition.”

After a brief stint at Bucknell University, a place where, as he liked to explain, one could not get a decent corned beef sandwich, Ribuffo came to George Washington in 1973. He led the department's efforts in recent American history and collaborated with Dewey Wallace in the university's

American religious history program. His reputation and charisma attracted a large group of devoted and talented graduate students. Many of these students, too numerous to list here, made their own important contributions to the historical literature. Leo Ribuffo was a mentor in the best sense of that term.

Ribuffo was finishing a major biography of President Jimmy Carter at the time of his death. He also frequently published essays on various aspects of diplomatic, religious, political, and intellectual history. Some of these were later collected in a 1992 volume, *Right, Center, Left*. As the reviewer for the *American Historical Review* noted, “Ribuffo writes well, and his perspective is always challenging and refreshing.” “These are acute essays,” he noted, “and entertaining ones as well.”

Ribuffo labored over his writing, describing himself as more like J. D. Salinger than John Updike. Part of the reason was that he was a stylist who wanted each of his sentences to have the intended effect, often an ironic point about how historians got a particular person—Henry Ford, Bruce Barton, or Jimmy Carter—wrong. Another part of the reason was that his writing always reflected his erudition. He was well-read and well-traveled to archives in a way that made him an impeccable scholar but also slowed down his production. The result—whether a popular essay, a scholarly monograph, or a reflection on the state of academia—was always worth the wait.

His emails for his friends and colleagues often depicted the foibles of university administrators who, in the stereotypical manner, were striving for global excellence without any understanding of what it is that academic historians do. His colleagues always received these communications with appreciation and looked forward to Ribuffo's brilliant and witty performances in faculty meetings and departmental seminars.

Leo Ribuffo's friends and former students remember him as a person with an encyclopedic knowledge of American history, a lightning-quick mind, and a caustic wit that enlivened their encounters with him. For his colleagues, he was a loyal friend who reinforced what was good about an academic career.

Edward Berkowitz
George Washington University

AHA CAREER CENTER

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

Find more job ads at careers.historians.org.



UNITED STATES NEW JERSEY

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY— NEW BRUNSWICK

New Brunswick, NJ

Postdoctoral Associate in African American History.

The Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis announces a postdoctoral position for scholars pursuing research in African American history, 1940-present. The successful applicant must have the doctorate in hand at the time of application and be no more than six years beyond the PhD. The position, with a salary of \$65,000, is for one year. It includes health benefits and a \$5,000 research allowance. The primary duties of this postdoc will be to administer and supervise research, writing, digitizing, and editing of the “Scarlet and Black Project” on the history of Native and African Americans in Rutgers history. Consult <http://rcha.rutgers.edu/black-bodies> and <http://scarletandblack.rutgers.edu> for details. Applications should be addressed to Prof. Deborah Gray White, Postdoc Search Chair, and submitted electronically to <http://jobs.rutgers.edu/postings/83274>. Applications should include the following: letter of interest, CV, research proposal, writing sample, and at least three letters of reference. The deadline for applications is April 30, 2019.

Postdoctoral Fellowship in Race and Gender History.

The Department of History at Rutgers University announces a postdoctoral fellowship for scholars pursuing research in race and gender studies. The successful applicant must have the doctorate in

hand at the time of application, be no more than six years beyond the PhD, and be able to teach history courses. The fellowship of \$60,000 is for one year and includes benefits and a \$5,000 research stipend. The recipient will teach at least one small course in the history department and participate in the seminar series at either the Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis (<https://rcha.rutgers.edu/future-project/description>) or the Institute for Research on Women (<https://irw.rutgers.edu/seminars-list/365-2019-2020-irw-seminar-call>). Applications should be addressed to Prof. Deborah Gray White, Postdoc Search Chair, and submitted electronically to <http://jobs.rutgers.edu/postings/81023>. Applications should include the following: letter of interest, CV, research proposal, writing sample, and at least three letters of reference. The deadline for applications is April 15, 2019.



PENNSYLVANIA

CARNEGIE MELLON UNIVERSITY

Pittsburgh, PA

Postdoctoral Fellowship in African American Urban History.

The Center for African American Urban Studies and the Economy (CAUSE) and the Department of History at Carnegie Mellon University seek a scholar in the humanities and/or social sciences doing history-related research in African American urban studies. The fellow will pursue his/her own research project; interact with faculty, graduate, and undergraduate students; and collaborate with the director on current

center projects. The appointment is for nine months beginning August 15, 2019, through May 15, 2020. The fellowship carries a stipend of \$52,500 plus benefits, and \$5,000 for research and other professional expenses. A listing of employee benefits is available at <http://www.cmu.edu/jobs/benefits-at-a-glance>. Send a cover letter, CV, two letters of reference, writing sample, and a three-to-five page project proposal. The proposal should include a project description, chapter outline, explanation of the significance to relevant fields, and plans and goals for the fellowship term. Send to Hikari Aday, CAUSE Program Coordinator, at hikarik@andrew.cmu.edu or Baker Hall 244, 5000 Forbes Ave., Pittsburgh, PA 15213. Deadline for receipt of applications is March 31, 2019. (Notification of decision by April 20.) Please visit “Why Carnegie Mellon” at <https://www.cmu.edu/jobs/why-cmu> to learn more about becoming part of an institution inspiring innovations that change the world. Carnegie Mellon University considers applicants for employment without regard to, and does not discriminate on the basis of, gender, race, protected veteran status, disability, or any other legally protected status.

AD POLICY STATEMENT

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

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

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

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



AHA Awards



**Know a great historian
who deserves to
be recognized?**

Every year the AHA honors distinguished historical work with dozens of awards and prizes for books, articles, teaching, mentoring, public history, digital history, and more.

Nominations are due May 15, 2019

Learn more about past winners, how to submit a nomination, and how you can support prize endowments at historians.org/prizes.

Want the best of *Perspectives on History* delivered to your inbox?

Sign up for our biweekly email newsletter at bit.ly/POHnewsletter

