

Rothermere American Institute 2012-13 Travel Awards: Recipients' Reports

Thanks to the generosity of a number of benefactors, the Rothermere American Institute was in June 2012 able to make travel awards to six outstanding students of American history or politics. The students – five working towards Master's or doctoral degrees and one undergraduate – conducted research in the United States that was essential to their thesis or dissertation, on topics which ranged from 'Latin American Approaches to Pan-Americanism 1888-1939' to 'The China Issue and the American Right, 1945-1960'.

Without such philanthropic support, the students' research would, in many cases, not have been possible. The students, and all at the Rothermere American Institute, are deeply grateful for the donors' generosity.

In the reports below, the students describe their projects and the research that the RAI's travel awards facilitated.

Doctoral Awards

Patrick Andelic, DPhil student in American History, St. Anne's College

Thesis title: 'Beyond the New Deal Order: Debating the Democratic Future in an "Age of Conservatism", 1972-84'

Award given for archival work on the papers of Senator Gary Hart and Congressman Tim Wirth at the University of Colorado, of Congressman Philip Burton at UC Berkeley, and of Congressman Augustus Hawkins at UCLA.

This travel grant was used to finance a research trip to archives in Boulder, Colorado, and Berkeley and Los Angeles, California. The trip lasted three weeks – from the 1st until 23rd September – with a week spent in each location. My dissertation seeks to recapture the fascinating political climate of the United States in the 1970s and early 1980s, and to understand it not simply as a transitional era but as a period in its own right. In particular, my doctoral research focuses upon the Democratic Party and its inability to construct a popular liberal message.

I began at the University of Colorado, Boulder, consulting the papers of Senator Gary Hart and Representative (later Senator) Tim Wirth. Both Hart and Wirth were ‘Watergate Babies’, members of the class of Democratic legislators elected in 1974 who brought the perspective of their fiscally conservative, socially liberal, and often suburban constituents into Congress and the Democratic Party. Hart and Wirth’s papers provided a fascinating insight into the efforts of some Democrats to reorient their party away from the nostrums of the New Deal and Cold War and towards a political agenda that would come to be known as ‘neoliberalism’. While in Boulder, I also had the good fortune to interview Dickey Lee Hulinghorst, a Democratic whip in the Colorado House of Representatives, to discuss her career as both a legislator and activist in Colorado politics, which included stints working for the presidential campaigns of both Robert and Edward Kennedy and as an organiser for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). This gave me a valuable insight into the experiences of a Western grassroots activist and added to the growing oral history component of my thesis.

From there, I travelled to the University of California, Berkeley, principally to consult the papers of Phillip Burton, an ultraliberal Californian Democrat who served as chairman of the Democratic Study Group and House Democratic Caucus. A formidable legislator, much of Burton’s activities were undocumented, and I had been warned that his papers were consequently rather limited. Nonetheless, I was by no means disappointed and was able to explore his relations with various liberal campaigning groups, both nationally and within his San Francisco district. I also had a little time to look at the papers of Alan Cranston, a senator from California and presidential candidate in 1984, as well as those of David Ross Brower, an environmental activist and co-founder of Friends of the Earth.

Finally, to Los Angeles, where I divided my research time between UC Los Angeles and the University of Southern California. At UCLA, I made use of the papers of Augustus Hawkins, a Democratic congressman from Los Angeles and leading figure in the Congressional Black Caucus whose principal focus in the years covered by my thesis was the passage of a Full Employment Act. Hawkins’s papers gave me a glimpse into an ultimately unsuccessful effort to weld the rights consciousness of the 1960s to the economic universalism of the New Deal by codifying a legal right to a job for every American that sought one. I also had time to make use of the gubernatorial papers of Jerry Brown – governor of California from 1975 to 1983 (and the current incumbent) and a thwarted candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1976 and 1980 – at the University of Southern California. The son of a former governor, Brown belonged to the same neoliberal strain as Hart and Wirth, but with several idiosyncratic policy concerns that saw him derided as ‘Governor Moonbeam’. Brown’s papers were a late addition to my plans as I discovered, a few weeks before departing, that the Governor had removed restrictions that had previously been in place on his archives. The Brown papers presented, in many ways, the greatest challenge on this trip, as they remain largely uncatalogued and with a finding aid that leaves much to be desired. In its current state, it would take weeks, if not months, to adequately sift this collection for useful evidence. Nonetheless, I am grateful to the staff at UCLA’s special collections division, in particular Dace Taube, for helping me to make the most of the brief time I had.

A principal reason for embarking on this research trip was to explore the viability of a research interest that has been percolating for some time: namely the activities of Western Democrats in these years,

particularly those in the nation's 'Sun Belt'. This region is traditionally thought of as the cradle of late twentieth century conservative resurgence, and only a few historians have turned their attentions to liberal responses to the Western conservative mobilisation. Though necessarily brief, this trip has convinced me that this is a seam worth pursuing, and I look forward to further developing my ideas on this question.

I am grateful to archivists across Colorado and California (I should like to single out for special mention David Hays of CUB, David Kessler of UCB, and Simon Elliot and Robert Montoya of UCLA, as well as Dace Taube) for their assistance and forbearance. I should also like to reiterate my gratitude to the Rothermere American Institute, without whose generous financial support this trip would not have been possible.

Angela Cummine, DPhil student in American politics, New College

Thesis title: 'A Citizen's Stake in Sovereign Wealth: the Control, Use and Management of a Nation's Capital'

Award given for presentation of a paper at the 11th North American Basic Income Guarantee Conference in Toronto and for interviews in Washington.

I am a final year doctoral candidate in political theory investigating the normative issues surrounding Sovereign Wealth Funds (SWFs), particularly the investment, management and distribution of their capital. Alaska's sovereign wealth fund, the Alaska Permanent Fund, is a key case-study in my thesis. In May 2012, I undertook a 10 day research trip to the U.S. and Canada for three thesis-related events: delivery of a conference paper on the findings of my field research in 2011, participation in a workshop on an edited volume on Alaska's sovereign fund, to which I am a contributor, and thesis interviews in New York and Washington D.C. RAI financial support was crucial in facilitating this trip, which followed up on U.S. based field research in April 2011 that had also been partly funded by the RAI.

My 2012 research trip began in Canada. First, I presented at the 11th North American Basic Income Guarantee Conference (NABIG) in Toronto (May 2012). My paper, 'A Basic Income in Alaska? The Ideal of Sovereign Wealth Funded Basic Income and the Reality of Political Practice' summarised the findings of my 2011 field research in Anchorage and Juneau, partially funded by the RAI. During this research, I conducted elite interviews with Alaskan SWF officials, the findings of which were published in the peer-reviewed journal *Basic Income Studies*. The major component of the project, however, was to conduct a focus group and qualitative survey research with Alaskan citizens, exploring their views on the Permanent Fund Dividend (PFD), an annual equal share cash payment of the state's oil returns held in its SWF made to every Alaskan citizen. Many political theorists characterise the PFD as a Basic Income and laud this as a real world utopian scheme of wealth distribution. My field research tested the validity of this normative hypothesis and discovered little evidence to support the Basic Income conception of the PFD. Analysis of the data found that the PFD

dividend is commonly understood as recognition of civic ownership of state assets and an accountability mechanism over public officials.

This is a significant challenge for researchers interested in using the PFD as a Basic Income model elsewhere in America and beyond. With nine state-level sovereign funds, America has the most sovereign funds of any country in the world and they are regularly subject to various distributive demands such as to finance Basic Income-style schemes. If Alaska is a precedent for how such distribution schemes are popularly conceived and how they maintain political support, there is little scope for developing sovereign wealth-funded Basic Income programmes elsewhere. This finding is also pertinent for my own research which seeks to identify appropriate models for institutionalizing citizen ownership over sovereign wealth. These results suggest the Alaskan approach to distributing equal unconditional cash payments creates a sense of civic ownership over the sovereign fund, which goes beyond individual entitlement. Instead, the payment's legitimacy is grounded in notions of shared citizenship. As my qualitative research on citizen conceptions of the PFD is the first of its kind in Alaska, the opportunity to publicly present the results at NABIG conference where several Alaska PFD experts were in attendance was very useful for interrogating the data and my findings.

The second purpose of the trip was participation in a workshop promoting and discussing a two volume book series *Examining the Alaska Model* (published January 2012) and *Exporting the Alaska Model* (published August 2012), both by Palgrave Macmillan, to which I contributed a chapter. The workshop was run by the book editors, Karl Widerquist and Michael Howard, alongside the NABIG conference to promote the publication of the first volume. Philosophers, policy analysts and Alaska experts along with some chapter contributors attended to provide feedback on the book. With permission from Widerquist and Howard, I circulated one of my Alaska-related thesis chapters to workshop participants for feedback. The mix of policy and philosophically-oriented feedback was extremely helpful.

The third purpose of the trip was to conduct interviews for my thesis. I met with IMF representatives responsible for setting up the recently established international secretariat of the International Forum of Sovereign Wealth Funds (IFSWF). The IMF has conducted the majority of international policy work on SWFs since the emergence of an international community of funds in 2008. Insights from international civil servants intimately acquainted with the politics of the secretariat formation should reveal the extent to which these are banker- or government-run institutions. This insight is relevant to the plausibility of my claims about more democratised control of SWFs.

The 2012 trip was highly productive, containing several opportunities for exposing my empirical and conceptual work as well as promoting publications and gaining access to informative academic and policy thinkers in the field of American sovereign wealth funds.

For these reasons, I am very grateful for the generous support provided by RAI travel awards in 2011 and 2012. Both trips have proved crucial in aiding collation, publication and promotion of my doctoral research. My sincere thanks to the benefactors of these awards and the RAI for choosing to support this project.

Shelley Gao, MPhil student in Comparative Government, St. Cross College

Thesis title: 'The China Issue and the American Right, 1945-1960'

Award given for archival work on The Henry R. Luce papers at the Library of Congress, the David Lawrence papers at the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton, and the William F. Buckley Jr. papers at the Sterling Memorial Library, Yale.

I am a second year MPhil student in Politics: Comparative Government at St. Cross College, focusing on post-war American policy and attitudes toward China. I was fortunate to be awarded a RAI travel grant to assist with funding my archival research in the U.S. for the MPhil thesis.

During my trip, I visited the Henry R. Luce Papers at the Library of Congress in Washington D.C., the David Lawrence papers at Princeton University in New Jersey, and the William F. Buckley Jr. papers at Yale University in New Haven. My study examines the American Right's perspectives toward China and the domestic controversy surrounding the "fall of China" in the late 1940s and early 1950s. My thesis explores the following questions: What was the perception, cause of concern and mobilization around China issues for the American Right during the post-war period? How did the Right promulgate and promote their worldview and image of China? And what kind of impact did the Right's view of China have on the American policymaking elite and broader public? I approached these questions by examining the personal papers and published works of three prominent conservative intellectuals in the post-war period: Henry Luce, David Lawrence, and William Buckley, the founders of *Time*, *U.S. News & World Report*, and the *National Review* respectively.

Visiting the archives enabled me to gain first hand insight into the opinion-makers' backgrounds, motivations, and how they attempted to shape America's image of China. I am very grateful to all the benefactors who contributed toward funding RAI's travel and research grant program. My research trip was invaluable in helping me better understand the perception of China on the U.S. Right and, more broadly, to understand the American public sentiment toward China that provided the context for policymaking.

Mandy Izadi, DPhil student in American History, St. Anne's College

Thesis title: 'Why Black-Indian History Matters'

Award given for the presentation of a paper at the Caribbean Diaspora Reconsidered Conference, Harvard University, and for archival work in Georgia and Washington D.C.

I am currently a doctoral candidate in American history, working on the completion of my thesis. The RAI Travel Award was critically important to my research for the Summer/Fall of 2012, as the fund enabled me to purchase my return flight to the U.S. to engage in research in both Washington, D.C. and Atlanta, Georgia.

At the National Archives (NARA), over a period of three weeks, I collected a vast array of records from the War Department and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. These sources have enlightened the national and international dimensions of my research on Black-Indian political alliances in Florida. Nearby, at the Library of Congress, I spent about a week examining further the East Florida Papers, which I had begun to investigate two years earlier. The collection is critical as it is D.C.'s repository of records from Seville, Spain, which chronicle the vast history of Spanish colonial occupation and presence in North America. The importance of Spanish sources to this history cannot be over-emphasized—for too long researchers' linguistic short-comings have made for biased or incomplete histories of the Southeastern United States.

In the archival collections at the Georgia Department of Archives and History (GDAH), I spent two weeks working on the following holdings: Governors Letter Books; Louise Frederick Hays, ed. "Creek Indian Letters, Talks and Treaties 1705-1839"; "Indian Depredations, 1787-1825"; "Indian Letters, 1782-1839"; "The Murder of General William McIntosh, Treaties of Indian Springs, 1821-25, and also the "Report of Joseph Vallance Bevan, Letters Treaties, Executive Reports and the Trial of John Crowell" (typescript); "Unpublished Letters of Timothy Barnard, 1784-1820" (typescript); and "Unpublished Letters of Benjamin Hawkins" (typescript). These records provided an incredible amount of on-the-ground information concerning the political and martial actions of Creek and Seminole Indians (in Georgia and Florida) against the United States in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In all, these collections provided greater detail, and in many cases, newer insights, into the Native peoples whose histories my research is committed to revealing, and expanding outwards to its international dimensions.

After completing my summer research in D.C., I gave a paper at Harvard University's conference on the Caribbean Diaspora Reconsidered. My presentation was entitled 'Muskogee State: Black-Indian Politics in the circum-Caribbean'. The opportunity enabled me to prepare my presentation for publication alongside some of the most prominent academics and proficient graduates in the field. My presentation (and the article) focused on Black politics in Florida's Indian country, while situating the paper's main actors (ex-slaves and Muskogee Indians) within the larger geo-political framework of the circum-Caribbean. The focus of my work contributes to the largest aims of the dissertation: to collapse the borders of Black and Indian histories, and to expand them outwards beyond the nation-state. Speaking at the conference put me in contact with senior academics and graduates in my field of study, providing links to a community of scholars across the U.S. and Caribbean with whom I have maintained contact since the conference. I am grateful for the award as it enabled me to take this trip, which was critical for my research and writing, as well as my professional development as a young historian.

Mark Petersen, DPhil student in American History, Corpus Christi College

Thesis title: 'Latin American Approaches to Pan-Americanism 1888-1939'

Award given for archival research at the Columbus Memorial Library and the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C.

The generosity of a RAI Research and Travel Award allowed me to spend six weeks in Washington, DC, researching the development of the Pan-American Movement. This research is an integral part of my DPhil thesis, which examines the history of US-Latin American relations through the lens of Latin American approaches to Pan-Americanism. During my time researching in Washington, I focused mainly on material from the first three decades of the twentieth century. These decades saw the rapid expansion of the Pan-American movement, incorporating a vast array of issues, interests and international questions. The research that I accomplished in the six weeks in Washington will allow me to make a significant contribution to the current historiographical push to re-define our understanding of the early Pan-American movement.

My thesis (which I plan to complete by the Spring of 2014) will also add another perspective in the debate over rethinking the history of US-Latin American relations. With the RAI award, I was able to stay in Washington for a sufficient period of time to complete my research. I worked primarily in three institutions: the Columbus Memorial Library of the Organization of American States, the Library of Congress, and the National Archives and Records Administration. The wealth of relevant material held by these three institutions was impressive and occasionally daunting. Sources I utilized included the papers of Pan-American Union directors and US Secretaries of State, diplomatic correspondence, the diaries of statesmen connected to the Department of State and the Pan-American Union, and books written by contemporary observers of the movement.

By allowing me to stay for a full six weeks, the RAI Award gave me the opportunity to take advantage of this material and follow several interesting and fruitful research leads. For example, I was able to delve deeper into the question of Canada's position vis-à-vis the early Pan-American Union. This has become an important element of my thesis and its overall contribution to Pan-American scholarship. I owe, therefore, an immense debt of gratitude to the RAI and its benefactors for the award. I would like to take this opportunity to thank those who made this award possible. Without it, I would not have been able to pursue the lines of investigation that will add richness and significance to my thesis.

Undergraduate Award

Thomas Abbasi, undergraduate student in history, Magdalen College

Dissertation title: 'The Manufacture of Nature and its Centrality to Conceptions of American Identity between the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries'

Award given for travel to San Francisco and the Sierra Nevada to study the archives of Yosemite National Park, the California State Historical Society and the Sierra Club.

I would like to thank the donors whose generosity made the trip possible. I got a great deal out of trip: the experience has made me seriously consider graduate research in the field of environmental history, which I think has been underappreciated in its importance in forming modern America.

The outline for my thesis was a) that turn of the century Americans cared about nature; b) that this concern was informed by the supposed disappearance of the frontier; and c) that nature was increasingly a crucial component of being American. To prove this thesis, I needed material to show all of the above, in particular adverts for Yosemite National Park, which played upon these conceptions of nature as crucial to American identity. I also needed detail on how this concern with getting people in touch with nature translated into park policy.

Realising that it did not significantly add to flight costs, I also went to Atlanta, GA in order to visit Stone Mountain Park, hoping for a different perspective on the management of parks in the US. In the end, I did not incorporate it into my thesis, largely because the purposes/uses of Stone Mountain were so different to Yosemite. Stone Mountain is essentially a space of Confederate memorialisation, while Yosemite was an created as expression of national concerns with health and the frontier. The trip to Stone Mountain was nonetheless important in sharpening my own conception of what I wanted to accomplish in the thesis.

I arrived in San Francisco ready to start work in the second week of June, difficulties with immigration authorities notwithstanding, and set up appointments with Ellen Byrne of the Colby Library. I spent much of the week in the Colby Library (which is run by the Sierra Club, the progenitor to the modern environmental movement), where there was a wealth of useful material relating to tourism in Yosemite, often connected to former Sierra Club members. Equally helpful was the material relating to the rail industry's promotion of parks, held by the California State Historical Society's North Baker Research Library.

One particularly good insight into the creation and advertising of a specifically American vision of the wilderness was in a 1941 children's picture book, 'Michael and Anne in the Yosemite Valley', held at the Colby Library (Michael and Anne being the children of Ansel Adams, the famous naturalist photographer). Pictures of innocent (white) middle class children playing in meadows and pristine rivers mingled with a more classically American vision of the outdoors: the children meet a kindly Yosemite Indian who plays with them and tells them stories (this at a time when the Indians were either being driven out of the park or being removed from parents and sent to boarding schools and

thereon to the military), and young, vigorous ‘Uncle Don’ (Donald Tressidor – president of a key concessionary company in the park) posing as a cowboy. Aside from this, there were several tourist guidebooks, some which dated back to beyond 1860, and there were informative reports from the US Cavalry, who administered the park prior to the 1916 formation of the National Park Service. The State Historical Society’s resources were somewhat overwhelming, there being much more material than I had anticipated. The most informative thing I found there was a compilation of ‘Sunset Magazine’, a publication operated by Southern Pacific Railroad, which dominated transport and thus tourism in California in the period before the rise of the automobile. The magazine was aimed at enticing tourists from the East to visit California’s many wonders (via Southern Pacific lines, of course). Most unexpected and interesting was the material I found at the Bancroft Library of UC Berkeley - I found the papers of several prominent zoologists of the 1920s, who had made a strong case for preservationism based upon America’s biological purity.

I moved on to begin research at Yosemite National Park’s archives in the Sierra Nevada. Here I looked at the records of the Yosemite Park and Curry Company, the oldest concessionary in the park. There was a lot of material which was really applicable to my proposed thesis, the best being a series of letters throughout the 1920s and 1930s between the Park and Curry Co. and McCann Co., an advertising consultancy agency. What makes this especially exciting, in my view, is that the correspondence reveals how calculated and sophisticated corporate advertising was even as the ‘Roaring Twenties’ began. For example, there is an extended argument over how to dress a model on one of the adverts, with the advertising company arguing that the model ought to dress in casual city clothes, so as to take advantage of recent improvement in infrastructure and automobile facilities, the connotation being that a trip to the Park is a casual thing, a snap decision on the part of a young couple. (In reality it is about 200 miles from San Francisco).

Other areas of interest in the Yosemite archives included details of the park’s Indian population, and changing park policy towards them. Finally, the archives revealed the lengths to which administrators went to democratise access to a very specific kind of packaged nature, free of dangerous animals and eyesores.

Overall, the trip was hugely informative, and the grant from the Rothermere Institute allowed me to complete a thesis on something I found genuinely interesting, and which has not really been covered in great detail by more than a few historians.