



ROTHERMERE AMERICAN INSTITUTE
AMERICA'S HOME AT OXFORD

Rothermere American Institute 2015-16 Travel Awards: Recipients' Reports

UNDERGRADUATE AWARDS

Alice Duffy (B.A. in History and Politics, Keble College)

Award given for research at the Reagan and Nixon Presidential Libraries in Los Angeles, towards a dissertation on role of symbolism and ceremonial in diplomacy between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. during the Cold War period

The third year of an undergraduate degree in History and Politics provides the opportunity to complete a 12,000 word dissertation. In an attempt to pursue my interest in diplomacy and international relations, I chose to focus broadly on the role that 'soft power' (a term coined by Joseph Nye) plays in the conduct of international diplomatic relations. I was particularly interested in how far modern world leaders are concerned with conveying their intentions symbolically, both to international adversaries and their own domestic audience.

With this in mind, I decided to examine diplomatic relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. in the context of the Cold War. I was curious to see if the symbolic aspect of diplomacy played a significant role in the marked improvement of superpower relations in the period between 1985 and 1989.

With the generous support of the Rothermere American Institute, I was able to travel to Simi Valley, California in September 2015 to spend five days working in the archives at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library. This gave me access to a wide range of fascinating papers, particularly records concerned with the four summits held between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev between 1985 and 1989.

Firstly, I looked at memorandums sent between senior members of the National Security Council (NSC) laying out U.S. strategy for diplomats taking part in talks as well as the administration's approach to 'public diplomacy', i.e. how aims and outcomes of the various summits should be presented to the U.S. public as well as Western European allies. This included communications with the United States Information Agency planning extensive public diplomatic schedules for all senior members of Reagan's administration months ahead of the summits, to ensure that the U.S. were presented in a positive light and avoid providing the

U.S.S.R. with propaganda ‘ammunition’. These findings were certainly encouraging in that the frequency with which such issues were discussed showed the importance assigned to public appearances, symbolic gestures of friendship, and media presentation of U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations by the most senior figures of the administration, including President Reagan.

Secondly, I examined the way in which ‘bilateral issues’ consisting primarily of cultural and scientific exchanges were addressed in the summits themselves. Here, I looked at Memorandums of Conversation at the summit, talking points, and strategy documents circulated among members of the NSC ahead of meetings. It was also useful to study the agreements reached as a result of negotiations, in particular the Cultural Exchange agreement signed by both leaders at Geneva in 1985. This furthered my understanding of the importance assigned to people-to-people contact as a vehicle for improved understanding in the quest for peace between the two superpowers. In addition, I looked at media reactions to certain significant exchanges including that of Samantha Smith and the ‘Young Astronaut Delegation’.

Finally, I briefly examined ceremonial aspects of the summits themselves: gestures of goodwill, gift exchanges, and the use of historic analogies and Russian proverbs by the President in remarks made at arrival and departure ceremonies and at state dinners. While gestures such as these may seem insignificant, evidence of the painstaking drafting process demonstrates how vital it was considered to convey precisely the right message to the Russian delegation, and to ensure that nothing in the remarks could be manipulated against U.S. interests.

I feel that I gathered a lot of useful information regarding just how powerful soft power could be in repairing relations that had supposedly reached an all-time low as recently as 1983. I hope to discern the significance of summitry, public diplomacy, and cultural exchanges in pulling Reagan and Gorbachev back from the edge of mutually destructive nuclear war.

As well as being fruitful, the trip was hugely enjoyable. The location was stunning, nestled amongst the Santa Monica Mountains and offering incredible panoramic views. I was able to tour the attached museum, including the Air Force One aircraft used by Reagan. As an unexpected ‘bonus’, I was able to witness the preparations for the second Republican Presidential Debate, which took place in the museum the day after my arrival.

I would like to thank the RAI’s travel awards committee for awarding me this grant, and the Institute’s benefactors for making it possible. I am hugely grateful; this research has provided me with first-hand information and insight that I could not have hoped to gain simply by examining resources available in Oxford. What is more, access to U.S. government documents as recent as those I was examining was hugely exciting and has contributed greatly to my understanding of international diplomacy, which I hope will further my professional development and future career aspirations.

Johanne Fernandes (B.A. in History, Hertford College)

Award given for research towards a dissertation provisionally titled “War is war and not popularity seeking:” Sherman’s Military Strategy, Total War, and Civilian Life in the Occupation of Atlanta, at the Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library at the University of Georgia

In the summer of 2015, thanks to the generosity of the Rothermere American Institute, I had the opportunity to spend a month in the University of Georgia in Atlanta undertaking primary research for my History thesis. My topic of interest was Sherman's March to the Sea, a particularly violent campaign in the American Civil War. In the year marking the 150th anniversary of the end of the conflict, I wanted to use this opportunity to reassess the physical and psychological damage inflicted upon the civilian population.

Most of my research was undertaken in the Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, which houses the majority of local documents from Atlanta and neighbouring towns. Prior to my trip, I made contact with the head librarian, Chuck Barber, who was very helpful in recommending various sources to start with. Most of my time was spent reading through diaries of both soldiers and civilians, as well as examining correspondence between those on the front line and those still at home. I also had the opportunity to discuss my findings with the Hargrett Librarians and visiting professors in the University of Georgia, which was very useful when attempting to collate information that I might have missed.

Overall, beyond the information contained in the sources themselves, my visit was very helpful in revealing the effects that the war still has on the local landscape. I was surprised by the number of Confederate flags still flying around the city, as well as the old plantation houses and relics of war machinery. I am incredibly grateful to the RAI travel fund and its donors for allowing me to travel to see Atlanta. It made the topic come to life in a tangible way, allowing me to appreciate how the afterlife of Sherman's March still permeates local society today. Locals whom I spoke to, still had vivid opinions about the war. Without the help of the Rothermere American Institute, my understanding of the topic would have been much impoverished.

Thomas Robinson (B.A. in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics, St Anne's College)

Award given for research towards a dissertation on the process of recreational marijuana legalisation in conjunction with federalism, in Portland, Oregon

Over the past five years, a fascinating new area of policy has developed in the United States: the legalisation of recreational marijuana use. By using ballot initiatives, whereby citizens can directly pass their own laws at the ballot box, Washington, Colorado, Oregon, Alaska, and Washington, D.C. have legalised the production, sale and consumption of marijuana products for recreational use.

From a political science perspective, this new policy frontier provides a fantastic testbed for theories on ballot initiatives, federal-state relations and policy development more generally within the American political system. It was exceptionally exciting, therefore, to be able to travel to one of the states involved to explore in-depth the process of how recreational marijuana became legal.

I chose the case of Oregon because it represented a very recent case study. Two years before the success of Measure 91 in 2014 (56 per cent voting in favour of legalisation), a similar initiative had failed (with only 47 percent in favour). The situation in Oregon therefore

provided an opportunity to study the factors behind Measure 91's success versus Measure 80's failure within a relatively controlled set of variables. The results of my fieldwork will now be used in an examination of the factors of ballot initiative success more generally, which I will submit as my undergraduate dissertation.

I spent the majority of my two-week trip in Portland, where I interviewed key figures in both ballot measure campaigns, including the chief petitioners and the chief drafter of the Measure 91 initiative. I also interviewed journalists, lawyers involved in the drafting of the legal text, state politicians, lobbyists, and consultants used in both the signature collection and campaigning phases. It was an exceptionally useful exercise to meet with those involved in the campaigns, who were in a position to give in-depth and often candid insights into the process. Holding meetings in cafés, a diner, the state Capitol building, the City Hall, as well as in busy offices also sharpened my skills as an interviewer.

As a result of my trip, I have accumulated a database of interview transcripts which I will be able to use to trace accurately the process of recreational marijuana legalisation in Oregon. My research so far has helped to confirm some of the hypotheses I which had explored before the trip, regarding inter-state effects within the initiative process. However, speaking to those within the campaigns brought to light significant new factors that I had not previously thought about, and which I would not have found without travelling to speak to those involved.

What struck me most, on a personal level, about my interviews was that much of the issue's popularity came from a social justice perspective. Many of those who had campaigned for the full legalisation of marijuana were far more concerned with the negative effects of its criminalisation than they were about actual consumption. This challenges the popular narratives that suggest that marijuana legalisation is a 'soft' issue, and places it much more firmly in line with the historical arena of alcohol prohibition.

Alongside the interviews, I attended the two-day Oregon Medical Marijuana Business Conference, where I had the opportunity to gain a much fuller knowledge of the content and implications of Oregon's law as it now stands – especially those elements of the law that have changed since implementation. It also enabled me to learn about the bigger picture, and nationwide expectations over the coming decade within the U.S. At the event I heard from the State Supreme Court Judge Jim Gray from California (where marijuana legalisation is likely to be voted on in 2016) as well as Congressman Earl Blumenauer (Oregon 3rd District), who is a leading activist on the federal level.

I also found time to sample the famous culture of Portland, from its metropolitan centre to the Alberta arts district with its craft breweries and artisan coffee shops. I also travelled outside Portland, to the state capital of Salem and the much more rural area around Albany. Doing so allowed me to see just how diverse Oregon and Oregonians are, and appreciate the social complexity of the marijuana issue. While Measure 91 was highly successful, the geographic distribution of the 'yes' vote was far from uniform – Albany overwhelmingly rejected the ballot measure.

I am incredibly grateful for the RAI's travel award, and would like to thank the Institute and its benefactors wholeheartedly for their generosity. My subject knowledge and research skills have

greatly improved as a result of my visit to Oregon. The award has enabled me to explore a brand new area of policy that I hope to explore further in the future.

Alexandra Wilson (B.A. in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics, University College)

Award given for interviews concerning the impact of police shootings of African-American people on the attitudes of young African-Americans towards the police

A travel award from the RAI enabled me to travel to Rhode Island, New Jersey, Baltimore, and Chicago during September 2015 in order to gather material for my undergraduate dissertation.

I interviewed young people in schools and universities in all four areas, speaking to 71 people in total. Each of them shared their views on police violence. I also met a range of adults who were able to further inform me of the situation for young African Americans. I met with the former Vice President (of nine years) of Entrepreneurship and Business at the National Urban League; a former 'Emergency Medical' worker in Baltimore's Johns Hopkins Hospital; a leader of 'The Choice Program', a community-based programme in Maryland that helps young people who have been in trouble with the police to secure careers; a leader of the University of Baltimore's 'Truancy Court Programme', a programme that assists children with truant behaviour to help assist them in returning to school; a mentor at a majority Hispanic and African American school in Providence, where students have a school resource officer (a school police officer); an African American police officer who previously worked for the Chicago Police Department (and did not want to disclose his current police department); Michael Higginbotham, the Dean Joseph Curtis Professor of Law at the University of Baltimore; and an African American woman working for VIEVU, a body-camera supplier to U.S. police forces.

In addition, physically travelling to the U.S. enabled me to talk to locals, who provided further insights into the current situation. One such conversation was with a white, male Ph.D. student from Chicago. What struck me was how obvious he thought it was that African Americans and Hispanics would not be treated the same as white Americans by the police. His words were that "you would have to be out of your mind" to think that the system was fair. He also told me that growing up as a white male in South Side Chicago, he knew that he would not be subject to gang violence (although he was occasionally robbed) because the gangs know that the police care about white victims. I also met with a white American friend, who has an adopted African American sister whom she is very close to. She observed how people in the American South have very different perspectives on police brutality, compared with the North. She said that not many people in the South believe that African Americans and Hispanics are treated any differently to whites. She recalled a tendency for people in the South to turn a blind eye to current events, as they have a lot of faith in the police authorities. On a flight, I met a middle-aged white man who said he grew up in a gang in New Jersey. He believed there are two main problems for many black communities in America, the first being guns and the second being poverty. He believed that many families live in such poverty that they have more children in order to receive child support, ultimately exacerbating their situation.

I would like to thank the benefactors for providing me with this opportunity. Both my research and my own personal sense of identity were greatly enhanced by meeting a range of people from

different backgrounds in United States. I had an unforgettable time, and the trip has played a significant part my decision to pursue graduate study in the United States.

POSTGRADUATE AWARDS

Louisa Hotson (D.Phil. in History, Corpus Christi College)

Thesis title: 'Scholarly Solutions; American Political Science and the 'Challenge of Democracy' 1880-1970

Award given for research at the Hoover Institute in Stanford, Stanford University Archives, and the Bancroft Library at UC Berkeley

The RAI's John Winant travel award enabled me to undertake a research trip to California this past autumn, to visit archives housed in the universities of Stanford and Berkeley. The material that I found in California has made a very valuable contribution to my D.Phil. thesis on the history of political science in the United States, and I am hugely grateful to the benefactors of the award for making this possible.

My interest in undertaking this trip was prompted by a desire to better understand the development of the American political science profession in the years following the end of the Second World War. My thesis spans the first one hundred years of the discipline's emergence in the American academy, and I am particularly interested in how the discipline has developed over different periods of time. From published sources I understood that departments at Stanford and Berkeley, and also UCLA, were to become increasingly prominent in the discipline and in American life more generally during the 1940s, '50s and '60s. As they did, these departments began to move the intellectual centre of gravity within the discipline away from the east coast. In going to California, I wanted to gain a better understanding of the animating preoccupations of scholars at these west coast institutions, the organisation of political science departments, and a better conceptualization of the various intellectual, political, and professional networks in which they operated. If I could achieve this, I hoped that it could lead to a better understanding of the long-term development of the discipline from the 1880s through to the 1970s.

The Stanford University archives were my first stop. A number of collections provided interesting material but the papers of Gabriel Almond, a political scientist and one-time chair of the American Political Science Association, proved particularly fruitful. Through Almond's wide-ranging correspondence I was granted a window into the detail of the discipline's organisation and professional association as it developed during the 1950s and 60s. Almond's papers also revealed him as a careful thinker on the relationship between political science and other disciplines. His published writings reflect some of this concern, but in his papers I found some stimulating material and longer reflections on the subject that helped me to grasp the animating concerns of a number of mid-century political scientists.

While at Stanford I also consulted the papers of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. Among other insights, these papers were interesting for me because they

drew my attention to the extent to which political science was overlooked as a serious 'behavioural' science by the Ford Foundation in the 1950s and 60s. This is something which I have subsequently spent some time thinking about. While in Stanford I also visited the Hoover Institution archives, which I found useful for presenting some detail of the institution. After a fruitful conversation with an archivist I gathered some leads for further reading material.

Next I visited the university archives at University of California (UC), Berkeley. Here I was particularly interested in the papers of UC presidents, which detailed departmental changes at various campuses including Berkeley, Davis, San Diego, and Irvine. I was also interested in the papers of Peter Odegard, who was a prominent political scientist, distinctive for his exposure in Californian politics and, as I discovered, a frequent correspondent with many in the discipline throughout a career which spanned several decades of the early- to mid-twentieth century. His papers have helped me to understand a prominent grouping of political scientists who were interested in 'politics' and committed to supporting the Democratic Party. I also searched for information on the Berkeley 'free speech movement'; I found some articles and letters of general interest, although less than I had hoped on the role of the Berkeley political science department in these proceedings.

Overall, the trip has proved to be of very great importance for my research. The material collected has helped me to conceptualise the institutionalisation of the discipline in California, to understand the way in which the discipline reacted to a broader socio-cultural tumult of the 1960s, and enabled me to see more clearly the distinctiveness of political science in this period as against the paths taken by economics, sociology, and history. On returning in Michaelmas term, I compiled a draft of the final chapter of my thesis, focussing on the 1960s, in which I drew heavily on this material. I also presented some of it in a paper delivered to the annual American Politics Group conference, for which I received a prize. I would like to reiterate my sincere thanks to the benefactors for their support.

Sebastian Huempfer (D.Phil. in Economic and Social History, Green Templeton College)

Thesis title: The Political Economy of U.S. Trade Policy, 1945-1967

Award given for archival research in Delaware, New York, and Connecticut

I have recently returned from a three-month research stay in the United States, conducted as part of my D.Phil. in Economic and Social History. Over the course of the three months, I visited three archives: Hagley Museum & Library (Wilmington, DE), Columbia University's Rare Book & Manuscript Library (New York City, NY), and Yale University Archives and Manuscripts (New Haven, CT). In total, I digitised several thousand pages of archival material. The main research outcome of the trip is an additional chapter of my D.Phil. thesis, of which I have just completed a full draft.

Records of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers, National Foreign Trade Council, National Industrial Conference Board (Hagley), and records of the New York Chamber of Commerce (Columbia): I had used these collections before and this research visit was useful in two different ways. Firstly, it allowed me to follow up on specific leads that I discovered in the material collected earlier; secondly, it allowed me to collect material dating

from 1917 to 1945, which I have used to write an additional chapter for my thesis, providing important context for many of the results discussed in the chapters that deal with the period 1945 to 1962.

Papers of John Raskob and Ivan Baker (Hagley): I was also able to cover two additional collections, both of them personal papers of individual businessmen who played important roles in the organisations listed above.

Papers of Robert McCormick (Yale): I have thus far been unable to access the internal records of the protectionist American Tariff League, but this collection of personal papers has remedied this problem. McCormick was a lobbyist paid by the ATL and other groups, and his papers contain meeting minutes and correspondence that help me understand the trajectory of these groups. Another major find in this collection are the results of the U.S. Chamber's trade policy referendum from 1956, which marked a major backlash against free trade in the organisation. This data is missing from the Chamber's own records, but McCormick had a copy of the list. The data will enable me to see where resistance to trade liberalisation originated.

This research trip was essential for the collection of the archival material that forms the basis of an entire chapter of my dissertation, and for improving the draft chapters that I have already written. The documents obtained offer new insights into the political economy of U.S. trade policy during and after World War II. In particular, they show how planning efforts for the post-World War II era impacted upon debates about trade liberalisation during the early 1940s and contributed to creating support for trade liberalisation in formerly protectionist business associations.

I am looking forward to presenting the full results of my research at the RAI. I would like to thank the RAI's benefactors for their generous support, without which I would not have been able to visit so many archives.

Horatio Joyce (D.Phil. in History, St Cross College)

Thesis title: New York Clubland: A Social and Architectural History, 1880-1910

Award given for archival and site research in Cambridge, MA and New York City

A travel grant from the RAI supported five weeks of site and archival research in Cambridge and New York City over the long vacation for my thesis on the architecture of nineteenth-century gentlemen's clubs in New York City. My project is organised around half a dozen chapter-length case studies, and I was able to wrap up my research on two of them—the Harvard Club and the Harmonie Club. I am enormously grateful to the RAI benefactors for making this work possible.

My first stop was the Harvard University Archives in Cambridge, to examine material relating to the Harvard Club of New York City. The purpose of the visit was to figure out whether the university in some way influenced or supported the club's project to erect the first purpose-built alumni clubhouse in the United States, which opened on West Forty-Fourth Street in 1894. Many of the most helpful documents emerged from the correspondence of Harvard

President Charles W. Eliot. His letters with various club members helped me to understand that while the club undertook the building project independently it did so in large part to support Eliot's plans for the university. Eliot is widely acknowledged by historians for transforming Harvard from a provincial college into one of the country's foremost universities, but my research in Cambridge sheds light on the crucial support he received from New York alumni. They built the clubhouse in large part to strengthen and perpetuate the loyalty of the largest and wealthiest alumni community outside of Boston.

After a week in Cambridge, I jumped on a bus to New York City to do research on another chapter case study, the Harmonie Club, whose archive is now in the collections of the New-York Historical Society. This German Jewish club was founded in 1852 and opened its present clubhouse on East Sixtieth Street in 1905, and I was interested in learning what sort of affect this new building had on the old organisation. The most illuminating documents I came across were scrapbooks of ephemera, documenting more than a century of the club's social entertainments. What the invitations, tickets, programmes, and menus make clear is that the organisation underwent a period of Anglicisation, beginning a decade or so before the new clubhouse, which was something like the capstone of that process. The most dramatic change in this respect was the exclusion of women. Whereas the old clubhouse regularly hosted members' wives at balls, concerts, and plays, and even contained a separate suite of rooms for them, the new clubhouse rarely hosted them, and provided only a single room for their use, near the entrance. It seems these changes were influenced by growing anti-Semitism in New York society at the time, and the desire by members to create the sort of club that was now excluding them.

Brian Kwoba (D.Phil. in History, Pembroke College)

Thesis title: The Impact of Hubert Henry Harrison on Black Politics 1909-1927

Award given for research in the Alain Locke, Walter Howard Loving, Andy Razaf, and Paul and Eslanda Robeson Papers at Howard University

Every generation has its own unique and unsung heroes whose life and work have been buried by history. Thanks to financial support from the Rothermere American Institute, I recently completed a valuable trip to the United States for archival research on one such figure.

The subject of my research is Hubert Henry Harrison, who was a giant of African-American history, a unique and indispensable figure in the Black awakening of the 1910s and 1920s. As an intellectual, cultural critic, orator, journalist, educator, and political activist, Harrison was the driving force of the "New Negro" movement, and a decisive influence on a whole generation of Black leaders and activists from W.E.B. Dubois to Marcus Garvey. The famous Black trade union leader A. Phillip Randolph called Harrison the "father of Harlem radicalism," yet Harrison today remains a deeply underappreciated figure in African, Caribbean, American, and African-American history. My research attempts to show how Harrison's life and work transforms the way we think about Black politics, activism, and achievement in the early 20th century.

I spent the majority of my research trip at Howard University, which holds various collections that have bearing on Hubert Harrison. In order to understand the context of Harrison's influence, I sought to research some of the other key figures of his time period. I looked at collections from Andy Razaf, Walter Loving, both of whom knew Harrison and had some interesting connections with him. However, the most valuable reward for my research were the materials in the Alain Locke papers.

Locke, of course, played a unique role in the New Negro movement of the 1920s by editing the famous *New Negro* anthology which remains the standard-bearing interpretation of the movement. He corresponded widely with a wide swathe of notable Black writers, poets, and artists of the early to mid-20th century. But perhaps the most striking in this collection for me was Locke's correspondence with Paul Kellogg, editor of the *Survey Graphic* magazine whose Harlem issue in March of 1925 grew into the famous *New Negro* anthology. Among other things, I learned that Hubert Harrison appears in Locke's notes alongside other Black authors, but does not appear anywhere in the final *New Negro* book or its bibliography, nor even in the Harlem issue of the *Survey Graphic* magazine which inspired it. This is a telling example of how Harrison's historical erasure began, tragically, even before he died in 1927.

I also revisited the Hubert Harrison Papers at Columbia University and found some important documents regarding Harrison's views about religion. I also did research with the Theodore Draper Papers at Emory University in Atlanta to deepen my understanding of the early American Communist Party's positions on the "Negro question."

Incorporating research and information from such collections as these sources will help me to elaborate a stronger and more subtle argument about the importance of Hubert Harrison. They also broadened my research skills and gave me the opportunity to exchange ideas with other postgraduates and scholars working on similar subjects.

I would like to offer my sincerest appreciation to Dr Nigel Bowles for his support and encouragement for this project, and to thank the Institute's benefactors for their generosity.

Kathryn Olivarius (D.Phil. in History, Wolfson College)

Thesis title: Necropolis: The Impact of Disease, Sickness, and Mass Death on Deep Southern Society, 1800-1850

Award given for archival research at New Orleans Public Library, the Mississippi State Archives, and Louisiana State University

I write to provide a summary of the research trip I conducted in Louisiana last month, made possible through the generosity of the RAI and its benefactors.

I spent a few, very hot weeks in Louisiana. At the New Orleans Public Library – a place generally embraced by amateur genealogists but passed over by historians – I spent days scanning city records. Not only does the NOPL have the largest collection of city and municipal records for New Orleans, but they also have a wonderful (and severely underutilised) research collection in their own right. The cemetery records were particularly enlightening – by the late 1830s, the city sextons had to detail the age, race, nationality, and cause of death for everyone

buried in the city's Catholic and Protestant cemeteries. In one week in September 1840, the city paid for the burial of over 300 yellow fever victims – a sizeable number, especially in addition to the hundreds of other people who paid for their own burial. Reverend Crenshaw's letter collections were also particularly useful, if poignant. Crenshaw lost ten neighbours, his wife, three children, and various other friends to yellow fever in one day in 1838, and wrote elegantly about his experiences.

I then spent several days in the Historic New Orleans Collection. I have used this archive before, but this time I had a much clearer sense of what I wanted to look at in the collection. A particular highlight was the Carl Koln letterbook. Koln was a German immigrant who moved to New Orleans in the 1820s at the behest of his uncle. Shortly upon his arrival, his uncle died, and he fell sick with yellow fever. He spent his life's savings on doctors, and was forced to work as a gravedigger to feed himself. In New Orleans, I also spent some time revisiting the archives at Tulane, particularly the papers of Benjamin Latrobe, the architect of New Orleans' public water system (who fell victim, along with his son and half his work force, to yellow fever in 1820).

The bulk of my time in Louisiana was spent in Baton Rouge, at the archives of Louisiana State University. I am still transcribing the thousands of letters, record books, and diaries I photographed. Some of the best material was in the papers of Nathaniel Evans, who wrote extensively about yellow fever epidemics from 1810 to 1840 and the political intrigue of the Louisiana Purchase. John Palfrey expressed nervousness that his slaves would kill him while he and his family were sick with yellow fever (a fear that I always suspected to have existed, but had never found definite proof of before). The Armand Duplantier papers detail the differences in French and American medicine at the turn of the nineteenth century. I also had the chance to visit Duplantier's plantation, Magnolia Mound. Here, the head archivist gave me a private tour and adopted some information that I had found about Duplantier into her more general tour. In addition, we spoke about the way history is presented to casual tourists, and how slavery is discussed (or not discussed) at the vast majority of museum-plantations in the Deep South.

Since my return, I have transcribed hundreds of letters – and have my work cut out as I still have hundreds more to go! I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the benefactors of the RAI for helping me undertake this trip. I have now finished my archival research and feel confident, energised, and inspired with the source material I have, as I move into drafting the final thesis.

Jeanne Provencher (M.Phil. in Politics: Political Theory, Keble College)

Thesis on actions taken by the Black Power movement in relation to imprisonment

Award given for archival research in the National Archives in Washington, D.C.

When I first thought about conducting archival research, I expected to find primary sources that would support my research and allow me to gain a few insights into certain epistemological issues. I did not anticipate how profoundly it would alter my way of looking at my research question, nor did I anticipate how it would change the way in which I subsequently interacted with the secondary literature. Moreover, I am now convinced that conducting research with primary sources is a necessary step in obtaining a holistic understanding of any empirical

research topic. It is thanks to a trip to the National Archives in Washington, D.C. that I was finally able to achieve the level of insight I needed to narrow down the focus of my thesis.

I arrived in Washington on September 7, 2015, and began my research the following day. I initially visited the National Archives on Pennsylvania Avenue to obtain my researcher's card, but subsequently travelled to the National Archives II at College Park, Maryland. This is because the National Archive's College Park location holds files that are more directly related to the NAACP and the role of prisoners in the U.S. Civil Rights movement. Although I found some exciting primary sources of information that day, including hand-written letters about prison conditions sent by African American prisoners to the Attorney General, I also learned about how the Archives function. I learned how to place an order for files, when to do so (pull times), and what types of files were accessible (special permission is needed to access Department of Justice documents and FBI files). This is the first project I have ever taken on that involves this level of archival work and the hands-on experience I gained at the National Archives is extremely useful and pertinent to my academic career. Between September 9 and September 11 I found, among other relevant documents, NAACP correspondence, reports on prison conditions from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, various Administration of Justice complaints by prisoners from Alabama, Arkansas and North Carolina, and newspaper articles on events related to wrongful imprisonment. I reviewed over 250 documents and gathered much valuable information.

Additionally, on September 9, I was invited on guided tour of Congress by one of my M.Phil. classmates, who was completing an internship at the U.S. House of Representatives. This was a great experience; I visited both the House of Representatives and the Senate, and was privileged to listen in on some of the debates. At one point in the tour, our guide explained that the statue of Abraham Lincoln had deliberately been left incomplete to signify the unfinished work of those who fight to defend the rights of African Americans in the U.S. I felt this paralleled with my research on prisoners in the Civil Rights movement, since the role of African American Civil Rights prisoners is understudied in academia, leaving much work to be done.

I am very grateful this opportunity, and especially for the privilege of learning in unexpected ways. This experience was so much more academically enriching than I could have anticipated. I want to warmly thank the Rothermere American Institute and its benefactors for making this opportunity possible.

Daniel Rowe (D.Phil. in History, Lincoln College)

Thesis title: The Long Economic Crisis: Reconstructing America in a Decade of Upheaval and Uncertainty, 1974-1984

Award given for archival research in Detroit, New York City, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh

I was very grateful to receive a travel grant from the Rothermere American Institute to undertake archival research in Detroit, Philadelphia and New York City. Over a month-long trip I accessed key materials for my research project on local, regional, and national responses to the economic ructions of 1970s and 1980s. The sources that I consulted during my trip are critical for the sections of my thesis that focus on urban decline and deindustrialisation.

I began my research trip in New York City. While in Manhattan, I spent time examining manuscript material in New York Public Library, before moving on to Long Island to delve into Ed Koch's papers at the La Guardia and Wagner Archives in Long Island City. During this period, I managed to gather a vast amount of information about how the reaction of policy makers, labour union leaders, and community groups shaped recovery from the New York City fiscal crisis of 1975. At the La Guardia and Wagner archives I spent most of my time trying to gain insights into the impact that the economic policies that the Koch administration adopted during its early years had on helping New York City to regain its fiscal health following the 1975 crisis. Since historians have focussed on the crisis itself and not examined the aftermath in detail, this material has proved very useful and has helped to fill in many gaps. While I was at New York Public Library I also managed to study a special edition of *Business Week*, published in June 1980, of which I have spent more than a year trying to obtain a copy (there are no copies of this particular issue in the UK).

From New York City I traveled to Philadelphia, where I consulted a variety papers at the University of Pennsylvania. While the primary purpose of this part of my trip was to gather information about the transformation of the steel industry, I also managed to collect material relating to 'Negotiation Now!', an anti-Vietnam War group that was the subject of my undergraduate dissertation. I am hopeful that I will find time in 2016 to write an article on 'Negotiation Now!'.

The final stop on my trip was Detroit. In the Motor City, I examined the papers of Coleman Young, a Democrat who served as Detroit's mayor for two of its most turbulent decades. Young's papers, which have only just been opened to the public, gave me an insight into the issues that Detroit's first black mayor faced on coming into office. I also, was able to gain a well-developed understanding of the economic development policies that the mayor and his close associate pursued when they were in office. Young's papers are extensive, detailed and well processed, but have been open for less than six months. As a result, much of the material I collected during my time in Detroit has not been previously examined. Indeed, on my last day in the archives the head archivist informed me that no-one else had spent as long as I had working on the papers!

Since returning to the UK I have read through much of the material that I gathered. I have also presented a paper at the Rothermere American Institute on the transformation of the steel industry in the 1970s and 1980s. In addition, I refined my chapter on the industrial policy debate of the 1980s by adding new archival sources. In the New Year I will present some of the material that I gathered at the American Politics Group conference. I hope that this will act as a 'dress rehearsal' for a further paper, which I hope to present at the Policy History conference in Nashville in June.

I would like to express my deep appreciation to the Rothermere American Institute and its benefactors for their financial support. Without the travel grant that I received this extensive and highly valuable trip would not have been possible. I am also very grateful to the friendly archivists at the Detroit Public Library, the Walter Reuther Library the New York Public Library, the La Guardia Community Archives, the National Bankruptcy Archives and Swarthmore College. Their advice and help improved my research immeasurably. I would also like to thank Claire Wills, and Molly and Roy Slongo. During the course of my trip these three

individuals provided me with superb company, discussed my ideas with me and reminded me of the value of good friends.

Adam Ward (M.Phil. in Politics: Comparative Government, Exeter College)

Thesis on the effect of legislative professionalism on opposition party behaviour in American state legislatures

Award given for interviews to be conducted in Indiana, Massachusetts, and Oregon

The fifty state legislatures in America vary in terms of ‘legislative professionalization’. Legislative professionalization is a concept that assesses the capacity of both legislators and legislatures to generate and digest information in the policymaking process. The literature on legislative professionalization incorporates three main proxies: session length, salaries paid to legislators, and staffing resources that are available to legislators. My thesis examines the relationship between the legislative professionalization of the state legislature and the tactics the opposition party use in its attempts to obstruct majority party legislation.

Thanks to a travel grant from the Rothermere American Institute, I was able to travel to the United States during summer 2015. I conducted 25 interviews, including several with state legislators in the three states that I am focusing on: Indiana, Oregon and Massachusetts. Further interviews were conducted with journalists and I was also able to meet scholars who are researching state legislative professionalization.

Indiana and Massachusetts have similarly sized populations, but the legislature in Boston sits for twice as long as the one in Indianapolis. This was clear from interviewing legislators; those in Massachusetts kindly took time from their legislative schedules to meet me, whilst those in Indiana were generously available to talk to me after their work schedules from other occupations they hold when the legislature is not in session.

I am still in the process of analysing the interviews, but one tactic apparent from all interviews was the importance of the media for the opposition party. ‘Going public’ in an attempt to change the public’s perceptions on policy measures was a strategy for minority party legislators from all of the states.

Conducting interviews was not the only benefit from visiting the state capitols; the grandeur of each of the state capitol buildings was extremely impressive. Tour guides in each of the state capitols pointed to the individual contribution their state had made to the union, echoing the striking murals depicting significant scenes from the state’s history. I was also able to make use of state archives and access literatures on the state legislature’s historical development and delve into the records of legislative bills.

Not only was the trip beneficial for studying my thesis topic, but exploring other themes in American politics. I was in Portland, Oregon during the first Republican primary debates and enjoyed discussing the event with people living there (they were mostly impressed with outsiders Carson and Fiorina). This neatly tied in with my undergraduate politics dissertation, which explored Republican-affiliated interest groups – for which I was fortunate enough to be awarded a Rothermere American Institute travel grant in 2013.

Now back in the UK and my interviews typed out, I look forward to exploring my thesis further and beginning to write. I am extremely grateful to the benefactors of the Rothermere American Institute who make travel grants possible, as without their generosity I would not have been able to have such an amazing and productive research trip.

Kyle Wehner (M.Phil. in Politics: Comparative Government, St Cross College)

Thesis title: To Secure the Blessings of Liberty: Voter Mobilization in Contemporary Indigenous American Communities

Award given for interviews to be conducted with Native American groups and state legislators in Arizona and New Mexico

I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the generous financial support of the benefactors of the Rothermere American Institute, for my postgraduate travel award to conduct research in Arizona and New Mexico in the summer of 2015. The material gathered during this period was included was indispensable to the completion of my thesis.

Nearly a century after the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 guaranteed Native Americans the rights and privileges of their fellow citizens, many Natives still struggle to exercise those rights. My thesis attempts to illuminate the state of electoral participation in Native American communities in the southwestern United States. I conclude that participation in federal elections in Native American communities continues to trail participation in white communities. At the same time, electoral participation in Native American communities has increased since 1990; in contrast, participation in white communities has decreased. Notwithstanding signs of progress, significant disparities in the robustness of electoral participation across tribal communities persist.

To complement the thesis's quantitative examination of electoral participation, I consulted a range of original sources and documents, including responses to in-depth semi-structured interviews with state and local government officials, tribal leaders and activists, and elections administrators in the two counties (Apache County, in northeastern Arizona; and McKinley County, in northwestern New Mexico) conducted during a week-long period in September, 2015.

These interviews were crucial in illuminating the attitudes and experiences of local elites towards formal procedures and norms in Native American communities. "I think we are really low voting," one member of the New Mexico Legislature said during an interview in Milan, New Mexico. "The interest is not there and the ability to get people out to vote is not there... There's a lot more than just voting on their minds." In addition, the interviews spotlight the shortcomings of complacent local elections agencies. The words of one elections administrator, responding to a question about the number of residents a colleague had registered to vote at a recent event, are especially telling, "I didn't even ask him," he said. "It doesn't matter. If we get one, that's one more than we had... We don't usually get that many."

They also highlight the partisan polarization that has isolated Native American communities in areas of Republican control. "Especially within the Legislature, it's all typically ideologically

driven based upon party representation,” said one member of the Arizona Legislature, a member of the Navajo Nation, during an interview in Window Rock, Arizona. “This region of the state has largely been Democratic, and so I think previous administrations and leaders have looked at very rural and tribal communities as Democratic strongholds, and not really taken the time to prioritize the perspectives and needs” of those communities. A second legislator, also a member of the Navajo Nation, offered a more caustic assessment. “They just don’t care about us,” she said.

The logistical and financial challenges associated with this research were not insignificant. Despite their proximity to Albuquerque, a major metropolitan hub, both Apache and McKinley counties are sparsely populated, with most residents living in isolated unincorporated communities. Furthermore, the almost total lack of broadband and cellular coverage gave me little choice but to conduct these interviews in person. The absence of public transport made access to a private vehicle essential. With all this in mind, it is more clear to me than ever that without the RAI’s travel award, these interviews would not have been possible.

I again wish to express my gratitude to the benefactors for their trust in me and their interest in this important project.

Lewis Willcocks (M.Phil. in Economic and Social History, St Cross College)

Thesis title: A comparative study of child labour in the British and American Industrial Revolutions using working-class autobiographies

Award given for archival research at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

My research trip to the Library of Congress in Washington DC, undertaken between Friday 18th September 2015 and Sunday 27th September 2015, was only possible because of the generosity of the benefactors of the RAI and I am extremely grateful for this opportunity to further my research. Here I am on my first day ready for beginning at the archives:

My project is a study of working-class autobiography in the United States during American industrialisation in the nineteenth century. It seeks to explore three key aspects of working-class life during industrialisation which form the three substantial chapters on my thesis which are: childhood, schooling and migration. Working-class autobiographies can help historians to better understand the impact of industrialisation on the everyday lives of and how working-class people conceptualised and conceived their own lives and in turn, their role in shaping American industrialisation. One reason this is of particular interest to historians is because the field of working class autobiography in this period, with the exception of slave narratives which are not included in this study, are significantly underutilised and explored as the primary vehicle of historical analysis and therefore add a new dimension to historical understanding of working-class life during the course of the nineteenth-century.

The Library of Congress is a very ornate building, built in a classical and impressive style. Inside, there are philosophical quotations about life, history and religion amongst other things covering the walls, one of which is appropriate for my project and shown below. It reads, ‘The history of the world is the biography of great men’. This is appropriate because my project seeks

to unearth some of the views and description of working-class life as written and expressed by the people who experienced it. I thought it would be interesting to include in my report because perhaps too often when historians think of 'great men' this has often been used restrictively, meaning those with political or economic power and excluding women.

The field of American autobiography in historical research is underexplored more widely, as Paul Eakin, the author of a leading book in the field has noted: '... despite the lively interest in autobiography both in and out of academe at the present time, study of the genre has not yet been institutionalised in our curricula, where autobiography-and indeed nonfiction prose in general-continues as a kind of poor relation.'

The support of the RAI enabled me to travel to the Library of Congress to access many autobiographies which because of copyright reasons, are only available in hard copy. My research trip also allowed me to access a wealth of information and advice from the librarians at the Library of Congress to be able to fully compile my set of autobiographies, which can often be difficult to find and was therefore very helpful.

One example of an autobiography discovered whilst I was at the Library of Congress is that of Robert Crowe, a tailor from London who emigrated by sail to New York in the winter of 1854. He was a member of the Chartist movement in Britain and was imprisoned for his protests with the Chartist movement. On his release and subsequent emigration to New York, Crowe remained politically active and was involved in both the temperance and trade union movements. Crowe helped to establish The Journeyman Tailors' Union of America and was a delegate of the Central Labor Union, describing the influence of the American thinker Henry George, famed for his criticisms of the power that private ownership of land brought during this period, on his own emigration and thought.

One area in which Crowe's writings are particularly interesting concern the American Civil War, writing powerfully how: 'I could not bear the smell of slavery, and at that time the Democracy of the whole country stunk offensively with pro-slavery ideas'

It is interesting that Crowe devoted such a significant proportion of his autobiography to the Civil War because it provides an outsider's perspective of the impact of the War and racial tensions on everyday life. Yet, Crowe goes further and expresses the disappointment he feels and duty he feels as an emigrant from Britain to play a more active role in the conflict, at a time when slavery had only been abolished formally in the British Empire in 1833, only 21 years before he left Britain, Crowe notes that: 'I confess nothing surprised me more than to find the great majority of my own countrymen, who were so clamorous for liberty at home; who for centuries had felt the lash of slavery in their helpless subjection to a foreign power, so wholly committed to a party whose sympathies were on the side of the Southern slavery.'

Robert Crowe's story is only one example of the rich material in the autobiographies I have used in my project and many autobiographies are needed to build a picture of how the autobiographers' conceptualised their own world-view and because of their subjective nature have to be supported by historical analysis using other sources. Nevertheless, I hope this project will provide a brief but important insight and help transport historians back into a world which describes how working-class people viewed their own lives during the turmoil and change of

industrialisation. My research project significantly enhanced my research and am look forward to presenting my findings in more detail at the American History Graduate Seminar.

I was in Washington in what was a historic week, with the visit of Pope Francis, Xi Jinping, and the resignation of the Speaker of the House, John Boehner. With this in the background and in the news during my trip, it added to the sense of American history in the making whilst studying and making significant progress in the archive on my own historical research. On the day of the Pope's arrival I had to enter the Library of Congress through a separate entrance and go under one of the underground tunnels, which I was amazed existed, underneath the Library of Congress because Pope Francis was in the Jefferson building, the part of the Library of Congress with the Main Reading Room! On the Sunday before leaving when the archives were closed I visited a couple of the sites, which are within walking distance of the Library of Congress and this added to the completeness of the trip and helped mark the end of a productive week in the archive before coming back to Britain. I am extremely grateful to the benefactors of the RAI for the opportunity to enhance my research, I greatly appreciated this support.

EARLY CAREER AWARDS

Tom Cutterham (Cox Junior Fellow, New College; now Lecturer in United States History, University of Birmingham)

Award given for research in the Chaloner & White Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and at the American Philosophical Society

My research trip to Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. in December 2015 allowed me to spend time in the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Library of Congress, researching the world of transatlantic finance and commerce in the age of the American Revolution. This research contributed substantially to two related projects: firstly, a book project built around the joint biographies of the financier John Barker Church and his wife Angelica Schuyler; secondly, an article about the mercantile, financial, and speculative adventures of Daniel Parker, a Massachusetts-born entrepreneur who came to Europe as a bond salesman in 1785 and whose affairs had a tangential relationship to Church's. Both projects contribute to historians' understanding of how merchants and statesmen on both sides of the ocean worked to reconstruct the British Atlantic world in the aftermath of revolution, and how the commercial and financial structures of nineteenth-century capitalism were built.

Both legs of the trip were fruitful. In Washington, D.C., where I spent one week, I examined the archives of two men: (a) John Holker, sometime commissary agent of the French navy and later business partner of Robert Morris, William Duer, and Daniel Parker; and (b) William Short, secretary to the diplomatic legation in Paris, who engaged in speculative deals with Parker involving investors in both France and the Netherlands. Among Holker's papers were several detailed contracts made with Parker, correspondence with Duer related to recovering debts from Parker after his flight to Europe and, most usefully of all, an eight-page document titled "observations respecting the conduct of Daniel Parker." Among Short's were numerous

letters from Parker regarding their joint enterprise, as well as copies of letters from Short to Parker, and letters between Short and other gentlemen regarding Parker's conduct and his prospects. These findings will add invaluable to the story I want to tell, in an article I intend to submit to the *Journal of the Early Republic*, of Parker's tightrope-walk of debt and speculation in the early years of the new republic's life—a story that also has much to do with European investment in the fledgling federal government, and in often illusory schemes of large-scale land ownership. Short's involvement helps confirm and flesh out the relationship between the official diplomatic mission in Europe and the unofficial financial dealings that went on at the same time, and which were, in the end, just as important to the success of the republic. I expect to write and submit this article over the course of Hilary Term 2016.

On the second leg of the trip, in Philadelphia, I worked in the archive of Chaloner & White, a merchant firm that acted as the agent of John Barker Church (and under his alias John Carter) during the early and mid-1780s. My research resulted in almost 500 images of letters, notes, and copies, both to and from Church, and also including correspondence with his business-partner Jeremiah Wadsworth, and in one very rare case, his wife Angelica. Along with business affairs, the letters include telling personal details, including the birth of Church's son Philip, and later a request for a special child-size saddle to be made for him. The letters help immeasurably in establishing the Church family's whereabouts during the latter stages of the war, when John spent most of his time with the army as it marched to Yorktown and then returned north. They also prove beyond doubt that the family owned and used enslaved people, as Church relays a request for a slave called Ben, who had been loaned out in Philadelphia, to be returned to their service. The information provided by this archive has been vital in establishing the details of these two lives, and will play a major role in the eventual book. I am extremely grateful to the RAI's Academic Travel Fund, its donors and administrators, for giving me the opportunity to make use of it.