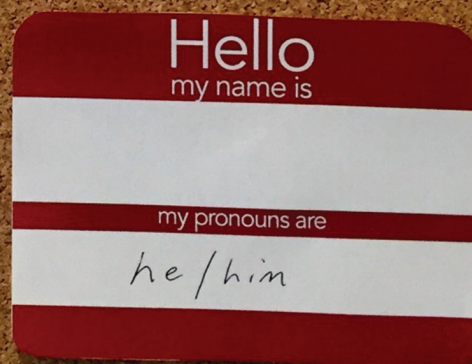
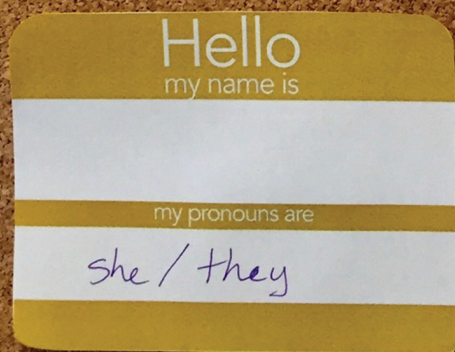
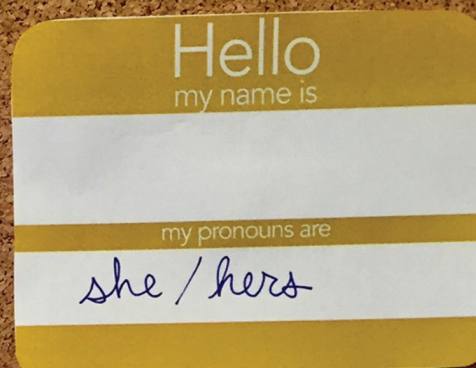
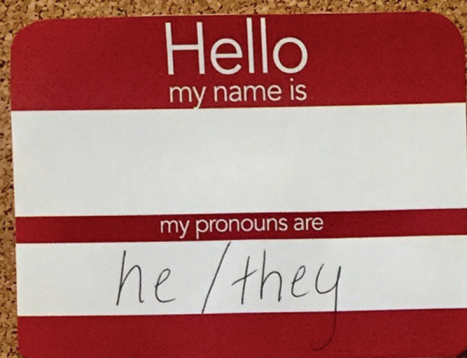


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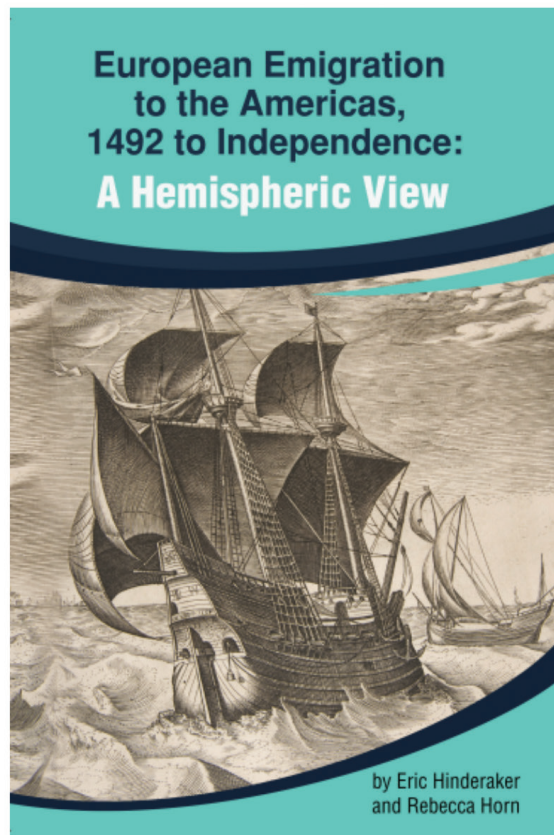
# PERSPECTIVES ON HISTORY

Volume 58: 4  
April 2020

## SINGULAR THEY







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# FEATURES

## MAJOR PROPOSALS .....17

*Marketing the History BA*

RACHEL FEINMARK

## ADVISING GRADUATE STUDENTS ABOUT CAREER DIVERSITY ..... 20

*A Primer for the DGS*

SALLY HADDEN



## ON THE COVER

As historians are aware, everything changes over time, including language. Even basic building blocks like pronouns can change with usage. In this month's issue, we highlight the ways that the singular "they" has entered the conversation. Whether identifying pronouns in a Twitter bio or using they/them to refer to historical actors whose gender identity is ambiguous or changes over their lifetime, Laura Ansley reports on the ways that historians are wrestling with how gender enters the English language at its most basic level.

*Karen Lou*

## 3 | FROM THE EDITOR

Townhouse Notes  
SETH DENBO

## 4 | LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## 5 | FROM THE PRESIDENT

Responsibility and Civility  
MARY LINDEMANN

## 7 | NEWS

Singular They  
LAURA ANSLEY

Deportation Machine  
ELYSE MARTIN

Advocacy Briefs  
DEVON REICH

## 14 | VIEWPOINTS

If You Charge Facts with Bias,  
Historians Are Guilty  
JOHN BROICH

## 23 | AHA ACTIVITIES

Age as a Category of Historical  
Analysis  
ALEX LICHTENSTEIN

2020 AHA Nominations  
COMPILED BY LIZ TOWNSEND

## 27 | IN MEMORIAM

## 32 | AHA CAREER CENTER

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SETH DENBO

## TOWNHOUSE NOTES

*Work Discipline in the 21st Century*

Historians who have read E. P. Thompson's "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism" (*Past & Present*, 1967) in graduate school remember it for a deeply evocative and original argument. Thompson wrote about how the regimented timekeeping imposed by capital overrode more traditional approaches to working hours and notions of time, while adherence to older forms of timekeeping could be seen as "resistance to exploitation."

What I didn't remember, until I went back to it recently, is the historicity of the argument, which reveals something about the mindset of the 1960s. Thompson was concerned not only with workers who had lived through the Industrial Revolution, but also those of his own day. "We are now at a point," he wrote, "where sociologists are discussing the 'problem' of leisure." Sociologists and others genuinely worried that, as the *New York Times* put it in a long article on work and leisure in April 1964, "people simply will not know what to do with themselves if the work week is still further reduced."

Concern over too much leisure seems odd in our current cultural moment. A half century later, few members of our discipline are in danger of working too little. According to a study published in *Inside Higher Education* in 2014, on average academic faculty reported working 61 hours a week. Nonetheless academics, especially in the humanities, have long taken what people in many industries would see as an undisciplined approach to working hours. Many faculty only use their offices to meet with students, and institutions rarely demand regular schedules beyond teaching classes and attending meetings. Conversely, there are also so many demands on people's time that research seminars happen in the evening and conferences take place over weekends. Working conditions in higher education aren't as unique as many academics would like to think. But compared with many other white-collar professions, the lack of expectation of attendance during "regular office hours" is unusual, mapping more readily to what Thompson and many others

have called "pre-industrial." (Here at the AHA, we generally follow a 9:00–5:00 office schedule.)

Even though academic history faculty often approach work discipline in idiosyncratic ways, digital communication has led to change. Perpetual connectivity and mobile technology confer some advantages, allowing certain kinds of work to take place at times and in places that suit the individual. This flexibility has many benefits for people who experience a range of work and personal demands on their time. But unorthodox scheduling has distinct disadvantages too, because it enables work to intrude when other aspects of life should take precedence.

Recently, the reality that work discipline varies has become a little more visible. An increasing number of people have added a short but considerate statement to their email sign-off about working hours, stating that the sender does not expect the recipient to respond outside their own working hours. Disclaiming "My working hours may not be yours" gives the writer license to send an email at unsocial hours by absolving the receiver from an expectation to respond immediately. That's the intent, but what does such a cultural practice tell us about "post-industrial" work discipline?

It is undoubtedly good that many recognize the ways in which their work habits differ from those of colleagues and politely absolve coworkers from responsibility for conforming to their own schedules. As our work and communication become ever more digital, we would do well to remember how institutions shape time, work discipline, and even leisure. Applying historical knowledge and perspective will help us be intentional about how we use and manage our time, and to find humane ways to, in Thompson's words, "fill the interstices of [our] day with enriched, more leisurely, personal and social relations." **P**

*Seth Denbo is director of scholarly communication and digital initiatives at the AHA. He tweets @seth\_denbo.*





## TO THE EDITOR

A Tribute to Allison Miller: Surely I was not the only historian taken aback to have learned of Allison Miller's departure from *Perspectives on History* with no tribute to her immense role in revising the magazine. Her monthly column was a breath of fresh air, reflected in the rest of the publication, really turning the AHA into something new and relevant. As a longtime AHA member, I think Allison transformed the public voice of the AHA while also literally reforming the then stodgy format of *Perspectives*. For that she deserves humble recognition.

TY GELTMAKER  
*Los Angeles*



## TO THE EDITOR

Disciplining History: As a graduate student in history, I have always felt that the archive, despite its centrality to the craft of a historian, was peripheral to the graduate curriculum. In this era of interdisciplinarity, the divide between the fields of history and archival studies is greater than that between history and its allied disciplines like political science or law.

The archive continues to be the pivot of historical scholarship, even though there is little clarity as to what an archival method might entail. Is historical empiricism the same as an archival method? Or what is the difference between reading and interpreting an academic book and that of a file from a colonial government archive? Are critical reading and analytical skills enough to research in an archive? We often understand the views of a historian based on their ideological commitment (Marxism, conservatism, etc.), but rarely do we interrogate the archive historians use and how certain archives enable them to espouse certain ideological positions or worldviews. Once we ask such questions, it becomes plausible to see the exclusions and inclusions that are constitutive of the archive, and even the historian's craft. Then it also becomes clear that there is no one archive, but many archives. The archive is constantly being made and unmade in the present. In that sense, the archive is not just a site to recall and order the past, but also a place where one makes sense of "the history of the present."

It is precisely this suturing of the past and the present through the exclusionary and inclusionary practices of the

archive that, I thought, the graduate seminar described by MJ Maynes and Leslie Morris in "Interrogating the Archive" (*Perspectives on History*, December 2019) sought to achieve. By having students, drawn from three universities, witness and watch the contentious meetings of the Board of Regents of the University of Minnesota on naming buildings after administrators who indulged in discriminatory practices, the students had the opportunity to understand the competing claims an archive enables. Those who supported renaming relied on the university archive, which speaks to exclusion and institutional power. Those who opposed the change found the same archive inadequate to understand the past in question. As the authors show, occluded in it is the voice of those discriminated against, a "counterarchive" that lies outside the university archive, such as the Black press.

There is often little instruction in history graduate programs in understanding what the archive does, or how is it different from a library. Students learn on their own through protracted archival work, which is sometimes called field work, a phrase that remains in tension with the archive. The lack of academic and pedagogical engagement with the archive is by no means a problem special to the US. In South Asia, archival studies are almost nonexistent in universities. It is crucial that we continue to engage with the archive not just theoretically, but also pedagogically, in order to develop critical historical thinking in the students.

SARATH PILLAI  
*University of Chicago*



MARY LINDEMANN

## RESPONSIBILITY AND CIVILITY

*The Unwritten Essentials*



The American Historical Association and organizations like it—whether workplaces, departments, divisions, or colleges—are held together by interlocking and overlapping webs of rules (often written), usages (more often informally conveyed), and expectations. These guidelines are intended to assure the smooth functioning of the group, promote its interests, and serve its members or clients. The AHA’s Statements, Standards, and Guidelines of the Discipline, for example, cover many aspects of proper professional conduct. Guides like these are important to organizations, as are resources such as staff handbooks and faculty manuals; guidelines on hiring, retention, and promotion; and tenure procedures.

Just as critical to the prospering of any such group are the unwritten expectations that underlie and ground the workings of every business or academic unit. When they’re observed, organizations prosper; when they’re disregarded, things go terribly wrong. These expectations fall under two broad rubrics: responsibility and civility. Breaches of either are frequently the reasons for organizational disasters. I have watched departments, colleges, and societies tear themselves apart, descending into fruitless squabbling with colleagues who trade acrimonious barbs and finding themselves unable to maintain a modicum of decent interaction or to exist as a functioning unit.

Within academic departments, this situation can prove to be the kiss of death, opening them up to receivership or even dissolution—a threat every bit as real for museums, libraries, and other workplace environments, even if the dynamics differ. Often, the reasons for such dissension arise from deep intellectual and political (with both a small and large “p”) conflicts. All too frequently, they are triggered by administrative and financial pressures that rupture the normal ties binding groups together. As they struggle to stay alive, communities sometimes turn to cannibalism. If we cannot put our own houses in order, a bulldozer awaits to raze the edifice. These troubles are

dreadfully difficult to avoid or negotiate; sometimes larger forces are just too powerful to ward off. Competition is often blamed for bad blood and destructive behavior—true enough. But frequently, the fault lies with us, in the culture we cultivate as groups and individuals. When the organizational and personal virtues of responsibility and civility are breached, everyone loses.

Responsibility and civility count as indispensable to professional and public life, and not only for historians. In their absence, no organization can thrive. As historians, and thus members of the same (metaphorical) guild, we acknowledge certain widely accepted conventions. Most of us have internalized a set of behaviors over time that, if we think in terms of labor, guide our production (scholarship), distribution (exhibitions, curation, library service, teaching, publication), and training (broadly defined). Those familiar with organizational life in its many guises realize that our associations should be “big tents” under which healthy dissent, disagreement, even controversy prosper. Squaring this particular circle is not easy: How do we encourage debate without giving license to abuse or allowing nastiness to gain the upper hand and become an organization’s common discourse? Put another way: What does responsibility look like in the context of historical organizations and associations? To whom are historians responsible?

When the organizational and personal virtues of responsibility and civility are breached, everyone loses.

First, we are responsible to our publics: to those who read our writings, visit our libraries, view our exhibitions, and sit in our classes. But we are also responsible to the other members of our guild—that is, to our colleagues, wherever

they live and work. Responsibility, in this instance, includes our participation in the normal business of scholarship that covers, but is not limited to, teaching and service at our respective institutions and workplaces. It also means, especially for tenured colleagues or those in secure positions outside the academy, a willingness to participate in review processes, mentor younger scholars and associates, and accept willingly (if not always cheerfully) the other duties necessary to running an organization. Before saying “no” to an assignment, it might be wise to think about who will get stuck with it instead. I find myself increasingly impatient with those who plead they are “just too busy” to shoulder a departmental or disciplinary chore, implying that someone else’s time is less valuable. For those of us who work in colleges and universities, this includes accepting the responsibility for writing book, article, and manuscript reviews; our colleagues depend on them, as do we. We are equally responsible for completing the tasks we undertake in a timely manner. *Everyone* gets overcommitted; being so is neither reason nor justification for breaking a promise. A responsibility accepted should not be shirked, barring unforeseen circumstances. I have repeatedly been faced with colleagues who agree to appear on a panel, run a workshop, or conduct a retreat before pulling out at the last moment; it happens with infuriating regularity, and when panels collapse, it is often junior colleagues who suffer.

A broader concept than merely  
“being nice,” civility or its lack can  
be observed in criticism.

The same accountability holds true for reviewing books, articles, and manuscripts; saying “yes” obliges you to deliver. I suspect that all of us remember a review we turned in horrendously late or not at all—no one is perfect—but the timely appearance of reviews can be of crucial importance to younger scholars. A punctual review not only stimulates intellectual discussion but can shape a career. Journal editors often complain that it is difficult to secure appropriate reviewers. “I don’t do reviews,” they hear, or, “there is no payoff for me; it won’t help me get tenure/a promotion/a raise.” However true those responses may be, reviews remain essential to preserving the health of the profession and assuring its intellectual honesty.

Civility is also a responsibility. A broader concept than merely “being nice,” civility or its lack can be observed in criticism. The phrase “constructive criticism” is used today almost ironically, suggesting that most criticism fails to meet the bare standard of being *constructive*. Reviews that

simply demolish a submission are neither civil nor useful, nor do they contribute much to intellectual conversation. Reviews and comments (at conferences, say) need not be anodyne, but hard-hitting criticism can be delivered with civility and constructive intent. Viciousness often speaks of a poverty of engagement or insight, or sheer laziness. Intellectual exchange is a *conversation*, an activity that’s hard to share with someone intent on abuse. Derogatory comments do not reveal great erudition or competence, but a paucity of both and a meanness of spirit.

There exists another kind of discourtesy that takes the form of snide dismissal or denigration of those whose opinions we do not share. This is often expressed in ways that are directed at people’s appearance, manners, choice of dress, or demeanor. Didn’t we learn better in the sandbox? Recent incidents have suggested the need for a reminder: the standards of behavior in a civil society value divergent opinions and encourage civil discussion. To circle back to my January column on building community: fulfilling one’s responsibilities and preserving civility even in tough situations remain essential to the creation and maintenance of community, without which no association can thrive, or even survive. And a little humility doesn’t hurt. **P**

*Mary Lindemann is president of the AHA.*



LAURA ANSLEY

# SINGULAR THEY

*Nonbinary Language in the Historical Community*

**W**ord nerds look forward every December to the announcement of Merriam-Webster's Word of the Year. Using lookups in their online dictionary, the M-W staff choose words that have shown a marked uptick in activity. This data led them to declare previous Words of the Year such as "bail-out" in 2008, "austerity" in 2010, and "feminism" in 2017. It's not hard to see how current events, politics, and culture influence these choices; the Great Recession hit in 2008 and endured into 2010, while the Women's March in 2017 rejuvenated discussions around the world about feminism and gender equality. In 2019, M-W declared that the Word of the Year was "they," reflecting an increase in usage of the word as a singular pronoun, with lookups nearly double the previous year.

For decades, Americans have been jettisoning gendered language from their vocabularies, embracing terminology

that can be used for any gender. In air travel, stewardesses have become flight attendants; restaurants now employ servers instead of waiters and waitresses; firefighters and police officers have replaced firemen and policemen in our communities. People question

how descriptors like "bossy" vs. "assertive" are applied based on gender.

But pronouns have been a sticky problem. As the dictionary's staff wrote in explaining their pick, "English famously lacks a gender-neutral singular

pronoun to correspond neatly with singular pronouns like everyone, someone, and anyone, and as a consequence 'they' has been used for this purpose for over 600 years." Writers as illustrious as Chaucer and Shakespeare wrote using the singular "they."



Nonbinary folks have tried in the past to adopt new pronouns, like “ze/zir” or “ze/hir.” But those never caught on widely the way that “they” has. The use of the singular “they” as a pronoun was added as a sense (“definition,” to the layperson) in M-W in September 2019: “used to refer to a single person whose gender identity is nonbinary.” For those who identify as nonbinary, gender nonconforming, or genderqueer, this change reflects and affirms their usage of the pronoun.

“At the end of the day, do I want to speak to the students that I teach or to academic historians who might not have the same investment in what this offers?” Manion asked.

Pronouns come up in all kinds of professional settings for historians. Many conferences, including the AHA annual meeting, now give attendees the option to identify their pronouns when registering and on their conference badges. Some choose to list their pronouns in email signatures or in social media bios,

making it easier to know how to address someone or talk about them in digital communications. These habits are now encouraged for trans- and cisgender people alike, as it normalizes the practice for all.

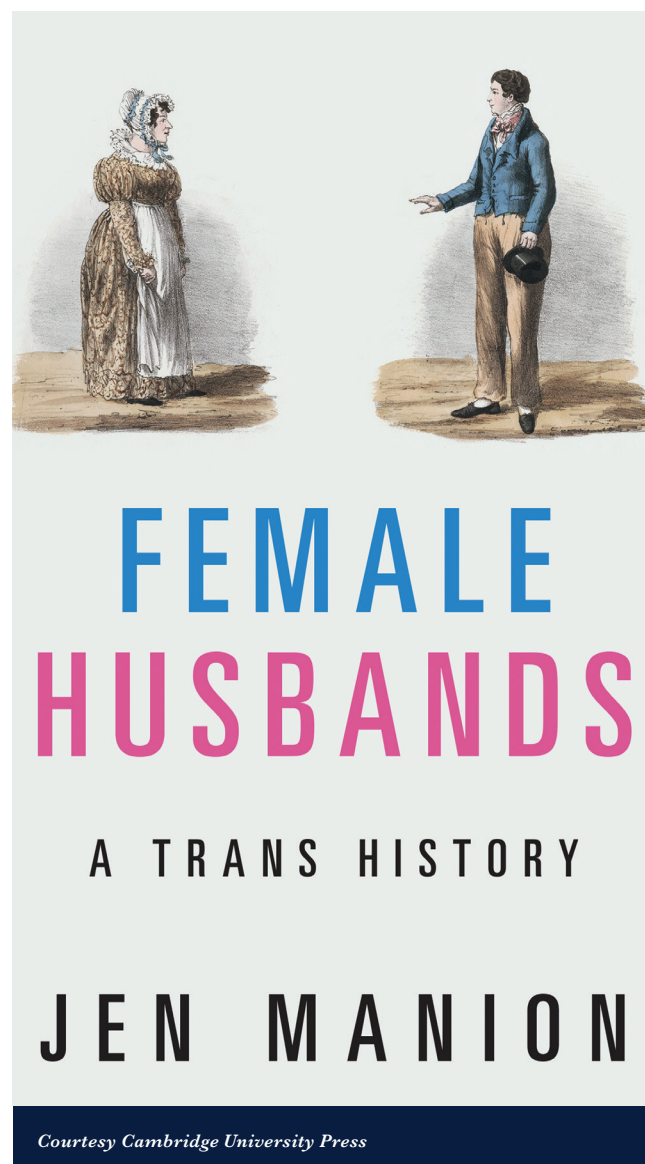
And now nonbinary language is making a splash in historical scholarship. In their new book *Female Husbands: A Trans History* (Cambridge Univ. Press), Jen Manion uses they/ them pronouns for the eponymous subjects. Covering the United Kingdom and United States from the mid-18th to the early 20th centuries, Manion tells the stories of people who were assigned female at birth who married women. Other historians have written about such relationships in the context of lesbian history, often assuming that the only way for two lesbians to be married was for one to live as a man. But Manion, by using a trans history methodology, has opened the door to interpreting these individuals as lesbians or trans—though they are careful not to apply the modern word “transgender” to these female husbands.

The use of nonbinary pronouns was baked into the project from the start. Manion told *Perspectives*, “When you think through the alternatives, nothing else makes sense.” Historians who have written about such cases in the past have used feminine pronouns to discuss the subject’s life as a child or young woman, switching to male pronouns after they began living as men. But

Manion was uncomfortable doing the same. “We can rarely identify the precise moment they began living as men, and the timing seemed arbitrary,” they said. In discussing trans people today, we do not use different gender pronouns for before and after transition; “to continue that practice in history is transphobic and not viable. It’s not accurate and it’s alienating to a community that deserves a history.” Using male pronouns throughout the subjects’ lives would also be

misleading. Some female husbands were married to men at other points in their lives, a time when using “he” would also seem to have been inaccurate. For Manion, “they” became the only clear choice.

With nonbinary language inherent to the project from the beginning, finding a publisher that accepted this decision was vital. Cambridge University Press was “100 percent amazing,” according to Manion. “I have had so many





pieces where editors have agreed to the nonbinary language, and then copy editors destroy it. They don't realize they're changing the whole meaning of the story." The editors at Cambridge "respected my language," and Manion could be less worried while reviewing the copy-edited manuscript that changed pronouns would sneak by.

## Discussions about about the best way for professors and teachers to discuss pronouns with students.

Colleagues too were mostly supportive of the language choice. But Manion was not daunted by those who questioned whether using nonbinary pronouns would make the project "dated" as language continues to develop. "At the end of the day, do I want to speak to the students that I teach or to academic historians who might not have the same investment in what this offers?" Manion asked. "If I have to choose and the pronoun issue is the dividing line, then I want to speak to young people who deserve a history." The addition of "they" as a singular pronoun to Merriam-Webster, the dictionary of choice for most US publishers, means that Manion's book won't seem dated anytime soon.

Pronouns come up in classroom settings too. Discussions abound about the best way for professors and teachers to discuss pronouns with students, and practices have rapidly shifted over the last decade.

Elizabeth Reis, professor at Macaulay Honors College, part of the CUNY system in New York City, has seen this shift occur across her two decades of teaching. Reis first began teaching transgender history in the late 1990s at the University of Oregon, when few were thinking to ask students about pronouns and when "probably 95 percent of the class didn't know what transgender even meant." But Reis found that these questions arose around 2005, when student groups at Oregon began asking event participants to identify themselves by name and pronoun.

Reis brought this practice to her class after witnessing it at a campus event. But she received immediate feedback from a trans student that the pronoun question put the student in a strange position. "I could see right away that she was uncomfortable with this," Reis told *Perspectives*. "And that's when it made me wonder if it was doing what I wanted it to do. As more and more trans and gender-nonconforming students are in class, does this exercise make them more or less comfortable? It was clear in this one instance that the student, who had just started transitioning and using a new name, was uncomfortable. I could feel

the student's embarrassment. And afterward, the student came up to say that though she was getting used to her new name, she wasn't ready for the pronoun question."

Ever since, Reis says, she has "wanted to make a space for people who want to say their pronouns, but not make students feel like they have to divulge." But it's a fine line, since she also doesn't want students to think that she doesn't care. So now she opens her first class with introductions, telling students they may clarify their pronouns publicly if they'd like. She does this in every class, not just transgender history or other gender studies courses.

Manion has also experimented with different ways of asking about pronouns in the classroom. "I don't think there's a one-size-fits-all model," Manion says. "It depends on the class size, the subject, the environment; it depends on you." Amherst now allows students to put pronouns into their internal data system, so pronouns appear on the printed roster alongside students' names. Instead of asking bluntly for introductions that include their names and pronouns, Manion now uses a prompt in the first week of class, asking students about a list of things that can help them feel supported, including pronouns.

Context matters, too. At their last institution, Manion also directed the LGBTQ Resource Center on campus, making them visible as an advocate

for LGBT students. But after moving to Amherst, "I was not known as that, and after I was here a year, I realized that that was missing. Students weren't necessarily assuming from the beginning that I was trans myself or trans affirming or an advocate. So I do introduce it, to signal its importance."

For some cisgender people, these issues may seem unimportant or irrelevant. But Manion reminds us, "Everyone has gender. This conversation often gets so focused on this one minority, but it's really just the latest conversation about this tremendous force that has always shaped our lives." **P**

*Laura Ansley is managing editor at the AHA. She tweets @lmansley.*

ELYSE MARTIN

# DEPORTATION NATION

*Writing the Hidden History of Immigrant Expulsion in the United States*

**A**fter Adam Goodman (Univ. of Illinois at Chicago) finished his bachelor's degree, he spent five years guiding students from underrepresented populations through the college admissions process, as well as teaching high school history on the United States–Mexico border, before starting a graduate program in history.

Once there, Goodman thought he might “pursue questions related to social policy and educational inequality, which,” as he told *Perspectives*, “I had studied and worked on in the past. But I became more and more drawn to immigration history and policy.” His work as a college recruiter and high school teacher meant seeing, up close, how immigration policies affected people’s lives on a daily basis and led him to the subject of his first book, *The Deportation Machine: America’s Long History of Expelling Immigrants* (Princeton Univ. Press).

In it, Goodman traces the long history of expulsion

and, as he writes, “exposes the various ways immigration authorities have forced, coerced, and scared people into leaving the United States from the late nineteenth century to the present.” The groundwork for the modern deportation machine came out of the anti-Chinese campaigns of the late 19th century, when the Gold Rush and transcontinental railroad increased demand for cheap labor. As early as 1830, writes Goodman, the popular press reflected anxieties about this new influx of immigrants being an unassimilable existential threat to white America. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 allowed the federal government to deport “any Chinese person found unlawfully within the United States,” and the 1885 Foran Act prohibited, as Goodman phrases it, “the importation of ‘alien contract labor,’ irrespective of country of origin.” Following this formal governmental intervention, many communities—particularly in the West—began informal “Chinese expulsion and self-deportation campaigns, relying on a combination of force and

coercion.” Though Asian immigrants were not the only ethnic group targeted by American nativist movements of the 19th century, the concerted efforts to force them out, by both public officials and private citizens, are a recognizable starting point for what Goodman identifies as the three primary mechanisms for expelling immigrants from the US: formal deportations, voluntary departures, and self-deportation campaigns.

Formal deportations are the most visible. They make the news and also comprise the bulk of scholarly research on this topic. However, as Goodman writes, “more than 90 percent of all expulsions throughout US history” have been through the euphemistically named “voluntary departure” and the equally euphemistic “self-deportation.” Voluntary departures result when immigration officials coerce arrested immigrants to leave the country before the process of a formal deportation trial. According to Goodman, voluntary departure “has inextricable connections to the history of large-scale

Mexican migration to the United States” after the Mexican-American War of 1846–48 and especially after the 1907 Gentleman’s Agreement between the US and Japan, which “put an end to significant labor migration from Asia.” Mexican and, later, South American labor became an often-exploited fixture in the US market. As labor rights movements gained prominence, one popular way to keep workers from unionizing was to have protesters or pro-union workers arrested, at which point immigration officials would convince them to leave the US rather than go to prison or to trial.

How do you write a history that has been deliberately obfuscated and erased?

“Self-deportation” refers to immigrants leaving as a result of social pressures, threats, concerted fear campaigns, boycotts, and violence by private citizens. A

good example of this is, in the late 19th century, the public reaction to the threat of “Yellow Peril,” in which private citizens created such an atmosphere of tension, distrust, and danger that workers were “warned out” of the United States and left the country without governmental intervention. However, these two “soft-power deportation mechanisms,” as Goodman phrased it in a conversation with *Perspectives*, “were not meant to be tracked” and were “meant to leave no trace as a cost-saving measure.”

These events pose a difficult question: How do you write a history that has been deliberately obfuscated and erased? When he was a third-year graduate student, Goodman says, “a senior scholar more or less [told] me that writing this history that I was proposing could not be done.” His first research visit to the Historical Research Branch of the Department of Homeland Security’s US Citizenship and Immigration Services was likewise discouraging. As he writes in the book, “despite the wealth of materials documenting the immigration service’s history, there were no records on voluntary departures, much less on self-deportations,” and “the available federal immigration records at the National Archives only cover the period up to March 1957.”

Goodman’s search was complicated further by the fact

that immigration history is, by definition, not confined to one specific place. He had to dive into archives scattered across the US and Mexico, often finding sources in obscure folders that didn’t seem to have anything to do with voluntary departure or self-deportation. (“For historians, archivists, librarians, and institutional historians certainly are our best friends,” Goodman says, crediting them for “invaluable assistance” over the 10-year course of the project.) He found other sources in a variety of unexpected places, including a storage unit in downtown Los Angeles, the office of a Boston legal aid organization, an unmarked warehouse in Mexico City, and the National Border Patrol Museum in El Paso, Texas.

Goodman’s experiences outside academia once again proved useful when he exhausted the archival sources. His experience as a freelance journalist for popular publications provided a skill set that not only helped him to track down every possible lead, but also to not get discouraged when the first approach didn’t pan out. “I learned to grow a thick skin very quickly,” Goodman told *Perspectives*. “I learned not to take ‘no’ for an answer. I accepted that people would turn me down, but I would just go to the next lead and the next possibility.”

Goodman also put his journalistic skills to use by conducting a number of oral histories. “I spoke with more than thirty people, conducting in-depth oral histories in

Chicago, Texas, California, and different parts of Mexico,” he says. “In addition to migrants and their family members, I spoke to union organizers, immigration lawyers, some immigration officials, and statisticians.” These interviews were vital, as many migrants’ experiences not only supplemented what Goodman had found in institutional records in traditional archives, but also provided entirely new information and new perspectives on well-known incidents and events. “Oral history provided another way to shed light on some of those experiences and to better understand how deportation affected people’s lives from their perspective.”

Though the book is focused on the state mechanisms used to force recent arrivals



Protesters march through Chicago in 2010 during a “Coming Out of the Shadows” rally.  
*Peter Holderness*



out of the US, Goodman takes pains to show, as he phrased it to *Perspectives*, “how people have fought back by identifying the machine’s weak points and pressing on them.” One of Goodman’s most surprising discoveries in the course of his research was “the ingenious strategies

Goodman’s experiences outside academia once again proved useful when he exhausted the archival sources.

that people developed and relied on to protest deportation. Just remaining silent and keeping your mouth shut became the best way to avoid deportation. Before databases were integrated and connected, there was no way for immigration officials to prove where someone was from, if they didn’t tell them where they were born and their country of citizenship.” Goodman also traces the rise of resistance to mass expulsion, with particular focus on grassroots organizations in the 1970s such as the Center for Autonomous Social Action-General Brotherhood of Workers (CASA), and ending with the current “mass solidarity movement” in which immigrants and their allies “have taken to the


streets, filed lawsuits, descended on airports to protest the Muslim ban, organized ‘Know Your Rights’ workshops and anti-deportation trainings, and pushed religious institutions, towns, and cities to declare themselves sanctuaries for undocumented people.”

Though the 2016 election both complicated Goodman’s work and spurred him on to finish the book, it also provided him with a different project in the field of immigration studies. At the 2016 Social Science History Association in Chicago, Goodman and other colleagues began “discussing ways in which we might be

able to contribute to public discussions and further public understanding of immigration history, at a time when the newly elected president had been doubling down and hammering home anti-immigrant rhetoric and the demonization of foreigners.” The resulting project is the #ImmigrationSyllabus, a 15-week course, featuring mostly publicly available online resources, that provides historical context for current debates over immigration, as well as bringing together key texts that helped shape the field. Goodman recommends it for those unfamiliar with immigration studies or seeking a way to teach this important contemporary

issue in historical context, “with the one caveat that it only goes up until January 2017, and a lot of really excellent work has come out in the last two years that we weren’t able to include.” Goodman says, “There are important debates to be had around these questions, and the immigration syllabus would be an excellent place for people to start,” particularly the ongoing debate on whether the United States is “a nation of immigrants or, perhaps, a deportation nation.” **P**

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DEVON REICH

## ADVOCACY BRIEFS

*Protecting Archives and Historical Sites*

**The American Historical Association sent several letters to both the United States National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) and the Government of the French Republic as archives at home and abroad face crises of censorship, preservation, and equitable access. In response to President Donald Trump's January threat to launch military strikes against Iran's cultural sites, the Association also issued a statement decrying the use of the world's historical sites in warfare.**

### Letter to NARA Regarding Alteration of Photograph

The American Historical Association resolutely objected to the alteration of a photograph on exhibition at the National Archives Museum. Addressing David S. Ferriero, Archivist of the United States, executive director James Grossman praised NARA for acknowledging this error in professionalism and judgment. However, urging a systemic review of practices, Grossman

articulated underlying concerns about the policies in place and the dangerous precedent of deliberately distorting the historical record.

### AHA Statement Condemning the Use of Historical Sites in Warfare

On January 21, the AHA Council issued a declaration condemning “the use of historical sites anywhere in the world as targets for destruction and as shields for protection,” reiterating that such actions violate international law. More than a dozen organizations have backed this refusal to allow vital cross-cultural and transnational histories to be used as political pawns in conflict.

### Letter of Concern about the Proposed Closure and Sale of the NARA Facility in Seattle

In late January, Grossman asked the Office of Management and Budget and Public Buildings Reform Board to defer their decision recommending the sale of the

National Archives and Records Administration facility in Seattle, Washington, until further consultation with agencies, academics, and other stakeholders can be conducted at length. The letter to Russell Vought, acting director of the Office of Management and Budget, emphasizes the importance of local access to the millions of records detailing the federal court histories of Alaska, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington, dating back nearly two centuries.

### Letter of Concern about Risks of NARA Policy Regarding Electronic Records

Grossman also wrote to Ferriero of the National Archives and Records Administration to address the organization's new policy that all federal agencies transition to digital management of the entirety of their permanent records by the end of 2022. While recognizing the long-term legitimacies of this electronic transition, cause for concern arises from the hasty timeline, lack of funding to complete this directive, and absence of an enforcement or implementation standard. The

AHA seriously cautions against overwhelming agencies with this undue and infeasible burden and recommends a more thorough study of the effects of this policy.

### AHA Sends Letter to French President Emmanuel Macron with Concerns about Unclear Procedures for Declassification of Archives

In response to nebulous declassification policy changes at Vincennes and elsewhere in France, Mary Lindemann sent her first advocacy letter as AHA president to French president Emmanuel Macron. Lindemann championed the right of students and scholars to have access to valuable primary source documents rendered largely inaccessible in light of the uncertain changes. The Association implores the French government to hone its procedures and timeline for declassification in a clear and concise manner that ensures continued access by all interested parties. **P**

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JOHN BROICH

## IF YOU CHARGE FACTS WITH BIAS, HISTORIANS ARE GUILTY

Recently, FoxNews.com described me as a “social justice warrior . . . reinterpreting [history] according to new progressive laws applied retroactively.” The Federalist.com, meanwhile, called my work “identity-politicized garbage.”

This followed a piece on the WashingtonPost.com in which I highlighted the paradox that, while Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill fiercely opposed the Nazis, they didn’t argue against the bedrock of Nazism itself: race supremacy. “The Allied leadership did not fight the war over fascist racial nationalism,” I wrote. “That was the historical path not taken.”

Was mine an anachronistic critique from ahistorical hindsight? No: there is plenty of evidence of Roosevelt and Churchill’s contemporaries who criticized Nazism as *Nazism*. African Americans did so, as did American and non-American Jews, a Palestinian veteran of the Spanish Civil War, and more. In other words, contemporaries offered grounds for “judging” Roosevelt and Churchill.

Not a provocative argument, it seemed to me, as a historian of 20th-century Britain. But it triggered quite a response. (One right-wing blogger even threatened me.) Why?

Intellectual historian Nils Gilman put the matter this way: “right-wingers

assume that professional historians approach the past from the same (e.g., primordially political) perspective as they do . . . therefore what they are doing is simply providing a corrective to the leftist political bias of the academy.” In the eyes of some on the political right, history is a zero-sum game whose goal consists of scoring more points than an opponent; it makes sense that they lash out when they think “the other side”—me, in this scenario—has indeed scored some.

Further, Gilman has described a movement unfolding amid the right that aims to create an alternative history, or “usable past.” Gilman calls this “a politically self-conscious project . . . central to their effort to roll back the twentieth century’s expansion of political inclusiveness, social tolerance, and the welfare state.” This alternative history can take the form of fantasies like Jonah Goldberg’s *Liberal Fascism*, which I’ve addressed elsewhere, or arguments that the Civil War wasn’t about the South’s right to enslave people, as in Donald Livingston’s *It Wasn’t About Slavery*.

Rightists claim that professional historians are leftist partisans making mere political fodder of history. Historians who point out that Athens was especially xenophobic and a slave state, for instance, are being anachronistic; those who draw attention to Lincoln’s support for deportation of

the formerly enslaved are engaging in “woke” moralizing; classicists who describe the ethnic diversity of Roman culture are ivory tower elitists.

Right-wing pundit Dinesh D’Souza has made a cottage industry of suggesting that a conspiracy exists among professional historians looking to paint the Democratic Party as, historically, the party of equal rights when, he claims, the Republican Party has a better claim to that mantel. (The overwhelming consensus among historians is that Democratic legislators and voters became pro-civil rights in roughly the middle of the 20th century.)

How should historians behave in response to an active movement aiming to paint them as partisans seeking points in a zero-sum game?

The right’s reaction to the *New York Times Magazine*’s 1619 Project is the most prominent recent case. The 1619 Project comprises a series of histories about how the deep roots of structural racism in the United States date to the arrival of kidnapped Africans in colonial Virginia. Some



professional historians, as they do with other serious public histories, have raised good-faith questions of interpretation in those pieces, in things like the relative weighing of evidence. Few, if any, have identified serious errors of data. But among conservative activists and politicians, the problem with the 1619 Project has been that it exists. History itself is the enemy, not interpretation, since they don't attack it on those grounds. The very act of doing it, in the words of Newt Gingrich, amounts to "propaganda." President Donald Trump, as only he can, has named it a "Racism Witch Hunt."

How should historians behave in response to an active movement

aiming to paint them as partisans seeking points in a zero-sum game?

First, we should state a few things loud and clear: we acknowledge that, in addressing right-wing productions of history and critics of professional history, we are engaging with people playing a game of trolls. There's no real debate going on, for many reasons: among them, we don't consider isolated, cherry-picked facts good history; we value complicated, multifaceted explanations; we overwhelmingly make our arguments in peer-reviewed venues. Further, right-wing critics of our discipline aren't actually debating us on the merits of our evidence or reasoning. In the example of my piece about

Churchill's and Roosevelt's positions on racial supremacy, right-wing pundits didn't actually debate the argument I made; they simply saw an opportunity to write, "Left-wing pinhead attacks the Greatest Generation!"

We should also be honest in admitting that we haven't always done a great job making the case for why a broad public, beyond the pugilists, should consider us the opposite of the D'Souzas and Charlie Kirks. Let's at least start explaining, perhaps beginning with our students and other publics, how our systems of training and professional assessment subject our methods and judgments to comprehensive and seemingly countless



After an op-ed about Franklin D. Roosevelt (left) and Winston Churchill, John Broich faced intense backlash.  
*Franklin D. Roosevelt Library Public Domain Photographs, 1882–1962, National Archives and Records Administration, 195419.*

reviews. Let us clarify, in a non-pedantic way, how our professional norms reward us for sharply scrutinizing one another's work. The fact is, we gain professional kudos among ourselves for spotting shoddy reasoning, poor-quality evidence, and so on. Still, the fact that our professional norms punish unsupported arguments won't convince those playing for points, since they believe we're all involved in a vast left-wing conspiracy to disseminate lies.

We must  
acknowledge that  
our many efforts at  
public outreach can  
only reach those  
willing to listen.

We must acknowledge that our many efforts at public outreach can only reach those willing to listen. Consumers of right-wing productions of history are interested exclusively in cheering on their side. We can indeed “dunk on D’Souza,” as the saying goes on Twitter, as a means of teaching good history along the way. But we’re not convincing people who were never interested in good history to begin with. We should also acknowledge that trolls benefit from the attention we give them, pointing to our engagement as proof that they’re getting under our skin, and that if they’re getting under our skin, they must be threatening our conspiracy. Sadly, and dangerously, some of those people are state legislators, who can hurt state university budgets or pass anti-free-speech laws.

Finally, let’s start talking—out loud, in our professional magazine—about how we’ve been *made* partisan.

Customarily, ours is not work that encourages us to support one party or another; to do so would invite a searing scrutiny of our sources, methods, and judgments by our own community. But today’s Republican partisans do, *should*, find a natural enemy in us. There’s no point denying it.

As a profession, we’re committed to arguing from the best evidence, to following that evidence wherever it leads—even to uncomfortable, politically inconvenient, unremunerative places, to complicated stories and shades of gray. Conservatives themselves, from Bruce Bartlett to Max Boot to Peter Wehner, argue that the Republican Party has abandoned deductive logic from the best evidence.

Further, historians don’t argue from claims about human nature (which we know are made in history) or from essentialist claims about “race” (also made in history). We don’t require “balanced perspectives” if the evidence doesn’t provide a case for balance. (We don’t balance out our descriptions of Nazis as monstrous with descriptions of Nazis as very fine people.) And by operating strictly in the reality-based world of drawing complicated conclusions from abundant, quality evidence, we’re often led into unflattering histories of nationalism, and nativism, and the sort of racism that digs deep, multigenerational roots into institutions.

Sure, it’s happened before that people with political motivations have found good history to be their political enemy. So too with science. But since Goldwater’s life-or-death “paranoid style” through Karl Rove’s mocking of the “reality-based community,” and accelerating with Trumpism, the practices of history have become

anathema to right-wing politics as never before. Let’s face it: history is “partisan” against a party that’s anti-history. **P**

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RACHEL FEINMARK

# MAJOR PROPOSALS

*Marketing the History BA*

At the 2020 annual meeting, faculty came together to discuss how to convince students that a history major can teach valuable skills and lead to a variety of career paths after graduation.

*George Washington University/Flickr/CC BY-NC 2.0*



WHILE THE 2008 recession led to declines in all liberal arts majors, history was hit particularly hard: according to the most recent AHA history majors report, between 2011 and 2017, the number of history majors dropped by almost 30 percent. As students turn to majors that offer clear career paths and lucrative starting salaries, articulating the value of the history major has become more important than ever before. As the latest opportunity to share successes and explore new ideas, the “Marketing the History Major” session at the 2020 AHA annual meeting drew on the experiences of four departments to suggest new directions for recruitment and retention.

Chaired by Paul Deslandes (Univ. of Vermont), the panel featured Elizabeth Drummond, chair of the history department at Loyola Marymount University (LMU); Sarah Olzawski, a senior academic counselor at the University of Oklahoma (OU); Darien Davis, chair of the history department at Middlebury College; and Justin Behrend, chair of the history department at SUNY Geneseo. Despite their institutional differences, the panelists identified similar difficulties and solutions. The panel’s concerns closely mirrored the larger trends identified by the AHA: changes in general education requirements; students seeking clear pathways to employment; and increasing institutional focus on science, technology, and health programs. As the past decade has shown, when students enter college with a laser focus on an immediately lucrative career, the humanities often suffer.

Panelists noted that changes in general education requirements often mean that fewer students are required to take meaningful history courses. As general introductions to the humanities or social sciences have replaced specific history surveys, and upper-level history courses have fulfilled fewer distribution requirements, undeclared students lost opportunities to become familiar with the discipline and the department. Similarly, AP credits pose a significant challenge: when motivated and capable students are excused from introductory courses, they often do not meet faculty or attend events that showcase a major in history as a viable option. The panelists agreed that it is time to stop relying on general education surveys as a cornerstone of recruitment, and to seek alternative ways to introduce students to the major. Their success stories offered several areas of focus for departments seeking to increase their numbers: communicating the relevancy and value of a history degree, using quantitative and qualitative data to understand what students want and need, and creating a departmental culture that is welcoming and engaging.

Their departments found significant success in raising their profiles through concerted efforts to market the major using

printed materials and revamped public program offerings. LMU introduced “Historians in the Headlines,” well-attended conversations on history and current events, in order to diversify their public programming. Rather than relying on a traditional, single-speaker seminar model, the series places historians in conversation to show undergraduate attendees how historical interpretations are built and contested. Additionally, programs reached beyond the university audience with “free history lessons” that invited the local community to experience the department’s work. Geneseo created a series of workshops for local history teachers, many of whom are alumni, with the added bonus of raising the department’s profile in the local high schools.

It is time to stop relying on general education surveys as a cornerstone of recruitment, and to seek alternative ways to introduce students to the major.

Posters and postcards have been successful in multiple departments. Drummond noted that placement of such materials was key, crediting postcards placed in admissions and advising offices with piquing the interest of undecided students. With a side-by-side comparison of materials created by the administration and a poster designed by a team of undergraduate students at Middlebury, Davis made a compelling case for the use of student-generated materials to add character and visual appeal to marketing efforts. Successful content innovations included suggestions for pairing the history minor with complementary majors; ideas about how to pair history with a variety of popular, career-driven majors; and even offers of special advising on how to complete history requirements alongside STEM classes.

Ultimately, panelists reported that the most effective way to communicate the value of a history degree was by helping students and their parents understand the wide variety of careers open to history graduates. One way this is done is by shifting or repackaging the curriculum to offer more obvious career-related content. Drummond spoke of how her department shifted major requirements into specialized tracks—public and applied history; law, politics, and society; global economies, encounters, and exchange; race, gender, and culture; and environment, science, and technology. Davis described Middlebury’s shift from requiring a junior and senior thesis to a single junior requirement paired with senior seminars in areas including public and digital history.

He also shared his department's plans for a STEM history track, which has attracted interest from the college development department, as well as undeclared students and double majors.

Departments also drew on their alumni, showcasing the diversity of careers available to history graduates. Behrend described a successful pamphlet on alumni career paths created through a survey on the department's Facebook page. LMU hosts a series of alumni events, including an alumni-staffed career night during parents' weekend. Middlebury's student-written blog includes interviews with alumni and the various paths they have explored.

### Once new history majors are recruited, how do you retain them?

Olzawski spoke about a very different approach to recruitment, describing the successful program she spearheads to attract students who felt pressured to enter college with business, science, and technical majors, but retained a love of history. Drawing on departmental and university data, she initiates conversations with the nearly 300 students at any given time who are at risk of failing their business or STEM major requirements, and who have taken more than one history class. Thanks to these emails and one-on-one advising, OU's history department has seen significant growth in the major from upper-class students who have changed majors; nearly 20 percent of OU's history graduates entered college with a STEM or business major. While some audience members raised concerns that this might be seen as "major poaching" at their institutions, Olzawski explained that the business and STEM departments were not upset to lose students who seemed unlikely to pass major requirements.

Once new history majors are recruited, how do you retain them? Panelists agreed that the key was to create a sense of community and belonging among majors' cohorts both inside and outside the classroom. At Geneseo, Behrend created a one-credit pass/fail introduction to the major that allows first-year students to interact with the department chair and full-time faculty, visit the library and archives, review study skills, and explore the breadth of the department's offerings. In offering students the opportunity to get to know each other and the department, as well as by shifting the bulk of intro-level classes to full-time faculty, Geneseo has stabilized retention of declared majors. In order to combat the anonymity of a large university, OU began offering a series of "majors only" classes. LMU and Middlebury built what Drummond called "activist cores" of students:

departmental ambassadors who worked (sometimes for pay) to represent the department at majors fairs, create marketing material, do outreach to student affinity groups, and host low-stakes student events like pizza and history Jeopardy. Panelists encouraged thinking outside the box to create positive cohort experiences. In response, an audience member helpfully shared her department's approach at Catholic University: a senior thesis submission party in which students literally "run the gauntlet" of the research and writing steps they followed to reach the thesis finish line, offer a fun fact from their research, and receive a medal. After several years of this celebration, she noted, students now invite friends to watch what's become a signature event of the department and a source of pride for majors.

The greatest barrier identified by both panelists and audience questions was support for marketing and retention efforts beyond the work of the department chair. The panelists discussed faculty buy-in as a two-pronged process; while most chairs admitted that they had taken on the bulk of the marketing work themselves, they all spoke about the importance of building support among their faculty by emphasizing the connection between enrollment numbers and the vitality of the department and creation of tenure lines. But panelists also pointed out the importance of creating a new narrative about the humanities in the wider campus community, especially to combat myths about employability. Ensuring that the entire institution, from admissions to health sciences departments, acknowledges the utility and complexity of history is a key step in raising the major's profile.

The effects of such efforts go beyond an increase in student numbers. These changes have reshaped the way departments interact with administrators and colleagues—development departments become more interested in innovative history-major tracks and outreach, departments are able to make more coherent cases for new tenure lines, and strong history departments are able to reach out to allied departments to increase the profile of the humanities more generally within the school. Together, the success stories shared by the panel and the audience offered attendees some direction for what to try next, and contributed to a growing and important conversation across the discipline about how to make the history major more relevant and appealing at a time when the world is in dire need of college graduates with history skills. **P**

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SALLY HADDEN

# ADVISING GRADUATE STUDENTS ABOUT CAREER DIVERSITY

*A Primer for the DGS*



Preparing graduate students for diverse career paths requires a team effort from faculty, university services, alumni, and others who can help students create a roadmap for the future.

*Brian Grogan/Historic American Engineering Record/Library of Congress. Image cropped.*



**I**N 2018, I became the director of graduate studies (DGS) in my department, charged with providing academic and career-related guidance to graduate students in history at Western Michigan University (WMU). My job runs in tandem with our department's Graduate Studies Committee and with the supervising professors of individual graduate students—we all advise students at different stages of graduate education. In fairly short order, I realized that while I knew basic kinds of advice to give graduates entering the academic job market, I was less prepared to assist students seeking other career options. What did I know about career diversity? I've not held a full-time job outside of the academy since the 1990s, short-term consulting gigs aside. Realizing that my situation is not unlike that of most professors at colleges and universities across the United States prompted this question: How can we offer informed guidance about job markets with which we ourselves have little experience?

Having now served the graduate students at WMU for more than a year, I have assembled a few provisional answers to this increasingly pressing question. There are a number of ways for DGSs to learn about diverse career options for those they advise: doing research, leveraging the experiences of colleagues and alumni, calling upon an institution's full range of services, using the AHA website, and attending sessions at the AHA's annual meeting.

### How can we offer informed guidance about job markets with which we ourselves have little experience?

I turned first to the library and the internet for information. Leonard Cassuto has written numerous columns for the *Chronicle of Higher Education* that make the case for career-diverse training in graduate schools at every stage. Joseph Fruscione and Kelly Baker's book, *Succeeding Outside the Academy*, includes first-person accounts of how young scholars launched non-academy-focused careers. Susan Basalla, Jennifer Brown Urban, and Miriam Linvir have each written books on making the leap to consulting, publishing, and other jobs. Finding the careers that align best with an individual graduate student's interests led me to Beth Seltzer's column on the Modern Language Association's skills and preferences assessment tool, which pinpoints the specific tasks graduate students enjoy and the skills they've acquired, making it easier to identify suitable nonacademic jobs. A similar assessment tool, ImaginePhD, helps graduate students align their skills with potential careers (more on that later). Back

issues of *Perspectives* reminded me that the AHA has an ongoing column detailing "Career Paths" of people with history graduate degrees and that career diversity has recently been a major topic of conversation in the magazine.

Next, I turned to department colleagues and alumni to learn about their experiences outside of academia, drawing on CVs and personal information to find the people best equipped to offer job-seeking advice. Not surprisingly, our public historians had a wide range of nonacademic experiences: writing cultural resource management reports for the government or private clients, working for humanities councils, producing history documentaries, leading environmental heritage groups or museums, and holding leadership posts in state history organizations. My mental Rolodex was filling up with exciting job possibilities and people who could tell graduate students about them. But our public historians were hardly alone. My colleagues have been educational tour leaders, university administrators with experience in assessment or online education, foreign language school instructors, and developers for educational testing firms. The deeper I dove, the more I uncovered. And our network of alumni offered further links to a wide range of history-related jobs.

Preparing soon-to-be-graduates for jobs beyond the academy is a task well-suited to other university units as well. Résumé and interview workshops, tutorials on LinkedIn, preparing for informational interviews—these are the bread and butter of our Career Services center. To hone their abilities with software, graduate students may take seminars at the Faculty Development Center on Microsoft Sway, Microsoft Flow, Cisco's Webex Meetings, and other business-ready applications. The Office of Diversity and Inclusion runs learning communities focused on race, gender, and more, while teaching participants to communicate effectively about difficult subjects—a competency that many employers find desirable. In addition, our Graduate College subscribes to Versatile PhD, a service that helps ABDs and PhDs translate academic chops into job-ready skills.

The AHA's website contains an entire section devoted to Career Diversity for Historians, with useful guides for graduate students considering their career options. The Career Contacts program facilitates informational interviews, the What I Do video series includes historians discussing their work beyond the academy, and vast data sets describe the jobs recent PhDs have taken in a host of industries.

These resources can increase the effectiveness of a DGS who needs more information for career-diverse advising, but I also suggest attending the AHA's annual meeting to become even

more knowledgeable. The resources vary year by year, but the offerings on career options and advising present a rich smorgasbord for the DGS seeking new material.

At the 2019 AHA annual meeting in Chicago, for instance, I heard from colleagues at the DGS luncheon about the advice they offer job-hunting students. At the Career Fair, I spoke with representatives of the independent (private secondary) school market, foundations and nonprofits that hire historians, copy editors and acquisition editors at for-profit and nonprofit publishing houses, and companies specializing in data analytics and test design.

Just this past January, at the 2020 AHA annual meeting in New York City, I attended sessions on historical consulting, careers in publishing, alumni relations, and a particularly informative session, Implementing Career Diversity in Your Department. Each speaker at this session had much to share, but I'd like to highlight a few specifics. Melissa Bingmann discussed the West Virginia University alumni-in-residence program, modeled on a similar pilot project at the University of New Mexico. These programs bring in MA and PhD alumni for multi-day campus visits. The alumni speak to classes, host workshops, give presentations, and offer one-on-one meetings with current graduate students about the work they do outside the academy. In return, alumni enjoy the use of offices, library and parking privileges, and time to advance projects that their current work schedules might not allow.

At the same session, Pat Mooney-Melvin (Loyola Univ. Chicago) focused on integrating diverse career pathways into everything from recruitment literature to new student orientation, making clear that waiting until the end of graduate school to mention career diversity is a mistake. Mooney-Melvin shared her department's "stepping stones" documents, which describe the course requirements and professional-development steps that graduate students take at each stage in their education. Among these steps, graduate students create individual development plans, comparable to those in STEM fields, which help students to identify goals, improve skills, and develop action plans to advance toward their career after graduate school, inside or outside the academy. In a similar vein, Lorena Oropeza (Univ. of California, Davis) discussed "career mapping," a sort of roadmap through student coursework, crossed with suggestions for when to develop new skills and take actions to enhance career diversity (e.g., "this could be a good year for an internship" or "contact Versatile PhD and take a skills assessment").

Helpful advice at the annual meeting was provided not only by panelists. During the same Career Diversity session,

Derek Attig (Univ. of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign) spoke from the audience about the Graduate Career Consortium, whose members write "Carpe Careers" columns on job seeking for *Inside Higher Ed*. The GCC hosts an annual conference on best practices in graduate career development and diversity advising, as well as supporting ImaginePhD, a free online tool that allows graduate students in the humanities and social sciences to create individual development plans while exploring a range of nonacademic careers. ImaginePhD has had nearly 15,000 users since it first launched in October 2017.

The offerings on career options and advising at the AHA annual meeting present a rich smorgasbord for the DGS seeking new material.

Speakers repeatedly noted two key limitations during these career diversity panels: the need to enhance student buy-in for activities that may expand their career options, and the problem of sustainability to support career diversity, especially in an era of faculty downsizing. Students entering graduate school do not always want careers beyond the academy, even if they know that nearly one-third of recent history PhDs are not standing in university classrooms. Developing skills useful beyond the academy can be seen as "wasting time" or "not for me." Changing that attitude is critical. Meanwhile, faculty who support career diversity as well as the DGSs who mentor students on careers outside the academy through workshops, counseling, and other initiatives increase their own workload. The majority of the Implementing Career Diversity panelists were women faculty, all of whom acknowledged that this service work falls disproportionately upon women, minorities, and junior faculty. The task must fall more equitably upon every faculty member. Keeping these cautions in mind, the forward-thinking DGS can find many methods to prepare history graduate students for careers in a rapidly changing landscape. **P**

*Sally Hadden is associate professor and director of graduate studies in the department of history at Western Michigan University.*

ALEX LICHTENSTEIN

## AGE AS A CATEGORY OF HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

*In the April Issue of the American Historical Review*

By far the most cited article in the *American Historical Review* over the past three decades has been Joan W. Scott's groundbreaking essay "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." The April 2020 issue features a similar attempt to elevate a ubiquitous yet overlooked aspect of human life to categorical status. **Nicholas Syrett** (Univ. of Kansas) and **Corinne Field** (Univ. of Virginia) have organized the roundtable "Chronological Age: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," documenting how "age" as recorded in archival documents is not a transparent fact, but the artifact of a historical process through which a socially constructed category is imposed upon individual lives, a categorical tool that justified granting rights and opportunities to some while excluding others.

Collectively, the roundtable examines the protean conceptualization and operation of "chronological age" in a variety of historical moments and geographic areas. In her sweeping essay "Old Age in European Cultures: A Significant Presence from Antiquity to the Present," **Pat Thane** (Kings Coll. London) offers a reminder that old age is not an exclusively modern condition, and that the shifting historical experience of the aged deserves more attention from scholars. Considering the other end of the age spectrum, **Ishita Pande**'s (Queen's Univ.) "Power, Knowledge, and the Epistemic Contract on Age: The Case of Colonial India" scrutinizes the implementation of age-of-consent legislation in high courts across colonial India. **Corrie Decker** (Univ. of California, Davis) provides another essay on the gendered reconfiguration of the meaning of age in the colonial context. In "A Feminist Methodology of Age Grading and History in Africa," Decker shows that while precolonial African societies assessed age in relative terms (juniors versus seniors), colonial authorities expanded the legal importance of chronological age. Faced with two incommensurable systems for understanding life stages, African women found new ways to assert a sense of generational belonging and new definitions of maturity.

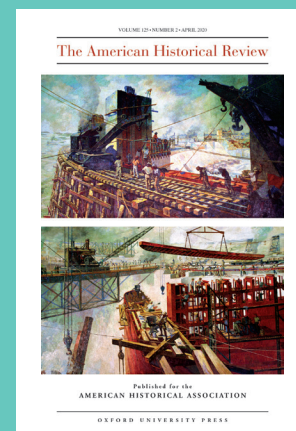
**Bianca Premo** (Florida International Univ.), in "Meticulous Imprecision: Calculating Age in Colonial Spanish American Law," argues that indigenous, enslaved, and property-less individuals in Spain's American colonies multiplied privileges based on age calculations that proved situational rather than numerically exact. The ages that Spanish American officials set down on paper in criminal trials, censuses, and freedom suits derived from complicated cultural equations; Premo contends that age proved a critical guarantee of rights, a language colonial subjects could use to turn legal incapacities into beneficial protections.

Chronological age is not a neutral fact, but a vector of power.

The three remaining essays in the roundtable shift attention to the modern era. In "A Man at Twenty, Over the Hill at Twenty-Five: The Conscription Exam Age in Japan," **Say-aka Chatani** (National Univ. of Singapore) explores the connections between age and military conscription in post-Meiji Japan. The universal norm of conscription at age 20 unsettled the rhythms of rural life and redefined the meanings of masculinity and adulthood for people far beyond those drafted into the army, Chatani argues, translating flexible life stages into a fixed calendar age. The state insured that the cultural and discursive power of "age" became a form of authoritative power that lay beyond negotiation. In the 20th century, such mandated definitions of maturity took on a supra-national character. In "The Moral Hierarchies of Age Standards: The UN Debates a Common Minimum Marriage Age, 1951–1962," **Ashwini Tambe** (Univ. of Maryland) examines the United Nations' efforts to consider a universal minimum age of consent for marriage. This involved a series of tense deliberations, as former colonial powers framed early and forced marriage in newly independent states as forms of slavery. Debates about a universal marriage age came to mark differences between imperial powers and decolonizing nations, Tambe argues.



The mural panels featured on the cover of the April issue depict the construction of the Gatun Dam spillway and a partially completed lock gate on the Panama Canal. They are part of a series of murals painted by New York artist William B. Van Ingen and installed in the rotunda of the Panama Canal Administration Building in Balboa in 1915. In “The Global Politics of Anti-Racism: A View from the Canal Zone,” Rebecca Herman shows how efforts to erode racial barriers among canal workers during and after World War II operated within a new framework for challenging a global order grounded in racialized notions of fitness for self-government. At the same time, she argues, leaders from the “Global South” who adopted anti-racist rhetoric to challenge their disadvantaged position in the international sphere could also sustain racial hierarchy at home. Anti-racist struggles within Panama and the Canal Zone mapped onto the anti-imperialist project of a nevertheless persistently racist Panamanian state. Images used with permission of the Panama Canal Authority.



Finally, Field and Syrett make their own contribution to the roundtable with “Age and the Construction of Gendered and Raced Citizenship in the United States.” Focusing on the postbellum United States, they argue that the state relied upon age to reinforce inequalities rooted in female dependence and chattel slavery. Congress denied equal benefits to the families of black Civil War soldiers because they lacked adequate proof of age. Postbellum legal majority differentiated between men and women, shoring up gender inequality even as women gained new rights and opportunities. Chronological age, Field and Syrett conclude forcefully, is not a neutral fact, but a vector of power through which officials and ordinary people construct and contest the boundaries of citizenship and belonging. This central point is common to all the essays in the roundtable.

In addition to the roundtable, the April issue includes an article by **Rebecca Herman** (Univ. of California, Berkeley), “The Global Politics of Anti-Racism: A View from the Canal Zone.” During World War II, leaders of “non-white” countries gained a new framework for challenging a global order grounded in racialized notions of fitness for self-government. At the same time, leaders who adopted anti-racist rhetoric to challenge their disadvantaged position in the international sphere were sometimes architects of racial hierarchy at home. Herman shows how anti-racist struggles within Panama and the Canal Zone mapped onto the anti-imperialist project of a still-racist Panamanian state. Foregrounding Latin America in a history of global anti-racism, Herman contends, can disrupt a binary vision of a world divided between colonizers and colonized, a racist Global North and an anti-racist Global South. The view from the Canal Zone reveals the interplay between anti-imperialist challenges to global racism and local struggles for racial equality.

Two other features should be of wide interest. In 2017, Adel Manna (Van Leer Jerusalem Institute) published *Nakba and Survival: The Story of the Palestinians Who Remained in Haifa and the Galilee, 1948–1956* in Hebrew and Arabic. The *AHR* asked four scholars of Israeli and Palestinian history—**Orit Bashkin** (Univ. of Chicago), **Leena Dallasheh** (Humboldt State Univ.), **Maha Nassar** (Univ. of Arizona), and **Ahmad H. Sa’di** (Ben Gurion Univ.)—to review it, making scholarly appraisals of the book widely available in English.

Finally, the April issue includes a vigorous exchange about the methodological presuppositions of historians working within the field of Native American and Indigenous Studies (NAIS). In a review of two recent books, *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip’s War* by Lisa Brooks and *Memory Lands: King Philip’s War and the Place of Violence in the Northeast* by Christine DeLucia, **David Silverman** (George Washington Univ.) claims that these historians, and NAIS scholars in general, are overly credulous in their reliance on indigenous sources and narratives and overly skeptical or critical of those produced by the colonizers. **DeLucia**, **Philip Deloria** (Harvard Univ.), **Alyssa Mt. Pleasant** (Univ. at Buffalo), and **Jean O’Brien** (Univ. of Minnesota) respond, defending the field’s methods and governing assumptions. The hope is that readers, whatever their views on this question, the books under review, or the field of NAIS more generally, will find this a productive and illuminating exchange. **P**

*Alex Lichtenstein is editor of the American Historical Review.*

COMPILED BY LIZ TOWNSEND

## 2020 AHA NOMINATIONS

The Nominating Committee for 2020–21, chaired by Carin Berkowitz (New Jersey Council for the Humanities), met in Washington, DC, on February 7 and offers the following candidates for offices of the Association that are to be filled in the election this year. Voting by AHA members will begin June 1.

### President

**Jacqueline Jones**, University of Texas at Austin (Ellen C. Temple Chair, Mastin Gentry White Professor, and chair; US labor/African American/southern/women)

### President-elect

**James H. Sweet**, University of Wisconsin–Madison (professor; Africa, African diaspora, Brazil)

**Anand A. Yang**, University of Washington (Walker Family Endowed Professor; comparative colonialisms, modern Asia, South Asia, world)

### Research Division

#### Vice President

**Randy J. Sparks**, Tulane University (professor; Atlantic world, US South, American religious)

**Ben Vinson III**, Case Western Reserve University (Hiram C. Haydn Professor and provost; African diaspora, colonial Mexico)

#### Councilor

**Anita Guerrini**, Oregon State University (professor emerita; early modern life science and medicine, history and ecological restoration)

**Pernille Røge**, University of Pittsburgh (assistant professor; 18th-century France and French empire, political economy)

### Professional Division

#### Councilor

**Derek Attig**, University of Illinois, Urbana–Champaign (director of career development; bookmobiles, graduate education)

**Simon Finger**, College of New Jersey (adjunct professor; American colonial to early republic, medicine, maritime, labor)

### Teaching Division

#### Councilor

**Matthew MacLean**, Brooklyn Technical High School (social studies teacher; modern Middle East)

**Katharina Matro**, Stone Ridge School of the Sacred Heart (history and economics teacher; modern central and eastern Europe)

### At Large

#### Councilor

**Christine Cook**, Wayne State University (PhD candidate; women in military, US since 1877, world, gender/sexuality/women)

**Sherri Sheu**, University of Colorado, Boulder (PhD candidate; modern US, environmental)

### Committee on Committees

**Darién J. Davis**, Middlebury College (professor and chair; Afro-Latin America, Brazil, migration and diaspora studies, human rights)

**Leo J. Garofalo**, Connecticut College (associate professor and chair; colonial Andean cities and markets, Afro-Iberians and African diaspora)



Seattle Municipal Archives/Flickr/CC BY 2.0

## Nominating Committee

### Slot 1

**Amy M. Froide**, University of Maryland, Baltimore County (professor and chair; female investors and single women, Britain 1500–1800)

**Matthew P. Romaniello**, Weber State University (associate professor; Russia and eastern Europe, commodities, medicine, world)

### Slot 2

**Kent Blansett**, University of Nebraska, Omaha (associate professor; Native American studies)

**Sharlene Sinegal-DeCuir**, Xavier University of Louisiana (associate professor; African American, New Orleans)

### Slot 3

**Lincoln Bramwell**, USDA Forest Service (chief historian; environmental, US West, public history)

**Beatrice Gurwitz**, National Humanities Alliance (deputy director; Latin American/Jewish history, higher education policy, public humanities)

Nominations may also be made by petition; each petition must carry the signatures of 100 or more members of the Association in good standing and indicate the particular vacancy for which the nomination is intended. Nominations by petition must be in the hands of the Nominating Committee on or before May 1 and should be sent to the AHA office at 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003. All nominations must be accompanied by certification of willingness of the nominee to serve if elected. In distributing the annual ballot to the members of the Association, the Nominating Committee shall present and identify such candidates nominated by petition along with its own candidates. [P](#)

*Liz Townsend is manager, data administration and integrity at the AHA and the staff member for the Nominating Committee.*

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## Simeon J. Crowther

1943–2019

Historian of American economics

Simeon J. Crowther, a leader in the effort to expand the role of teaching in the activities of the AHA, died on November 14, 2019, in Seal Beach, California. A member of the economics department at California State University, Long Beach (CSULB), Sim was a specialist in the economic history of 18th-century America. He was a central figure in university professors' movement to improve the teaching of history in schools.

Born in 1943 in North Sydney, Nova Scotia, Sim grew up in the town of Willows in northern California. He received his bachelor's degree at the University of Oregon and his doctorate at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1968, he became assistant professor of economics at CSULB, and in 1973, he won a fellowship at Harvard University. His publications include "The Shipbuilding Output of the Delaware Valley, 1722–1776" in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (1973) and "Urban Growth in the Mid-Atlantic States, 1785–1850" in the *Journal of Economic History* (1976).

A meeting of remembrance held on December 7, 2019, on the CSULB campus drew 75 people from his family and a variety of disciplines at the university. Sim's career at CSULB included a number of administrative positions: he served as chair of both the economics and finance departments, dean of the School of Social and Behavioral Sciences, and interim vice president for academic affairs. During the 1970s and 1980s, harsh tensions between faculty and administration at CSULB posed a significant challenge to leadership. Crowther's ability to maintain good relations with colleagues from many departments enabled him to contribute creatively to administrative matters for an unusually long period of time. In retirement, he wrote a manuscript on faculty experience during the rapid growth of the California State University system in the 1950s.

Sim also played an important role in the process whereby teaching gradually became a major concern of the AHA. In 1978, he joined the board of *The History Teacher*, the

quarterly journal that began at the University of Notre Dame in 1967 and moved to CSULB in 1972. In 1978, Crowther joined the board of the Society for History Education (SHE), which published *The History Teacher* and played a major role in encouraging the AHA to rethink its goals to include the teaching of history. Crowther became SHE's president in 1988 and worked closely with the growing number of historians who were developing programs on their campuses to work with history teachers. He presided over SHE's national board and its journal, which met during the annual meetings of the AHA. He also arranged informal get-togethers for historians who were working with local teachers. Sim played a central role in helping *The History Teacher* flourish at a time when many scholarly periodicals were encountering major difficulties. In 2003, he passed on the presidency of SHE to Troy Johnson, professor of history and American Indian studies at CSULB.

Sim is survived by his wife, Sara Waggenger Smith, professor emerita in psychology and linguistics at CSULB; his daughter, Kathleen Crowther, associate professor in history of science at the University of Oklahoma; his son, John Charles Crowther; and five grandchildren.

William Weber  
*California State University, Long Beach*

*Photo courtesy Sara Waggenger Smith*



## A. Hunter Dupree

1921–2019

Historian of science  
and technology;  
AHA 50-Year Member

A. Hunter Dupree, an AHA member since 1946, died peacefully at home in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on November 30, 2019. Born in Hillsboro, Texas, on January 29, 1921, Hunter was the son of George Washington and Sarah Anderson Hunter Dupree, both first-generation university graduates. He was raised in Lubbock and attended Oberlin College, where he studied history under Frederick B. Artz, graduating *summa cum laude* and Phi Beta Kappa in 1942.

Shortly before graduation, Hunter hitchhiked to Lorain, Ohio, to enlist in the navy. He attended the Midshipmen's School at the University of Notre Dame. His first duty was to teach naval history at the Naval Training School. Assigned to sea duty in 1945, he served on the *USS Tennessee* at Iwo Jima and Okinawa, observing first-hand the information systems that linked computers, guns, and radars, an essential part of Hunter's intellectual development as a historian of science and technology.

Going directly from the Navy to Harvard University, he earned a master's degree in 1947 and a PhD in 1952, writing a dissertation on the botanist Asa Gray, Darwin's leading advocate in 19th-century America, that was advised by Arthur Schlesinger Sr.

In 1950–52, Hunter returned to his hometown of Lubbock, teaching at Texas Technological College (now Texas Tech University). In 1953, he resumed work on Gray's biography as a research fellow at the Gray Herbarium at Harvard. The National Science Foundation interrupted his work on Gray when it selected him to lead a project on the history of science in the federal government. Sponsored by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, his research became the landmark *Science in the Federal Government: A History of Policies and Activities to 1940* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1957). It was the first investigation of its kind into the relationships between science and the US government. Two years later, he published *Asa Gray, 1810–1888* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1959).

Hunter moved to the University of California, Berkeley, first as a visiting scholar in 1956 and then joining the history department in 1958. At Berkeley, he taught and held administrative posts, including assistant to Chancellor Glenn Seaborg and director of the Bancroft Library. His professional career, however, was firmly rooted in the study of science and technology with the historical insights this provided for US government policy. Throughout the 1960s, Hunter held numerous advisory posts with the federal government and scientific institutions, including membership on the Library of Congress committee that developed the National Union Catalogue of Manuscript Collections and consultant to the National Academy of Sciences' Committee on Science and Public Policy, whose report he drafted. He was a member of both NASA's and the Atomic Energy Commission's historical advisory committees and served on the House of Representatives' science and technology panel.

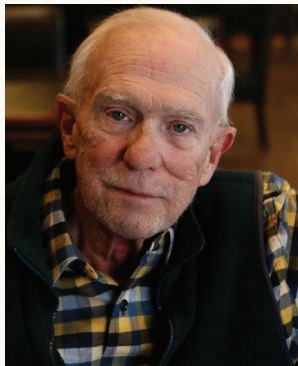
In 1968, Brown University appointed him George L. Littlefield Professor of History. Continuing his earlier research interests, he studied the social history of measurement while a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (Palo Alto) and was among the National Humanities Center's first fellows. In the 1970s, Hunter held positions in numerous professional organizations, including the Smithsonian Council and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, where he served as secretary and was also a fellow. He was adviser to both the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Hunter retired from Brown in 1981, yet continued an active academic life. Returning to Cambridge in 1986, he renewed association with the Gray Herbarium and the American Academy.

Hunter guided dissertations on a wide range of topics and periods. He was an open, accessible, and supportive mentor, as well as a passionate lecturer. When necessary, he effectively defended his graduate students' unconventional academic interests.

Recognized as a leading historian of science and technology, Hunter received the Presidential Award of the New York Academy of Sciences and the Sarton Medal from the History of Science Society. Hunter is buried in Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, a few steps from Asa Gray's grave. His papers are at Oberlin College.

John Hattendorf  
*US Naval War College*

*Photo courtesy Louis Fabian Bachrach*



## Albert N. Hamscher III

1946–2019

Historian of early modern France

Albert N. Hamscher III, Kenneth S. Davis Professor of History at Kansas State University and specialist in early modern France, passed away on June 6, 2019, after a short battle with cancer. A Philadelphia native, Hamscher joined the history department at Kansas State in 1972 after completing his dissertation at Emory University. Throughout his long career, Hamscher demonstrated a commitment to scholarship that was comprehensive in its search for evidence and rigorous in its expression. Hamscher readily credited J. Russell Major, his Emory adviser, as the model for his own dedication to enriching the understanding of France in the early modern era.

The first major expression of his effort came in 1976 with the publication of *The Parlement of Paris after the Fronde, 1653–1673* (Univ. of Pittsburgh Press). In this book, Hamscher illuminated the place of the Parlement of Paris in France's Old Regime and demonstrated the court's continued ability to intervene in the affairs of state during two pivotal decades early in Louis XIV's absolutist reign. It's a study that captures what became his own career-long scholarly interest in exploring the continued influence of established institutions even in the midst of considerable societal change.

In 1987, the American Philosophical Society published Hamscher's *The Conseil Privé and the Parlements in the Age of Louis XIV: A Study in French Absolutism*, extending his exploration of the interconnections and dealings between elements of the Old Regime. In 1988–89, he was a fellow in residence at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, where he worked on the early stages of what became his largest and most comprehensive study. In 2012, this effort culminated in the publication of *The Royal Financial Administration and the Prosecution of Crime in France, 1670–1789* (Univ. of Delaware Press). Hamscher brought together the conduct of prosecutions, the role of the French royal administration, and the persistent matter of financing these efforts. Rather than studying each theme in isolation, he integrated them for the first time, yielding a clearer sense of such phenomena

as residual power in regions and in institutions other than the monarchy itself. He searched dozens of central and regional archives, sharing accumulated evidence in helpful tables as well as in the main text. Among the works he published later in his career was the concise *Kansas Cemeteries in History*, released by KS Publishing in 2005. This project grew from his study of how ideas and practices about death and dying changed over time, which he did at first to prepare for a highly popular undergraduate course that he taught for some 45 years.

Hamscher was repeatedly honored for his excellence in undergraduate teaching on several occasions, winning awards for most effective teaching in the College of Arts and Sciences, as well as awards for best teacher among all seven undergraduate colleges at Kansas State. In addition, his departmental colleagues recognized him with conferral of the Kenneth S. Davis Professorship, a key requirement of which, as set by the donor, was unusually high accomplishment in teaching undergraduate students. In Hamscher's later years, some of his earliest students returned to campus, introducing him to their grandsons and granddaughters, many of whom also enrolled in his courses. In addition to his offerings on France and Europe in the early modern era, he pioneered an advanced undergraduate course on Death and Dying in History.

In his last decade of service to Kansas State, Hamscher developed an advanced-level course that assisted graduate students with developing major works for publication, a "grace note" that rounded out his accomplishments and contributions in teaching. He also served as the department's director of graduate studies. Beyond his professional responsibilities, Hamscher was a dedicated recreational swimmer, an avid golf player, and a devoted Philadelphia Eagles fan.

Al Hamscher is survived by his wife, Claire Dehon, professor emerita in the Department of Modern Languages at Kansas State.

Donald Mrozek  
Kansas State University

*Photo courtesy Taylor Irby/The Manhattan Mercury*





## John Ellis van Courtland Moon

1929–2019

Historian of weapons and warfare

John Ellis van Courtland Moon, a distinguished historian and champion of academic freedom, died on May 11, 2019, at the age of 89. Moon was a man of peace and a leading academic authority on weapons of mass destruction. He wrote, edited, and reviewed some of the major works on the subjects of arms control and nuclear, biological, and chemical warfare.

In addition to accumulating data on these subjects and examining documents that were often hard to obtain, Moon used his critical eye to put them in historical perspective, assessing their implications as policy that encourages either the prevention or production of such weapons, and reflecting upon their morality. The goal of his research was to shed light on these issues and to improve the well-being of the world. In his own words, he sought “to understand the pathology of history in order to contribute to the sanity of the world.”

Moon received his doctorate in American civilization from Harvard University in 1968; his dissertation was published as *Confines of Concept: American Strategy in World War II* (Garland Publishing, 1988). He taught at primarily public institutions of higher learning in Massachusetts until his retirement from Fitchburg State College (now University) in 1993, where he was recognized for the high quality of his teaching. He was a keen mentor to his students, helping guide many of them to becoming historians.

Moon’s scholarly pursuits continued up until the very end. At the time of his death, he was finalizing a manuscript entitled “History of the American Biological Warfare Program” that was being readied for publication by MIT Press.

From the 1980s until his death, Moon actively participated in the Chemical and Biological Weapons Colloquium at Harvard University. He was drawn to the colloquium by his academic mentor, the military historian Ernest May, and through his close association with the biologist Matthew

Meselson. Moon formed part of a small community of international scholars noted for their expertise on matters regarding the nature, scope, and use of chemical and biological weapons.

His archive of research materials, now being assembled at the Fitchburg State Library, represents one of the major scholarly collections of materials on nuclear, biological, and chemical warfare. It will serve as an invaluable resource for future researchers in these fields and is already a magnet for current researchers associated with the colloquium.

Moon was the coeditor of the first volume of *Biological and Toxic Weapons: Research, Development, and Use from the Middle Ages to 1945* (1999), produced under the auspices of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. His reviews of writings on weapons of mass destruction and arms control have appeared in major national and international journals, including the *Journal of Strategic Studies* and *International Security*.

No appreciation of Moon’s contributions would be complete without recognizing the heroic stance he took as president of the faculty union at Boston State College in the early 1980s, when he fought for and saved the jobs of all faculty members at the institution who were faced with the loss of their livelihoods when the state closed the school.

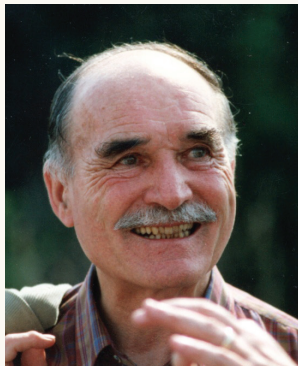
Moon was also an active defender of academic freedom for those who teach. He headed several committees set up by the American Association of University Professors to investigate serious claims of violations of academic freedom, even when—perhaps especially when—such investigations faced significant roadblocks.

For Moon, preserving the right to free inquiry and expression for faculty—like the need for critical inquiry in research—went hand in hand with the need for free expression and critical inquiry into public policy and private practice.

Michael Turk  
*Fitchburg State University*

Teresa Thomas  
*Fitchburg State University*

*Photo courtesy Margaret Moon Hames*



## Brian Tierney

1922–2019

Medieval historian;  
AHA 50-Year Member

Brian Tierney, AHA member since 1952, was born in Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire, England. He enlisted in the Royal Air Force in July 1941 and was trained as a navigator. He flew 30 missions on Wellington bombers and another 60 on Mosquitoes with the 105th Squadron of the Pathfinder Force. He was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross and Bar for his service.

After the war, he pursued a shortened undergraduate degree for veterans and graduated in 1948 with first-class honors. He continued his graduate studies in medieval history at Cambridge University and received his PhD in 1951. He began his academic career the same year in the history department of the Catholic University of America. In 1959, he moved to Cornell University, where he remained until he retired from teaching but not from scholarship in 1992. He received honorary degrees from Uppsala University in 1966 and Catholic University in 1982. The American Historical Association bestowed its Award for Scholarly Distinction on Tierney in 1993.

In 1955, Tierney published his dissertation with the title *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Cambridge Univ. Press). The book provided a historical dimension to the constitutional issues debated at the Second Vatican Council. Tierney published an enlarged edition of the book in 1998. In his introduction to the new edition, he wrote that the book opened up two important paths of research that he and other scholars have followed.

The first path led to his book *Origins of Papal Infallibility 1150–1350* (Brill, 1972), in which he argued that papal infallibility did not derive from canonical jurisprudence but from the theological literature surrounding the controversy over Franciscan concepts of poverty in the 13th century. The second path led to the question of whether conciliar theories influenced the development of Western constitutional thought in the secular realm.

In 1979, Tierney delivered a series of lectures at Queen's University Belfast that were later published as *Religion, Law, and the Growth of Constitutional Thought, 1150–1650* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1982). In these lectures, he traced four important elements of medieval and early modern legal thought that he considered essential elements of all modern constitutions: consent, popular sovereignty, corporate theory, and electoral theory.

In the late 1980s, Tierney began to explore theories of natural and civil rights. He first dealt with this topic in 1956 when the School of Social Welfare at the University of California, Los Angeles, invited him to give four lectures that were later published as *Medieval Poor Law: A Sketch of Canonical Theory and Its Application in England* (Univ. of California Press, 1959). In these lectures, he presented a remarkable and radical discovery (for Cold War America) that the medieval jurists unanimously concluded that in times of necessity *ius naturale* dictated that all property must be shared. As Tierney put it, “The poor had a *right* [his emphasis] to be supported.”

His research on natural rights and natural law in the 1980s resulted in *The Idea of Natural Rights: Studies on Natural Rights, Natural Law, and Church Law 1150–1625* (Scholars Press, 1997), in which he explored the various meanings of natural law and rights for women, clergy, indigenous peoples, and others.

From that work, there was a natural progression to his last book, published when he was 92 years old, *Liberty and Law: The Idea of Permissive Natural Law, 1100–1800* (Catholic Univ. of America Press, 2014). As the dates included in the titles of his books indicate, Tierney stretched chronological limitations and his historical imagination to follow the paths of ideas that captivated him.

Tierney was a superb teacher and delivered lectures that matched his writing: clear, organized, and pellucid. Perhaps his most well-known book in the classroom was *The Crisis of Church and State: 1050–1300, with Selected Documents* (Prentice-Hall, 1964), which discussed a key issue in medieval history and is still in print and used widely.

His wife, Theresa, died in 1999. He is survived by four children, eight grandchildren, and a brother.

Kenneth Pennington  
*Catholic University of America (emeritus)*

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