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.



#### **Director's Review**

The front cover of this Report shows Professor Andrew Hamilton, the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, unveiling the RAI's new Donor Board on June 12th, 2012. As he did so, he thanked warmly the Institute's many donors and friends for their visionary philanthropy and advice. I am grateful for this opportunity to thank the Vice-Chancellor for his support, and to echo his words by again thanking all of you who make the Institute's work possible.

The Donor Board's unveiling marked the end of a productive and transformative academic year at the RAI, documented in the pages of this Report. Our presentation to the world has changed: we have a new website at www.rai.ox.ac.uk, which has been much used and warmly praised by friends and visitors alike. We also have a new branding style, with clear and consistent typefaces throughout the website, the Institute's signage and advertising, and on letters. Fittingly, the typeface of the RAI's confident logo (Trajan) was created by an American, Carol Twombly, a distinguished designer whose letter forms are drawn from the capitals at the base of Trajan's column in Rome. All of the hard work on the rebranding and the website was undertaken by my colleagues here at the RAI. I record my gratitude to them for having created the typographic tone that we sought - one that is clean, modern, and that ripples with optimism.

# Annual Report 2011-12







Upon the foundation of the Institute's new presentation to the world, we have launched a landmark Campaign for the RAI. The Institute achieves all that it does through the generosity of individual benefactors, trusts and foundations who share its commitment to world-class research on the United States. Further financial support is essential to ensure that the RAI can maintain the quality and scale of its activities – described so vividly throughout this Report – and to increase these activities' academic and global public impact. To do so will allow future generations of scholars, students and members of the public to understand better the United States, its politics, its culture and its history. To realise the Institute's potential, the Campaign needs to raise £7.7 million in support of four principal priorities: to endow the Directorship with a University Professorship; to enhance and enrich the Institute's outstanding programme of events; and to provide for the graduate studentships and the postdoctoral positions that will sustain fresh and vital research on the United States.

The Campaign was launched at three events in the spring and early summer: in Washington, DC, in April; in Los Angeles in May; and in Oxford in June. In Washington, two distinguished *Washington Post* columnists and Oxford graduates, E.J. Dionne and George Will, debated the questions 'Is Congress Broken? Can it be Repaired?' before a rapt audience at the Metropolitan Club, just two blocks from the White House. Conversation and argument about the exchanges flowed in the reception and dinner that followed, made possible by the generosity of an anonymous donor. Vyvyan Harmsworth, who accompanied my colleague Huw David and me to Washington, spoke movingly at dinner about his family's long-standing connections with the United States, which have been given permanent expression in the Harmsworth Chair of American History, and the Rothermere American Institute itself.





Whilst in Washington, Vyvyan, Huw, and I also had the pleasure of conversations with former Congressmen Bart Gordon and Rick Boucher (visitors to the RAI as participants in the Congress to Campus programme); Jim Sasser, former US Senator and Ambassador to China; Stuart Holliday, former US Ambassador for Special Political Affairs at the United Nations; and Evan Burfield, Chairman of Start-Up DC, who read PPE at St Catherine's College.

In Los Angeles, Pekka Hämäläinen, who joins the RAI as Rhodes Professor of American History in September, discussed his prize-winning book *The Comanche Empire*, followed by a reception and dinner which showcased the Institute's work. The event was held in conjunction with UCLA and BritWeek, an annual week of events celebrating the ties between Britain and California. We are very grateful to Bob Peirce and Angus McKay, respectively Chairman and Interim Executive Director of Brit Week, for helping to make the event such a success.

Following the launch of the Campaign for the RAI in the United States, the Institute celebrated the Campaign's commencement with the RAI community itself in a major event in Oxford on 12th June. An audience of more than sixty guests heard six current and former RAI students and fellows discuss their ground-breaking research, its contribution to the Institute's intellectual culture, and the role that the RAI has played and is playing in making their work possible.







Among the presentations, Sarah Knott, Professor of History at the University of Indiana and Senior Visiting Fellow at the RAI, described her research on witness accounts of the American, French and Haitian Revolutions. Ursula Hackett, a doctoral student and convenor of the RAI's Graduate Seminar in American Politics, explained her analysis of states' varying levels of indirect support for religious schools. Travers McLeod, a doctoral student at Balliol College and a recipient of an RAI Graduate Studentship in American Politics, spoke about his research on the function of law in the development and execution of US counterinsurgency doctrine. Guests also heard fine accounts from Dr Joe Merton (Lecturer in History at Nottingham University), Dr Lloyd Pratt (University Lecturer in American Literature at Oxford) and Dr Sally Bayley (Supernumerary Research and Teaching Fellow in American Literature at the RAI).

Later, Sir Colin Lucas, during whose Vice-Chancellorship the Institute was founded, spoke memorably about the need for Europe and the United States to understand each other better in a world that is changing faster than many politicians appear to recognize. The RAI was, he said, making a powerful contribution to that end as an institution "of national importance to the United Kingdom". For those of us fortunate enough to be present, the event was a wonderfully memorable and optimistic occasion which comprised a strong statement about the Institute's progress and energy as it enters its second decade. Those qualities were again apparent the following day as we heard this year's Esmond Harmsworth Lecturer in American Arts and Letters, Sabina Murray, captivate her audience on the subject of Bouncing Across the Plank: Politics, History, and Literary Imagination.

The year has, accordingly, ended on high notes both of academic achievement and of morale. Our commitment to the Campaign reflects our conviction in the Institute's capacity to transform the lives of those who come to the RAI from across the world to do academic work about American topics. We have had many examples of such work in the 2011–12 academic year in which the Institute's distinguished visitors have played prominent roles. We

thank warmly Professor Philip Morgan, Harmsworth Professor of American History, for his active participation in the weekly American History Research Seminar and for his intellectual encouragement to the American history group, as we do Michael Bailey, John G. Winant Visiting Professor of American Government, for his lectures, for his leading a successful conference on 'Partisan Polarization', and for his engagement with colleagues, graduates, and undergraduates alike.

We also thank Professors Sarah Knott and Konstantin Dierks, our brilliant Senior Visiting Fellows, who came to the RAI fresh from a stint as joint editors of the American Historical Review and who returned this summer to the University of Indiana with an additional family member born in Oxford in April. We were also privileged to have the company of other Visiting Fellows who have enriched the Institute's academic life: Paul McGarr, Kaeten Mistry, Louis Nelson, Christine Knauer and Eric White.

The past year has also seen us welcome two new colleagues to the permanent academic staff. Dr Lloyd Pratt took up post in October 2011 as University Lecturer in American Literature, and has contributed powerfully to the Institute's work in his first year. In summer 2012, we welcomed Pekka Hämäläinen, the new Rhodes Professor of American History, who begins his teaching and research here to wide acclaim. American history at Oxford, so greatly strengthened by Richard Carwardine, Pekka's predecessor, is again in very good hands.

The 2012–13 academic year promises much, with close analysis of the November elections featuring prominently in the programme for Michaelmas Term. We shall be greatly aided in that work by Professor George Edwards, who is to hold the Winant Chair for the year. He will be joined by Professor Gary Gerstle, the Harmsworth Professor of American History for 2012–13. We extend the warmest of welcomes to these distinguished colleagues, and look forward with them to another year of reaffirming the RAI's place as America's Home at Oxford.





Thanks to the generous support of an anonymous donor, the RAI has continued to be able to offer three doctoral studentships in American history or politics. In 2011–12, Edward Adkins and Travers McLeod received one-year awards to enable them to complete their doctorates, respectively on Richard Nixon's 'Southern Strategy' and the development and execution of US counter-insurgency doctrine in Iraq and Afghanistan. Tom Cutterham has completed two years of a three-year award for his thesis on Federalist thought and organisation before the 1787 Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. Sebastian Page has just completed the second year of his Junior Research Fellowship in American History, working on African-American colonization (resettlement) in the era of the Civil War. Each of these colleagues reports here on his work.



#### **Edward Adkins**

At a time of economic austerity and cuts to academic funding, I feel most privileged to have held the RAI's Graduate Studentship this year as I complete my thesis entitled 'Opening Pandora's Box: Richard Nixon, South Carolina and the southern 'strategy'. It

is an award that grants the recipient freedom: to finish up the DPhil with rigour and thoughtfulness, and to start converting masses of research into journal articles and conference papers. Perhaps most rewardingly, a full extra year has permitted me to carry out far more university-level teaching than a frantic finishing-up fourth year would have allowed.

The studentship has made writing-up a far less arduous and stressful task. With little financial security, the final year of a DPhil can become a desperate struggle to complete. It is most comforting to know that any setbacks occurring along the way can be managed and dealt with in good time.

Having the time and space to properly write up my work is a real privilege. Whereas many final-year students are frantically getting as much on paper as quickly as possible, I am able to follow up any details I feel might be beneficial to the finished project. After spending years in libraries and archives, it is satisfying to know that my research can be presented as fully and effectively as possible. The final draft of my thesis is exactly how I want it to be, a luxury that few DPhil students enjoy.



#### Tom Cutterham

I simply would not have been able to undertake my doctoral project without the RAI. With the freedom that the funding brings, I've been able to dedicate myself fully to academic work. That means both the thesis itself, and developing myself as a

researcher and teacher. When I complete the doctorate, I'll be in a good position to join the stiffly competitive academic labour market, and the scholarship will have played a large part in that.

I'm now just over halfway through my doctoral work on my thesis entitled 'The Federalist Persuasion, 1782–1786'. So far, I've been able to present my work at several UK conferences and seminars, and – with the help of RAI travel grants – to do research in New York, Rhode Island and Washington DC.

Over the past two years I've published several scholarly reviews, including of Stuart Banner's recent book, American Property (Harvard, 2011), for the Institute of Historical Research's 'Reviews in History' website, and Jill Lepore's The Whites of Their Eyes, for 49th Parallel. A review of books by Gordon Wood and Alfred Young is forthcoming in the Journal of American Studies. I'm currently preparing two article-length manuscripts for submission to Early American Studies and the Journal of the Early Republic and am currently working on a piece relating to the ideology of land and finance in the post-revolutionary decade. I suggest that a massive expansion of dealing in public land in the 1780s led to the partial redefinition of land as a financial commodity, which put commercial, liberal conceptions of property into tension with traditional, republican or Jeffersonian ideals.



This work owes a conceptual debt to the historian Charles Beard, who is the subject of a further project I'm working on: a conference at the RAI in spring 2013 celebrating the centenary of his influential book, An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution. With the help of RAI colleagues, I am putting together funding applications that will enable us to bring leading scholars from across the Atlantic as well as from elsewhere in the UK to discuss Beard's legacy and the role of economic interpretation in historiography today.

#### **Travers McLeod**

The financial, institutional and collegiate support made available by the RAI studentship has provided an unmatched opportunity to finish my doctorate in a stimulating environment. The studentship has enabled me to focus almost exclusively on the thesis: it has bought time and space to think more deeply about the thesis as a whole without having to rush to the finish line.

My thesis examines the influence of international law on the development and execution of US counterinsurgency ('COIN') doctrine during the Iraq and Afghanistan wars and how this affects theories on the function of law in international politics. Of specific focus is FM 3-24, the counterinsurgency field manual jointly written by the US Army and Marine Corps and released in December 2006. This formed the intellectual and operational basis of the "surge" strategy in Iraq from early 2007 and in Afghanistan from early 2009. I look at the construction of FM 3-24 and associated doctrinal documents and their application in Iraq and Afghanistan, particularly in the context of targeting, detention and rule of law operations. Access to FM 3-24's drafting history and interviews with the writing team comprise much of the empirical evidence to be presented about the manual's development. To assess the doctrine's transition to the field I have examined documentary evidence and spoken with military officers and legal advisers from the US and elsewhere who have deployed multiple times to Iraq and Afghanistan. As part of this process I spent several days at Fort Carson in Colorado Springs, meeting members of a battalion that had just returned from Afghanistan.

The studentship brought immediate benefits, allowing me to travel to the US for a final round of thesis interviews and to join a panel discussion on "A single COIN currency? Building legitimacy for modern COIN operations" in Australia. In the US I interviewed General David Petraeus after he returned from Afghanistan and several weeks before he began as CIA Director. I also interviewed General Stanley McChrystal, Dr David Kilcullen, Dr Colin Kahl, Colonel Marc Warren, spoke with academics and officers at the National Defense University and the US Army War College in

Carlisle, Pennsylvania, interviewed COIN's most vocal opponents, including Ralph Peters and Colonel Gian Gentile, and spent two days interviewing senior intelligence and operations officers and legal advisers at US Central Command in Tampa, Florida. Quite simply, these experiences would not have been possible without the studentship, and will sharpen the thesis. Since returning I have relished the opportunity to base myself in the Vere Harmsworth Library and work towards submission.

#### Sebastian Page

At the time of writing, I am about to complete the second year of the Queen's College/RAI Junior Research Fellowship, and have just passed my doctoral viva. It has been a busy year, with coconvening the American Civil War special subject in Michaelmas and subsequently assessing the students' achievements in their extended essays and closed examinations, but it has also been an enjoyable introduction to teaching responsibilities. By common assent, this was the best class for that option in at least a decade.

Despite bringing out a co-authored book last year, my publication schedule has not really quietened down, with a piece of more than twenty thousand words, 'Lincoln and Chiriquí Colonization Revisited', coming out last December in American Nineteenth Century History. I have also written roughly fifty entries for the forthcoming Cambridge Dictionary of Modern World History, which, in between writing on such familiar topics as the realignment of the party systems throughout American history in an excruciatingly short 150 words, and being tasked with general global entries such as 'communal societies' and 'religious toleration', provided a firm counterpoint to both the narrowness and depth of a doctoral thesis. Whilst I intend to bring out the book arising from my DPhil sooner rather than later, I am soon off to the US to plug some of the gaps in my collection of digital photographs of manuscript sources, for, along with my coauthor from the book Colonization after Emancipation, I am about to sign on the dotted line to edit a multivolume compilation of the sources pertaining to African-American colonization (resettlement) during the era of the American Civil War.

"The financial, institutional and collegiate support made available by the RAI studentship has provided an unmatched opportunity to finish my doctorate in a stimulating environment"

#### **Travers McLeod**



The Institute hosted a diverse array of conferences throughout the year, reflecting the breadth of research and teaching that take place within its walls. Conferences ranged from *Contentious Elections and Democratization in the Americas during the Nineteenth Century* to Assessing the Impact of the Financial Crisis and Budget Deficit on American Power and attracted scholars and students of the United States from across the world as speakers and participants.

Contentious Elections and Democratization in the Americas during the Nineteenth Century, held in March, exemplified the RAI's focus on the United States in comparative context. Speakers assessed the controversial US elections of 1800, 1824, 1860, and 1864 alongside the Lower Canadian / Quebec election of 1834; the Colombian election of 1836–37; the British North American (Canadian) elections of the 1840s; the Peruvian election of 1850; the Brazilian election of 1876; and the Argentine election of 1880. Professor Richard Carwardine, FBA, gave the plenary address on the 1864 US election, which could so easily have ended with Lincoln's defeat (and in August 1864 seemed likely to do so). Papers from the conference are currently being edited for publication.

Assessing the Impact of the Financial Crisis and Budget Deficit on American Power, a conference on the Obama Presidency, was cosponsored by the RAI and the Arts and Humanities Research Council. Delegates from academia, business and government investigated the connections between domestic politics and foreign policy, and the question of the role of elites, including the foreign policy establishment or the 'military-industrial complex' – 50 years after President Eisenhower warned Americans about the power of such forces. Do budget deficits and financial crises, the conference asked, threaten the power of a foreign policy establishment dedicated to American preponderance?

At the British International Studies Association (BISA) US Foreign Policy Working Group annual conference in September, panels examined the promotion of democracy and peace in the Middle East; the legacy of the 9/11 attacks for the US; democracy, dictatorships and conservative ideology; and US relations with the Muslim world in the wake of the War on Terror;

The RAI also hosted *Partisan Polarization* and the *Prospects for Effective Economic Policy in the US*, described by Professor Michael Bailey on page 14 of this report, and its annual postgraduate history conference, organised by doctoral students Edward Adkins and Patrick Andelic. Entitled *Taxing and Spending:Attitudes towards Federal Government Investment in Public Services, 1945–2010*, the conference investigated the conflicting demands of the American public for fiscal responsibility coupled with expensive programmatic commitments. Alongside papers from doctoral students in history and politics, the keynote lecture was delivered by Professor Lawrence Glickman (South Carolina) on 'The Public Spending Debate in the Post-War United States'.





2011–12 was a year of wide-ranging and intellectually deep events in American literature at the RAI. The annual Esmond Harmsworth Lecture in American Arts and Letters was delivered to great acclaim by the distinguished Filipino-American writer, Sabina Murray. The Institute also welcomed such leading authors as Gish Jen, Peter Gizzi and Lev Grossman, and in July hosted a week-long summer school which focused on the work of poet Sylvia Plath. Throughout the year, the Institute held regular graduate seminars on American literature, with topics ranging from 'Women Writing the American West' to 'Suicidal Tendencies in the Hollywood Novel'. Trinity Term saw the launch of an interdisciplinary seminar, 'Fictionalising History', which brought historians and literary scholars together for fruitful cross-disciplinary discussions.

Each year, the Esmond Harmsworth Lecture in American Arts and Letters, held at the RAI, is one of the highlights of Oxford's literary year, and 2012 proved to be no exception. In 'Bouncing Across the Plank: Politics, History, and Literary Imagination', Sabina Murray took her audience on a literary journey from a steamship on the Amazon, through Jesuit education, Francisco Goya, and New Jersey resident Joseph Bonaparte, to the Donner Party. A podcast is available to download via the RAI website and on iTunes. The next day, Murray led a masterclass on novel-writing for students, scholars and members of the public, which focussed on the challenges of writing about historical figures, overcoming difficulties in crafting characters, and how to use historical research in fiction writing.



Lev Grossman, author of the best-selling novels Codex, The Magicians and The Magician King and a noted journalist at Time magazine, gave the inaugural lecture in American Literature and Culture at the Oxford Literary Festival in March. The event was cosponsored by the RAI and the Festival, in the first of what is hoped to be an annual series

of events. Grossman spoke on 'Storytelling: The Past and Future of the American Novel', and described how the divide between literary fiction and genre fiction is diminishing as storytelling regains its centrality in the art of the novel.

In May, the RAI hosted 'The World Comes to Town: An Evening with Gish Jen', which brought the eponymous novelist to the Institute to discuss her work. A second-generation Chinese-American, Jen's novels include the award-winning World and Town, The Love Wife and Typical American. Her short story Birthmates had the great distinction of being selected by John Updike as one of the best American short stories of the twentieth century. Acclaimed poet Peter Gizzi visited the Institute later in the month to discuss his work with an audience

of students and academics and to give an extraordinary public poetry reading. For more details, see www.oxonianreview.org/wp/audible-form/.



The RAI's literary year culminated in the Sylvia Plath summer school, held in early July. Led by Dr Sally Bayley, Supernumerary Research and Teaching Fellow at the RAI, and Linda Gates, Professor of Voice at Northwestern University, the subject of authorial voices and the ways in

which Plath's poetic voices are developed and tuned through the process of drafting were at the heart of the week-long programme. This fine event attracted undergraduate and graduate students of literature, drama, voice and music, and included a session on Plath's poetry as translated into songs for voice by Dr Will May of Southampton University, a composer, scholar and, most importantly, an inspirational teacher. Further details can be seen at www.rai.ox.ac. uk/events/2012/sylvia-plath-masterclass, together with a preview of the 2013 summer school, 'Voices From Across the Atlantic' — www. rai.ox.ac.uk/events/2013/american-voice/about. To book for next year's course, contact Laura Gill, Academic Programme Coordinator, at laura.gill@rai.ox.ac.uk.



Philip Morgan, Harmsworth Professor of American History, 2011-12 and Harry C. Black Professor of History at Johns Hopkins University, reflects on his year at the RAI.

It is an enormous privilege to have served as Harmsworth Professor, one of the highest honors that can come to a scholar of American history. My year began eventfully, with a stint in the John Radcliffe Hospital. I learned two lessons from this experience: a deep appreciation for the National Health Service, particularly the professionals of the hospital's neurosurgery ward, and great respect for the collegiality of the Americanist community in Oxford, particularly Nigel Bowles and associates of the RAI, who rallied around and gently shepherded me back into academic life. I am most grateful for the consideration and assistance I received.



I believe I am the first Harmsworth to be a dual British-American citizen. Looking at the history of the United States internally and externally has become second nature, but this year has given me an enhanced understanding of the importance of looking within and without. My inaugural lecture, for instance, investigated the lives of two Alexander Hamiltons, one

a Scottish doctor living in mid-eighteenth-century Maryland, and the other the West Indian (of Scottish ancestry) who became Secretary of the Treasury in George Washington's first cabinet – both outsiders who became insiders, but never quite shedding their alien origins. The larger purpose of this exercise was to reveal the connections between North America and the Caribbean that these two individual lives illuminate. Having looked over all the preceding Harmsworth lectures (stretching back to the first, Samuel Eliot Morison's, in 1922), I believe I am the first to have looked at North America from a Caribbean perspective – part of current efforts to see the continent in larger contexts. In some ways North America was an appendage of the Caribbean in the period I am exploring.

Thinking about the United States trans-nationally, as part of a wider world, comes naturally in Oxford. Many graduate students here adopt that approach: lively discussions in the Master's core seminar centered on debates about how best to investigate such subjects as the history of the environment, or borderlands, or the American state, all of which benefit from a global awareness. A number of the visiting fellows are actively researching within this larger framework,

and many outside speakers who came to the RAI throughout the year, beginning with a paper on fugitive slaves and ending with one on the pearl fisheries of the Caribbean, added their insights from a trans-national perspective.

As with my predecessors, I took seriously the imperative to fly the Harmsworth flag at universities across Britain and continental Europe. I have delivered papers, offered keynote addresses, run seminars, and led panel discussions at fifteen different institutions ranging from the European University Institute in Florence to the École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris, from the National University of Ireland, Galway to the University of Edinburgh.

"Thinking about the United States transnationally, as part of a wider world, comes naturally in Oxford."

#### Professor Philip Morgan.

I return to Johns Hopkins University reinvigorated by research accomplished, friendships made, and feedback received. I hope to complete two books: a history of the early Caribbean and an exploration of linkages between North America and the Caribbean from the sixteenth through the early nineteenth centuries. My year in Oxford has been highly rewarding, not just for the many conversations with distinguished scholars, but for the many kindnesses shown me, most particularly from Vyvyan and Alexandra Harmsworth, who were remarkably generous hosts.



Two events in the United States in spring 2012 launched the Campaign for the RAI and the start of a programme of lectures and debates in the US which will bring the Institute's academic research to American audiences.

In April 2012, the RAI brought together the distinguished Washington Post columnists and political writers George Will and E. J. Dionne to debate the questions 'Is Congress Broken? Can it be Repaired?' before a large public audience at the Metropolitan Club in Washington D.C., just two blocks from the White House. Both Mr Will (below, right) and Mr Dionne (below, left) studied at Oxford before becoming two of America's foremost political writers.





Topics of discussion during the debate and in questions from the audience included the decline of bipartisanship in both Houses of Congress, how changes to filibustering procedure have influenced legislative process, electoral redistricting, and the future of the Senate super-majority. Guests at the dinner that followed also heard a powerful speech by Vyvyan Harmsworth, Secretary of the Rothermere Foundation, about his family's long-standing connections with the US which have been made permanent through the Harmsworth Chair of American History, and the Rothermere American Institute itself.

In May 2012, Pekka Hämäläinen, recently appointed as Rhodes Professor of American History at Oxford, delivered a public lecture in Los Angeles that was co-sponsored by the RAI, UCLA and Brit Week — an annual week of events to celebrate Britain's economic and cultural ties with California. Professor Hämäläinen discussed his award-winning book *The Comanche Empire*, which sheds new light on the Comanche Indians' remarkable interactions with the expanding European presence in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America. The success of the events in both Los Angeles and Washington would not have been possible without the advice and generosity of the Institute's friends in the US and in the UK.

Further RAI debates and lectures will be taking place in the United States throughout 2012–13. On 29th October 2012, the RAI will sponsor a public discussion in Washington DC on how public policy can most effectively reduce unemployment, featuring presentations from the distinguished economists Laurence M. Ball and Donald B. Marron. Professor Ball, of Johns Hopkins University, is an expert on unemployment, inflation and fiscal and monetary policy; Professor Marron is Director of the Tax Policy Center and was formerly Director of the Congressional Budget Office and Chief Economist of Congress's Joint Economic Committee.

The following day, on 30th October, Paul O'Neill, US Secretary of the Treasury under President George W. Bush, will consider the economic challenges facing the newly elected President of the United States before a public audience in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (below).

For more details, please see the RAI's website at www.rai.ox.ac.uk/about/RAI-in-America





## Thanks to the generous support of benefactors, the RAI is able to offer travel awards to undergraduate and graduate students to undertake primary research in the United States.

Philip Hoyle, an undergraduate student in history and politics, reflects on his research trip.

As my undergraduate thesis focused on the Speakerships of Carl Albert (right) and Thomas 'Tip' O'Neill, the opportunity awarded to me by the RAI travel award to travel to Boston, Massachusetts and The University of Oklahoma in Norman (above) to conduct research in their respective archives was invaluable, both in terms of experience gained in archival work, and in discovering material otherwise not available for the thesis. Working through congressional archives offered remarkable insights into the general functioning of the House of Representatives in the 1970s, the role the leadership played in ensuring that the House continued to function, and how the role evolved over time.

The work-room at the Carl Albert Center was adjacent to a replica of the Speaker's office as it had been during Albert's tenure, right down to the foot-stool made for him so that he could sit comfortably behind the large desk, and to the collection of presidential signing pens that Albert had amassed over the course of his service in the House. The most useful and most interesting pieces in Albert's archive were the memos written by John Barriere, the Staff Director of the Steering and Policy Committee. Barriere had an exceptional understanding of the House, both its rules and its members, as these memos show. Not only do they describe the political calculation required for almost every important piece of legislation which required the Speaker's involvement for the entirety of Albert's speakership, but they detail at which members the leadership are targeting various arguments, and document Barriere's extensive efforts to bring outside interest groups in to help the leadership lobby members.

The memos proved not only to be an invaluable resource for my thesis, but also an exceptional introduction to the politics of the House and of the Speakership in particular. While Barriere's memos focused primarily on the politics inside the House, the letters Albert received from around the country often revealed more lighthearted, and in hindsight rather amusing episodes of the politics of the 1970s, such as a number of particularly irate letters complaining about the subversiveness of the musical *Hair* and Albert's reply assuring one sender that he had in fact not attended the show (as the sender had accused him of doing).



Working in O'Neill's archive after working in Albert's demonstrated their great differences in organizational styles. Whereas most letters and memos in Albert's papers were marked by Albert in some way – whether merely indicating that he had read the item or noting what the response should contain – O'Neill's papers were rarely

marked directly by him as he preferred to discuss matters in person rather than through memos. Of particular interest for my work were memos sent between O'Neill's key staffers regarding President Carter's energy legislation as well as the minutes of the Democratic leadership's weekly Thursday breakfast meetings with President Carter. I was also struck by the stark difference in O'Neill's archive between the Carter and the Reagan presidencies. Under Reagan, O'Neill's staff began to transcribe and dissect the president's press conferences, the leadership developed newsletters providing their members with counter-arguments for use in their districts, and O'Neill's media image was far more closely crafted than it had previously been.

Besides the excellent material gathered for my thesis, the trip was also my first to the United States, which was almost as welcome as to the access to the archives. My stay in Oklahoma confirmed the usual image of southern friendliness. Having arrived in Norman by train from Oklahoma City I was unable to find a taxi to take me from the train station to my hotel. Being early on Saturday morning, few shops were open and I was wondering around feeling (and clearly looking!) rather lost when someone pulled up and offered me a ride to wherever I was staying, an experience which was rather unexpected having been in England for so long but which in the searing summer heat of Oklahoma was very welcome. Similarly all the archivists I encountered were especially helpful and patient as I went through box after box of material.

The trip was an excellent experience, both academically and personally, as someone who has had a deep and longstanding interest in US history but had never visited. For that I am incredibly thankful.



#### Travel grants for 2012-13 have been awarded to:

**Thomas Abbasi**, history undergraduate: 'Manufacture of Nature and its Centrality to Conceptions of American Identity between the late-19th and mid-20th centuries'

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

**Patrick Andelic**, DPhil candidate in American history: 'Beyond the New Deal Order: Debating the Democratic Future in an ''Age of Conservatism'', 1972–1984'

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

**Jordan Becker**, PPE undergraduate: 'Mormons and Contemporary American Politics: the Role of a Religious Minority'

Award given for interviews in Washington, Salt Lake City and Sacramento.

**Shelley Gao**, MPhil candidate in comparative government: 'The China Issue and the American Right, 1945-1960'

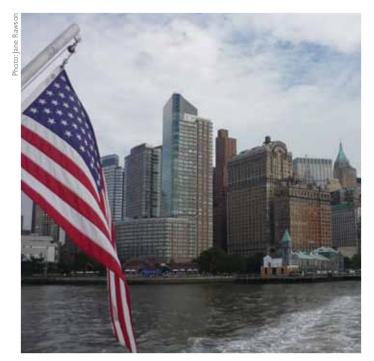
Award given for archival work on the Henry R. Luce papers at the Library of Congress, the David Lawrence papers at Princeton and the William F. Buckley Jr. papers in Yale.

**Mandy Izadi**, DPhil candidate in American history: 'Why Black-Indian History Matters'

Award given to present a paper at the 'Caribbean Diaspora Reconsidered' conference, Harvard, and for archival work in Georgia and in Washington D.C.

**Mark Petersen**, DPhil candidate in American history: '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.



"Working through congressional archives offered remarkable insights into the general functioning of the House of Representatives in the 1970s, the role the leadership played in ensuring that the House continued to function, and how the role evolved over time."

Philip Hoyle



It is with great pleasure that the Rothermere American Institute has welcomed Professor Pekka Hämäläinen, who joins the Oxford History Faculty, the RAI and St. Catherine's College as Rhodes Professor of American History.



Professor Hämäläinen is an internationally renowned expert on the histories of borderlands and environmental history. His world-wide reputation derives primarily from his multi prize-winning book *The Comanche Empire*, published by Yale University Press in 2008. The book reconstructs the history of the Comanche Indians who, during the eighteenth

and early nineteenth centuries, built a vast and powerful empire that dominated the fiercely contested lands of the American Southwest, the southern Great Plains, and northern Mexico. The empire eclipsed its various European rivals in military prowess, political prestige, economic power, commercial reach, and cultural influence.



The Comanche Empire presents two intertwined stories. The first examines cross-cultural relations in the region from the perspective of the Comanches, exploring how this nation rose to dominance and constantly reinvented itself in order to preserve and expand its reach. The second looks at the events from the perspective of the

Spaniards, Mexicans, Apaches, and others who variously competed and cooperated with the Comanches, but ultimately lost out in the Comanche-controlled world. The book challenges the idea of indigenous peoples as victims of European expansion and offers a new perspective on the history of the colonization of North America.

Professor Hämäläinen's current project is a book entitled New Worlds: Frontiers, Borderlands, and Empires of North America, 1600–1900. He joins Oxford from the University of California, Santa Barbara.

"I am much looking forward to becoming part of the RAI community," Professor Hämäläinen writes. "I have always thought of disciplinary boundaries as sites of cross-fertilization rather than as lines of demarcation, and I could not envision a more inspiring place to write, teach and learn about American history. The RAI's wide-ranging, international seminars and conferences and the stunning quality of its scholars and students make it an intellectual crossroads of global importance, a place where original, multi-angled study of the United States is not an aspiration but a starting point. I am a Finn who spent the first phase of his career in the US, so I have, by necessity, approached American history from both external and internal perspectives. Coming to the RAI feels like coming home."

#### Visiting Professors and Research Fellows 2012-13

We are delighted to welcome the following visiting professors and RAI visiting fellows for the 2012–13 academic year:

#### Harmsworth Visiting Professor of American History

Gary Gerstle, James G. Stahlman Professor of American History and Professor of Political Science, Vanderbilt University. Professor Gerstle is an expert on twentieth-century US history, with particular emphasis on politics and society, immigration, ethnicity, nationality, and labour.

### John G. Winant Visiting Professor of American Politics and Government

George C. Edwards III, Distinguished Professor of Political Science, Texas A&M University. Professor Edwards is an internationally acclaimed scholar of presidential leadership, elections, and public policy making.

#### **Senior Visiting Research Fellowship**

Professor Celeste-Marie Bernier (University of Nottingham): African-American literature, history, politics, and visual arts from the eighteenth century to the present day.

#### **Postdoctoral Visiting Research Fellowships**

Professor Maria Fanis (University of Ohio): American Liberalism and the role of American national identity in US foreign policy.

Dr Erin Penner (Cornell University): British and American modernism, contemporary American fiction, the elegy, and literature of the American South.

#### **Associate Visiting Research Fellowships**

Professor Barbara Reeves-Ellington (Siena College, New York): Missions, diplomacy, and Anglo-American entanglements in the Near East, 1819–1919.

#### **Vacation Visiting Research Fellowship**

Dr Mark Ledwidge (Canterbury Christ Church University): Racial dimensions of US foreign policy.



The RAI's visiting fellowships programme brings scholars from across the world to the Institute to support their research on diverse aspects of American history, politics and culture. Here, some of the 2011–12 visiting fellows reflect on their time at the RAI.

#### Paul McGarr, University of Nottingham

My principal research during my fellowship at the RAI was to critically examine how the symbolism of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) – often drawn from cultural milieu – has exercised a substantive effect on American diplomacy in the developing world since 1947.

As the United States's Cold War rivalry with the Soviet Union accelerated from the late 1940s, the CIA engaged in a succession of controversial covert interventions in the developing world to counter what was seen as the pernicious and growing threat of Communism, or to undermine foreign governments pursuing policies deemed inimical to US national interests. Such CIA activity has frequently been represented as symbolic of broader questions such as the oscillation between American interventionism and isolationism, and debates over presidential leadership versus democratic foreign policy, or over the importance of human rights in the conduct of US diplomacy.

"The RAI fellowship was instrumental in helping to transform a fledgling examination into the interchange between American intelligence activity and US diplomacy in the developing world into a fully developed, coherent and intellectually engaging research project."

#### Dr Paul McGarr, University of Nottingham

The RAI fellowship was instrumental in helping to transform a fledgling examination into the interchange between American intelligence activity and US diplomacy in the developing world into a fully developed, coherent and intellectually engaging research project. During my fellowship at the RAI, my research began to attract significant attention from scholarly colleagues on both sides of the Atlantic, governmental policymakers in Britain and the US, and academic publishers. The RAI provided a convivial, welcoming and inspiring environment in which to work. I am deeply grateful for the considerable effort invested, and care taken, by all its staff in making the Institute such a rewarding home for its peripatetic scholars.

### Christine Knauer, Eberhard Karls University, Tübingen, Germany

It was a privilege and a pleasure to be a fellow at the RAI. The Institute is a treasure for researchers and students alike. The staff at the RAI was welcoming and invaluably helpful, and was especially accommodating to my needs as a wheelchair-bound person. It was nice to see what an institute can and is willing to do to be inclusive of handicapped people.

My stay at the RAI allowed me to advance my research on the last lynchings in the US, and their national and international repercussions. The diversity of scholarship among the fellows was enriching and helped to plant new ideas and approaches to my own subjects. I was also able to finish an article on the Korean War and memory which will be published shortly, and began work on an article on Executive Order 9981 – widely (and somewhat falsely) known as the presidential order that commanded racial integration of the armed forces – and American memory. The fellowship gave me the opportunity to rethink some of its underlying ideas.



## Louis Nelson, University of Virginia

I had the great pleasure to serve as a fellow at the RAI in 2012. I arrived in January with an outline for my current book project, 'Architectures of the Early British Caribbean' and the majority of the research completed. The RAI was an ideal location for me to

engage in some intensive writing. Between January and June, I completed drafts of four chapters, covering seventeenth-century architecture, the fortified architecture of eighteenth-century Jamaica, the architecture of the British slave trade, and Caribbean cities.

While most of my time was spent writing, I was able to complete a great deal of field work in preparation for my final chapter, which examines how the architecture of the Caribbean influenced the English landscape, including a visit to Ireland to examine the shared imprints of colonialism in Ireland and Jamaica. In sum, my time at the RAI was very productive and I found it a fantastic environment for research and writing.

Applications for 2013–14 RAI fellowships will open in January 2013. Visit http://www.rai.ox.ac.uk/fellows/apply for more details on how to apply.



# Michael Bailey, John G. Winant Visiting Professor of American Government, 2011-12 and Colonel William J. Walsh Professor, Department of Government and Georgetown Public Policy Institute, Georgetown University, reflects on his year.

Oxford and the Rothermere American Institute provided an extraordinary hub for intellectual exchange and research during my year as Winant Visiting Professor. In work with others and in my own work, I was able to engage with some of the many factors that structure and roil American politics today.

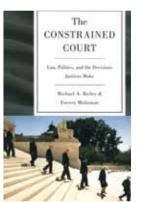
One of the defining features of modern American politics is extreme partisanship. This has particularly manifested itself in gridlock on economic policy. How much is this truly a new phenomenon? How much is this due to the vast amounts of money in US politics? In April we brought two world-class experts from the US together with faculty and students from Oxford to discuss these issues. Professor David Magleby from Brigham Young University discussed the dynamic and influential role that money plays in the process, stressing the dangers courted with a new legal regime that allows more money and less transparency. Bruce Bartlett, a former aide to Jack Kemp and Ronald Reagan, writes regularly in the New York Times and Financial Times editorial pages. He discussed his new book on the US tax system, making it clear that the system is ripe for reform but that politics make effective reform very difficult.

While American politics are polarized, Americans are not necessarily so. Even Americans who are former politicians can reason and work together in ways that are foreign to what happens in Congress. In February I participated in a day-long conference at the RAI with former US Congressmen Mike Oxley (the Republican sponsor of the famous Sarbanes-Oxley financial regulations) and Rick Boucher (a Democrat who was very influential on ultimately unsuccessful climate change legislation). They gave students and faculty reasoned and informed commentary on the US political system and specific policies.

One of the glories of being a student at Oxford is access to such events. I was privileged to be able to help develop the foundations of knowledge about American politics by teaching courses together with Oxford's resident experts on American politics – on Congress with RAI Director Nigel Bowles in Michaelmas Term, and a graduate level course on American politics with Professor Desmond King in Hilary Term.

I was also able to continue my own research, much of which tracks some of the dominant themes in contemporary politics. My book on the US Supreme Court, *The Constrained Court: Law, Politics, and the Decisions Justices Make*, was published in the fall. The Court is always a pivotal actor in US politics, but has become absolutely central with its consideration of Obama's signature achievement, his health care reform law. I have been able to extend some analysis from the book in an academic article and to analyze the Court and its role in a number of blog posts throughout the year.

Another target of much attention in American politics is the Tea Party movement. My article on the Tea Party will be published in the American Politics Review. Co-authors and I show that the movement has multiple facets, from activists to Washington-based interest groups to diffuse support among some parts of the electorate. It is, by and large, only the activist component of the movement that is influential and they have, indeed, been significant both in the 2010 elections and in influencing Republican representatives to take a hard conservative line.



"Oxford and the Rothermere American Institute provided an extraordinary hub for intellectual exchange and research during my year as Winant Visiting Professor."

**Professor Michael Bailey** 



#### Among its many outstanding special seminars and lectures in 2011–12, the RAI welcomed:

**Professor Alan Brinkley** (Columbia), who spoke on 'The Great Depression: Then and Now'

**Professor James T. Patterson** (Brown), who discussed 'When 'The Sixties' Began'

**Professors Rogers M. Smith** (Pennsylvania) and **Desmond King** (Oxford) for a masterclass on 'The Politics of Race in America: The Obama Effect'

**Professor Jeremy Waldron**, (Chichele Professor of Social and Political Theory, Oxford), for a masterclass entitled 'The Controversy over Foreign Law in American Courts'.

Guest speakers at the American History Research Seminar, convened by Dr Gareth Davies, Professor Philip Morgan, and Dr Peter Thompson included Professor R.J.M. Blakett (Vanderbilt), Professor Chris Brown (Columbia), Professor François Furstenburg (Montreal), Professor Jane Kamensky (Brandeis) and Dr Natalie Zacek (Manchester).

Guest speakers at the American Literature Research Seminar, convened by Dr Reena Sastri and Dr Julie Taylor, included Professor Charles Altieri (Berkeley), Professor Susan Manning (Edinburgh), Professor Michael Schmidt (Glasgow) and Dr Michael Snediker (Queen's, Canada).

Among the lecture and seminar series held at the RAI for undergraduate and graduate students in 2011–12 were The US Presidency and American State; The US Congress; The Imperial Presidency and War Powers; Slavery and the Crisis of the Union, 1854–1865; The American Empire, 1823–1904; American Literary Studies Now; and Fictionalising History. The RAI also continued to host weekly doctoral seminars in American history, politics and international relations, and literature.

## **UNIQ** programme gives school students a taste of American history

In July, the RAI hosted the university's UNIQ summer school for 16- and 17-year old school students for the third year running. The programme is the university's flagship outreach scheme, designed to give high-ability students from less privileged backgrounds a taste of studying at Oxford and to raise their aspirations.

Among the topics that the forty students considered was 'Slavery in American History and Historiography', exploring the significance of slavery in the development of the United States, and the ways in which it has been assessed by historians. Four different Oxford historians gave lectures during the week, and these were followed each day by smaller discussion groups. These enabled the students

to discuss the issues raised in the lectures in greater depth and allowed them to experience university-style seminar teaching. The week culminated in tutorials in which the students discussed an essay that each had written on one of the four topics covered during the week, giving them a sample of Oxford's distinctive teaching system. Students who chose the slavery topic discussed the question 'How did American slaves resist their enslavement?'

The week was hailed as a great success by participants. One commented that "I was already set on Oxford, but the week has confirmed my opinion that getting into Oxford is reachable and has increased my confidence for getting in". Another reflected that "the UNIQ history week convinced me that I would really enjoy the demanding yet interesting course for three years at university".





In summer 2011, Konstantin Dierks and Sarah Knott stepped down as editors of the American Historical Review and began a well-earned sabbatical. They spent the year at the RAI as joint Senior Visiting Research Fellows.



Sarah Knott writes, "My year at the Rothermere was spent pursuing research for my second book, Witnessing the Age of Revolutions. "Witnessing" because my subject is the tradition of first-person observation about distant revolutionary societies that has gone largely unremarked, and yet – I argue – was key to how contemporaries made sense of

eighteenth-century revolutionary events and new republics. From the American through the French and Haitian Revolutions, such commentators positioned themselves as spectators who could bear witness and offer testimony to political change. Between 1776 and 1804, Americans and other contemporaries read in their accounts the changing meaning of revolution and republic.

And "Age of Revolutions" because this long tradition of witnessing re-embeds the American Revolution and Early Republic in a wider Anglo-French age of revolutions. The American Revolution is often interpreted in purely national terms. But the revolutionary period was in fact characterized by geographical mobility, international discussion and cross-national connections. This witnessing tradition reveals the circulation of people who mobilized and changed ideas and practices across the intimately connected revolutions of America, France and Haiti.

The RAI fellowship has been a delight, from discussing my first book with current MPhil students, to working in the Vere Harmsworth Library's printed and digital resources, to taking archival trips to Paris and London, to countless conversations with members of the RAI academic community and other Oxford historians. I am especially grateful to director Nigel Bowles, for generating such a convivial and lively research setting, and librarian Jane Rawson, for her outstanding bibliographic skills and generosity."

Konstantin Dierks writes: "It was fitting that I spent the year working on a book meant to globalize American history at a global institution like the RAI. The book – American Global Imaginaries, 1660–1870 – traces how Americans recalibrated their understanding of and engagement with the wider world once they achieved independence from the British Empire. That world would be increasingly dominated by the British Empire in the nineteenth century, but Americans managed to extend their own global reach until they dominated the North American continent while scattering diplomats, merchant vessels, navy ships, missionaries, and scientists around the world. To do so, they had to grapple with how national sovereignty, global capitalism, violence, and international law worked throughout the world.

The RAI proved the perfect place to advance this research, given Oxford Americanists with global interests like Jay Sexton, the new Oxford Centre for Global History overseen by John Darwin, Philip Morgan as Harmsworth Professor, and the exquisite resources of the Vere Harmsworth Library. This list of blessings contains rather more depth: the RAI staff and academic community, the Oxford historical community, and all the exciting scholars that visit the Institute and Oxford, making both truly global institutions.

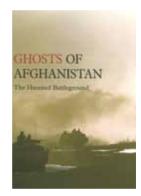
Indeed, I go home most excited to collaborate on a new digital project with one such scholar, Max Edling, which shall focus on "the United States in the world, and the world in the United States" across the long nineteenth century. It is entirely apt that a collaborative global project of this kind germinated at the RAI.

"It was fitting that I spent the year working on a book meant to globalize American history at a global institution like the RAI."

**Professor Konstantin Dierks** 

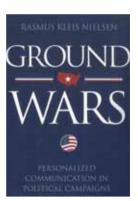


2011–12 saw the launch of several notable books at the RAI on American history, politics and international relations, and literature. These included works by RAI Fellows, academics from Oxford and beyond, and leading writers and journalists.



In November 2011, distinguished *Guardian* journalist Jonathan Steele launched his book **Ghosts of Afghanistan: The Haunted Battleground** (Portobello Books) at the Institute. Drawing on his experience of the Soviet-Afghan War of 1979–88, during which he was the Guardian's Moscow Bureau Chief, Steele's book illuminates the course of the war in Afghanistan since the post-9/11 invasion. He makes plain in reporting the views of all sides on the ground, that almost all

Afghans simply want foreigners off their soil. Steele uses the example of how Gorbachev ended the Soviet war to explore how America's political and military leaders might. Also in November, Michael Bailey, Visiting Winant Professor of American Government, launched his book (co-authored with Forest Maltzman) *The Constrained Court: US Law, Politics, and the Decisions Justices Make* (Princeton UP), which he describes on page 14 of this report.

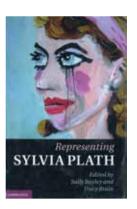


Ground Wars: **Personalized** Communication **Political Campaigns** (Princeton launched at the RAI in February by its author, Rasmus Kleis Nielsen, Assistant Professor of Communications at Roskilde University, Denmark, and Research Fellow at the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism at Oxford, It explores how political campaigns today are won or lost in the so-called ground war — the strategic deployment of teams of staffers, volunteers, and paid part-timers who work the phones

and canvass block by block, house by house, voter by voter. *Ground Wars* provides an in-depth ethnographic portrait of two such campaigns, by Linda Stender in New Jersey and Jim Himes of Connecticut, who both ran for Congress in 2008.

In May, the RAI hosted the launch of **Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power** (Columbia UP) by Indejeet Parmar, Professor of Government at the University of Manchester.

The book reveals the complex interrelations, shared mindsets, and collaborative efforts of influential public and private organizations in the building of American hegemony. Focusing on the involvement of the Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie foundations in U.S. foreign affairs, Parmar traces the transformation of America from an 'isolationist' nation into the world's only superpower, all in the name of benevolent stewardship.



In **Representing Sylvia Plath** (Cambridge UP), launched at the Institute in October, RAI Supernumerary Research and Teaching Fellow, Sally Bayley, and her coeditor Tracy Brain investigate the enduring power of Sylvia Plath's poetry, alongside the mythic status of her relationship with Ted Hughes. Their book explores the many layers of Plath's often unreliable and complex representations and the difficult relationship between the reader and her texts. The volume examines Plath's creative processes — what she does with materials

ranging from Romantic paintings to women's magazine fiction – and investigates how Plath has herself become the subject matter for other artists, writers, film makers and biographers.

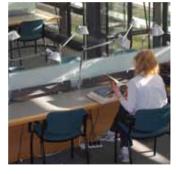
Martin Bernal's Black Athena: The Afro-Asian Roots of Classical Civilization sparked debate and controversy in Africa, Europe, and America when it was published in 1987. His genealogy of the 'fabrication of Greece' and his claims for the influence of ancient African and Near Eastern cultures on the making of classical Greece, questioned many assumptions about the nature of ancient history. In African Athena: New Agendas Reframing a Transnational Debate (OUP), co-edited by RAI Supernumerary Research and Teaching Fellow Tessa Roynon, and Daniel Orrells and Gurminder K. Bhambra, and launched at the RAI in February, writers explore the impact of the modern African diaspora from the sixteenth century onwards on Western notions of history and culture, examining the role Bernal's claim has played in European and American understandings of history, and in classical, European, American and Caribbean literary production.

If you are an author or publisher and would like to find out more about holding a book launch at the RAI, please email Laura Gill, Academic Programme Coordinator, at laura.gill@rai.ox.ac.uk.



#### Jane Rawson, Vere Harmsworth Librarian

The Vere Harmsworth Library continues to be a vibrant part of the RAI and a nexus for Americanists both within Oxford and elsewhere. Our collections grow both physically and virtually: this year generous donations have enabled us to buy electronic access to the archives of the Congressional Record as well as two other substantial e-resources — The American West and the Virginia Company Archives. We are also grateful as ever to the American Association of Rhodes Scholars for their donation of 98 books as part of the Adeloytte-Kiefer-Smith collection. We have also been able to use donated funds to extend opening hours to include Saturday mornings in term time throughout the year.



We have held our usual number of small exhibitions in the library. Selections from the Philip & Rosamund Davies US Elections Campaigns Archive have been displayed twice, first for the annual 'Congress to Campus' event, and then again in June for the launch of the Campaign for the RAI and unveiling of the new RAI donor board, which took place on the

mezzanine floor of the library. We have also loaned our exhibition space out to our colleagues from Rhodes House Library on two occasions to display materials from their collections.

In October, we welcomed Deborah Thomas from the National Digital Newspaper Program at the Library of Congress, who gave a fascinating talk on the Library of Congress's web resource for digitised historic American newspapers, *Chronicling America*. The increasing number of websites offering high quality digitised resources for US studies can be transformative for researchers studying the US, and offering sessions such as this is one way that we support our readers in locating and using such sources.

We are always delighted to welcome visitors to the Library. You can keep up with our news via our blog at http://vereharmsworthlibrary.blogspot.com, or follow us on Facebook (facebook.com/vereharmsworthlibrary) and Twitter (twitter.com/vhllib).

In September, I travelled to the United States for two weeks to visit several libraries and archives. My trip was sponsored by the Chartered Institute for Library and Information Professionals (CILIP) and the English Speaking Union under their Travelling Librarian Award, which supports a UK librarian each year to travel to the United States with the aim of promoting UK-US library links, My trip began in Charlottesville, Virginia, and worked northwards up the east coast to Boston, taking in major national institutions such as the Library of Congress and National Archives, university libraries at Virginia and Columbia, and a variety of more specialised libraries such as the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Schomburg Center in New York, and the FDR and JFK Presidential Libraries. It was a fascinating and valuable trip, greatly expanding my understanding of library collections and institutions across the Atlantic. I was also able to share information about our collections and researchers here in Oxford with the librarians I met and in a talk at the National Archives.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 22
AT 10:45 A.M. IN LECTURE ROOM D, ALI
SUPPORTING STUDIES
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD:

Specker: Jame Rowson, Ubration of the View Homoworth Library, University of Oxford and 2011 excipient of the OUP/ESU Travelling Librarian Award An number of the Vieway adhactions and service in U.S. Studies and U.S. History in particular at the University of Oxford

COLLECTIONS AND RESOURCES

I blogged my trip as it unfolded at http://travellinglibrarian2011. blogspot.com and the full report is available from the CILIP website at http://www.cilip.org.uk/about-us/medalsandawards/travellinglibrarian/Pages/travelling-librarian-reports.aspx..





The RAI's financial position is stable and secure in the medium-term. But if the Institute is to thrive in perpetuity, it must succeed in its Campaign to raise endowment capital for the Directorship and University Professorship, for its academic programme, and for its programme of studentships and postdoctoral fellowships. I am confident that, with the continuing generosity of its many supporters, it will do so.

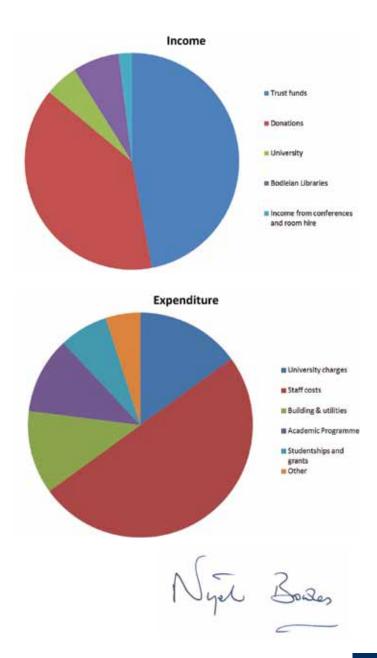
The charts on this page show the distribution of the RAI's income and expenditure during the 2011-12 financial year. The Institute is funded largely from two main trust funds: the first supports general running costs, and the second the academic programme. The annual income streams expected from these two funds for 2012-13 are £98,500 and £70,000 respectively.

The academic programme trust fund currently has a revenue balance of almost £115,000, but the Institute is reducing this balance because expenditure on the academic programme, comprising the costs of conferences, seminars and events, and including visiting speaker costs and catering, is higher than the annual income from the fund. Donations from the RAI's generous friends also allow the Institute to offer a fuller academic programme than it could otherwise afford.

The RAI receives a share of the University's research and teaching income calculated according to the research and income activity that takes place here. In 2011-12 the sum amounted to £25,000. The Institute also receives £38,000 per year from the Bodleian Libraries, representing a contribution to the building's running costs and based on the proportion of space occupied by the Vere Harmsworth Library. The revenue shown in the income chart is income from fees paid by conference attendees and from hiring out seminar rooms.

The University charges the RAI a total of £89,000 annually as a contribution to its own costs, comprising a £73,000 infrastructure charge and a capital charge of £16,000.

Most of the RAI's staff costs, which include both academic staff based at the Institute and the RAI's support staff, are met by donors; the remainder is met by income from existing trust funds and from the charging of overheads to conferences. The Director's salary from 2011 to 2016 is met entirely from a most generous anonymous donor who has made a cash gift of £525,000 to cover a five-year period; the salaries of the Finance Assistant and of the Development Officer are paid entirely by donors.





'Congress to Campus' is an annual highlight of the Institute's programme to bring the study of the United States to wider public audiences. The day-long event — organised in association with the US Association of Former Members of Congress and the Eccles Centre at the British Library — brings bipartisan pairs of former Members of Congress to the RAI. In a series of talks and informal discussions, the former Members provide local school and university students with insights into how American democracy works through sharing their real-life experiences as candidates and office holders.

In February 2012, the RAI welcomed former Congressmen Rick Boucher (D–Virginia, 1983–2011), formerly Chair of the House Subcommittee on Communications, Technology and the Internet, and Mike Oxley (R–Ohio, 1981–2007), formerly Chair of the House Committee on Financial Services and co-sponsor of the famous 2002 Sarbanes-Oxley Act on financial regulations.

The former Congressmen served together on the House of Representatives' Energy and Commerce Committee for two decades. They agreed that the inability of Democrats and Republicans to work together constructively in today's Congress limits the legislature's effectiveness and contributes to its low approval ratings. Mr Boucher said: "We represent something that doesn't exist today but did in the 1970s and 1980s and that is bipartisanship: the majority of the whole house, broadly in the centre, was willing to meet in the middle and make the concessions needed to achieve a workable outcome."

In sessions covering 'Congress: The Inside Story' and 'The Charge to Election Day: The Context, the Campaign and the Possible Consequences', the former Congressmen also discussed such topics as their roles in bringing forward the legislation that led to the development of the Internet, the influence of partisan







#### Staying in touch with the RAI all year long

The recently relaunched 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, past and upcoming conferences, and mini-sites for American history, politics and literature. The RAI can also be found on Facebook (www.facebook.com/RAIOxford), Twitter (twitter.com/RAIOxford) and YouTube (www.youtube.com/user/RAI Oxford).

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 to choose your mailing option.

news media on US politics and the impact of 'Super-PAC' fundraising on American elections at local, state and Federal level.

Students also heard commentary and analysis on American government and politics from Professors Philip Davies, Director of the Eccles Centre, and Michael Bailey, John G. Winant Visiting Professor of American Government at Oxford, and had the chance to see the Philip & Rosamund Davies US Election Campaigns Archive on display in the Vere Harmsworth Library. The collection is the largest of its kind in the UK, comprising ephemera relating to elections at presidential, congressional, state and local levels. It features buttons, bumper stickers, posters, campaign leaflets, and many other campaign-branded materials dating back from the present day to the mid-nineteenth century.

If you have links with schools in the Oxford area and would like to find out more about participating in next year's Congress to Campus, please email ashley.morgan-daniel@rai.ox.ac.uk.

"Today has given me a wider knowledge of the topics I'm studying and I'm confident I will be able to talk about them in more depth in my exams. The bi-partisan discussions have helped me develop a better understanding of both parties' ideologies and views."

Local school student at 'Congress to Campus'



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