

*The newsmagazine of the American Historical Association*

# PERSPECTIVES ON HISTORY

Volume 59: 4  
April 2021



# Eugen Weber Book Prize

The Department of History at UCLA encourages submissions for the 2022 Eugen Weber Book Prize in French History. A prize for the best book in modern French history (post 1815) over the previous two years, this award is named for eminent French historian Eugen Weber (1925-2007). Professor Weber served on the History faculty at UCLA from 1956 until 1993 and was renowned as a teacher and scholar for being able to bring the French and European past to life.

The Eugen Weber Book Prize in French History brings a cash award of \$15,000 and the winner will be announced at the American Historical Association annual meeting in January 2022. The author will be invited to visit UCLA to speak about his or her work and receive the prize during the spring of 2022.

Books eligible for the 2022 prize are those written in English or French and published in 2019 or 2020.

**The deadline for submissions is June 1, 2021. Submission information is available at <https://history.ucla.edu/content/eugen-weber-book-prize>.**



The 2020 Eugen Weber Book Prize was awarded to Christine Haynes, University of North Carolina-Charlotte, for her book *Our Friends the Enemies: The Occupation of France After Napoleon* (Harvard, 2018), a highly original analysis of the occupation of France following the Napoleonic wars.

Honorable Mention was awarded to James E. Connolly, University College London, for *The Experience of the Occupation in the Nord, 1914-1918: Living with the Enemy in First World War France* (Manchester University Press, 2018), a well-crafted study of the German occupation in the Nord during World War I.

For more information, visit <http://history.ucla.edu>.

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SARA E. MORRIS AND JENNY PRESNELL



## ON THE COVER

Social media is no longer new and yet, over the last year, using these tools to connect with peers online has taken on a new salience. Two articles in this issue focus on Twitter's utility for historians. In "Tweeting to Find Community," Varsha Venkatasubramanian describes how Twitter helped her build a professional network, deepen her understanding of various subfields, and identify new professional opportunities. In the latest Townhouse Notes, editor Ashley E. Bowen celebrates the #HistGym and explains how the hashtag helped her stay both physically active and connected to colleagues during the pandemic.

*Illustration: Usha Venkat*

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## AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

400 A Street, SE  
Washington, DC 20003-3889

PHONE: 202.544.2422

FAX: 202.544.8307

EMAIL: [perspectives@historians.org](mailto:perspectives@historians.org)

WEB PAGE: [historians.org/perspectives](http://historians.org/perspectives)



### PERSPECTIVES ON HISTORY

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ASHLEY E. BOWEN

## TOWNHOUSE NOTES

*Finding Workout Buddies in the #HistGym*

I took physical education (PE) by correspondence in high school. This is typically good for a laugh at parties or as my fun fact during ice-breaker sessions. There are two ways I tell this story now. The first is that taking PE by correspondence, studying the rules of tennis and golf from workbooks before “practicing” at a court or driving range, freed up my schedule for more Advanced Placement classes. Thanks to those available credit hours, I was able to take AP classes in European history, art history, and calculus. The second way to tell the story, and the way I now realize is probably much more accurate, is that as a teenage girl in suburban Dallas I’d so internalized the jocks versus nerds divide, I could not allow myself to participate in even intramural sports out of fear that I’d be seen as “not smart.” I held on to my heavy course load and AP exams as an identity, and I took care of my body during evenings, weekends, and summer breaks.

Although I dutifully went to the gym throughout my undergraduate and MA programs, it wasn’t until I finished my first MA that I began to make athletics a part of my life. Outside of the university, the jock/nerd divide suddenly seemed absurd. I was surrounded by smart, competent professionals who trained for triathlons, played rec-league soccer, or took water aerobics classes.

In retrospect, I’m certain that my fellow graduate students and instructors did these things too, but we didn’t talk about them. Like Stephanie Lawton, a PhD candidate at the University of Virginia and founder of #HistGym, explained, “I never heard about or saw my mentors talking about physical fitness and health much while I was an undergrad. . . . In the world of academia, mind seemed valued over brawn. And I sacrificed my physical self to my intellectual one.” Freed from the pressure to live just a life of the mind, I took up running, to the surprise of anyone who knew me in high school, and found that I loved it. When I entered a PhD program a few years later, athletics did not make me less capable a scholar. If anything, the

time spent on solitary long runs helped clarify my thinking and gave me something to do independent from my life as a graduate student.

In this issue, Varsha Venkatasubramanian (Univ. of California, Berkeley) describes using Twitter to connect to fellow historians and how this network helped her fend off feelings of isolation and loneliness during the pandemic. I, too, found community on Twitter—in the #HistGym. Instead of sharing our research, we cheer each other on as we work to set new deadlift PR (personal records), train for 5ks, master new yoga poses, start a walking routine, and generally keep moving.

Lawton started the #HistGym to “promote the idea of physical activity and physical health whatever that might mean for a person.” “We’re not fitness influencers,” she says. Anyone can participate in the #HistGym, whether they’re doing CrossFit or walking their pandemic puppy. The goal is not to force a particular kind of fitness ideal on everyone but to create a space that values scholars’ health, both physical and mental, and that normalizes talking about our lives outside of our work.

I’m embarrassed that I didn’t know about the #HistGym until COVID hit. It simply hadn’t occurred to me to use Twitter to connect with my colleagues around exercise, something that is incredibly meaningful to me but absent from my professional world. It has been a source of joy, and a powerful motivation during a dark and cold winter, to stumble into Lawton’s #HistGym.

I hope you’ll join us. Unlike most gyms, there is no membership fee, and you can quit at any time. **P**

*Ashley E. Bowen is editor of Perspectives on History. She tweets @AEBowenPhD.*



## Recently Published Online in *Perspectives Daily*

## Writing Histories of Witchcraft in a Pandemic

Richard Tomczak

Students at Stony Brook University used a digital humanities project about times of crisis to connect the Salem Witch Trials to today.



Wellcome Collection, CC BY 4.0

## Teaching South African Stories Online

Jacob Ivey

Well-managed digital archives provide students with a focused set of research materials that help build a foundational point of historical inquiry.

## The Perpetual Newness of Black History

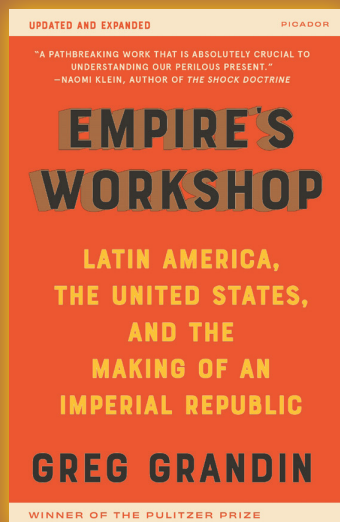
Ben Vinson III

Although being new can be exciting, and can advance scholarly conversations, there are real dangers in perpetual disciplinary novelty.

Plus Member Spotlights, Grants of the Week, and more!

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# EMPIRE'S WORKSHOP



This completely revised edition includes new information on the US invasion of Panama, US interventions in Cuba, Guatemala, and Chile, Plan Colombia and the War on Drugs, the Obama administration's involvement in the 2009 coup in Honduras, and the current crisis at the US-Mexico border, caused by decades of misguided Washington policies. Most provocatively, Grandin argues that the origins of many of the current threats to American democracy—disinformation, permanent surveillance, political extremism and out-of-control militarism—were foreshadowed in the United States' Central American policy.

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# G R E G   G R A N D I N

**UPDATED AND EXPANDED**

JACQUELINE JONES

## WE ARE ONLY HUMAN

*Emotion, Empathy, and the Historian's Craft*



During my early years of teaching, I offered a course in 19th-century American history. One semester, I decided to give a lecture on Margaret Fuller; her career illustrated several themes and connections I planned to highlight for the antebellum period.

Born in 1810 in Massachusetts, Fuller lived an eventful life. She underwent rigorous training in the classics under the stern tutelage of her father. She became part of the Transcendentalist movement—even editing its magazine, *The Dial*—but also veered away from the men in her circle to pursue a serious interest in women's rights. The “Conversations” she hosted for women in Boston ranged across topics from Greek mythology to “The Trinity of Beautiful, Good, & True,” showcasing her erudition and commitment to women's intellectual growth. In 1845, Fuller published a lengthy essay, “Woman in the Nineteenth Century,” arguing for women's full equality in formal education and society generally. She became a journalist, and her interests expanded to issues relating to the abolition of slavery, the deplorable state of US prisons, and the injustice suffered by Indigenous peoples. Eventually she traveled to Italy, where she covered the 1848 revolutions, part of the larger European movement on behalf of liberal republicanism. There she met and (apparently) married the Marchese Giovanni Angelo Ossoli. Together, they had a son they named Angelo.

I was drawn to Fuller because she went through several distinct stages of growing intellectual and political awareness. In dramatic fashion, she defied the popular stereotype propagated by many prominent men of the time—that women were born with a certain character and then remained their childlike selves for the rest of their lives. Fuller embraced opportunities to debate, question, and travel.

I prepared for this lecture by doing more than necessary, immersing myself in Fuller's writings and reading a full-length biography. I discovered that as she learned more about the wider world, her style of writing changed too,

from stilted and self-conscious to fluid and confident. It is not difficult to understand why, as a young teacher, I was drawn to Fuller. But I could not have anticipated that my lecture about her would leave me shaken and distressed.

In 1850, Fuller, Ossoli, and baby Angelo were on their way back to the United States when their ship capsized not far from Fire Island, New York, and all three drowned. She was 40 years old. How might her friends have reacted to Ossoli and their relationship? What directions might her life have taken once she returned to Massachusetts? We will never know.

I could not have anticipated that  
my lecture would leave me  
shaken and distressed.

As I recounted the precise details surrounding the end of Fuller's life, I found myself overwhelmed with emotion, with grief at the loss of life and her great promise. I stopped speaking for a minute, struggling to compose myself. But the longer I tried to calm down, the more distraught I became. I began to weep openly, quietly. My students were stunned, obviously embarrassed for me. They buried their heads in their notebooks and stole sideways glances at one another, hoping this ordeal that was engulfing us all would soon end. When I ended the class, several minutes early, they fled the room. I was mortified.

I began our next class by acknowledging that they must have found it unusual to see a teacher show such depths of emotion while lecturing. I asked them to talk about their own reactions. A few of them wanted to know more about Fuller in order to understand why I felt so strongly about her life story.

Since that distressing lecture, I have made a point to try—mightily, I might add—to keep my emotions in check while



in the classroom. Although my distress was an honest expression of my feelings at the time, I fear they proved a distraction to my students. Seeing someone in front of you so upset implies a need to comfort them; I wanted my students to better understand our topic, not tell me that things were going to be okay.

Anyone who studies history or presents historical content to an audience contends with ideas, events, and images from the past that deeply disturb us, whether guiding visitors through an exhibit on the Holocaust; giving a webinar presentation on Pol Pot's murderous regime in Cambodia; leading a group of tourists through Thomas Jefferson's plantation, Monticello; or recounting the untimely death of an inspirational historical figure. Yet perhaps it is a personal connection with just one of our subjects—such as mine with Fuller—that brings out the depths of emotion.

Part of the historian's enterprise is empathy—developing a full understanding of why people acted or thought as they did.

The challenge of managing our emotions has assumed special urgency and proved particularly difficult while living through a pandemic and facing a mounting daily death toll. The multiple crises of the last year have upended our lives—as workers, scholars, and family members—and left emotions raw, close to the surface and ready to spill out at the least provocation.

As historians, we seek to understand our subjects within their full context rather than view them as cardboard figures, detached from the time and place in which they lived. In this sense, part of the historian's enterprise is empathy—developing a full understanding of why people acted or thought as they did. (Empathy should be distinguished from sympathy, which implies pity or condescension.) Clearly, an empathetic response to our subjects can blend into an emotional response, one informed by our sense of justice and fairness. What emotions are acceptable in the classroom? Humor, anger, indignation, grief?

On the one hand, we are only human, and it is difficult if not impossible to leave strong feelings and principles at the door when we walk into a classroom or otherwise fulfill our duties as historians working to enlighten our constituencies. We are not robots, and our presentations are not rote recitations of bloodless facts—separate from the great human

drama that is history and separate from us, as people with particular points of view.

At the same time, our purposes are to inform, teach, and facilitate critical thinking about the past. We might hope that our students become swept up in the material we are dealing with—that they develop an emotional investment in the study of history—but do we really need to lead by example in a way that detracts from our intellectual efforts? When a lecture becomes a form of advocacy for a point of view, or when the material provokes in the speaker a strong response that seems to overshadow the material itself and begs our listeners to react the same way we do, we may have gone too far.

I am still uncertain about that lecture on Margaret Fuller. Didn't the facts speak for themselves? Did I need to embellish those facts with my own tears, no matter how honest and spontaneous? Couldn't I have risen to the occasion and delivered the lecture in a way that did not upset my students? There were other paths I might have taken: perhaps a quiet statement like "How tragic that she died this way and so soon" would have sufficed. However, my strong feelings took me by surprise; I'm not certain I could have checked them under those circumstances. As a young teacher, just starting out, I found myself with a deep emotional investment in Fuller and her all-too-brief life.

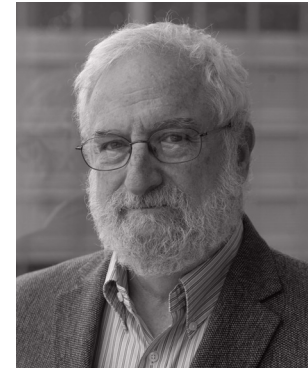
It's good that we care about history, and that we feel strongly about the stories we tell students, tourists, museum-goers, and podcast listeners. How and where we draw the line—managing to get through difficult material without making our emotional reaction to it the day's takeaway from the learning experience—remains a work-in-progress. **P**

*Jacqueline Jones is president of the AHA.*

JAMES GROSSMAN

## HOW CAN WE HELP?

*Advocacy Inside the Beltway and Beyond*



Like all membership organizations, the AHA has to think about its constituencies and articulate a value proposition: Why should an individual consider paying dues? Three general categories of possibility come to mind: tangible individual benefits (e.g., publications and discounts); membership in a community; and support for collective activities valuable to that community and beyond, such as advocacy and freely available programming.

Individual benefits are important, and surveys tell us that AHA members (for good reason) value their subscriptions to the *American Historical Review*, appreciate their print copies of *Perspectives on History*, and purchase or subscribe to discounted publications. This terrain has shifted in recent decades. Many historians can access the *AHR* electronically through a library. Thousands of AHA members, and nonmembers as well, read *Perspectives* online.

Generally historians understand the difference between individual and public value—hardly surprising for a profession dominated by people familiar with the contributions that their institutions make to public culture. We don't try to convince our colleagues that membership in the AHA is like AAA (the American Automobile Association), where one plunks down a fee and expects a jump start or tow in return. Members of the AHA participate in a community of historians with a central *purpose*: advocating for one another and for our work as historians. Unlike AAA (autos, not anthropologists), our Association embodies a set of values shared by our members, rather than services offered to them. These values, articulated in the AHA's *Statement on Standards of Professional Conduct*, include "critical dialogue," "mutual trust and respect," "the integrity of the historical record," and constant debate and evolution of interpretation (a.k.a. "revisionism"). They inform and provide the framework for the work that the AHA does on behalf of our discipline and, in some ways, on behalf of history itself.

Those values and that work imply a definition of advocacy broader than the traditional set of activities that take place largely on Capitol Hill, with additional efforts in federal agencies still largely "inside the Beltway"—a cliché, but in this case a literally accurate one. This long-standing DC-centered orientation to advocacy was not illogical: to advocate for our constituency implied a focus on sites and processes that allocate the vast resources of the federal government.

That logic still stands. The AHA is the only history organization that plays leadership roles in both the National Humanities Alliance and the National Coalition for History, in addition to participating in the work of the Consortium of Social Science Associations and the Coalition for International Education. Each of these organizations is the primary representative of its constituencies; we try not to call it "lobbying."

The AHA embodies a set of values  
shared by our members.

The AHA is also active beyond these important structured collaborations. In December 2020, we joined with the Society for the History of American Foreign Relations, the National Security Archive, and Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington in a lawsuit to prevent the destruction or alteration of presidential records. One month later, as Sarah Jones Weicksel describes in this issue of *Perspectives*, we collaborated with a different coalition of plaintiffs, including 29 Indigenous tribes, the states of Washington and Oregon, the City of Seattle, and eight local and regional Pacific Northwest organizations to prevent the General Services Administration from selling the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) facility in Seattle. In both instances, we accomplished our purpose. The Justice Department ordered a "litigation hold" on all White House documents during the presidential transition, and the sale of the

Seattle NARA facility has been taken off the fast track and placed on a calendar that severely diminishes its likelihood. In the first case, our efforts helped to preserve the integrity of the historical record; in the second, we are working on behalf of democratic and professional access, enhancing the likelihood of a greater diversity of perspectives.

The AHA has also joined with other organizations to file suit against NARA and US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), challenging NARA's approval of ICE's records disposition, which would authorize ICE to destroy several categories of records documenting mistreatment of immigrants detained in ICE custody. In a similar vein, we have posted official objections to NARA proposals relating to ICE records disposition, as well as positions taken by the National Labor Relations Board and other federal agencies.

AHA statements have often been endorsed by other associations, quoted in the media, and even cited in local government convenings.

Over the last year, we've worked directly with a US Senate office on proposed legislation to strengthen the Presidential Records Act, endorsed federal legislation to recognize the centennial of the 1921 Tulsa massacre, registered objections to historical claims and reports generated by commissions lacking appropriate historical qualifications, submitted written recommendations to the Biden/Harris transition team, and taken positions on issues relating to monuments and the abuse of history in public policy contexts. These statements have often been endorsed by other associations (in one case, 96 of them), many of them AHA affiliates, quoted in the media, and even cited in local government convenings. Many of them have also found their way into classrooms.

This work is not confined to what happens in Washington. In recent years, we've responded to requests to support the integrity of archives and the academic freedom of historians in Canada, France, Hungary, India, Mexico, Poland, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey, along with a broad condemnation of the use of historical sites as targets during warfare and as shields for protection. Even when it seems like we might be tilting against powerful windmills, colleagues in those countries express their gratitude for the support and the legitimacy we provide for their scholarship and activism.

The AHA also supports historians across the United States. Within the past year alone, we've intervened on behalf of historians in state university systems in Arkansas and Georgia, and at the University of Mississippi and Collin College; written on behalf of tenure protections and faculty lines at Canisius College, Guilford College, the University of Kansas, and the University of Evansville; and argued on behalf of the University Press of Kansas.

Due in large part to communications and marketing manager Jeremy C. Young, our advocacy has made recent local, national, and international news. Press outlets in India, Poland, Russia, and Spain have written about our statements and letters. A news story about the reversal of India's controversial new restrictions on online international conferencing referenced the AHA's statement at length. We've driven news and editorial coverage on the 1776 Report not only in many major national media outlets but in local papers in Las Vegas, Colorado Springs, Davenport, Iowa, and Branson, Missouri (the hometown paper of one of the report authors).

Sometimes this attention is less than complimentary. The quantity and quality of response to commentaries on issues in foreign countries vary tremendously, especially when we step on nationalist toes. Domestically, our concerns for democratic processes, the integrity of the historical record, and respect for facts and evidence—very much the province of historians—has been sometimes controversial, with some members declining to renew memberships because of a concern for excessive “politicization.”

There is, however, another realm of advocacy that can be controversial in different ways: advocacy for history as a discipline and the work of historians encompassing research, teaching, and professional practices. This includes our “best practices” documents that relate to such topics as the role of department chairs in improving working conditions for non-tenure-track faculty, the right of graduate students to control the digital dissemination of their dissertations, ethical practices, and even temporary employment-related issues relating to the impact of COVID-19 on teaching and research.

In pre-COVID days, AHA staff spent a lot of time visiting history departments and going to conferences. One aspect of our message was always the same: “How can we help?” When it comes to history, historians, and historical work, the terrain of advocacy has few boundaries. **P**

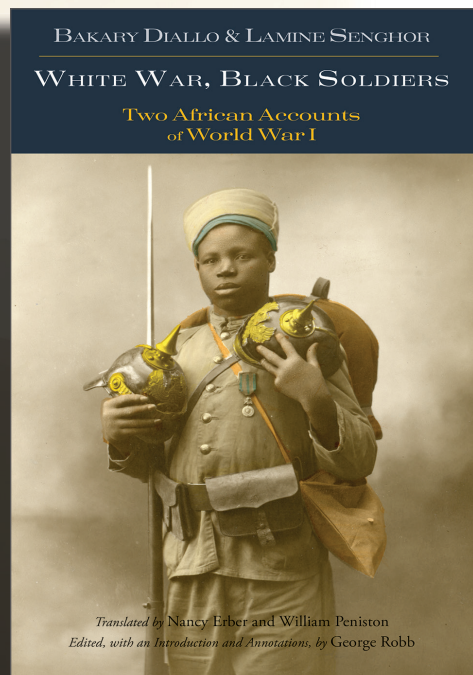
*James Grossman is executive director of the AHA. He tweets @JimGrossmanAHA.*



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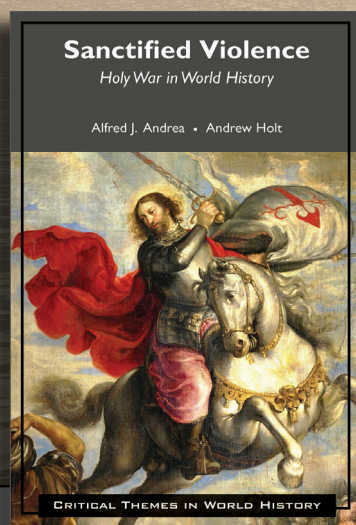
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## Sanctified Violence

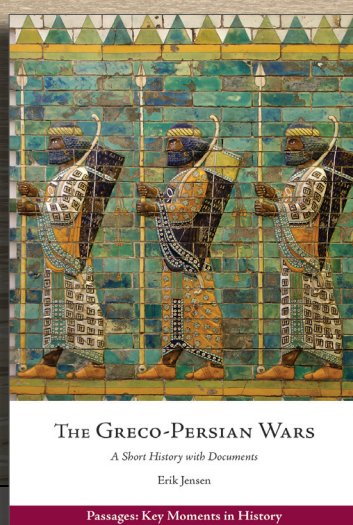
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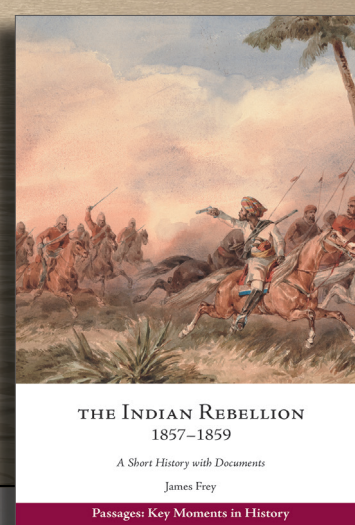
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## RECORDS RETENTION

*A Diverse Coalition Works to Protect the National Archives at Seattle*

**A**s historians, we think of archives as belonging to our collective selves. Documents, images, and ephemera, carefully described, placed inside manila folders, and housed in gray boxes, are part of the lifeblood of historical research.

But professional historians—whether as archivists, curators, interpreters, teachers, or writers—are only one group that uses an archive. This is hardly a surprising revelation. When we spend time in a reading room, we regularly encounter other patrons. But have you ever stopped and looked around the room and wondered just who the other researchers are? What brings them there? And what stories do they hope to find? The mandated silence of the reading room doesn't lend itself to this kind of discovery.

But the impending sale of an archival facility does.

In January 2020, the federal Public Buildings Reform Board, an obscure federal agency established in 2016, announced that the building housing the National Archives at Seattle would be sold to the highest bidder. Its records would be transferred out of the region to facilities in southern California and Missouri. The proposed sale drew an immediate outcry, eliciting responses from individuals, tribal nations, lawmakers, and organizations, including the AHA. One year later, in January 2021, the AHA joined a coalition led by

Washington State Attorney General Bob Ferguson in filing a lawsuit to prevent the facility's imminent sale. This broad coalition includes the states of Washington and Oregon; 29 tribes, tribal entities, and Indigenous communities from Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Alaska; the City of Seattle; and eight museums and community and historic preservation organizations.

The National Archives at Seattle, the Pacific Northwest's only National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) facility, maintains and provides access to millions of permanent records created by federal agencies and courts

for Alaska, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington that date back to the 1840s. Among them are tribal and treaty records relating to the 272 federally recognized tribes located in these states, as well as records tied to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1872. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), National Park Service, and US Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) are among the dozens of federal agencies whose Pacific Northwest records are housed in this facility. These records contain more than bureaucratic stories; they reveal the broader history of the region and maintain significance not only for historians, but for many communities across the region and



Chemawa Indian School Baseball Team, 1939  
Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives Identifier 5585776

beyond. Yet when the Public Buildings Reform Board decided to sell the facility, none of these communities were consulted. As Charlene Nelson, chairwoman of the Shoalwater Bay Tribe, asked during a public comment session on Zoom: “Where are our voices in this decision? Where are the sounds of our drums?”

As part of the AHA’s participation in *State of Washington et al. v. Russell Vought et al.*, I collected statements from professional historians and AHA members testifying to the critical role played by the Seattle facility in Pacific Northwest scholarship and education. Those seven statements were among the 79 declarations submitted as part of the lawsuit. These declarations and a public comment session in January, attended by more than 300 people, made clear the diversity of people and professions that rely upon access to the Seattle archives. Their archival research stems from a broad array of interests, work, and activism, ranging from obtaining tribal recognition, to forest and natural resource management, to researching history dissertations and producing exhibits, to exploring a family’s past, to reconnecting to culture that was subjected to erasure.

The facility is a critical research and internship resource for students and faculty in the region. Its records support the reinterpretation of signage at historical sites and, as one local researcher noted during the public session, enable small towns to research their history in support of the tourism industry that is central to their economies. For some archive users, the stakes of maintaining access to the records in the Seattle facility are very high. Veterans and their families access records to support applications for benefits. BIA records are critical in local tribal communities’ legal cases, ranging from federal recognition of a tribe to protecting fishing rights.

Joshua L. Reid (Univ. of Washington), for instance, uses the archives for both his own publications and the research he does in service to federally recognized tribal nations related to conservation, natural resource use, and treaty rights. Minutes from tribal council meetings, photographs of Makah fishing vessels, letters from federal agents, field notes, and maps with marginalia informed Reid’s “expert witness report and testimony on behalf of the Makah Nation’s efforts at exercising their treaty rights through a petition for a waiver to the Marine Mammal Protection Act,” as he wrote in his statement.

“Where are our voices  
in this decision? Where  
are the sounds of our  
drums?”

The Seattle archive also houses original case files for people who entered the country through ports in Portland and Seattle during the period of Chinese Exclusion. Those files are critical links for Chinese Americans looking for information about their ancestors, as well as important research material for groups such as the Chinese American Citizens’ Alliance of Seattle, which is developing educational modules to educate the public about the Chinese Exclusion Act’s impact on the community and region.

I searched from my Maryland desk for digitized sources that would help me convey the compelling relationships of Pacific Northwesterners to the history housed in the National Archives at Seattle. I wanted to show *Perspectives* readers the letters written by Ryan W. Booth’s (Washington State Univ.) great-great-grandfather asking the Chemawa Indian School superintendent to send Booth’s great-grandma home for the summer, or the blueprints of this

school—which was centered on an assimilation-based curriculum—that are “so large that they filled an entire table.” I would have liked to include some of the documents that helped Lissa Wadewitz (Linfield Coll.) uncover the “actions of fishermen, smugglers, and government officials trying to control what quickly became a volatile and chaotic fishery” along the US–Canada border. But none of those records have been digitized. And that’s part of the problem.

When the NARA facility in Anchorage, Alaska, closed in 2014, its records were transferred to Seattle, with the promise that they would be digitized and accessible in Alaska. That process has begun, but digitization is slow, costly, and particularly difficult to achieve when NARA has been underfunded for years. Indeed, according to NARA’s Seattle director, Susan Karren, only “0.001% of the facility’s 56,000 cubic feet of records are digitized and available online.” The Chinese Exclusion files, for instance, are not only undigitized, but also sorted only by Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) numbers—not by individuals’ names—making them difficult to use. As a result, volunteers are painstakingly working with the paper files to create a more usable index.

While digitization is a powerful preservation and access tool, digitized records do not provide the equivalent to an in-person research experience. As Andrew Fisher (William & Mary) wrote in his statement, “There is great value in being able to sit and browse through boxes and folders by hand. Many of the discoveries a historian makes in the archives are serendipitous, as pieces of evidence crop up unexpectedly in folders where you would not necessarily have looked for them.” That process of sitting and browsing not only leads to discoveries, but also improves archivists’ knowledge of collections.



This sort of piecing together of collections and records groups is familiar to researchers working on Indigenous histories. Robert Kentta, a member of and cultural resources director for the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians, notes that “research and investigation of the Siletz Tribe’s history often involves going back and forth between different groups of records to cross-reference obscure and brief references to a particular incident, area of subject matter or tribe and band.” This research is particularly complicated because the Siletz Tribe is composed of more than 28 bands and tribes, who were dispossessed of lands stretching from northern California to Washington and removed to the Siletz Coast Reservation in Oregon in 1855.

The ability to follow leads across different records groups—to trace a topic from the records of the BIA to the FWS to the INS—is a learned skill. The National Archives at Seattle has been a critical resource for undergraduates and

graduate students attending universities in the Pacific Northwest, as well as the faculty who teach them. Those institutions have developed strong programs in Pacific Northwest history and Indigenous studies in part due to the region’s ability to support such research topics through its archives. As Reid put it: “If this regional NARA facility is closed, I will be unable to train graduate students at using valuable federal records on topics related to tribal nations in the Pacific Northwest—they simply will not be able to adequately pursue these kinds of topics.”

The statements, written by archivists, civil rights activists, educators, genealogists, history faculty and graduate students, museum professionals, tribal chairpersons and members, and people searching for their own histories, reveal the central role the National Archives at Seattle plays in the region. As Coll Thrush (Univ. of British Columbia) wrote, for scholars, tribal researchers, legal professionals, and the public, the

ability to use these archives “has meant the difference between a rich scholarship on the region and a lack of collective knowledge about the area’s ongoing histories; between tribal sovereignty and the ongoing marginalization of Indigenous communities; and between the protection of key environmental resources and their continued depletion.”

## Digitized records do not provide the equivalent to an in-person research experience

The planned transfer of the Seattle facility’s records out of the region would render public access to the records extremely difficult, if not impossible, for millions of users. Gabriann Hall (Central Oregon Comm. Coll.) likened it to “someone removing a sacred photo album that has been passed down through generations from one’s home. It does not mean that the family photo album would not be safe, but it would no longer be accessible to enjoy and share among the family.”

While the sale of the Seattle facility was halted by a temporary injunction in February 2021, the lawsuit is ongoing, and the coalition’s work is not yet done. The ultimate goal is to keep the records in the Pacific Northwest, so that, in the words of Hall, “the chance to come together and look at the album and hear stories and learn collectively” will not “be lost.” **P**

*Sarah Jones Weicksel is director of research and publications at the AHA. She tweets @SarahWeicksel.*



Chin Quan Chan Family Identification Photograph, 1911  
Bureau of Immigration, National Archives Identifier 5585730. Image cropped.

GABRIELLA VIRGINIA FOLSOM

## ADVOCACY BRIEFS

*AHA Supports Historians, Archives, and Presses*

**A**s funding and resources are cut for historians across the country and world, the AHA continues to advocate for the needs of the discipline. In January and February, the AHA fought to preserve access to archives, opposed policies that target higher education, and defended historians who were persecuted due to their scholarship.

### AHA Posts to Federal Register Regarding Proposed NARA Digitization Policies

On February 1, the AHA sent comments to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) on the proposed rule “Federal Records Management: Digitizing Permanent Records and Reviewing Records Schedules.” The AHA “strongly support[s]” the requirement that “every five years, agencies review records schedules which are ten or more years old.” The AHA also recommends that NARA “require the involvement of subject matter experts in each review process undertaken with an agency” and “regularly draw on the expertise of staff members throughout the agency who have appropriate subject backgrounds and training.” The AHA also judges NARA “to have exceeded the requirements of federal law by stating that records will be accepted ONLY in digital form,” which could “delay, interrupt, or delay indefinitely the transfer of records.”

### AHA Opposes New Policy on Virtual Scholarly Exchanges in India

On February 5, the AHA issued a statement registering concern about a new policy issued by India’s Ministry of Higher Education/Department of Higher Education that “requires Indian scholars and administrators to obtain prior approval from the Ministry of External Affairs if they want to convene online or virtual international conferences, seminars, or trainings.” The AHA states that this policy is likely to “affect a wide range of scholarly exchanges that are critical to the free international expression of ideas” and “strongly maintains that government agencies should not intervene in the content of scholarly exchange.” As of March 1, 25 organizations have signed onto the statement.

### AHA Signs onto ASEEEES Statement Calling for Immediate End to Libel Trial of Polish Historians

On February 8, the AHA signed onto the Association for Slavic, East European, & Eurasian Studies statement calling for an end to the trial of historians Jan Grabowski (Univ. of Ottawa) and Barbara Engelking (Polish Center for Holocaust Research), who are charged with libel for their 2018 co-edited book, *Night without End: The Fate of Jews in Selected Counties of Occupied Poland*. The trial “strikes at the very core of academic and

intellectual freedom,” and the statement calls for a “clear and unambiguous repudiation of the legal and political strategy that allowed such a trial to go forward in the first place.”

### AHA Issues Letter Expressing Concern for Polish Historians

On February 10, the AHA sent letters to Polish leaders Andrzej Duda, Mateusz Morawiecki, Jarosław Kaczyński, and Jarosław Gowin expressing concern about recent legal proceedings against Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski, two historians convicted of libel regarding their co-edited book *Night without End*. In the letter, the AHA emphasized that “a legal procedure is not the place to mediate historical debates” and urged Polish leaders to “uphold the rights of historians to investigate the past without legal harassment and with no fear of reprisals for making public their historical- and evidence-based findings.”

### Schools, History, and the Challenges of Commemoration

On February 10, the AHA issued a statement expressing alarm regarding the San Francisco School Names Advisory Committee’s process in proposing changing the names of 44 public schools. The committee “showed little interest in consulting professional historians, relying instead on Wikipedia articles and cursory glances at other online sources.” The AHA is “not advising the people of San

Francisco on the substance of their decisions,” the statement clarified. Instead, the AHA urged the San Francisco School Board to “begin this process anew, inviting broader public participation, enlisting the expertise of professional historians, and encouraging a robust debate about the way historical figures and events should or should not be memorialized via school naming practices.”

### AHA Signs onto MESA Statement Protesting Turkey’s Attacks on Higher Education

On February 16, the AHA signed onto the Middle East Studies Association’s Statement in Solidarity with Protests at Boğaziçi University. Students and faculty protesting the appointment of a new rector “have faced police brutality, protesters have been described by government officials as terrorists, and those detained have been subjected to abuse, including strip searches and sexual harassment.” The statement condemned the “ongoing and intensified government assault on higher education in Turkey” and urged President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to “restore the autonomy of universities and the protection of academic freedom—including freedom of expression, opinion, and association—in Turkey’s legal order.”

### AHA Expresses Alarm at University Press of Kansas Financial Cuts

On February 17, the AHA sent a letter to the Board of Trustees of the University Press of Kansas expressing alarm about financial cuts and the press’s possible elimination. The letter notes that “few presses have done so much to burnish their home institution’s reputation, to advance the careers of promising scholars, and to make vital contributions to historical knowledge as the University Press of Kansas,” and that its demise

“would be an incalculable loss for the historical discipline and for generations of American historians yet to come.”

### AHA Endorses the Educating for American Democracy Initiative

On February 23, the AHA endorsed the Educating for American Democracy initiative, a multi-institution, cross-partisan initiative to create a Roadmap for Excellence in History and Civic Education for All Learners. The roadmap is “a practical and highly implementable guide about how to integrate history and civic education to give today’s diverse K–12 students a strong sense of connection to and ownership of our constitutional democracy.”

### AHA Issues Letter of Support for Institute of Political History in Hungary

On February 26, the AHA sent a letter to János Áder, president of the Republic of Hungary, expressing “deep concern about recent government actions against the Institute of Political History,” including “unfounded attacks on our colleagues,” “eviction from its new premises,” and “defunding.” The AHA “urges the Hungarian government to reconsider the misguided steps that have already been taken to the detriment of the institute and to safeguard its premises, support its activities, and vouchsafe its independence now and in the future.”

### Updates on Advocacy Successes

The efforts of the AHA and co-plaintiffs in *State of Washington et al. v. Russell Vought et al.* have successfully halted the sale of the NARA facility in Seattle, Washington. A federal judge in Seattle blocked the federal government’s plan to expedite the sale of the facility and the removal of the records from the Pacific Northwest. The delay provides time for the Biden administration to reconsider the facility’s

closure and sale, which, from all appearances, seems to have been focused more on real estate than archival or community priorities.

As one of four plaintiffs in *National Security Archive et al. v. Donald J. Trump et al.*, the AHA joins our colleagues in reflecting on significant accomplishments: a formal instruction from the Justice Department articulating precise instruction to the White House for records retention, and immediate attention to these issues on the part of the Biden administration. The AHA continues to monitor these and related issues. The Association has been involved in conversations with congressional staff about necessary revisions to the Presidential Records Act to ensure historians’ access to complete records of future administrations. **P**

*Gabriella Virginia Folsom is communications and operations assistant at the AHA. She tweets @gvfolsom.*



REBECCA L. DAVIS

## HETEROPHOBIA?

*Straightwashing on the Academic Job Market*

**F**ifteen years ago, in the midst of a job interview, someone asked me if I was heterophobic. That jarring experience has resonated across my career—and in my personal life—ever since.

The question arose during an on-campus interview for a tenure-track position as a historian of sexuality in the United States. I was in my final year of graduate school and anxious to impress the members of the department. My dissertation charted a history of marriage counseling in the United States, and it considered how secular and religious counselors tried to teach husbands and wives to be particular kinds of men or women and to develop particular sexual identities. I had no inkling at that time that I might someday co-edit a book about histories of heterosexuality nor attempt to write a single-volume history of sexuality in the United States. Yet I can trace much of what has followed in my professional life to that question and its reverberations.

The interview day otherwise went smoothly. From the moment I arrived on campus, the members of the search committee were welcoming and kind. I did not have the moxie to think my project brilliant, but I felt reasonably confident as I walked into the conference room to present my research.

I stood at the front of the room wearing a suit from Ann Taylor Loft, brown

with red pinstripes, purchased for the occasion. The suit jacket was boxy, and the pants had the then-stylish wide-leg fit that, I later appreciated, made me look smaller and shorter than I already am. I wore brown pumps, and by the time of the talk, my feet ached. Sweating and chilled at the same time, I cued up my slides and gave my 35-minute presentation, hoping it was good enough. My talk generated a lively discussion. I am

really doing this, I thought. They are interested in my ideas.

And that's when it happened.

He stood up, or maybe he just leaned forward. He had a question. He had read only the introduction to my dissertation, but he noticed that I cited a book by Judith Butler. Was it fair to conclude, he asked, that I was *heterophobic*?



When she put on her suit that morning, Rebecca L. Davis could not have predicted the questions she faced during her on-campus interview.  
Gez Xavier Mansfield/Unsplash. Image cropped.

I had never heard the word “heterophobic” before. Nor did I know that it circulated within reactionary, homophobic, and antifeminist political networks. Put on the spot in that conference room, I mentally derived its meaning: if homophobia means the fear or hatred of homosexuals, then heterophobia means . . . oh. A woman who hates heterosexuals is, presumably, a lesbian, and one with an “agenda” at that. The relationship between my sexuality and my scholarship was the obvious subtext of his question.

Just an hour earlier, I had asked a senior member of the department about the university’s family leave policies. He stammered, then asked, “Do you have a husband, or a partner?” It was the pause after husband, the implied comma, that left me nearly speechless. “Yes,” I told him.

Here I was again, now standing in front of dozens of people, answering a question about my sexuality. The silence of the room surrounded me as everyone waited to see how I would respond. “Well, that would come as a surprise to my husband,” I could have said. People would have laughed in nervous relief. But if I needed to straightwash myself to get the job, I didn’t want it.

I smiled and took a deep breath. “I never thought of it that way,” I said. And then I explained that Butler’s book *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* helped me understand heterosexuality not as an objective description of sexual behavior or identity but as a set of expectations, ceremonies, and relations between men and women, remade over and over again, and historically situated.

The question-and-answer period wrapped up, and several faculty members rushed over to apologize on behalf of the department for the hostile question. But I couldn’t shake the feeling

that the question had tried to expose me, to strip me of my baggy brown suit to see what kind of woman lived inside it. *I’m here to talk about my research and teaching, not my sex life*, I thought. As a young cis woman, I had worried that I might be asked about my marital status or plans for childbearing. It had not occurred to me that anyone would ask me about my sexuality.

A few weeks later, the department chair called to offer me the job. I accepted, and I have remained in that department ever since.

I couldn't shake the feeling that the question tried to expose me, to strip me of my baggy brown suit to see what kind of woman lived inside it.

Like so many other scholars who work on topics related to gender and sexuality, I learned on that day that other academics not only made assumptions about my identity based on my scholarship but felt entitled to know “what” I was. One of my new colleagues told me that soon after my campus visit, she encountered a group of senior male faculty chatting in the hallway about whether my gem-free braided-gold wedding band was one of *those* rings—presumably, I suppose, of the sort that they imagined women exchanged at same-sex commitment ceremonies. It was so unsettling: in my presence and after my departure, these older men discussed my sexuality and considered whether it disqualified me from joining their department.

That attempted outing pushed me further into my own closet. In the 15 years since, I avoided discussion of my own relationship to the concept of heterophobia. Instead, I let everyone understand how strange it was for me, *as a straight person*, to have insinuations of queerness lobbed at me during my job interview.

The truth is that while I’m not heterophobic, I’m not straight, either. I am attracted both to men and to women. My same-sex desires express an authentic and meaningful part of who I am. But my sexuality was the last thing I would ever want to talk about at a job interview. Having the weight of that question hang over my interview experience left me feeling exposed. Several of my colleagues almost certainly breathed a sigh of relief when they learned later that my partner was a man. The more complicated answer to their question was none of their business anyway. The desire to shield my personal life from those intrusive questions made it more difficult for me to be forthright with myself, my students, or my colleagues. That shielding allowed my colleagues to presume my straightness and protected me from further inquiries about my possible queerness. More recently, it began to feel like a betrayal of myself, the women I have loved, and the queer and nonbinary students who bring their authentic selves to my classrooms.

The elephant in the room, of course, is that I have made a career as a historian who critiques and historicizes the very notion of heterosexuality. Heterosexuality as we understand it today—a way of describing a particular kind of relationship between a man and a woman defining both the kinds of sex acts they engage in together and their identities across a spectrum of possible sexual identities—exists because of homophobia, and it is usually bound

up with antifeminism. The term entered American vernacular speech in order to describe one kind of sexual relationship or identity as normal and preferable, in contrast to the “deviant” desires and identities, including bisexuality and homosexuality, that were disparaged and ostracized. As I explained in my first book—the book that drew from the dissertation I presented at my job talk—marriage counselors in the 1940s and 1950s wrote copiously about “heterosexual adjustment,” a process they thought was essential for all husbands and wives, who might not enter their marriages knowing *how* to be heterosexual. They had to learn it. Categories like heterosexuality appear descriptive but in fact contain deep and problematic presumptions about what is normal or deviant, privileged or marginalized.

“Heterophobia” is a term that circulates among neoconservatives, who denigrate feminism as anti-family and anti-male, ridicule gender studies, and reminisce about days past when history was less complicated by such categories of analysis. Pundit David Horowitz, who the Southern Poverty Law Center identifies as a purveyor of hate speech, once questioned why an anthropology professor’s course about reducing prejudice included a discussion of homophobia but not of heterophobia. Websites and print publications warn about heterophobia as a threat to free speech. Many of the leading figures on this issue, including Horowitz, have roots in the radical free speech movements of the 1960s. Today, the only speech they seek to protect is their own. Their understandings of power and privilege are shallow at best.

Heterophobia is a pernicious idea, one that suggests that to question sexuality’s normative history is to hate people who sexually desire people of a

different sex. The term’s origins among antifeminist white supremacists reminds us, too, that these ideas reinforce one another on the political right, shaping alarmist declarations of an organized assault on white, cis, straight identities.

**My sexuality was the last thing I would ever want to talk about at a job interview.**

That interview experience 15 years ago did not foreshadow my experiences of a department that has welcomed and supported me. The colleague who asked me if I was heterophobic likely did not intend to associate himself with Horowitz’s racism. But the

memory of that interview shapes my conviction that homophobia and antifeminism, like white supremacy, lurk within allegations that historians who question gender, sexual, or racial norms are pushing an “agenda.” The very notion of heterophobia ignores power and presumes that a critique of patriarchal dominance oppresses men in equal measure as the full weight of gendered power differentials in our politics, economy, and social life oppress women and gender nonconforming people.

Fifteen years ago, I did not challenge the premise of the question about whether I was heterophobic. Today, my answer is unequivocal: it’s absurd. **P**

*Rebecca L. Davis is the Miller Family Early Career Professor of History at the University of Delaware and co-editor of Heterosexual Histories (New York Univ. Press, 2021). She tweets @historydavis.*

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TRISHULA PATEL

# FEELING LIKE AN INTERLOPER, BUT CLAIMING SPACE ANYWAY

*The Minority Graduate Student Experience*



For minority graduate students, being the "only one in the room" is a common experience.  
*New Data Services/Unsplash. Image cropped.*



**I**N 1970S ZIMBABWE, then known as Rhodesia, my mother was admitted to the University of Rhodesia to study English literature. The country was then under white minority rule, but by 1969, the university campus was home to 470 white students, 320 Black students, and 88 “Asian” (of Indian descent) and “Coloured” (mixed-race) students. My mother, who is of Indian origin, struggled during her classes in the honors program, where her older white male peers “looked down and made me feel like an interloper,” she later told me. That inferiority complex would stay with her for many years.

Several decades later, and in another country as a PhD student, I still battle the same demons my mother once did. I have been mistaken for another female student of color in the department. I have been tokenized as only one of three students of South Asian origin in the program. I have been told “jokingly” by fellow graduate students that I am only invited to events or given certain opportunities, or that I was admitted to the program in the first place, to showcase diversity. I have had a rejection letter addressed to “Mr. Patel,” not “Ms.,” because it was not immediately clear whether my non-Western first name was male or female, despite my pronouns and gender being made clear in my application materials. I have been told that my analysis of my own history was “problematic.” As a scholar of Indian migration to Zimbabwe, and therefore of my own community, I consistently have to justify my work in a way that my white colleagues do not, as if my belonging to the peoples I study precludes my intellectual ability to historically analyze their narratives and perspectives.

These are just some of the microaggressions that students who identify as minorities face in academia on a daily basis. Individually, these events may seem minor; collectively, they make us feel like we do not belong. Recent social justice and civil rights movements have incited important conversations about diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) both within and outside of academia. But on a larger scale, minority students in general lack institutional and faculty support. In recent years, history departments have made efforts toward diversifying their graduate student bodies as part of a larger conversation regarding the “decolonization” of the academy. But until systemic barriers to inclusion in academia are abolished, meaningful change will not be solved by the creation of DEI committees or attempts to recruit a more diverse pool of candidates.

More often than not, I am the only person of color on conference panels and in meetings, classrooms, and even social settings. In my first semesters of both college and graduate school,

frequently I was talked over in the classroom or had my contributions demeaned and diminished by fellow students in classrooms where I was sometimes the only person of color. I have managed to find my voice in those spaces and speak up for myself. But such lack of representation in the academy has an impact. While the diversity of undergraduate student populations has increased dramatically in recent decades, that change is not always reflected in the teaching assistants they encounter in the classroom, particularly in the humanities. As the number of academic jobs has declined since the 2008 financial crisis, many doctoral programs have reduced the size of their entering cohorts, making it even more likely that graduate students of color will become isolated in their programs; such a student is often “the only one” in their cohort or even the entire program.

Individually, these events  
may seem minor;  
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But the gatekeeping standards of the academy go far beyond these numbers. While I was conducting research in the Zimbabwean archives in 2018, a research assistant said to me that “it was really nice to see a woman from here in a PhD program—we don’t see that often.” While serving as the assistant to my program’s director of doctoral studies, I was asked what it would take to increase the diversity of our applicant pool. One answer lies in the fact that the funding offered to most graduate students falls far below a living wage. In 2020, the US Department of Health and Human Services set the federal poverty level at \$26,200. US doctoral students across all fields typically earn an annual stipend of \$15,000 to \$30,000, a wide range that does not account for the much higher cost of living in large metropolitan regions. Immigrant and minority families encourage their children to take on degrees and careers that guarantee them financial security, a status that is far from guaranteed with a doctoral degree in the humanities. I am the only person from my family and from my community back home in Zimbabwe to pursue a PhD in the humanities in recent years. Socio-economic inequality in the United States already means that minority students are severely impacted by the costs of attending a doctoral program, and the pandemic has only exacerbated these disparities.

Racism and discrimination on campus are further barriers to the participation and success of graduate students of color. White PhD holders still make up the majority of

those entering tenure-track positions in the United States, while Black, Asian, and Latinx professors report having to take on the “invisible labor” of mentoring students of color, navigating daily microaggressions, participating in diversity committees and trainings, and legitimizing their scholarship. The lack of representation in student and faculty bodies means that there are fewer mentors of color available for minority students. Until my PhD program, I did not have a mentor who looked like me and who could fully understand my background and my desire to tell the story of my own people. Last year was the first time I had an adviser who sent me good wishes for the Hindu religious holidays that we both celebrate. Additionally, female students of color face intersectional challenges to their participation, and a lack of institutional support makes our progress even more difficult. Creating collegial networks needs to go beyond the fostering of a diverse intellectual environment toward creating channels for mentoring and social engagement that will in turn foster increased minority enrollment—and success—in doctoral programs.

Until my PhD program, I did not have a mentor who looked like me.

Representation matters, and the importance of belonging and inclusion cannot be discounted when it comes to the mental health of graduate students. A sense of alienation from both colleagues and their institution, however, means that minority students face increased mental health issues, including higher rates of depression and anxiety disorders. During my own search for mental health support, I was told that the waiting list for therapy on campus would mean I would have to wait several months just for an initial meeting. It took several visits to different therapists, and hundreds of dollars in copays, before I was able to request a counselor who is also a woman of color. After over a decade of seeking mental health support that worked for me and my situation, having a counselor who shared some of my experiences was important to me. I am not alone in this struggle to find both support and solidarity, and treatment for mental health remains out of the reach of many students on campuses across the country.

How can departments meaningfully address these issues? Internal DEI committees are a laudable first step, but often they are unable to create meaningful change because of the inability of administrators and leadership to talk about race when it comes to their own departments—even as

they are able to write historically about and teach issues of race and discrimination. As novelist Lisa Ko tweeted in June 2020, “The revolution will not be diversity and inclusion trainings.” Commitments to making departments “inclusive” are not often accompanied by much action, and hostile or ambivalent work environments make it difficult for students of color to feel included, both socially and professionally.

In the field of African studies, “decolonizing” the academy recently has become a focus, amplifying the voices and work of scholars from the continent and its diaspora. It is important to expand that conversation to all fields of history (not just regional and area studies of the global south) and to expand opportunities for future historians from minority communities both within and beyond the borders of the United States. As historians, we must commit to mitigating—and eradicating—the socioeconomic inequalities that we so skillfully address in our scholarship but fail to address in our departments and in our worlds around us. For me, as a scholar of settler colonialism, this means redressing the systemic and institutional forms of discrimination and inequality that still exist in the United States today. Despite these battles, claiming my identity—as a scholar of Africa and South Asia, of the global south, of colonialism, of race and identity—has meant that I can finally locate myself in my own history in the world today. **P**

*Trishula Patel is a PhD candidate at Georgetown University and AHA Career Diversity Fellow from 2019–20. She tweets @trishulapatel.*

SARA E. MORRIS AND JENNY PRESNELL

# FINE PRINT

*Libraries, Historians, and the Future of Newspaper Access*



Newspapers for sale at a New York City grocery store during the summer of 1938.  
Walker Evans/Library of Congress

**HISTORIANS IN 2050** will not be able to count on libraries like they do today or as they have for the previous century. Publishing, acquisition, and archival models are changing, especially for newspapers, a key source for understanding the past. Although rare materials such as manuscripts and special collections will continue to be collected and added to collections in much the same way they are now, today's newspapers may be absent from library collections 30 years from now. If we sound alarmed, that's because we are. Changes to newspaper collections are the proverbial canaries in the coal mines for the accessibility of standard library resources in the future.

Newspapers are central to much historical research on the 18th through 21st centuries. They are an essential source for understanding localities, people, and movements throughout time. For decades, libraries purchased the same paper twice, first in print and later on microfilm. Librarians preferred microfilm for long-term preservation, as it took up less space than bound copies and its lifespan far exceeded newsprint. The importance of newspaper collections to research in many fields meant that scholars expected their library to have backfiles of at least one major paper and their local titles. If a local library did not have what a researcher needed, inter-library loan usually provided the microfilm, obtained from another library. The ease and affordability of accessing newspapers this way brought greater equity to historical inquiry.

### Copyright limitations and the perceived value of older issues of certain newspapers created a robust market for library vendors.

Like so much else, the digital revolution changed how libraries saved and provided access to papers. In the 1980s, CD-ROM and dial-up access to expensive online, searchable, text-only databases provided keyword searching but did not offer images of pages, essential to understanding how the reader encountered the paper. As technology improved, expectations changed. By the early 2000s, researchers wanted to be able to search by keywords *and* see the paper, making page images and PDFs the desired format. Efforts like the Library of Congress's *Chronicling America* created both a one-stop portal and awarded grants to states to digitize full-page images of papers in the public domain. The ambitious *Google News Archive* contained a mixture of pre- and post-1924 papers, but ceased shortly

after its launch. Google's project ran into problems with complex copyright issues and promised revenue to the struggling papers.

Copyright limitations and the perceived value of older issues of certain newspapers created a robust market for library vendors. ProQuest, a major provider of microfilm, launched the first searchable, page-scanned image backfile of a paper with their *Historical New York Times* in 2001. ProQuest's success resulted in a small number of library vendors cornering the market on old papers; the vendors decide which titles are scanned, pay papers for exclusive rights, and set the purchase price.

Librarians have always struggled to purchase expensive resources, but large digital historical archives started a new acquisitions model of high upfront costs plus annual fees. For example, in 2006, NewsBank asked the Milwaukee Public Library to pay \$1.5 million for access to the archive of the city's major newspaper. For universities, the significant one-time fee is based on full-time enrollment with a substantial annual maintenance fee. Access to the papers in these databases are purchased under a strict license, protected by a firewall, and effectively prevent libraries from lending more than a single article based on a citation.

In terms of keyword searching, online browsing, and viewing papers as the readers of print versions would have, the real benefits come at the cost of equity. Scholars at wealthier institutions have a greater likelihood of having access to these digital resources, while those at institutions with fewer resources will continue to make do with microfilm, assuming it is available in the future, or traveling to use digital versions. This disparity of access caused one scholar to declare that the "digital divide between the ivory-tower haves and have-nots will be a defining one for our generation of scholars."

Personal access to the internet created new markets for newspapers' archival holdings, further challenging libraries' status as repositories for newspapers. For over a century, the only significant post-newsstand market for newspapers were libraries. Besides the revenue from microfilm sales, there were few additional profits to be made by publishers. But in the last decade, struggling newspaper publishers have realized that they have a huge and untapped market that never purchased microfilm—individuals. When the *New York Times* created their own archive and began selling personal subscriptions, they created a new business model. The size of this market



has caused publishers to slowly abandon the library as the sole conduit to share their products. Costs and licensing terms often prevent libraries from subscribing to many publisher-created archives or from providing unlimited access to current news content. It is reasonable to anticipate that access to many published papers will be more easily available to the individual in the future. This may make information more accessible in the short term, but in the long term it has real consequences for historians who may be expected to pay for their own subscriptions to papers they need to do their work—either because the cost for a library license is too great or the option is not available to their library. Exemplifying this trend are Newspapers.com and The British Newspaper Archive, vendor-created resources marketed to individual genealogists, not libraries.

While these changing business models will decouple the newspaper archive from the library, they will keep content available. We fear this is not going to be the case for born-digital content. For researchers to use born-digital content in the future, there must be plans for its storage and archiving. *Storage* is for emergency data recovery and does not ensure that the materials are or will ever be accessible to researchers. *Archiving* is long-term preservation, which assures that content will be available in spite of changes in technology and includes enhanced access, such as metadata, indexing, and keyword searching. In the absence of hard copies stored in a local repository, storage, archiving, and access to the archive are the responsibility of the publishers, many of whom do not recognize the difference between storage and archiving, neither of which is their priority.

Big national papers like the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* do have archiving systems in place, but many smaller papers cannot afford the required technology, staff, and server space. While many publishers likely have some kind of storage or backup for their content, they generally have no formal plan to archive and preserve their born-digital content. They rely, reluctantly or by default, on third-party organizations such as the Internet Archive to store and provide access to their content. The Internet Archive's bots capture a page of a newspaper website in a moment in time—sometimes several times a day, sometimes only a few days a week or a few days a month—providing an inconsistent stored record, especially for born-digital content.

The *Chicago Defender* encapsulates these emerging problems with newspaper access. The paper, perhaps the most

important Black paper in the United States, announced that it would no longer produce a printed edition in the summer of 2019. Begun in 1905, the *Defender* can be found in the microfilm cabinets of many libraries, and its importance as a paper resulted in the *Defender* anchoring the ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Black Newspapers digital collection. When the paper announced that all future content would appear online only, it made national news because of the paper's importance and changes to the newspaper industry. What didn't make the news, but which concerned librarians across the country, was the sudden end of over 100 years of library access. An online paper cannot be microfilmed, and the archive on the *Defender's* website provides access to print content via products available from ProQuest. The *Defender* did not immediately offer plans for how or if born-digital content will be preserved and made accessible for the future in a more stable location than its website. In 30 years, when a researcher wants to learn how COVID affected Chicago's Black population, they may not be able to turn to the *Defender* for the answer.

## Historians have a crucial role to play in this transition.

Historians have a crucial role to play in this transition. Scholars should no longer assume that a local, regional, or national newspaper will be accessible at a library or through interlibrary loan. It is important that historians reach out to their librarians to find out how they are dealing with these shifts. Talk to them about the local or national papers that are important to explaining life in 2021.

We—librarians, historians, and even journalists—cannot afford to become siloed in our individual professions, organizations, or occupations. While we all have different needs in regard to newspapers, right now the power players are the publishers and vendors. Market forces more often decide access and archiving methods, which don't always meet the needs of users. As users, we need to raise our voice. Concerned historians, librarians, and journalists should begin working together now to ensure that future scholars can access both former print and born-digital news content. Changes to newspaper collecting are the canary in a coal mine. The world of information access is rapidly changing, and we must work together to ensure that future historians can practice their craft. **P**

*Sara E. Morris is a librarian at the University of Kansas. Jenny Presnell is a librarian at Miami University.*

# Virtual | AHA

**Virtual AHA** is a series of online opportunities to bring together communities of historians, build professional relationships, discuss scholarship, and engage in professional and career development. A service to our members as they navigate the current emergency, Virtual AHA provides a forum for discussing common issues, building research networks, and broadening and maintaining our professional community in dire circumstances. It also provides resources for online teaching and other professional and career development. We are creating various kinds of content to help historians connect, while helping us learn more about what our members want and need.

Virtual AHA will run through June 2021. It incorporates the AHA Colloquium, our name for content drawn from the canceled 2021 annual meeting. It also includes an online teaching forum, career development workshops, a series of History Behind the Headlines webinars, National History Center programming, and more. These programs are free, and AHA membership is not required to register. Many of the webinars will be available for later viewing on the AHA's YouTube channel at [youtube.com/historiansorg](https://youtube.com/historiansorg).

See [historians.org/VirtualAHA](https://historians.org/VirtualAHA) for details. Download the Virtual AHA app at [guidebook.com/g/virtualaha](https://guidebook.com/g/virtualaha) for the latest schedule updates and links.

## Virtual Exhibit Hall

The AHA Virtual Exhibit Hall will be available online through June 2021. The Virtual Exhibit Hall provides an opportunity to learn about the latest historical scholarship, take advantage of publisher discounts, and network with editors and press staff. If you normally look forward to the exhibits at the annual meeting, the Virtual Exhibit Hall offers a similar experience from the comfort of your home. Best of all, no name badge is necessary: the Exhibit Hall is free and open to the public. Check it out at [historians.org/ExhibitHall](https://historians.org/ExhibitHall).

## Programming Content Streams

- **AHA Colloquium:** Bringing together communities of historians who ordinarily meet face-to-face at our annual meeting through web-based programming. Visit [historians.org/Colloquium](https://historians.org/Colloquium) for a full list of staff- and participant-produced content.
- **History Behind the Headlines:** Featuring prominent historians discussing the histories behind current events and the importance of history and historical thinking to public policy and culture.
- **Online Teaching Forum:** Helping historians plan for teaching in online and hybrid environments.
- **Virtual Career Development:** Emphasizing career exploration and skill development for graduate students and early career historians.
- **Virtual Seminars for Department Chairs:** Supporting department chairs through the transitions and uncertainties resulting from COVID-19. Webinars will be small-group discussions (capped at 10 participants) and will be facilitated by an experienced department chair.
- **National History Center Congressional Briefings:** Briefings by leading historians on past events and policies that shape the issues facing Congress today.
- **Washington History Seminar:** Facilitating understanding of contemporary affairs in light of historical knowledge from a variety of perspectives. A joint venture of the National History Center of the AHA and the History and Public Policy Program of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

## Upcoming Events

Visit [historians.org/VirtualAHA](https://historians.org/VirtualAHA) for details on these and other events that will be scheduled between now and May.

<b>April 1</b>	AHA Colloquium—Tanzania, 60 Years since Independence
<b>April 5</b>	Washington History Seminar— <i>You Are Not American: Citizen Stripping from Dred Scott to the Dreamers</i>
<b>April 6</b>	AHA Colloquium—Poster Lightning Round
<b>April 8</b>	AHA Colloquium—Temporary Unions in the Early Modern World
<b>April 8</b>	AHA Colloquium—US Immigration and Labor Policy during the Long Age of Restriction: Unimagined Complications and Responses at Borders and in Fields
<b>April 12</b>	Washington History Seminar— <i>Stalin: Passage to Revolution</i>
<b>April 13</b>	AHA Colloquium—Business History Today
<b>April 19</b>	Washington History Seminar— <i>Until Justice Be Done: America's First Civil Rights Movement, from the Revolution to Reconstruction</i>
<b>April 20</b>	AHA Colloquium—A Century of American Drug Use: Psychoactive Drugs among Native Americans, Hippies, and the Working Poor
<b>April 22</b>	AHA Colloquium—The Assassination of Patrice Lumumba: Looking Back after 60 Years
<b>April 26</b>	Washington History Seminar— <i>Latin America and the Global Cold War</i>
<b>April 29</b>	AHA Colloquium—The New Western History, 40 Years On

### In Case You Missed It

The following recordings are available on the AHA's YouTube channel at [youtube.com/historiansorg](https://youtube.com/historiansorg).

#### Online Teaching Forum

- History TAs in the Time of COVID
- Deep Thoughts: Metacognition and Teaching History
- The Role of Higher Ed in AP History Courses and Exams

#### Career Development

- Careers for Historians in the Tech Industry
- Making the Most of Your Postdoc

#### AHA Colloquium

- History PhDs in the World of Entrepreneurship
- History and Historians in Response to COVID-19 (three-event series): Plagues Past and Present; Containing Contagion; Infection and Inequality
- New Military History
- Teaching Premodern Women and Gender
- Shifting How History Is Taught
- Late Breaking Plenary: The International Implications of the US Election

- Plenary: Erasing History
- 2021 Presidential Address: Slow History

#### History Behind the Headlines


- Presidential Debates in Historical Perspective
- Historians Reflect on the 2020 Election
- Preserving Records: Archives and Presidential Transitions

#### Washington History Seminar

- Recordings are available on the National History Center's YouTube channel.

### Further Information about the AHA Colloquium for Those Accepted for the 2021 Program

People originally scheduled to be on the 2021 program have a variety of options for sharing their work. Keep an eye on [historians.org/VirtualAHA](https://historians.org/VirtualAHA) for regular updates.

A PDF program, documenting all sessions accepted by the AHA Program Committee and the affiliated societies, is posted on the AHA website at [historians.org/program](https://historians.org/program) so that participants can validate their expected participation for their CVs. Anyone who was expecting to deliver a prepared presentation will have the opportunity to post written remarks on the AHA website. 

## TWEETING TO FIND COMMUNITY

*Building an Online Presence as a Historian*

As a fourth-year doctoral student in history, I began my dissertation just as COVID-19 shuttered archives and libraries, suspended in-person conferences, and put a halt to classroom teaching. Although public health measures required that I isolate in my apartment with just my books for company, I needed to remain active in my field. Twitter, a site where users post short messages called tweets, emerged as an essential tool for maintaining my network during COVID.

If you only use Twitter to keep tabs on the 24-hour news cycle or the latest memes, you're missing out on the opportunity to join conversations with scholars in your subfield and connect with people in other subfields and disciplines. During a year characterized by social distancing and independent work, I used Twitter to reduce my sense of personal and professional isolation, build my professional network, deepen my understanding of various subfields, and identify new professional opportunities.

Twitter, like TikTok, Instagram, and other social media sites, can feed into a "doomscrolling" habit (scrolling and seeking out bad news) that takes a toll on mental health and productivity. But if used strategically, Twitter can be a powerful networking tool for historians at all stages in their careers. Building a social media presence is an important professional task that can also be a fun and creative personal outlet. My Twitter presence is a combination of the goings-on in my work life, my reactions to the barrage of daily news, and the private dramas of my life. My former professor Nils Gilman (Univ. of California, Berkeley) described it quite well. He said that my Twitter presence is a combination of "intellectual-professional-political seriousness with a self-deprecating and sometimes absurdist presentation of [my] personal life." Besides being the kindest thing anyone has ever said about my personal life, Gilman nailed what makes a social media presence work. It is both formal and informal, professional and social.

I wasn't active on Twitter until 2017, when I started graduate school and joined the conversation happening under the

#twitterstorians hashtag. (A hashtag uses a pound symbol, followed by a word or phrase, to collect tweets in one place; #twitterstorians was coined by Katrina Gulliver to foster a community of historians on Twitter.) Since then, I have met more graduate students and professors working in my field than I would have by simply attending events like the AHA or Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations annual meetings. I don't dispute the benefit of in-person conferences, and I look forward to returning to them after the pandemic ends, but Twitter allows me to spend more time talking with people about my research, sharing resources with them or getting help with teaching, and learning from their experiences on the academic and nonacademic job markets.

If used strategically, Twitter can  
be a powerful networking  
tool for historians.

Networking online, even when there is not a pandemic forcing us to stay at home, supports in-person networking too. Initial conversations at conferences can be awkward, but building a relationship over Twitter beforehand decreases that possibility. As we gear up for a return to conferences, symposia, and workshops after the pandemic ceases, the connections I have built online are likely to help me start conversations at receptions or after panels. Historians I admire will not feel unapproachable, and, I hope, more people will feel comfortable approaching me.

Twitter can help historians feel less isolated in their work and research. In May 2020, after a few months in isolation, I used Twitter to bring historians together to talk to each other and the public. Matthew Gabriele (Virginia Tech) and I first connected on Twitter over the massive scale but incredible closeness of the history community, despite the isolation we all feel during the pandemic. Our conversations on Twitter led us to start "Drinking with Historians," a



twice-monthly webcast that invites historians to talk about their work and answer questions from attendees. We initially connect with many of our guests and viewers over Twitter and keep those conversations going on that platform long after the broadcast ends. We've hosted historians including Kevin Kruse, Sarah Bond, Ian Millhiser, Eric Rauchway, and Joanne Freeman, discussing historical processes and ideas despite being unable to meet in person. Through Twitter, I've gained many personal and professional connections, and though "Drinking with Historians" might sound like a lighthearted event, we've used it to create a space to engage the general public as well as trained historians about how historians work and research.

Twitter can also be a valuable tool for historians contemplating careers outside of academia. While departmental programs and conference panels can help graduate students with this transition, Twitter has enabled me to speak directly with people who have been through the process and whom I might not connect with through my department or a professional association. For example, I shared my interest in teaching high school after my PhD and quickly connected with dozens of PhDs teaching in K-12 schools, a professor who led a program

to help people with the process of becoming a public high school teacher, someone who worked within the California public high school system, and dozens of other graduate students who are planning to pursue K-12 teaching too. It was invaluable, and reassuring, to hear from those who have already made this transition as I developed my career plans. It was also useful to hear from teachers already in the K-12 system. I hope that I've built connections with these people that will grow from professional to personal in the long term.

Finally, Twitter has helped me expand my knowledge of current work being done in various subfields. For historians at all levels, this is a real and tangible benefit to being active online. For example, after the January 6 insurrection, I asked Twitter what they've read on the history of American fascism for a book chapter I'm writing, and the responses were quick, generous, and useful. This request, in turn, led to an enlightening discussion about the usefulness of the term "fascism" for Americanists. While these discussions can happen at conferences, and now over Zoom, on social media we can react more quickly to events and discuss more ideas as diverse groups of scholars participate.



Varsha Venkatasubramanian has used Twitter to reduce her sense of personal and professional isolation, build a professional network, deepen her understanding of various subfields, and identify new professional opportunities.

*Usha Venkat (Instagram: @ultravioletusha)*

Discussing my research online has helped me develop relationships with writers and editors at popular outlets. I work on the history of dams in the United States and South Asia. In addition to invitations to discuss my research on podcasts, Twitter exchanges have led to conversations with writers at magazines like *Current Affairs*. Before COVID made such events impossible, a colleague I met online invited me to a small event where I met with journalists and editors. After this party, I was invited to discuss my research with writers and editors from *Current Affairs* on their podcast. As a result, the magazine invited me to write a piece about the dam collapses in Michigan this past summer. While discussing your dissertation progress and research findings online can be difficult, it's incredibly meaningful to share your ideas and work with people outside of academia.

For most, the benefits to building an online presence will make the risks worth it.

There are, of course, downsides to being online. It can be frustrating, at best, to deal with trolls and bad-faith arguments, but this is where carefully building a network of personal

connections comes in handy. Scholars who are new to Twitter should take care to network safely and be aware of any rules surrounding online speech that may apply to them through their employers. The AHA's *Guide for Dealing with Online Harassment* is a good place to begin. It includes preparatory steps, like beefing up your email security, as well as steps to take if harassment begins. For most people, though, the professional and personal benefits to building an online presence, especially on Twitter, will make these risks worth it. Ultimately, online networking is a valuable resource for historians navigating their lives as educators, scholars, and citizens.

I am lucky to have received tremendous support from my colleagues and advisers in my department, but the connections I've built online are important too. I've been able to share my research, learn how to become a better teacher, and gain invaluable career advice. Graduate school can be a lonely process, even more so during the pandemic. Twitter has provided me with a professional and personal outlet for connecting. Tweeting through it has completely changed my graduate experience, my career plans, and my networks. **P**

*Varsha Venkatasubramanian is a history PhD candidate at the University of California, Berkeley. She tweets at @varsha\_venkat\_.*



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COMPILED BY LIZ TOWNSEND

## 2021 AHA NOMINATIONS

The Nominating Committee for 2021–22, chaired by Daniel A. Greene (Newberry Library), met virtually in February 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

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

### President-elect

**William Chester Jordan**, Princeton University (Dayton–Stockton Professor; medieval Europe, law, the Crusades, church-state relations, Jewish-Christian relations)

**Edward W. Muir Jr.**, Northwestern University (Clarence L. Ver Steeg Professor; medieval and early modern Europe, religion, urban, legal and criminal)

### Teaching Division

#### Vice President

**Elizabeth A. Drummond**, Loyola Marymount University (associate professor and chair; German-Polish national conflict, gender and nationalism, imperialism, public)

**Kathleen M. Hilliard**, Iowa State University (associate professor and director of graduate education; informal economics, slavery and emancipation, US South)

#### Councilor

**Choi Chatterjee**, California State University, Los Angeles (professor and chair; Russia, world)

**Karen Marrero**, Wayne State University (associate professor; early North America and Indigenous, transnational and borderlands)

### Professional Division

#### Councilor

**Laura E. Hostetler**, University of Illinois at Chicago (professor and director of undergraduate studies; Qing empire, Sino-European relations, early modern world, cartography, humanities education)

**William M. Tsutsui**, Hendrix College (professor emeritus; environmental history of Japan, fisheries, popular culture in postwar Japan)

### Research Division

#### Councilor

**Sandra E. Greene**, Cornell University (Stephen '59 and Madeline '60 Anbinder Professor; slavery, biography, Ghana)

**Hasan Kwame Jeffries**, Ohio State University (associate professor; Civil Rights and Black Power Movement)

### Committee on Committees

#### Slot 1

**Julie Hardwick**, University of Texas at Austin (John E. Green Regents Professor; early modern Europe, social and cultural)

**Dana Rabin**, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (professor and interim chair; Great Britain/nation/race, 18th-century empire)

#### Slot 2

**Sarah C. Kovner**, Columbia University (senior research scholar; modern Japan, war and society, gender and sexuality)



**Franziska Seraphim**, Boston College (associate professor; modern and contemporary Japan, social/political/cultural, historical memory, global)

## Nominating Committee

### Slot 1

**Amanda Herbert**, Folger Institute (associate director, Fellowships Program; gender/sexuality, health/healing/body)

**Lisa Leff**, American University (professor) and US Holocaust Memorial Museum (director, Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies); Jews of modern France

### Slot 2

**Evan Dawley**, Goucher College (associate professor; Taiwanese ethnic identity formation, Chinese nationalism and Chinese diaspora, East Asian regionalism, memory studies, historical geography)

**Philip Thai**, Northeastern University (associate professor; modern China, legal, economic, diplomatic)

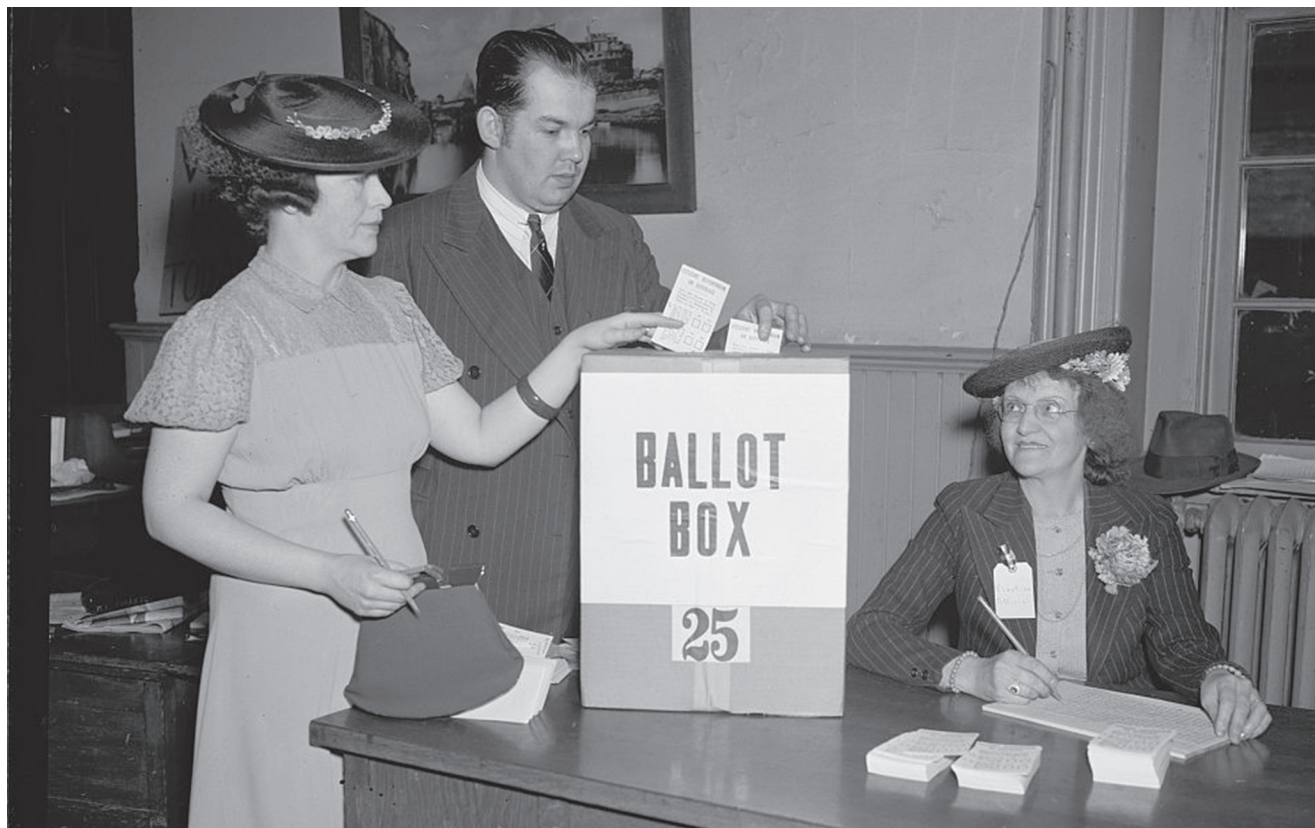
### Slot 3

**Wendy E. Lucas**, University of Central Arkansas (professor and chair; early America, material culture, identity, women/gender/sexuality, Native American–European relations)

**Melissa N. Stuckey**, Elizabeth City State University (assistant professor; African American migration to Oklahoma, African American history, Black freedom struggles)

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.*



*Harris & Ewing/Library of Congress*

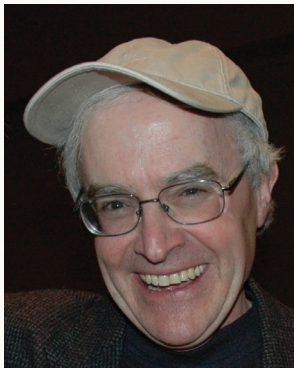
# *Virtual* | AHA

## DON'T MISS OUR **VIRTUAL AHA** WEB CONTENT

- **AHA Colloquium**  
(includes content from the canceled  
2021 annual meeting)
- **History Behind the Headlines**
  - **Online Teaching Forum**
- **Virtual Career Development**
  - **National History Center  
Congressional Briefings**
- **Washington History Seminar**
  - **Virtual Exhibit Hall**

**& more**

[historians.org/VirtualAHA](https://historians.org/VirtualAHA)



## Terrence M. Cole

1953–2020

Historian of Alaska and  
Polar History

Terrence Cole, professor emeritus of history and Arctic and northern studies at the University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF), died on December 12, 2020, at the age of 67. The eminent scholar of Alaska and polar history achieved celebrity status far beyond his adopted state, owing to an animated and engaging lecture style that inspired audiences ranging from schoolchildren to university students, academic conference attendees, cruise ship passengers, and PBS and History Channel viewers. Cole's greatest professional legacy lies in the countless students whose lives and careers he profoundly shaped through his dedication not only to their intellectual growth but also to their personal well-being.

Cole earned a PhD in history at the University of Washington in 1983. He joined the UAF history department in 1988, attaining the rank of full professor in 1998. He taught in the master's program in Northern Studies (now Arctic & Northern Studies) from its founding in 1992 until his retirement in 2018. An alumnus of UAF, he was one of its most ardent supporters, establishing and regularly donating to scholarship funds and encouraging others to do so. In 1998, the university honored him with the Edith Bullock Award for Excellence in support of the University of Alaska. Until his death, he remained grateful to the institution that had permitted him to enjoy a gratifying career doing what he loved—researching, writing, and teaching history.

A deep believer in the value of a broad liberal arts education, he urged students to question their assumptions, unsettling many, while earning the enduring gratitude of countless others for teaching them to think critically. He emphasized analytical writing skills, reminding students that “muddled writing reveals muddled thinking.” Of the 20 master's students whose committees he chaired, seven went on to earn PhDs in history at other universities and an eighth is currently pursuing a PhD at UAF. Cole's ability to engage and inspire students earned him UAF's Emil Usibelli Distinguished Teaching Award in 1994, the Golden Key

National Honor Society Award for Outstanding Teaching in 1995, and the Associated Students of UAF's Award for Outstanding Faculty Member in 1996.

Foremost an expert on Alaska and polar history, Cole's enviable publishing record includes five books on Alaska history, most recently *Fighting for the Forty-Ninth Star: C. W. Snedden and the Crusade for Alaska Statehood* (UA Foundation, 2010), a treatment of the state, national, and international personalities, interests, and forces that shaped Alaska's statehood movement. He co-authored with Elmer E. Rasmuson *Banking on Alaska: The Story of the National Bank of Alaska* (Univ. of Alaska Press, 2000), which provides an excellent economic history of the state. His monograph “Blinded by Riches: The Permanent Funding Problem and the Prudhoe Bay Effect” (Institute of Social and Economic Research, 2004) offers an incisive analysis of Alaska's historical dependence on oil for the last half century. For many years, Cole edited the University of Alaska Press's Classic Reprint Series. He compiled, edited, or contributed to 20 books related to Alaska and polar history, published dozens of peer-reviewed and other articles, produced nearly 20 government-sponsored and other projects, and contributed to numerous film, television, and radio productions.

Cole's public service ranged from serving on the Alaska Historical Commission and the editorial board of *Alaska History* to establishing and co-directing the National History Day program in Fairbanks for two decades. His service to the community and state garnered him the Governor's Award for the Humanities in 2006 and the Boy Scouts of America's Fairbanks Citizen of the Year award in 2011 (which he shared with his twin brother, journalist Dermot Cole).

Following Cole's cancer diagnosis in 2017, colleagues published a festschrift, *The Big Wild Soul of Terrence Cole: An Eclectic Collection to Honor Alaska's Public Historian* (Univ. of Alaska Press, 2019). The essays written by colleagues, former and current students, and friends attest to the broad and enduring influence of this exceptional figure.

Mary F. Ehrlander

*University of Alaska Fairbanks (emerita)*

*Photo courtesy University of Alaska Fairbanks*





## Paul W. Schroeder

1927–2020

Historian of Modern Europe; AHA 50-Year Member

Paul W. Schroeder, professor emeritus of European history at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, passed away in State College, Pennsylvania, on December 6, 2020.

Born in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1927, he initially followed in his father's footsteps by attending seminary in St. Louis, where he met his wife of 70 years, Violet Doolin. She survives him, along with their two daughters, Jan and Susan, two brothers, eight grandchildren, and 18 great-grandchildren. He was ordained as a Lutheran pastor, but he left the ministry in 1954. In a sermon many years later, he claimed he was "not unfrocked, just unsuited." Yet one cannot write a remembrance of Paul without acknowledging his great faith and commitment to the Lutheran Church and his family.

All who knew Paul as colleague, professor, and mentor recognized a powerful intellect, a meticulous and innovative researcher, a highly productive author who transformed his field, and a kind and warmhearted man with an underappreciated sense of humor. His thoroughly documented, rigorously argued, and innovative scholarship fostered both admiration and scholarly debate. Many of his books were recognized for their excellence: *The Axis Alliance and Japanese-American Relations, 1941* (Cornell Univ. Press, 1958), which won the AHA's Albert J. Beveridge Award; *Metternich's Diplomacy at Its Zenith, 1820–1823* (Univ. of Texas Press, 1962), which was awarded the Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Prize; *Austria, Great Britain, and the Crimean War: The Destruction of the European Concert* (Cornell Univ. Press, 1972); and *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763–1848* (Clarendon Press, 1992), which historian Hamish Scott called the "book that keeps on giving" with its "layers of meaning." This groundbreaking study demonstrated Paul's unparalleled expertise in the history of international relations and generated numerous conferences and speaking engagements, a forum on the Vienna System in the *American Historical Review* (1992), and a special edition of the *International History Review* (1994). Fourteen of his most influential articles and book chapters were collected in *Systems, Stability,*

*and Statecraft: Essays on the International History of Modern Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). Unsurprisingly, given both his scholarship and his dedication to the profession, he served on many councils, associations, and editorial boards, including the AHA's Research Division and the *American Historical Review* Board of Editors.

Paul's awards included a Fulbright (1956–57), a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship (1973), and the accolade of which he was most proud, designation as University of Illinois Jubilee Professor of Liberal Arts and Sciences (1992). He was a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (1983–84), a visiting research fellow at Merton College, Oxford (1984), and a visiting scholar at the Merhson Center for International Security at Ohio State University (1998). In 2012, the *London Review of Books* identified Schroeder as "arguably the greatest living American historian." Scott described him as "by far the leading historian of international relations of the past generation and a scholar who re-shaped the way in which we all think about and study diplomatic contacts in the past."

Teaching, as much as research and writing, was a passion of Paul's. His students benefited from his devotion and remember his lectures as riveting. He pushed them to think in new ways about history and historical interpretation. He was never too busy to read, encourage, and clarify ideas for his students. In the classroom and beyond, Paul sought to convey the relevance of history in making sense of and seeking solutions to contemporary challenges. He deployed his expertise in international relations and reputation to speak out against the American invasion of Iraq in such venues as *National Interest* (2001–02) and the *American Conservative* (2002).

An avid tennis player through his 70s, he built his own tennis court. He loved classical music and cooking, taught himself woodworking and construction, and built a three-bedroom house nearly by himself. Paul was a man of many talents, virtues, and interests, and one cannot appreciate his character and stature by considering his academic accomplishments alone. His publications have left a rich and transformative legacy, but not as powerful a legacy as the man himself. His very life was the gift that kept on giving.

Katherine Aaslestad  
West Virginia University

Photo courtesy Susan Streit



## Judy Yung

1946–2020

Social Historian of  
Chinese Americans

Judy Yung identified with the label “fifth Chinese daughter,” made famous by Jade Snow Wong’s enduring 1950 memoir. Separated by a generation, both were born and raised in San Francisco’s Chinatown and promoted the political and social visibility of Chinese American women. Unlike Wong, Judy viewed her parents’ pursuit of a son not so much as a handicap but as a launching point for her advocacy of Chinese American women’s history, San Francisco’s Chinatown community, and Asian American studies.

Judy earned a BA from San Francisco State University and an MA in library science from the University of California, Berkeley, where she later returned to pursue a PhD in ethnic studies. She had the attentive and helpful demeanor of one’s favorite neighborhood librarian, which masked the determined resolve of her scholarly and community activism, pursued through several professions as a public librarian, journalist, and historian.

Her first job as a librarian at the Chinatown Branch of the San Francisco Public Library led Judy to realize the dearth of materials about Chinese Americans, especially women. She responded by establishing the library’s Chinese-language and Chinese American collections. At the Oakland public library, she built the first Asian American branch library in the country. Inspired by the civil rights movement and the founding of ethnic studies, she further undertook research to fill this void, first as a journalist, then as a historian.

Judy began collecting oral histories when she collaborated with Him Mark Lai and Genny Lim to preserve the poems discovered on the walls of Angel Island Immigration Station during the 1970s. *Island: Poetry and History of Chinese Immigrants on Angel Island, 1910–1940* (Chinese Culture Center of San Francisco, 1980) received the American Book Award in 1982 and remains in print through an expanded version (Univ. of Washington Press, 2014). In 1981, Judy received a federal grant from the Women’s Educational Equity Program to research and organize the first exhibit on

Chinese American women, which she expanded into *Chinese Women of America: A Pictorial History* (Univ. of Washington Press, 1986). After these two projects, Judy embarked on her formal training as a historian.

Judy’s only academic position was in American studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz, where she was the backbone of the Asian American studies program and taught classes in women’s studies, oral history, and mixed-race studies. Her first monograph, *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (Univ. of California Press, 1995), drew heavily on oral histories to vibrantly portray Chinese American women as they pursued better livelihoods, organizational empowerment, and expanded opportunities while navigating racial, gender, and socio-economic inequalities. True to her community commitments, Judy shared her findings with her interviewees, and they reciprocated with their support. *Unbound Feet* received awards from the Women’s Heritage Museum, the Western History Association, and the Association for Asian American Studies, and it had enough general appeal to be sold through the Bay Area branch of Costco. Twenty-five years after publication, it remains a foundational text in Asian American history.

Judy continued building resources on the social history of Chinese Americans, publishing her findings in collections such as *Unbound Voices: A Documentary History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (Univ. of California Press, 1999); *Chinese American Voices: From the Gold Rush to the Present*, co-edited with Gordon Chang and Him Mark Lai (Univ. of California Press, 2006); and *San Francisco’s Chinatown* (Arcadia Publishing, 2006). She also co-authored *Angel Island: Immigrant Gateway to America* (Oxford Univ. Press, 2010) with Erika Lee.

Research led Judy to her husband, Eddie Fung. They had worked together for several months recording Eddie’s oral history when Eddie had the chutzpah to ask Judy to marry him, and Judy had the chutzpah to say “yes.” Together they published *The Adventures of Eddie Fung: Chinatown Kid, Texas Cowboy, Prisoner of War* (Univ. of Washington Press, 2007). After Eddie’s death in 2018, Judy moved back to San Francisco and continued her public history work. Although she passed away with a full agenda still on her plate, Judy has already remade US history through the wealth of images, stories, and interpretations that she championed.

Madeline Y. Hsu  
University of Texas at Austin

Photo courtesy Yung family

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## KENTUCKY

### UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

Louisville, KY

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## NEW JERSEY

### INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

Princeton, NJ

#### History of Art and Architecture.

The Institute for Advanced Study intends to make a professorial appointment in the School of Historical Studies in the field of History of Art and Architecture. All specializations will be considered from candidates with distinguished scholarly accomplishments. Expressions of interest, including a candidate's CV and list of publications, should be sent by May 10, 2021, as email attachments to [HSsearch@ias.edu](mailto:HSsearch@ias.edu) or by regular mail to Administrative Officer, School of Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study, 1 Einstein Drive, Princeton, New Jersey, 08540. All communications will be held in strict confidence. The Institute for Advanced Study is an EOE.

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DANIELLE ALESİ

## A CROCODILE'S GAZE



While canoeing alone in rainy Australian waters in 1985, ecofeminist philosopher Val Plumwood spotted a floating stick that “seemed to develop eyes.” This stick was a massive saltwater crocodile (*Crocodylus porosus*) who, for reasons only he knew, pulled her underwater in an attack she was lucky to survive. Crocodiles, from the subfamily Crocodylinae, are large, semi-aquatic reptiles that inhabit dark, watery spaces across Australia, Africa, Asia, and the Americas, as well as the cultural imagination of humans. These prehistoric masters of survival have been our gods, predators, commodities, and pests, and though they have inhabited this planet long before us, our histories are intertwined.

Plumwood described an unsettling recognition of human limitation in her essay on the encounter, “Being Prey.” For all our civilization and technology, what is a human compared to a crocodile on his own turf? Reading her story, I was reminded of a similar interaction over 500 years before Plumwood’s incident. In 1578, Jean de Léry, a French Calvinist minister, recalled a time he was lost in the Brazilian rainforest. Léry encountered “a lizard much bigger than a man’s body, six or seven feet long,” who he was quite certain “would swallow us up and devour us.” While Léry’s reptile did not attack, his fearful tale echoes Plumwood’s essay written centuries later.

Both writers fixate on the animal’s gaze and the barriers of culture and civilization it dismantles. Plumwood remembers how “the crocodile rushed up alongside the canoe, and its beautiful, flecked golden eyes looked straight into mine.” For Léry, the “monstrous” reptile, “head raised and eyes gleaming . . . stopped short to look at us.” Writing years later, Léry ruminated: “It has occurred to me since . . . this one had taken as much pleasure in looking at us as we had felt fear in gazing upon it.” In the eyes of a predator,

we recognize our own subjectivity and, therefore, vulnerability.

Yet the eye of the crocodile is an extension of the whole animal, for what would it matter if that eye was not also attached to the muscles, the teeth, and the claws? When the crocodile’s eye lands on you, you are now prey—and if you can be prey, then you are also an animal. As humans, we too easily forget that our eyes, our voice, and our intellect are also inextricably linked to our limited animal bodies.

The crocodile helps us to think through the human-animal relationship throughout history. Both Léry and Plumwood remind us that not only do humans share this planet with other animals, we are not invincible rulers of a tamed animal world. Animals are agents in the world, capable of enacting great change and capable of looking right at us, influencing our narratives. To ignore the presence of animals in human history, and to fail to recognize the animality of humans, is to leave a part of ourselves out of our stories.

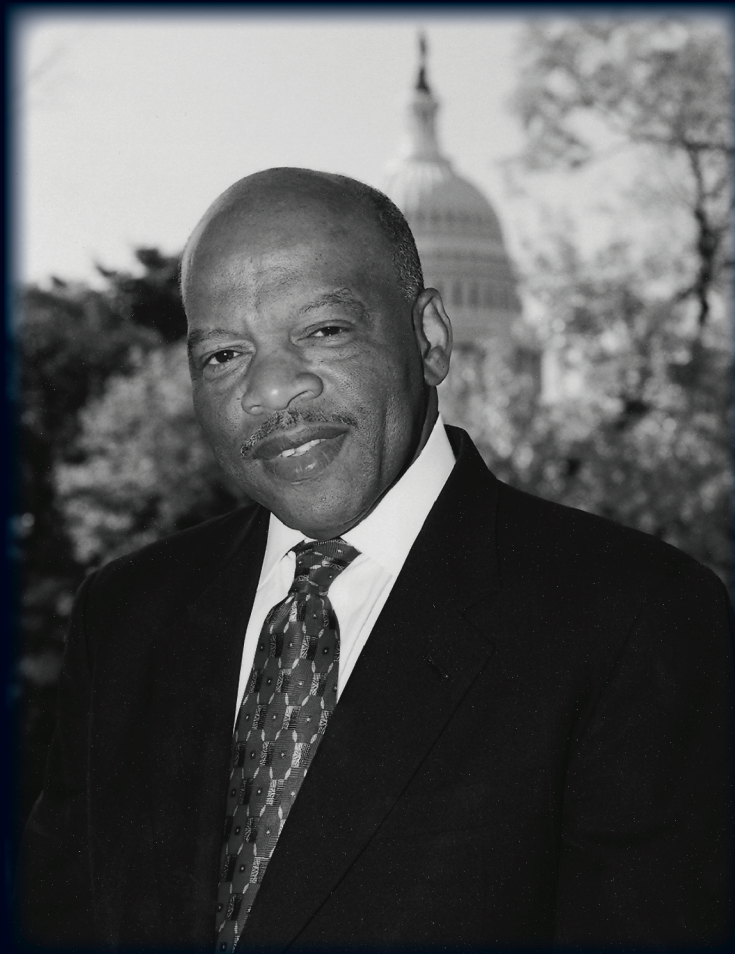
The crocodile does not care if he stalks a great thinker or an influential writer. He sees only prey. How humbling it is to remember that, in the eyes of a crocodile, we are just another animal in their river. **P**

*Danielle Alesi is a PhD candidate in history at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln. She tweets @Danielle\_Alesi.*

*Photo: Tambako The Jaguar/Flickr/CC BY-ND 2.0*

# Introducing the John Lewis Awards from the American Historical Association

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