The RAI is the seat of Oxford’s conversation with America. It is the foremost academic institution for teaching and research in US history, culture and politics beyond America’s shores.

Annual Report 2016-17
In an eventful year for the United States, the Rothermere American Institute has been proud to contribute to a deeper understanding of US affairs through support for outstanding scholarship and through a rich academic programme offering reflections on, and insights into, the American experience. In a volatile and rapidly changing world, all of us at the RAI recognise that the Institute’s work is more important than ever. Thanks to the engagement of an active community in Oxford and to the generosity of our supporters, we are well placed to continue advancing the Institute’s mission through the coming year and beyond.

Needless to say, much of the heightened interest in the United States in 2016-17 arose as a result of a dramatic presidential election campaign and subsequently as a new administration took office in Washington. As America’s home at Oxford, the RAI provided context for and analysis of these developments, offering a report on the potential impact of overseas voters on the outcome of the election, a roundtable discussion the morning after the election providing immediate reactions to the result, a screening and discussion of President Trump’s inaugural address, and a conference assessing the new president’s first hundred days in office. Also, in our annual Ambassador John J. Louis Jr. Lecture in Anglo-American Relations, former Assistant Secretary of State Jamie Rubin took a timely look at the likely impact of recent political developments in the United States on the ‘special relationship’ and on America’s place in the world more broadly. A shifting American political landscape clearly has both national and global implications, and the RAI will continue to be an important venue for the discussion of emerging trends.

This was a year not just for contemplating the complexities of the present but also for reflecting on the past. Indeed, in 2017 the RAI marked the centennial of the United States entry into the First World War. The Institute hosted a series of lectures by leading scholars who explored different aspects of American involvement in the Great War. Jennifer Keene, David Lubin, Christopher Capozzola, and Margaret MacMillan examined such topics as the role of the United States at the Paris Peace Conference, the response of American social justice movements to the conflict, and the impact of the war on American art. Alice Kelly, our newly appointed Harmsworth Postdoctoral Research Fellow on the History of the United States and World War One, did excellent work helping us to observe, and highlight the importance of, this significant anniversary, drawing attention both to the impact of the American participation on the outcome of the war and to the impact of the conflict on the United States. Alice writes about her research and her first year as Harmsworth Fellow on the centre pages of this report.

The Institute also drew enthusiastic audiences to events offering a perspective on American literature and culture. For our annual Esmond Harmsworth Lecture in American Arts and Letters in May,
we were delighted to welcome The New Yorker’s Pulitzer Prize-winning drama critic, Hilton Als, who provided a poignant and moving remembrance of the AIDS epidemic in New York City during the 1990s. And as part of our RAIIlve series bringing authors and audiences into conversation, we hosted lively sessions with essayist Mark Greif and the poet and writer Eileen Myles.

The RAI continued its long tradition of receiving distinguished visitors from the United States, including Alan Taylor as Harmsworth Visiting Professor of American History and Sidney Milkis as Winant Visiting Professor of American Government. A two-time Pulitzer Prize-winning historian of the colonial and early national periods, Alan gave a fine inaugural lecture highlighting the important roles played by European powers and indigenous peoples in shaping the first years of the American republic. He also convened an outstanding symposium on the era of Thomas Jefferson, bringing together leading figures in the field for a rich discussion. For his part, Sid shared his fascinating work on Lyndon Johnson and the Civil Rights movement and, with Desmond King, Mellon Professor of American Politics at Oxford, hosted a memorable conference on the relationship between the American presidency and social movements. We benefitted greatly from the contributions made by both of our visiting professors over the course of the year.

Of course, the RAI not only receives senior scholars recognised as authorities in their fields, but also offers support to promising early-career researchers. Our postdoctoral research fellows and postgraduate students bring energy, dynamism, and fresh thinking to our community. As well as having Alice Kelly working with us on America and the First World War, we were fortunate to have Robert Schub at the Institute in 2016-17 as Winant Postdoctoral Research Fellow in American Foreign Policy, and we look forward to welcoming Mandy Izadi to the newly endowed Broadbent Junior Research Fellowship in American History in 2017-18. Our graduate scholars – fourth-year doctoral students Nina Yancy, Rose de Geus, Nanette O’Brien, James Cetkovski, and Daniel Rowe – also made immense contributions, convening seminars and conferences on a variety of important topics in American politics, literature, and history.

Having assumed the directorship last August upon the departure of my predecessor Jay Sexton for a new post in the United States, it has been an honour and a pleasure to lead the RAI through such a busy and exciting year. The successes of the past year would not have been possible without support from a great team, including Michèle Mendelssohn (now stepping down after two years as Deputy Director), Huw David (Director of Development), Jane Rawson (Vere Harmsworth Librarian), Jo Steventon (Finance and Academic Programme Assistant), and Richard Purkiss (Administrative Assistant). I would like to record my gratitude to all of them. It has been a privilege, too, to play a part in laying the groundwork for the next stage in the Institute’s development. A major achievement during 2016-17 has been the creation of the Edward Orsborn Professorship of US Politics and Political History, a post that will be based at the RAI and will incorporate the directorship of the Institute. The endowment of this chair ensures that the RAI will enjoy strong intellectual leadership in years to come. We are immensely grateful to the generous benefactors who have made it possible for us to reach this milestone. I look forward to another exciting year and hope to welcome many of you to the Institute in the months ahead.
The generosity of the RAI’s benefactors has once again allowed the Institute to offer financial support to graduate students working in American history, politics and international relations, and literature. Here, seven scholarship recipients reflect on the impact of this support on their doctoral research.

James Cetkowski

The Esmond Harmsworth Scholarship in American Literature has been essential to my doctoral work and to my academic career more generally. Few commodities in academic research are more valuable than time and the Esmond Harmsworth Scholarship gave me just that—the freedom and the means to pursue various leads that will make my thesis a much better piece of research and a much more worthwhile contribution to American literary scholarship.

My research focuses on the relationship between American novelists and poets and their contexts—which, in the second half of the twentieth century and the first years of the twenty-first, usually means university creative writing programmes. I show how writers’ embeddedness in creative writing programmes shapes their work along with their conceptions of what contemporary literature can and should be. Without the Esmond Harmsworth Scholarship, I would have had to begin wrapping up my thesis towards the end of 2016; the freedom afforded by the scholarship allowed me to travel to the Harry Ransom Centre at the University of Texas to visit the archive of one of my key writers, the novelist David Foster Wallace. The material this research yielded has gone into a scholarly article, now under review at the journal Twentieth-Century Literature, and greatly improved my chapter on Wallace. The scholarship also afforded me the time to visit the archive of Saul Bellow, recently recatalogued at the University of Chicago and comparatively neglected by literary researchers.

Another significant benefit of the Esmond Harmsworth Scholarship has been the opportunity to convene the RAI’s American Literature Research Seminar with my colleague, Nanette O’Brien. This provided extremely valuable professional experience along with the chance to invite, meet, and learn from the leading lights of American literary scholarship from across the UK, Europe, and America. Participation in a scholarly community counted among the most rewarding aspects of this fourth year of research and undoubtedly lent my research new energy and purpose.

Finally, the scholarship gave me the chance to participate in events with such giants of the literary world as Booker Prize-winning writer Lydia Davis, and Pulitzer Prize-winner and New Yorker theatre critic Hilton Als. The Esmond Harmsworth Scholarship put me in rooms with people I would otherwise have been very unlikely to meet and facilitated conversations and connections that have been important for me as a scholar and a critic, and more generally as a person. I’m extraordinarily grateful; directly and indirectly the scholarship enabled some of my most influential experiences as an Oxford graduate student.

Nanette O’Brien

I would like to express my gratitude to the RAI for the Esmond Harmsworth Scholarship in American Literature and all the opportunities it has brought me. My primary focus in this fourth year has been to finish my DPhil thesis, ‘Culinary Arts: the Representation of Food in Anglo and American Modernism’. The Harmsworth scholarship enabled me to do this in many ways. It supported me financially and intellectually, giving me the time I needed to think deeply about my research, in particular my chapters on Ford Madox Ford, Gertrude Stein, and Virginia Woolf.

This fourth year supported me in building my professional portfolio as I worked on my publications in preparing to apply for academic jobs. In autumn 2016 I co-authored a journal article (with fellow DPhil candidate Bárbara Gallego Larrarte) on pedagogy, modernism, and role-play, ‘Getting Ready for “The Modernist Party as Pedagogy”’, that has now been accepted at the Journal for Modern Literature (JML) and will be published in 2018. I also wrote and published reviews for Notes & Queries on a new book on Ford Madox Ford and for Women:A Cultural Review on a new book on Virginia Woolf. In spring 2017 I began work on a piece on feminism and public engagement with modernism for the new journal Feminist Modernist Studies.
I have presented my work both in the UK and internationally. I was invited to give a talk on my work on Virginia Woolf and food in March 2017 at Lucy Cavendish College, Cambridge as part of its Woolf lunchtime talks series, and I presented a paper on Ford Madox Ford’s 1930s food writing in American mass-market magazines at a major conference in Baltimore the same month.

I deeply appreciate the sense of community that the RAI has established for me and for many others. It brought me into the fold of lively and brilliant researchers at all stages of their careers. Convening the American Literature Research Seminar gave me the opportunity to correspond with leading academics in American literature, helped me build a network of supportive mentors and contacts and helped develop my confidence as a public speaker. I want to thank Michèle Mendelssohn and Lloyd Pratt for their generous mentorship and guidance on all aspects of academia. Throughout this year, it has been a privilege to contribute to the intellectual excitement, energy, and vision that go into the RAI.

Roosmarijn de Geus and Nina Yancy

It has been an eventful year in American politics and therefore an exciting time to be graduate scholars in American politics at the RAI. Nina Yancy’s doctoral work focuses on racial politics and Roosmarijn de Geus specialises in voting and accountability in US elections — two topics that proved highly relevant in the 2016 election season.

As graduate scholars at the RAI, one of our regular activities throughout the year was to organize the weekly American Politics Graduate Seminar, held every Wednesday of term over lunch. This year we were thrilled to host both master’s and doctoral students, as well as junior and senior academics and political practitioners. Our presenters came from the fields of politics, international relations, political theory, and public policy, and spoke on a broad range of topics including American foreign aid, education policy, healthcare, and racial politics.

Of course, the 2016 presidential election was a central theme in politics programming at the RAI. Highlights included a post-election panel on 9 November; a roundtable event before the presidential inauguration hosted by Sidney Miliks, Winant Visiting Professor of American Government; and seminars in early 2017 reflecting on the elections and the first months of the Trump presidency. Deborah Cameron, Rupert Murdoch Professor of Language and Communication in Oxford’s English Faculty, discussed gender and language in media coverage of the election, and Jeffrey Weinberg (Washington Campus) spoke on the legislative tools used by President Trump in his first weeks in office. In February, we co-hosted an event with the Oxford Women in Politics (OxWiP) group at which Patti Russo, Executive Director of the Women’s Campaign School at Yale University, discussed initiatives to increase the number of women in elected and appointed office.

In Trinity Term, the graduate seminar featured special presentations by Richard Harknett, a US-UK Fulbright Scholar in Cybersecurity and Professor of Political Science at the University of Cincinnati, who discussed US cybersecurity strategy, and Matthew Holland, President of Utah Valley University, who compared approaches to vocational education in the US and the UK. At one of our final events we welcomed back Winant Professor Sidney Miliks to consider his work on Woodrow Wilson and Civil Rights.

We are very grateful to the RAI for the opportunities that came with being graduate scholars in politics. We particularly thank Hal Jones, Nigel Bowles, and Huw David for connecting us to many of the speakers and practitioners who were highlights on our termcard this year. We are also indebted to Sidney Miliks and Winant Junior Research Fellow Robert Schub for their support and involvement in our seminar. In one of the most tumultuous years in American politics in living memory, we were fortunate to find an academic home at the RAI.
Primary research lies at the heart of any history dissertation, but the context in which it is created shapes it most of all. Finishing the second year of my doctorate, looking at America’s financial ‘Panic of 1873’ and its international implications, I appreciate the delicate balance between gathering first-hand evidence abroad and the writing process at home. I am grateful for the RAI’s rigorous and thought-provoking academic environment that helped me overcome the hurdles that stand in the way of processing and contextualizing huge quantities of largely unused if not unseen material. The support of my supervisors, Gareth Davies and Stephen Tuffnell, as well as the Institute and its fellows, has been critical to this stage of my project.

This year I’ve worked through an ambitious research schedule. Encompassing three research trips, it resulted in hundreds of pages of notes and thousands of photos of archival material. While term-time offered me the chance to convene this year’s American History Graduate Seminar together with Rivers Gambrell, vacations were spent almost entirely abroad. I visited archives ranging from the University of Indiana to Washington DC’s National Archives, and from Harvard’s Baker Library and the New York Public Library to the University of Oklahoma’s business collection. In doing so I benefitted immensely from the Institute’s commitment to assisting graduate students’ research. The RAI’s reputation also helped me secure the prestigious support of the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History’s short-term fellowship.

The letters and documents I found open an unfiltered window into the past. Sometimes they convey a picture of whole decades, such as the depression years of the 1870s, while at other times they capture minute detail and make one chuckle about the colourful language of a German-American banker at the onset of the Panic of 1873. The real takeaway from such material is seldom just the sum of its contents, as it forces the historian to blaze a trail into unexplored territory, as any dissertation should. Building an overarching thesis out of a historical narrative requires critical thinking and intellectual guidance. With the generous support granted to me through the Thornton-Laffan-Norris Scholarship at the RAI and Keble College, I have been fortunate to call upon the expertise of many established scholars in my field and in other disciplines. I wholeheartedly thank the donors whose generosity made such a profound contribution to my research and to my personal education.

In the third year of my doctorate, I focussed on writing and now have drafts for all but one of the chapters of my thesis, ‘Children in Chicago 1890-1930’. The project focuses on the experience of city children in the early twentieth century, considering why Chicago was transformed from a very child-rich environment in the 1890s to a place by 1930 where adults excluded children from playing and working in the streets. One chapter looks particularly at how children enforced racial segregation on the South Side of Chicago, the results of which have shaped Chicago’s racial geography to the present day.

I recently presented a paper at the Urban History Group’s ‘Borders and Boundaries’ Conference at Kings College London. The paper, ‘A Real Institution: The Need For Playground Fencing in America, 1890-1930’, investigated why playground organisers U-turned on fences in the early 1900s. I argue that children’s appropriation of play-spaces forced reformers to install fences to maintain control of playgrounds.

In addition to writing and attending conferences, I have continued to teach. I delivered my first lecture at the University of Oxford, on the Long Progressive Era, which was well-attended by undergraduate historians taking the History of the United States since 1863 course, and I participated in a Teach First scheme for disadvantaged A-Level...
As always, I am grateful for the opportunities that the RAI’s funding has afforded me: not only in allowing me to undertake my DPhil, but also enabling me to be part of the Institute. My work would be so much weaker without the support and friendship of the RAI community.

Daniel Rowe

During the 2016-17 academic year, I concentrated on completing my doctoral dissertation, ‘Beyond Reaganomics: The Long Economic Crisis and the Rebuilding of America, 1974-1988’. Thematic chapters explore the policies and initiatives that prevented America’s largest cities and industries from collapsing and highlight the vitally important – but almost entirely unnoticed – role that political action outside the realm of electoral politics played in shaping economic recovery. The RAI’s fourth-year studentship allowed me to make important refinements and additions to my research.

I devoted my energies to drafting the remaining chapters of my dissertation and incorporating archival research gathered in the summer of 2016 into my existing work. I spent much time working through thousands of pictures that I gathered from the private papers of Coleman Young, Mayor of Detroit between 1974 and 1994. Reading through these materials provided insights into Young’s trials and tribulations during the crisis years of the 1970s and 1980s.

Alongside my research, I spoke about state economic development policy at the Historians of the Twentieth Century United States conference in Dublin and organised a conference at the RAI. This examined the role of post-war social movements in shaping the political, social, and cultural history of the US. Graduate students and early career researchers from the UK, continental Europe and the US gave papers on subjects as varied as Rock and Roll, electronic civil disobedience, and draft resistance during the Vietnam era.

I have also gained valuable teaching experience this year as an associate tutor at the University of Sheffield, teaching the ‘From Settlements to Super Power’ US survey course. Although leading seminars and marking essays and exams on a broad range of subjects has been time-consuming, it has been very rewarding and has helped me develop my teaching skills. I now feel comfortable teaching on diverse chronological and thematic subjects.

Speaking to and working with the many senior academics who visited the RAI this year has benefited me greatly. I found my frequent discussions with the Winant Professor of American Government, Sid Milkis, extremely useful and enjoyable, as I did conversations with visiting speakers including Brian Balogh and Dan Scroop who work in similar fields.

Once again, I would like to thank the RAI and its benefactors for their support. The experiences and activities that I was able to engage in as a result of the fourth-year studentship have enriched my research and contributed greatly to my development as a scholar. Wherever my research and teaching takes me, I know that I will maintain a close connection with the RAI.
Each year, the Winant Visiting Professorship in American Government brings to Oxford an eminent scholar of American politics and government. The Winant Chair was founded by Rivington and Joan Winant in honour of Rivington’s father, John G. Winant, U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain from 1941 to 1946. In 2016–17, the Chair was held by Sidney M. Milkis, the White Burkett Miller Professor in the Department of Politics at the University of Virginia.


It was a great privilege to occupy the Winant Professorship. I am more grateful than I can say for the generosity of Joan Winant and the gracious hosts at the Rothermere American Institute for an experience that has been one of the high points of my professional life. Encouraged by the stimulating and supportive atmosphere of the RAI, I did as much as I could to benefit from this fantastic opportunity: lecturing, teaching classes, tutoring undergraduates, and organizing conferences.

Of the talks I gave, the most important was my inaugural lecture – ‘Joining the Revolution: Lyndon Johnson, the Modern Presidency and the Civil Rights Movement’. The occasion, followed by a lovely dinner at Balliol, was a memorable experience. I also enjoyed the other events at which I was invited to speak: a brief introduction to introduce the Institute’s screening of the presidential inauguration; two presentations for the American Politics Graduate Seminar (one on the 2016 election, the other on Woodrow Wilson and the Civil Rights Movement); and remarks on ‘The First Hundred Days of Donald Trump’, as part of a one-day conference I organized (a collaboration between Oxford and the University of Virginia’s Miller Center). In addition to these RAI-sponsored talks, I was invited to give a lecture to the Dervorguilla Society (or History Society) at Balliol College: ‘What Happened to the Vital Center? The 2016 Election, Donald Trump, and the Fate of American Democracy’. It was attended by highly engaged fellows and students, some of whom continued the conversation at a nice Broad Street pub.

Knowing that teaching is an important part of the Winant Professor’s responsibility, I offered two courses during my stay at Oxford. During Hilary Term, I taught a graduate seminar on American Political Development at Nuffield College with my distinguished colleague, Desmond King, the Andrew Mellon Professor of American Government. This was a wide-ranging seminar-style course that stressed the major principles, cultural norms, and institutions that have animated the most significant changes in politics and government throughout American history. Des King and I also took advantage of my position as a Fellow of Balliol to teach an undergraduate lecture course at the College during Trinity on ‘The 2016 Elections in Historical Perspective’. Both of these courses were well attended by Oxford standards, where small classes dominate and enrich the educational experience. So impressed was I by Balliol students, I also did some one-on-one tutoring of politics and history
undergraduates, helping them prepare for their high-pressure, end of term exams.

Finally, I found the RAI’s place at the intersection of politics, history, and public affairs to be a wonderful vantage point for organizing conferences. Using funds generously provided by the Institute and the budget available to the Winant Professor, I organized two major events. As noted, I collaborated with my colleagues at the Miller Center to put together a One-Hundred Day event in May 2017, featuring panels on international and domestic affairs. These panels included academics from Virginia and Oxford as well as accomplished non-academics, such as Frances Sellers, a senior reporter for the Washington Post, and Christopher Lu, former Deputy Director of the Labor Department during the Obama administration. Building on a book that I just completed with my former student Daniel Tichenor (now a chaired professor at the University of Oregon) – Rivalry and Reform: Presidents, Social Movements, and the Transformation of American Politics – I also organized a two-day conference in June: ‘Social Movements and the American State’. The alluring atmosphere of the RAI and Oxford attracted some of the foremost scholars of political institutions and public policy from both sides of the pond for lively discussion of the major issues confronting the United States and other advanced representative democracies. Embedded in a broad philosophical and historical perspective, this intensive workshop, co-sponsored by RAI and Nuffield, included a ‘book scrub’ on Rivalry and Reform and three breakout sessions, each addressing a different theme pertaining to Social Movements and the American State: partisan polarization, immigration, and criminal justice. Both of these events – one more public-facing, the other more oriented to a broad academic audience – were well attended and, as far as I could tell, greatly appreciated by both participants and those in attendance.

I thoroughly enjoyed my interactions with RAI and the wider Oxford community, and attended as many lectures and seminars as I could. I regularly took part in the weekly American Politics and American History Graduate seminars, seeking to offer many DPhil students constructive comments on their theses and, in my own talks, endeavoring to show how more senior scholars do research and give scholarly presentations. For all the time I put into these activities – and I kept myself busy – I was more than compensated by the wonderful multi-disciplinary conversations that so enriched my scholarship and teaching. My RAI and Balliol colleagues were unfailingly generous and kind, joining stimulating academic conversation to fun social engagements.

As I return to the United States and my ‘day job’ at the University of Virginia, I recognize how fortunate I have been to experience the life of the mind at one of the best universities in the world. The Winant Professorship and RAI have been a fantastic home that has allowed me to take full advantage of this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. I leave with many memories and friendships that I will treasure for the rest of my life.
America’s Great War: centenary events at the RAI

Alice Kelly, Harmsworth Junior Research Fellow in the History of the United States and World War One, reports on the RAI’s First World War centenary programme

In his essay ‘The Crack-Up’ published in *Esquire* magazine in early 1936, F. Scott Fitzgerald cited his “two juvenile regrets” as “not being big enough (or good enough) to play football in college” and “not getting overseas during the war”. For the celebrated writer, this is an interesting admission. Considering the brevity of American participation in the Great War – just twenty months, compared to its longer and more complex engagements in other major conflicts – it is tempting to dismiss World War One as America’s forgotten war.

Yet the First World War’s political, social, and cultural ramifications were profound. To paraphrase the historian David Reynolds, the war would cast a long shadow across twentieth-century America, from shaping the voting rights of women and African-Americans to the ways in which the United States would interact on the international stage in what would become known as the American century. In 2017, the RAI has played an important role in re-evaluating the US’s participation in the war. Through the appointment of a Junior Research Fellow in the History of the United States and World War One, a high-profile lecture series and accompanying graduate and early career ‘masterclasses’, and a centenary film series, our programming has led the way in the UK in commemorating America’s experience during and after the war.

Although the United States did not officially enter the war until April 1917, the First World War on the American home front was, for the first three years, a war of propaganda. It was a fierce war of words for and against America joining the Allied war effort, between those calling for preparedness and later mobilization, to the anti-war movement advocating staying out of an Old World altercation. The discussion, carried out through Congressional debates, newspaper columns, posters, plays, tracts, and popular song, divided the US over foreign intervention and the country’s growing position on the world stage.

These attitudes were complex and subject to change as the war continued. Irving Berlin’s pacifist song *Stay Down Here Where You Belong*, penned in 1914, is about the devil telling his son to stay down in hell, because the people on earth have ‘all gone to war / And not a one of them knows what they’re fighting for’. Berlin, who would go on to write patriotic songs after America entered the war, later became embarrassed about this early pacifist song. He even offered Groucho Marx $100 to stop singing it.

Some of the more bizarre incarnations of this national debate were the industrialist Henry Ford’s amateur peace mission on a chartered ocean liner to Europe, which aimed to prompt a peace conference amongst the belligerent nations and thereby end the war: a mission which became known, and mocked, in the press as the ‘Peace Ship’. 
The sinking of RMS Lusitania in May 1915, killing 1,198 people including 128 American civilians, prompted Fred Spear’s famous poster *Enlist*, depicting the body of a mother cradling her baby as the two drown. The resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare, followed by the decryption of the Zimmermann Telegram in the early months of 1917 and the revelation that the Germans had proposed a pact with Mexico to gain its support against the US, fueled the push towards war.

When Woodrow Wilson eventually declared war on 6 April 1917, it was on his own terms – America was an 'associate', rather than a formal ally of France and the UK. The day after Wilson declared war on Germany, George M. Cohan wrote *Over There* in just two hours: a catchy, patriotic tune written to encourage young American men to sign up. It would become the most popular song during the war, selling over two million copies during the war years, its telegram-like wording promising that Americans “won’t come back, till it’s over, over there”.

As American soldiers were sent overseas, participating prominently in battles including Cantigny (May 1918), Château-Thierry (June 1918), Belleau Wood (June 1918), St. Mihiel (September 1918), and the Meuse-Argonne Offensive (September – November 1918), the war drive developed at home. Charlie Chaplin, the most famous film star in the world in 1918, fooled around on Wall Street with his fellow film star Douglas Fairbanks in front of a cheering crowd of twenty thousand to promote Liberty Loans during the Third Loan campaign, later making a film entirely out of his own pocket for the same cause (*The Bond*, September 1918). When peace was declared in November 1918 and troops began to return home, they were greeted by mass celebrations, such as a ticker tape parade on Broadway, as well as some consternation.

Songs such as *How Ya Gonna Keep ‘Em Down on the Farm (After They’ve Seen Paree)*, written in 1919 by Joe Young and Sam M. Lewis, reflected contemporary concerns that American soldiers returning home after the war would not want to return to their pre-war rural lives after having seen European cities and culture – an early twentieth-century expression of the difficulties of reintegrating war veterans into society. The song’s popularity was in part due to its being performed frequently by the band from the celebrated Harlem Hellfighters (the 15th New York National Guard Regiment) consisting mostly of African-Americans: a wartime illusion of equality that would vanish almost immediately after the war, and not be realized until the Civil Rights movements fifty years later. The return of some of the 116,000 war dead to their families and ‘Gold Star Mothers’ marked out the American nation from their counterparts in other nations, whose dead remained predominantly on the battlefields. Memorials, from the Cenotaph centrepiece at Yale University, to
the mock Stonehenge memorial erected by millionaire Sam Hill in rural Washington, began to appear across the land. Far from being a nation untouched by this distant and foreign war, America was profoundly affected by it.

The sociopolitical importance of the war for the United States and its long-term implications for American domestic and foreign policy have been debated by historians and critics since its conclusion. David M. Kennedy’s classic 1980 study Over Here: The First World War and American Society and more recent books such as Jennifer Keene’s Doughboys, the Great War and the Remaking of America (2001) and Christopher Capozzola’s Uncle Sam Wants You: World War One and the Making of the Modern American Citizen (2008) have examined how America, still a new nation, was remade by the war and how this subsequently remade the world order, simultaneously creating a new brand of American citizens.

Our centenary programming at the RAI has continued the debate over the importance of the war in American history. Our lecture series featured four scholars making important contributions in a variety of fields. In February 2017, Jennifer Keene (Chapman University) discussed the impact of the war on social movements and David Lubin (Wake Forest University) considered how the war changed American art. In April, Christopher Capozzola (MIT) considered the Nye Commission of the 1930s, an investigation into wartime financial interests, and in May, in one of her final addresses in Oxford before retiring as Warden of St Antony’s College and Professor of International History, Margaret MacMillan spoke about the influence of America in the making of the Versailles Peace Treaty. Made possible by the generosity of Mary Jo Jacobi and Patrick Jephson, all these lectures are now available online at http://www.rai.ox.ac.uk/podcasts. The graduate and early-career ‘masterclasses’ allowed our junior scholars to engage with our centenary lecturers in a more informal setting. Discussions ranged from the new First World War memorial planned for Washington, DC to the interplay between scholarship and public history. We even had a sneak preview of the new PBS series (not yet available in the UK), The Great War, with Professor Capozzola.

Extending our considerations of the First World War to include visual and popular culture, I organized a film series entitled The RAI Goes to the Movies: An American First World War Centenary Series, which featured four masterpieces of America’s filmic engagement with the war: Charlie Chaplin’s comedy Shoulder Arms (1918), King Vidor’s hugely successful The Big Parade (1925), William Wellman’s aviation drama Wings (1927), and Howard Hawks’s biopic Sergeant York (1941), all introduced by First World War scholars. The creation in July 2016 of the post which I hold – the Rt. Hon. Vere Sidney Tudor Harmsworth Postdoctoral Research Fellowship on the History of the United States and World War One – marked the beginning of the RAI’s year-long engagement with the American centenary. Created thanks to the munificence of the Rothermere Foundation, the fellowship is itself a First World War memorial of sorts: it honours the life of Lt. Hon. Vere Sidney Tudor Harmsworth, of the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve. Lt. Hon. Harmsworth was one of two sons of the first Viscount Rothermere to lose their lives in the First World War. He was killed in action at the Battle of the Ancre in November 1916, aged just 21. Already a combat veteran, he had been deafened by gunfire during service in the Royal Navy, captured at the bombardment of Antwerp in October 1914 and interned in Holland before escaping and going on to serve at Gallipoli. Turning down offers of safer jobs, he volunteered to return to the front line in France and was cut down by a shell as he advanced, wounded, across No Man’s Land – showing such endurance and courage, according to his commanding officer, that “the men of his battalion who survived the action are thrilled with pride in his name”.

My own scholarship in the past year has explored some of the most interesting cultural aspects of the war, from propaganda to nursing. I wrote an article in the Times Literary Supplement concerning a new archival acquisition of letters from Ellen N. La Motte, an American First World War nurse, documenting the astonishing range of lesbian, suffragette, avant-garde, and war networks that she moved within. In April I took part in a panel discussion at the British Library on America’s role as peace broker, discussing the importance of a British mission to the United States led by the press baron Lord Northcliffe in 1917.
With the appointment of Lloyd Pratt to the Drue Heinz Professorship of American Literature, 2016-17 was another year of significant literary activity at the RAI. Highlights included talks from the writer and editor Mark Greif, the acclaimed poet Eileen Myles, and Hilton Als, the theatre critic of The New Yorker magazine, who gave the 2017 Esmond Harmsworth Lecture in American Arts and Letters.

 Appearing as part of the RAI|Live series, which brings authors and audiences into conversation at the Institute, Mark Greif, the editor of n+1 magazine, read from his latest book, Against Everything. Greif’s writing has appeared in the London Review of Books, the Times Literary Supplement, and the New Statesman. His first book, The Age of the Crisis of Man, was a 2015 Wall Street Journal and New Statesman Book of the Year. His talk was followed by a conversation with Professor Lloyd Pratt and with the large audience.

In January, RAI|Live brought Eileen Myles to Oxford. The iconic poet, novelist, performer and art journalist read from her work, which among her 19 published books includes an acclaimed novel, Chelsea Girls, a chronicle of 1960s & ’70s sex, drugs and family. She discussed her writing with David Russell, Associate Professor of English Literature. The New York Review of Books described Myles’s work as “uncompromisingly frontal, simultaneously vulnerable and scrutinising. If you look at her, she looks back.”

One of the most influential and innovative critics writing today, Hilton Als was the latest of a series of distinguished American writers, including Lydia Davis, Richard Ford, and Joyce Carol Oates, to give the annual Esmond Harmsworth Lecture in American Arts and Letters. His characteristic form, as the New York Review of Books explains, “is a kind of essay in which biography, memoir, and literary criticism flow into one another as if it were perfectly natural that they should”. Alongside his work as The New Yorker’s theatre critic, Als’s writing focuses particularly on race, sexuality, and the varieties of American experience. Als is the recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship, a New York Association of Black Journalists Award, and the George Jean Nathan Award for Dramatic Criticism. His second book, White Girls, was shortlisted for the National Book Critics Circle Award in 2014, and he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for criticism in 2016. The day after his lecture, Als led a masterclass entitled ‘The Essay as Criticism’ for students, researchers, and faculty on how to incorporate memoir and biography into criticism.

In addition to these special talks, the RAI’s regular American Literature Research Seminar met on Thursdays during term-time to discuss topics encompassing ‘National Monuments and Women in Henry James’, ‘Walt Whitman and labour’, and biography, poetry and emancipation in the work of Julia Ward Howe, best known for writing the words of the Battle Hymn of the Republic. The seminar also welcomed Christopher Nealon, one of America’s leading contemporary poetry critics, for a discussion of what constitutes ‘political poetry’.
Travel awards for primary research in the United States

The generosity of the RAI’s friends and benefactors enables the Institute to make a number of travel awards to undergraduate and graduate students undertaking primary research in the United States each year. Robin Adams (St Peter’s College) received one such award in 2016-17.

My research trip to New York in January 2017 was indispensable to my DPhil thesis: without the financial assistance received from the RAI, my research would have been much curtailed. A study of the funding of the Irish Republican Government during the Irish War of Independence (1919-21) would have been incomplete without reference to the funds that the government received from America, and a satisfactory analysis of this source of finance would have been impossible without a research trip to New York.

My research began in the archives of the New York Public Library, where I sifted through the personal papers of Frank P. Walsh, a leading figure in the American labour movement who was heavily involved in lobbying for official recognition of the Irish Republic in 1919-21. I also read through the papers of William Bourke Cockran, a New York congressman who was a key figure in fundraising for the moderate Irish nationalist cause, and then the radical Irish nationalist cause. In addition, I gained access to the papers of J.C. Walsh, a Canadian journalist who played a pivotal role in fundraising for the nascent and not-yet-recognised Irish Republic, and William Maloney, another advocate of the Irish republican cause in America, who was suspected by some of being a spy for the British government. All of these collections were rich in both personal and organizational information, enabling a far deeper understanding of the personalities and the political dynamics involved.

My second port of call was the library of the American-Irish Historical Society. Here, I was granted access to the papers of a number of prominent Irish Americans, and of a number of members of the Irish Republic’s mission to the United States (1920-21). Chief among these resources were the papers of Judge Daniel Cohalan, an influential Irish-American who, although initially supportive of the Irish Republic’s mission to America, its fundraising campaign and campaign for recognition, became an outspoken critic of the mission and sought to undermine its leadership. These papers were particularly useful, as I had hitherto only gained access to the other side of this dispute, so funds from the RAI allowed balance to be brought to the narrative of this disagreement and nuance to be added to its analysis.

I wish to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the RAI and its benefactors for facilitating this research trip. As became abundantly clear on my arrival at New York, the extent of the source material available in the New York Public Library and the American-Irish Historical Society necessitated a lengthy time commitment, and funds awarded by the Institute were crucial in enabling a sufficiently
extended period of research. The contribution of this research trip to my thesis was invaluable and the contribution of the RAI to the research trip fundamental.

The RAI has made fifteen awards to outstanding undergraduate and graduate students to enable research in the United States during the 2017–18 academic year:

Dominic Barker, D.Phil. in History, Lady Margaret Hall: Ronald Reagan and Race: The Evolution of Colour-Blind Conservatism Award for research at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, the California State Archives in Sacramento, and the Hoover Institution at Stanford University

Helen Baxendale, D.Phil. in Public Policy, University College: The Recent Politics of School Education Policymaking in the United States Award for interviews and archival research in New York City and Los Angeles

Todd Carter, D.Phil. in History, University College: Race, Rhodesia, and the Anglo-American Special Relationship, 1964-1980 Award for research at the US National Archives and the Library of Congress

David Crone, B.A. in History and Politics, Lady Margaret Hall: Ethnicity in the Christian Right Movement Award for research at Bob Jones University, South Carolina, and Tufts University, Massachusetts

Emma Day, D.Phil. in History, Pembroke College: The AIDS Epidemic in the United States between 1980 and 2016 Award for research at the New York Public Library, the Center for LGBT Studies, the LGBT Community Center, and the Lesbian Herstory Archives, New York

Olivia Durand, D.Phil. in History, Pembroke College: A Comparison of Early 19th Century American Expansionism and Tsarist Russia’s Colonization and Settlement of the Provinces of New Russia Award for research at the Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans Public Library, and Tulane University archives


Machmud Makhmudov, M.Phil. in Politics, Magdalen College: Publius and Posterity: The Federalist Papers and Contemporary Climate Change Politics Award to conduct interviews at the Sabin Center for Climate Change Law at Columbia Law School, New York

Daniel McAteer, B.A. in History, Pembroke College: Racial Discourse within the American Academy during World War Two Award for research at the Butler Library at Columbia University, Vassar College, NY, and the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Christoph Nitschke, D.Phil. in History, Keble College: America in a World of Crisis: The Panic of 1873 and US Foreign Relations Award for research at the Baker Library at Harvard University, New York Public Library, the Morgan Library, and the New-York Historical Society

Mitchell Robertson, D.Phil. in History, University College: Nixon’s War on Poverty: How Government Survives Award for research at the Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum in Yorba Linda, California

Kate Sim, D.Phil. in Information, Communication, and the Social Sciences, Wadham College: Digital Technology and Sexual Violence Award for fieldwork at the University of San Francisco

Annette Stimmer, D.Phil. in International Relations, Nuffield College: The Outcomes of Norm Contestation Award for interviews at the United Nations, New York City

Annabel Taswell-Fryer, B.A. in History, St Peter’s College: Monuments to the Nation: American Architecture and Nation Building in the Long Progressive Era Award for research at the University of Chicago, the Art Institute of Chicago, and the Avery Architecture & Fine Arts Library at Columbia University, New York

Jamie Weiner, M.Phil. in Modern Middle Eastern Studies, Wadham College: The Domestic and International Politics of President Jimmy Carter’s Brokering of Israel-Egypt Peace Award for research at the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library, Atlanta
Congress to Campus is the centrepiece of the RAI’s programme to engage wider audiences in the politics, history, and literature of the United States. With the support of the British Library’s Eccles Centre and the US Association of Former Members of Congress, in March 2017 the initiative brought former US Representatives Victor Fazio (D-California) and Randy Neugebauer (R-Texas) to the RAI to discuss American politics with secondary school pupils and with undergraduate and graduate students.

The former members of Congress began by sharing their experiences as candidates and office-holders with the audience of some 90 students, who came from schools in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and the West Midlands. With Professor Philip Davies, Director of the Eccles Centre, and RAI doctoral student Nina Yancy, Fazio and Neugebauer discussed the current American political scene in the wake of the 2016 presidential and congressional elections. Questions from the audience focussed on the Trump presidency, external influences on the presidential election, and disputes over immigration, healthcare, and environmental policy.

Victor Fazio represented California’s 3rd congressional district between 1979 and 1993 and the state’s 4th congressional district between 1993 and 1999 as a member of the Democratic Party. These districts in central and northern California included agricultural and mountainous areas as well as the suburbs of Sacramento, the state’s capital. Between 1995 and 1999, during President Clinton’s administration, Fazio was Chair of the House Democratic Caucus and for 18 years he was a ranking member of the House Appropriations Committee. A committed environmentalist, his efforts led to the creation in 1997 of the Vic Fazio Yolo Wildlife Area in central California, an important refuge for waterfowl and migratory birds.

Randy Neugebauer represented Texas’s 19th congressional district between 2003 and 2017, a district encompassing a largely rural swath of west Texas and the cities of Abilene and Lubbock. A Republican, he is considered to have been among the most conservative members of the House of Representatives. During his time in Congress, Neugebauer served on the US House committees on Agriculture, Financial Services, and Science, Space and Technology. He sponsored legislation on insurance and meteorology.

If you have links with schools and would like to find out more about participating in next year’s Congress to Campus, please email enquiries@rai.ox.ac.uk.
The RAI’s Visiting Fellowships bring scholars from across the UK and around the world to research in the Vere Harmsworth Library, write books and articles, and be part of the RAI’s academic community. James Rogers, Associate Lecturer in International Politics at the University of York, spent his Vacation Visiting Research Fellowship working on his forthcoming book, *Drone Warfare: Concepts and Controversies* (Manchester University Press, 2018).

In the post-Obama era the drone landscape has changed. American dominance over the use of drones has eroded and a plethora of state and non-state actors have gained access to drone technologies. As a result, a new pattern of drone warfare has begun to emerge. Old drone wars, waged under Presidents Bush and Obama, were largely the preserve of the US military and its allies. With little competition, the US was able to intervene remotely with purported ‘precision’ in conflicts around the world, while those on the ground were unable to strike back in kind. These wars were controversial, yet those in power argued that drones mitigated the cost in both civilian and American military lives, while also allowing for simple, effective, and cost-free conflict. Such a form of drone warfare is, however, quickly becoming overshadowed. New drone wars are more complicated, congested, and risky. Not only have over a dozen state actors acquired hi-tech armed drones, but the use of a ‘drone’ is now open to anyone with the ability to turn an off-the-shelf quadcopter into an air-borne IED. Zones of drone conflict are, therefore, likely to become an increasingly dangerous place for all involved.

The Vacation Visiting Research Fellowship awarded by the RAI has provided me with the time and resources to investigate some of these dangers. Specifically, the RAI’s archives have allowed me to look into the past as a means to draw lessons about the future. The Vere Harmsworth Library, and the wider Bodleian libraries, are home to some of the earliest American strategy documents relating to precision and drone warfare. These documents, mainly from the 1970s, ‘80s, and early ‘90s illuminate early theorising about the utility, but also the risks, of harnessing advanced precision weapons. The work of Albert Wohlstetter, a RAND strategist who was arguably the ‘father of precision warfare’, has been of particular interest. Wohlstetter worried about what he called the end of the ‘American Monopoly’ on ‘advanced weapons technologies’. He saw a future where rival powers (especially China) would gain similar capabilities to the US, and export these around the world. Wohlstetter’s biggest concern was about how this might affect the American ability to project power and force in this new and complex environment.

Such worries are as relevant today as they were forty years ago. In particular, Wohlstetter’s prophetic theorising has helped guide this research project towards a focus on the manufacture of Chinese drones and their proliferation globally. The research is still ongoing, but there are some questions currently under consideration. First, how will the US attempt to regulate the trade and use of drones? Second, if this cannot be achieved, how will the US intervene to stop the misuse of these systems if, for example, drone atrocities on civilians were to occur at the hands of a new drone actor? Third, what would ‘intervention’ look like in these zones of drone conflict? With all sides (state and non-state) armed with drones, the risk to any international actor deploying troops or ‘peacekeepers’ would be heightened. Although all the answers are not yet to hand, it is from the continued analysis of Wohlstetter-era strategy and the policy papers housed at the RAI that such questions can be explored.


Twitter: @DrJamesRogers
Thanks to a generous donation from the Rothermere Foundation, Trinity Term saw the Vere Harmsworth Library open on Sundays for the first time, writes Jane Rawson, Vere Harmsworth Librarian. This extension is on a temporary basis while funding lasts but will continue during term-time throughout the 2017-18 academic year, with the library open 11am-5pm on Sundays beyond our established weekday and Saturday hours. Sunday opening has frequently been requested and we are very grateful to the Rothermere Foundation for enabling us to offer this enhancement to service for the next year.

In the run-up to the US elections on 8 November 2016, we enjoyed participating in the #ElectionCollection social media challenge organised by the US National Archives and PBS. Libraries and archives were encouraged to share photos of presidential memorabilia according to weekly themes on Twitter, Instagram, and other social media sites throughout the summer and autumn. This gave us the opportunity to showcase some of the items in the Philip & Rosamund Davies US Election Campaigns Archive. You can see our contributions at www.instagram.com/vhllib and learn more about the archive at www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/vhlfinding-resources/elections-archive. Professor Davies has already begun to deposit material from the 2016 elections, which will be catalogued in due course. We occasionally accept contributions to this archive from other donors, so if you have electoral memorabilia that you might wish to donate to this collection, please get in touch. Interest in the archive always grows during an election year; and as well as the #ElectionCollection challenge and exhibitions in the library, we recently welcomed students from Salve Regina University in Rhode Island for a session on campaign ephemera as historical sources as part of their 2017 summer programme.

We would like to record our thanks to all those who have donated books and other materials over the course of the year; in particular more sizeable gifts from Andrew Boxer, Richard Carwardine, James Pettifer, Donald Ratcliffe, and Ian Saberton. We are especially grateful, as ever, to the Association of American Rhodes Scholars for their continuing support of the Aydelotte-Kieffer-Smith collection, to which we will add a further 88 books this year. In total we have acquired over 1,200 new books over the course of the year and, together with the Social Science Library, we have also been able to purchase the online archive of CQ Almanac from 1945, which provides original narrative accounts of every piece of major legislation that lawmakers considered during a congressional session. This is a key resource for those studying US politics and twentieth-century political history, as it organises and cross-indexes the full year in Congress and in national politics.

We are always delighted to welcome visitors to the library. You can find us online both on the RAI website at www.rai.ox.ac.uk/vhl and our own site at www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/vhl. We also have a blog (http://blogs.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/vhl), Facebook (facebook.com/VereHarmsworthLibrary) and Twitter (twitter.com/vhllib) if you want to keep up with our news.

The RAI received £2,459,000 in donations in 2016. This total was boosted by three gifts of exceptional generosity: £1m from the Rothermere Foundation; £533,000 from an anonymous donor; and £400,000 from an alumnus of University College (money held in trust by the college) towards the endowment of the RAI Directorship as the Edward Orsborn Chair in US Politics and Political History. The 2016 total represented an increase from £494,000 in donations in 2015, £388,000 in 2014, and £322,000 in 2013.

In addition to the gifts received to endow the Directorship/Edward Orsborn Chair, donations in 2016 included the following:

- £156,000 towards the endowment of two graduate scholarships in American history, in association with University College
- £106,000 towards the endowment of the Broadbent Junior Research Fellowship in American History, in association with Christ Church and St Edmund Hall
- £80,000 to the RAI’s general endowment
- £38,000 to support two graduate scholarships in American politics, in association with University College

The Rothermere American Institute records its special gratitude to those donors who made or pledged major gifts during 2016: the Rothermere Foundation, William and Camille Broadbent, Joan Winant, Mary Jo Jacobi and Patrick Jephson, Esmond Harmsworth, the Josephine P. and John J. Louis Foundation, and several benefactors who wish to remain anonymous.

The RAI’s cost of raising funds remained low, amounting to approximately £63,000 in 2016. This comprised staff costs and other expenses associated with fundraising, such as travel and events at the RAI and in the United States. A total cost of raising funds of approximately £63,000, set against £2,459m in cash and pledges received, amounts to a cost of raising funds of approximately 2.5%. This compares very favourably to charitable benchmarks.
The Institute's Friends of the RAI initiative is a great opportunity to support the Institute's mission: to promote the better understanding of the history, literature, and politics of the United States.

The generosity of benefactors, trusts, and foundations makes possible all that we do at the Rothermere American Institute. Our Friends are our partners in this endeavour:

It costs us, for example:

£10,000 p.a. to sustain the RAI’s programme of travel awards, allowing outstanding students to pursue research in the United States. Pages 14 and 15 of this report describe some of these projects.

£5,000 p.a. to provide essential hardship grants for students encountering unexpected financial distress.

£10,000 to run the RAI’s world-class research seminars in American history, literature, and politics.

We can sustain these activities only by securing the funds to do so – and Friends of the RAI make a vital contribution.

In token of their support, for an annual donation of £40 ($80), Friends receive:

• A ‘Friend of the RAI’ certificate
• A stylish RAI pin badge
• A copy of the RAI Annual Report
• Regular email updates – the Director’s monthly RAI Matters; a termcard at the start of each term; and a weekly update of forthcoming events
• A standing invitation to Red, White, and Brew, the RAI’s weekly coffee gathering, every Tuesday at 11am during term
• A warm welcome at all RAI public lectures and seminars

And for an annual donation of £80 ($150), Friends receive all of this, plus a personally dedicated copy of a book by an RAI author.

To become a Friend of the RAI, simply visit www.rai.ox.ac.uk/friends or complete the form in the centre of this report.

For further information on how you can support the RAI, please contact Huw David, RAI Director of Development, at Huw.david@rai.ox.ac.uk.

Stay in touch with the RAI all year long

The RAI website – www.rai.ox.ac.uk – contains all the latest news of events and activities at the Institute.

The site features dedicated pages for:

• Podcasts of RAI lectures – www.rai.ox.ac.uk/podcasts
• Past and upcoming conferences – www.rai.ox.ac.uk/events

The RAI can also be found on Facebook – www.facebook.com/RAIOxford and Twitter – www.twitter.com/RAIOxford. If you are not already on the RAI’s mailing list and would like to receive updates of forthcoming events and activities, please contact enquiries@rai.ox.ac.uk.