



ROTHMERE AMERICAN INSTITUTE  
AMERICA'S HOME AT OXFORD

## Rothermere American Institute 2013-14 Travel Awards: Recipients' Reports

Thanks to the generosity of a number of benefactors, the Rothermere American Institute was able to make awards to twelve exceptional undergraduate and graduate students during the 2013-14 academic year, having received the largest number of applications to date. The students, all working on American history or politics, conducted research in the United States that was essential to their thesis or dissertation. Their topics ranged from 'The Deerfield Captives of 1704' to 'The Last Bastion of White Supremacy: US Senate Malapportionment and the Descriptive Representation of African Americans, 1966-2012'.

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.

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### UNDERGRADUATE AWARDS

#### **Holly Webb, undergraduate in History and Politics, Christ Church**

Thesis title: 'The Deerfield Captives of 1704'

*Award given for archival work at the Memorial Libraries, Deerfield, Massachusetts Archives, and the Archives Nationales du Quebec, Montreal.*

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, instances of English settlers being taken captive by French and Native American raiding parties were common, and accounts of these experiences of captivity are plentiful. Currently, most of these are treated as individual narratives describing the experience of one captive. My thesis aims to take a number of accounts – from the perspectives of the French and Indian captors as well as the English captives – and make direct comparisons between the accounts. I hope that these comparisons will help to reveal what determined

the fate of a captive during this time, as experiences could range from torture to servitude to ransom to adoption.

A large number of accounts, and records detailing the fates of various captives, are held in New England and Canada, so I knew that a trip to North America would be integral to my research. This trip became possible when the RAI offered me a travel award, and in December 2013 I visited a number of locations across the East Coast of the US and Canada.

My first stop was in New Haven, where I visited the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University. I was able to access early prints of the classic captivity narratives of Mary Rowlandson and Elizabeth Hanson, but the most fascinating document was a book of 1832 that used the Deerfield Raid to instruct the young about religion and morality. This was particularly useful as it showed how opinions towards Native Americans changed between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, prompting me to think about the historiography of captivity.

The bulk of my stay was spent in Deerfield, Massachusetts. The Deerfield Raid of 1704 is so important to my thesis because the different experiences of such a large number of captives are so well documented offering a wonderful sample for comparative work. The history of the Deerfield Raid is preserved through two organisations – Historic Deerfield and the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association – and both offered me a huge amount of help. I was given a private tour of Memorial Hall, a museum entirely dedicated to the Deerfield Raid. Within Memorial Hall are a number of plaques dedicated to the captives, which were erected soon after the raid: the plaque that states ‘she married a savage and became one’ is something that will remain with me for quite some time. My work in the Memorial Libraries also produced some poignant moments, such as an account by Stephen Williams, who was only a child during his captivity.

Although my archival work in Deerfield will provide me with a solid foundation for my thesis, the most useful part of my stay was the opportunity to talk to leading experts on the subject. David Bosse from Historic Deerfield and Lynne Manring from the PVMA both offered me wonderful insights on captivity, and a meeting with several of Lynne’s colleagues from the PVMA allowed me to hear a number of different opinions on the subject, opening up further important areas of debate. These meetings were invaluable and would never have been possible without my trip to the US.

I knew that research in Montreal would be difficult, as a large number of records were lost in fires several years ago. Nevertheless, my work in the National Archives proved to be a fascinating treasure hunt. For example, a preserved request for two canoes revealed that an English captive had married a Frenchman but wanted to return to New England to visit her family, and the records from a petty theft court case showed that an English captive had been forced to become a servant for a French family. This was historical inquiry at its most exciting.

My trip concluded with a brief visit to the Massachusetts Archives. The records held here helped me to consider the reaction of the settlers left behind after a major raid. Previously, my thesis was only concerned with captives and captors, but the visit to Boston showed me that that the effects of captivity could be seen in the towns and settlers left behind.

My trip to North America may have only lasted ten days, but I was fortunate enough to pack a huge amount of work into this short space of time, and the impact that it will have on my thesis is enormous. I will always be grateful to the Rothermere American Institute and its donors for giving me the opportunity to explore such a fascinating subject, and I hope that my thesis will do their generosity justice.

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### **Joel Duddell, undergraduate in History, Keble College**

Thesis title: 'The Role of Organised Crime in the Emergence of New Gender and Racial Identities amongst Immigrant Communities in Early Twentieth Century New York'

*Award given for archival work at Lloyd Sealey Library at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York Public Library, and the Center for Jewish History, New York.*

I am a second year History undergraduate at Keble College and for my dissertation, I am looking at organised crime amongst immigrant communities to New York at the beginning of the twentieth century. I visited New York in June and July 2013 to access primary materials for my thesis.

The trip allowed me truly invaluable access to a range of sources that I would have been unable to access from the UK. On my supervisor's advice, I settled on the Lloyd Sealey Library at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York Public Library, and the Center for Jewish History as possessing key collections to investigate. The Center for Jewish History turned out to have the most useful archives for my project and I spent the majority of my time there, supplementing my research with visits to the other libraries.

Out of the collections I visited, several in particular stand out. The first collection I looked at was the Burton Turkus Papers at the Lloyd Sealey Library. Turkus was a lawyer who made a career out of pursuing mobsters, eventually becoming a District Attorney. Particularly interesting was the way in which, after retiring from the legal profession, Turkus made a whole new career in popular entertainment, regaling the public with his tales from the underworld on radio shows such as Racket Busters Roundtable. I thought this said a lot about the public appetite for tales from the criminal underworld. Looking at NYPD annual reports from the late 1920s and early 1930s allowed me to compare this entertainment medium with the way the police depicted organised crime to the public, with the Committee of Fourteen's New York City reports demonstrating municipal attempts to tackle commercialised vice. The Kehillah was a united Jewish corporation in New York City that strove to ostracise the organised crime factions of the Jewish community. I wanted to look at this organisation from a PR angle, in terms of the image of the New York Jewry that they wished to communicate, and was able to do this using materials at the Center for Jewish History. As a contrast to this positive image of New York Jews, I explored literature on American anti-Semitism in the 1940s and 1950s, which often depicted an international Jewish 'criminal conspiracy'. The most useful collection of all was the Abraham Shoenfeld papers. Shoenfeld was a Jewish private investigator who infiltrated organised crime groups, seeking to bring them to justice. It was fascinating to read at length his first-

hand account of the interaction between city authorities and organised crime groups. Reading these sources has allowed me to hone in on the public reaction to and perception of organised crime as an area for research. I also decided to focus very specifically on Jewish crime, as a particular kind of anti-Semitic public reaction to this sort of organised crime emerged from the sources.

I had initially planned to travel down the East Coast for a few days as part of the trip, but given the plethora of sources on offer in New York, and the logistical difficulty of organising travel around Independence Day, I elected to stay in New York for the full two weeks. As a result, and never having been to North America previously, I was able to gain a grasp of the historical milieu under investigation – invaluable to any historian who wants to write in a way that resonates with people's experiences. Apart from visiting specific archives, visiting downtown Brooklyn and the Lower East Side of Manhattan gave me an insight into the geographical nuances and community dynamics of the groups involved.

My trip was extremely useful not only in providing me with archival material, but also in bringing to light new avenues of study, many of which I could subsequently pursue online from the UK. It shaped my dissertation and has given me the impetus to push on with what I think can be a strong piece of historical research. I am very grateful for the time spent in processing my application and giving me this grant. Thank you very much for helping me to make this trip, and I hope this report has given you some insight into the research I have carried out.

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### **Adam Ward, undergraduate in PPE, Exeter College**

Thesis title: 'What challenges do LGBT Republicans and their allies face when promoting LGBT rights within the United States Republican Party? How have they attempted to overcome difficulties and with what success?'

*Award given for interviews in New York, Washington DC, Los Angeles and San Diego*

One fifth of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) Americans surveyed recently for a Gallup poll described their political ideology as conservative or very conservative and just under a quarter of LGBT Americans voted for Mitt Romney in the presidential election in 2012. Considering that President Obama's approach to LGBT rights has evolved into such an embracing position, I was fascinated to meet those LGBT individuals who voted for Obama's opponent. Given the contempt that is often shown equally for Republicans by leaders of certain LGBT organisations, and directed towards LGBT people in certain sections of the Republican Party, I found it a puzzle that there are many groups representing LGBT conservatives. The major organisations including Log Cabin Republicans, GOProud, Young Conservatives for the Freedom to Marry, Rights Equal Rights and American Unity PAC do form alliances sometimes, but there is not the cohesive organisational structure that might be expected from a demographic which can find itself under attack from both sides. My undergraduate politics thesis reflects on the current literature on coalition theory and addresses this puzzle in a case study of LGBT Republicans in America.

Thanks to a travel grant from the Rothermere American Institute, I was able to travel to the United States during the Long Vacation in 2013 to interview political directors and Board members of the main advocacy groups representing LGBT conservatives. Most of the advocacy organisations were based on the East Coast, and I conducted the majority of my interviews in Washington DC. In San Diego, I interviewed Carl DeMaio, a gay Republican who is running for a seat in the House of Representatives. Many of my interviewees stressed that it was harder for them to come out as Republican to liberal LGBT friends, than as LGBT to Republican friends. When questioning advocacy leaders about the potential to form alliances with the other organisations, there were clear signs of past personal animosity between individuals which had caused splintering between organisations, but many believed that the different groups allowed for LGBT Republicans to advance the cause for LGBT rights within the different strains of conservatism within the Republican Party.

Not only was it great to have been given the opportunity to meet advocacy group leaders, but being in the States gave me the opportunity to explore other themes in American politics. When I was in Washington DC, I visited the US Capitol Building and met Representatives Tulsi Gabbard (D-HI) and Steve Stockman (R-Tex) and had the opportunity to ask them about coalition building in the legislative process. While in New York, I was also determined to cover as much of the mayoral contest as possible, visiting many of the candidates' co-ordination centres and collecting memorabilia.

Now back in the UK and with my interviews typed up, I look forward to exploring my thesis further and beginning to write. I am extremely grateful to the benefactors of the RAI who make travel grants possible as without their generosity I would not have been able to make such a rewarding research trip.

## DOCTORAL AND MASTER'S AWARDS

### **Patrick Andelic, D.Phil 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 at the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library in Atlanta, Georgia and at the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota*

I used my RAI travel grant to finance a research trip to archives in Atlanta, Georgia, and St. Paul/Minneapolis, Minnesota. The trip lasted two weeks in September 2013, 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 Jimmy Carter Presidential Library in Atlanta, consulting papers related to the Carter administration. These included: the White House Central File and the papers of the Domestic Policy Staff; of Hamilton Jordan, counselor to the President and later White House Chief of Staff; of Gerald Rafshoon, Assistant to the President for Communications; of Frank Moore, Congressional Liaison; and of Anne Wexler, Special Assistant to the President. My thesis aims to understand liberal politics in the 1970s principally through the prism of the Democratic congressional caucuses, partly in the hopes of offering a corrective to the ‘presidential synthesis’ which still dominates accounts of national politics. As I have already been fortunate enough to make use of numerous congressional archives (as British Council Research Fellow in the John W. Kluge Center in the Library of Congress, and during research trips to Massachusetts, Colorado, and California, all three of which were partly funded thanks to the generosity of the RAI’s travel grants scheme), using the collections housed at the Carter Library has enabled me to engage more fully with congressional politics from the perspective of the only Democrat to occupy the White House in the period covered by my thesis. Though I was really only able to dip a toe into the capacious presidential archives housed in Atlanta, this has improved my thesis in immeasurable ways.

From there, I travelled to the Minnesota History Center in St. Paul to consult the papers of Hubert H. Humphrey and Walter F. Mondale, held by the Minnesota Historical Society (MNHS). I had previously made use of the MNHS archives in 2010, as part of the research for my M.St. thesis, which had been on Humphrey’s unsuccessful 1968 presidential campaign. This trip focused principally on records relating to his later senatorial career and particularly on his efforts in the final years of his life to enact full employment legislation that would have given every American a legal right to a job. Through this, Humphrey established himself as one of the few Democrats who sought to combat the economic crises of the 1970s within a New Deal framework. I was delighted to discover that Humphrey’s was one of the best congressional archives I had encountered, with the senator taking an active role in the workings of his legislative staff (he was, for instance, a prolific memo writer).

I was similarly encouraged by the Mondale papers. A protégé of Humphrey’s, a former senator and a well-known liberal Democrat, as vice president Mondale was Carter’s link to the often wary liberal wing of his own party as well as a conduit to a Congress in which the president had never served. Mondale would go on to win his party’s the nomination in 1984, before losing badly to President Reagan. Though time constraints meant that I was able only to scratch the surface of the considerable Mondale holdings, I was able to get a useful insight into his changing legislative and political priorities as he moved from senator to vice president to presidential candidate during a period of profound turbulence for the national Democratic Party. In 2010, I had been fortunate enough to secure an interview with Mondale, who continues to work as a partner in a Minneapolis law firm. I had hoped to do the same again on this trip, and had been liaising with his office to that end, but unfortunately his speaking engagements meant such a meeting was not possible.

I am grateful to archivists in Atlanta and St. Paul, and should single out for special mention Keith Shuler at the Carter Library and Brigid Shields at the Minnesota History Center. I should also like to reiterate my gratitude to the Rothermere American Institute and its benefactors for the generous financial support that made this trip possible.

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**Tom Cutterham, D.Phil. student in American History, St Hugh's College**

Thesis title: 'Gentlemen Revolutionaries: A History of Power and Ideology in the 1780s'

*Award given for research in the Benjamin Rush papers at the National Archives, Washington DC*

My travel this summer was in two parts: the first trip, in June, to the East Coast, and a second to the Midwest in July. It also fulfilled two functions: archival research and conference presentations. The research was in the papers of Benjamin Rush in the Library of Congress, which holds, among other items, letters to Rush from Congressman William Maclay and extensive correspondence from John Adams. Both these writers provide colourful and insightful commentary on the politics and ideas of the Early Republic. Take this example from Maclay, 7 March 1790:

"The Secretary of the Treasury [Alexander Hamilton] has made such large demands on us lately, as seem to have put the subject of the federal Residence, (at least in a permanent point of view) intirely [sic] out of our hands, for at the rate he goes on, he will not leave us a penny to build a pig stye, let alone a federal Town."

Or this from John Adams, 23 August 1805, which bears particular relevance to the chapter of my thesis on post-evacuation property claims:

"Nor did I ever hear the name of Hamilton till after the Evacuation of New York this Boy came forward a bawling advocate for the Tories... They were all advocates for the Tories, and honorably and justly so because the Tories had clear right to the Stipulations of the Treaty of Peace."

The archive also contains copies of Rush's letters to Dr Henry Muhlenberg, the principal of the newly established Franklin College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, which outlines Rush's ideas about education as a civilising influence in the west, and also his theory of ethnicity. Rush writes on 15 February 1788:

"[I] look up to my german brethren (indulge the term) as the future reservoirs & vehicles to posterity, of a great part of the knowledge, virtue, and religion of Pennsylvania... On them I rely chiefly to outvote, outwork, and outray the antifederalists in our state."

After my time in the Library of Congress I went north to Baltimore, where I spoke as part of the opening plenary panel at the Omohundro Institute for Early American History annual conference. This panel was a critical commemoration of Charles Beard and his approach to the constitution. Full versions of the papers presented, including my own, will be published in the journal *American Political Thought* later this year, in a forum edited by Max Edling.

Finally, in July, I travelled to St Louis, Missouri, for the annual meeting of the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic. There I presented a paper titled 'Property Versus Politics at the American Revolutionary Settlement', which partly summarised the main arguments of my doctoral thesis. The panel, organised with my former Oxford colleague (now assistant professor at University of Illinois-Springfield) Ken Owen, was well attended (including by the editor of the *William and Mary Quarterly*) and the papers well-received.

Presenting at these two US conferences, the most important in my field, has been a great experience as well as a boost to my CV and professional network, which I could not have undertaken without the support of the RAI. For that, as well as for the opportunity to conduct this final bout of archival research, I'm deeply grateful to the Institute's benefactors.

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**Bassam Gergi, M.Phil. student in Comparative Government, St. Antony's College**

Thesis title: 'Bossed, Bought and Biased; Machine and Reform Politics in Newark, New Jersey'

*Award given for travel to Newark, NJ, to conduct interviews with elected officials and political actors and for archival research in city archives and the newspaper archives of the Newark Star-Ledger*

I am a second year M.Phil. student in Politics (Comparative Government) at St. Antony's College and the RAI travel grant allowed me to conduct primary research for my thesis on reform and machine politics in New Jersey's largest city – Newark.

During my time in the city, I conducted interviews with current and former council members, journalists, academics who work on city politics, and other political actors. In addition, I was able to conduct archival research at the City Hall and in the archives of the *Newark Star-Ledger*. Furthermore, walking through the different ethnic wards of Newark during an election year and visiting campaign offices allowed me to gain fresh insights into how politics in the city operates at a grassroots level.

My thesis research focused on two historical incumbent regimes, one 'machine' and one 'reform', and how they structured political arrangements during their tenure to shape electoral outcomes in their favour. My work is part of a growing body of literature which attempts to understand how urban political monopolies operate, whom they represent, and how they function. Such knowledge can help scholars and practitioners to head off anti-democratic trends and to put in place reforms that protect electoral institutions from manipulation.

The interviews and archival research which I conducted in Newark allowed me to incorporate first-hand insights into my work and to flesh out my case studies. The data collected has added significantly to my thesis and the end result has been a stronger and more nuanced understanding of city politics. I am therefore extremely grateful to the RAI and its generous benefactors for their support.

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**Richard Johnson, M.Phil. student in Comparative Government, Nuffield College**

Thesis title: 'The Last Bastion of White Supremacy: US Senate Malapportionment and the Descriptive Representation of African-Americans, 1966-2012'

*Award given for archival work in Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, Maryland and Tennessee*

In the past half-century African-American politicians have enjoyed extensive electoral gains in local assemblies, state legislatures, and the US House of Representatives, but these victories have not been reproduced in the US Senate. To date, only four African-Americans have won a state-wide senatorial election.

This discrepancy in black electoral success is often attributed to the absence of ‘majority-minority’ constituencies in the Senate, premised on the assumption that a successful candidate will reflect the modal ethnicity of his or her constituency. Finding this explanation incomplete, my thesis attempts to explain the poor electoral success of black senatorial nominees by analysing both racial and infrastructural variables in black senatorial campaigns. My work is based on in-depth analyses of several significant black senatorial candidates and their campaigns.

My travel grant helped to support two months of research travel in the United States. I visited five states (Florida, Tennessee, Illinois, New Jersey, Massachusetts), as well as Washington, DC. During this time, I conducted 47 interviews with candidates, campaign staff, and legislative staff. These interviews served two important functions. First, they helped me to fill informational gaps in secondary accounts of the campaigns and candidates. Second, my interviewees offered interpretive insights which were critical to identifying both implicit and explicit racial cues.

In between interviews, I spent my time in libraries and archives, enjoying differing levels of success in accessing original campaign documents. The archives included the History Miami Archive, the Florida State Archives, the Harold Ford Jr Collection at the Memphis Public Library, the Harold Washington Archive Collection, the Chicago History Museum Research Center, the University of Chicago Special Collections, the Library of Congress, the Harold Gottlieb Archives at Boston University, and the Endicott Peabody Collection at the John F Kennedy Presidential Library. I was given access to the excellent Edward Brooke collection at the Library of Congress through the kind permission of Senator Edward Brooke.

In addition, I had the opportunity to engage in participant-observation research of one of my cases, the senatorial campaign of Cory Booker. Through a contact in Oxford, I was able to stay with one of Booker’s advisors for four days in New Jersey in the midst of his 2013 senatorial campaign. I spent two days shadowing the candidate and two days working in his campaign headquarters in Newark. This was an unrivalled opportunity to study a campaign and candidate in an unmediated context.

A personal highlight of the trip was the opportunity to interview Senator Carol Moseley Braun, the only black woman ever to serve in the US Senate. Our discussion lasted for three hours and prompted me to think more deeply about understudied dimensions of black candidacies such as symbolic self-perception, motivation, and personal expectations. Subsequently, Senator Moseley Braun gave me a tour of Chicago. It was an evening I will never forget, and it truly brought my research to life.

I would like to offer my sincere thanks to the RAI and the generous beneficiaries who made this travel grant possible.

**Linda Magaña, D.Phil. student in the History of Science and Medicine, Green Templeton College**

Thesis title: 'Health on Distant Shores: The Politics of Puerto Rican Public Health and Medicine, 1898-1918'

*Award given for archival work at the Universidad de Puerto Rico (Colección Puertorriquena) and the Archivo General de Puerto Rico*

Thanks to the generosity of the benefactors of the RAI Research and Travel Awards, I have recently been able to travel to San Juan, Puerto Rico, to complete the last major piece of archival research for my doctoral thesis. The award enabled me to conduct archival research at the Colecciones Especiales de la Biblioteca Conrado F. Asenjo of the Recinto de Ciencias Médicas, Universidad de Puerto Rico, the Biblioteca Nacional de Puerto Rico, and the Archivo General de Puerto Rico.

The documents I reviewed and photographed will allow me to address more fully the guiding question of my research project: how does the history of public health policy and institutional development in Washington and San Juan, and the history of response to epidemic disease in Puerto Rico, more specifically, help us to understand the health politics of U.S. imperialism in the first half of the twentieth century?

While this study could encompass any number of complex issues and major themes, the project is grounded in major constitutional legislative actions (Foraker Act of 1900, Jones Act of 1917) taken by the United States, in order to highlight both the key political moments in the colonial relationship between the metropole and colony and the accompanying ramifications for the public health institutions on the island. Case studies of epidemic disease outbreaks – including smallpox, bubonic plague, and hookworm disease – facilitate an assessment of how political partisanship, international philanthropic groups, and interest group politicking affected the execution of campaigns responding to these diseases. The collections I reviewed include thousands of documents providing critical insights into the decision-making processes involved in confronting these health crises as they unfolded in the earliest decades of the American occupation of Puerto Rico.

For example, the Archivo General documents I reviewed include the daily reports submitted by the Director of Sanitation, William F. Lippitt, to the acting governor of the island as they worked to bring the June 1912 bubonic plague outbreak in San Juan under control. His official reports can be used in conjunction with the correspondence received from international shipping contractors and the ambassadors of various national governments (regarding the economic impact of the quarantine against the island) in order to develop an account of the pressure groups that garnered influence during such an epidemic.

Similarly, the Ashford Collection contains a plethora of Dr. Bailey K. Ashford's personal correspondence with renowned scientists, politicians, and philanthropists from around the globe which are only hinted at in other collections I have visited. These letters, in co-ordination with the

meticulously preserved periodical clippings also contained in the collection, demonstrate the extent of the integration and vibrant circulation of medical knowledge in the early twentieth century.

I hope my work with these collections will help bring to light the rich sources available for further research on the dynamics of American empire and public health at the turn of the twentieth century. Once again, I greatly appreciate the generosity of the benefactors of this award for making this research trip possible.

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**Robin Markwica, D.Phil. student in International Relations, Nuffield College**

Thesis title: 'The Passions of Power Politics: How Emotions Influence Coercive Diplomacy'

*Award given for research at the George H. W. Bush Presidential Library in College Station, Texas, and at the Conflict Records Research Center, National Defense University, Washington, D.C.*

During the last two decades, psychologists have found that emotions influence decision-making in important ways: they inform us what we like and what we loathe, what is good and bad for us, and whether we do right or wrong. They give meaning to our relationships with others and they generate impulses to act. Based on these findings, my thesis explores how state leaders' emotions influence their decision-making during episodes of coercive diplomacy. It develops a theoretical framework that synthesizes the psychological research about five key emotions, namely fear, anger, hatred, pride and humiliation. The framework is then applied in two case studies: the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 and the Persian Gulf conflict of 1990-91.

The RAI travel award enabled me to conduct research about the Persian conflict at the George H. W. Bush Presidential Library in College Station, Texas, and at the National Defense University's Conflict Records Research Center in Washington, D.C. in June 2013. The Bush Presidential Library has declassified thousands of government documents related to Iraqi-U.S. relations and U.S. policy towards the Middle East. For my project, National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft's papers and the National Security Council files proved to be particularly useful. Scowcroft's Desert Shield and Desert Storm Files as well as his Presidential Correspondence Files include hundreds of top-level documents and memoranda of conversation, which enabled me to trace the policy-making process.

Former Secretary of State James Baker III once described Saddam Hussein's Iraq as "a riddle, wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma". With the release of more than 30,000 pages of Iraqi government documents by the Conflict Records Research Center since 2009, it is now possible to shed some light on Iraqi decision-making during Saddam Hussein's rule. The Center obtained digital copies of Iraqi files which U.S. troops captured from government buildings in and around Baghdad during the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003. For my study, Saddam Hussein's personal correspondence and the records from the Presidential Diwan, the Revolutionary Command Council and the General Military Intelligence Directorate were especially valuable. The most helpful material is located in the collection of Saddam Hussein's tapes. Since the Iraqi leader frequently recorded his meetings with his advisers

and visitors, it is possible to reconstruct the evolution of his thinking and feeling during the Persian Gulf conflict.

I would like to thank Rachael Altman and Jay Patton from the Bush Presidential Library and Chris Alkhoury, Stephanie Glass and David Palkki from the Conflict Records Research Center for their kind assistance and advice. Finally, I am very grateful to the benefactors of the RAI travel award scheme whose generosity made this research trip possible.

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**Patrick Sandman, D.Phil. student in American History, Trinity College**

Thesis title: 'Bringing Congress Back In: Watergate and the Politics of Institutional Change'

*Award given for travel to the Rodino Library in Newark, New Jersey, and to the Ford Presidential Library in Ann Arbor, Michigan.*

I would like to sincerely thank the Rothermere American Institute and its generous donors for allowing me the opportunity to explore various political papers and archives in the United States. This award permitted me to consult a range of political papers and other primary sources while working with specialised archivists and scholars.

At the Rodino Library in Newark, New Jersey, I examined the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment inquiry of Richard Nixon. Representative Rodino, taking over for the long-term Chairman Emanuel Cellars, entered the national spotlight as the Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. At the Library, I explored the Chairman's primary papers and his dealings with the 93<sup>rd</sup> Judiciary. I learned that this group was indeed representative of the younger, more liberal, reform-oriented 93<sup>rd</sup> Congress. The Chairman's press releases, interviews, personal papers, and correspondence with other members provided tremendous insight into the impeachment inquiry. I also viewed the forty hours of televised proceedings – something U.S. copyright law makes nearly impossible today.

At the Ford Presidential Library in Ann Arbor, Michigan, I explored a plethora of papers that helped deepen my understanding of Congress in the 1960s and 70s, particularly regarding the relationship between Nixon and Republicans. I consulted then-Representative Ford's correspondence with Republicans regarding Nixon's 1970 and 1971 budgetary veto, busing and desegregation, and the Family Assistance Plan. In addition, the Hartmann files within the Ford Library provided detailed information of weekly meetings between Congressional Republicans and Nixon staff. Of all of the papers and documents I sifted through in Ann Arbor, James Reichley's Washington interviews proved the most exciting and useful for my work. In preparing for his seminal book *Conservatives in an Age of Change*, Reichley interviewed more than one hundred Congressmen and White House staff. His questions illuminated a great deal of tension shared by many members of Congress toward the Nixon White House and will likely prove invaluable in my own work.

In addition to my sincere thanks to the donors, I would also like to point out the reputation the RAI has established at many of the places I have visited, particularly at the Ford Library. Within minutes of my arrival, archivists took time to praise our past visiting scholars and our very own Director, Nigel Bowles. I must admit, the respect shown to the RAI made my experience as a visiting researcher that much more stimulating and special.

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**Max Thompson, D.Phil. student in Politics and International Relations, St Edmund Hall**  
Thesis title: 'Amity in American Foreign Policy'

*Award given for archival work at the FDR Presidential Library, New York; Holocaust Museum and the National Archives, Washington DC; and the Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library in Staunton, Virginia*

I was very grateful to be awarded a contribution by the RAI towards my research trip in the United States, carried out in September 2013. I could not have contemplated making such a trip without the generosity of the RAI, and I would particularly like to thank the benefactors of this award. In a time when funding is increasingly scarce, the availability of such an award is highly appreciated and particularly important.

My recent trip to the United States began in Washington DC. Having long been fascinated by the workings of American government and politics, it was exciting just to be in the nation's capital. I was fortunate to be in Washington during the debate over Syrian intervention and was able to be in the gallery for the opening session of the Senate where Harry Reid delivered a defence of the president's policy. I spent a day in the National Archives and four days in the Library of Congress. In the Library of Congress I was able to read the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations debates (both public and, more recently declassified, private discussions) on its decision to ratify the NATO treaty. My final, and as yet unwritten, thesis chapter focuses on the role of imagined closeness and similarity in the operation and creation of NATO, and I found some really exciting extracts (which I have yet to see in another piece of academic scholarship) that will no doubt end up forming an important part of my thesis's argument. My research is focused on the interaction of elite rhetoric and cultural discourse, so the opportunity to explore the Capitol and find out how history is presented in the Museum of American History, the Holocaust Museum, and the National Archives will have a significant impact on my thesis.

From Washington I travelled to New York, where I met various PhD students at Columbia University and had a meeting about career prospects and my thesis with Prof. Robert Jervis. He provided very useful advice on the transition from academic study in the UK to applying for associate professorships and postdoctoral fellowships. I was also able to visit the Kennedy School of Government in Boston, as well as the campuses of Brown and Yale, where I attended a seminar being given to first year graduate students. Given that I hope to teach in America, gaining an understanding of the way graduates are taught and the differences between the Oxford and the American systems was invaluable. Strictly academic work aside, I was able to reconnect with several old friends from my MPhil course whom I

had not been able to see since they moved back to the USA. I would like to reiterate my thanks to the benefactors who made this trip possible.

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**Victor Yang, D.Phil. student in Politics and International Relations, St John's College**

Thesis title: 'The Forgotten Rainbow of U.S. AIDS Activism: People of Colour and the Endurance of Social Movements'

*Award given for interviews, archival research, and field observations on the racial politics of the AIDS activist movement in Philadelphia and New York*

I am deeply grateful to the benefactors of the RAI travel grant and to the Institute as a whole. It is with their support that I have been able to further my historical and political understanding of social movements. My research trips have allowed me to gain a form of experiential knowledge that will not only enrich my scholarship, but also my personal development and any future activism.

My DPhil dissertation endeavours to explain the mechanisms by which grassroots organisations in the U.S. AIDS crisis achieved representativeness: that is, the capacity to speak for the oppressed groups that they sought to represent. Nearly all contemporary movements have come under external criticism and internal strife for being too white, affluent, or otherwise homogenous. AIDS activism in America has been no exception. All-volunteer activist groups at the height of the AIDS crisis were composed mostly of middle-class professionals from the white gay community. Unlike many of their counterparts in sister struggles, however, surviving AIDS groups have adapted both their membership and political activity so that they better match the epidemic of today – one that afflicts the urban poor and communities of colour. How and why this shift occurred is the unanswered question that my dissertation seeks to tackle.

The RAI travel grant has funded a multi-method approach to my dissertation: archival research, interviews, and participant observation at each of my case sites (Philadelphia, Boston, and New York). I spent days in the archives of Temple University, and the William Way Community Center in Philadelphia, as well as the New York Public Library's collections on the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power. The organisations studied in my dissertation arrive at decisions via a democratic model of consensus at their Monday night meetings. For me, sitting in these deliberations opened a window of understanding to the potential of egalitarian, non-hierarchical structures of power.

The vast majority of my time was spent in one-on-one interviews with AIDS activists past and present. I understood 'activist' identity in the widest sense. These broad parameters brought me to the offices of the Massachusetts Department of Health to talk to the state and city AIDS czars; to needle exchange sites with former IV drug users and incarcerated persons; to AIDS service organisations to speak with human resource managers, HIV counsellors, and executive directors. These conversations impressed upon me the diverse sites of struggle in the AIDS crisis, the dollars and staff structures of the AIDS bureaucratic complex acting as a critical tug and pull with the pickets and advocacy calls of fighters on the ground.

The combination of research approaches has enabled me to begin composing a historical trajectory and sociological response to my research question regarding organisational representativeness. Over time, these activist groups have developed a consciousness of race and class, an ideological culture that has been critical to driving the creation of leadership pipelines, mentorship structures, and outreach schemes. It is through these strategies that they have been able to mitigate larger social inequities and develop the voice of poor people of colour in the AIDS movement.

Again, I would like to express my utmost appreciation to the RAI and its donors – this research trip has indeed been an incredible opportunity for me as a scholar and activist.

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