ANZASA

3-6 July 2012

The University of Queensland

Conference Information

Venues

Venues on The University of Queensland, St Lucia campus include the Forgan Smith (Bldg 1), Frank White (Bldg 43) and Michie (Bldg 9) buildings (see map).

Morning and afternoon teas will be in the Michie Building foyer. The opening reception and the Fourth of July BBQ will be in the Forgan Smith building foyer.

The conference dinner will take place at the Villager Hotel, 185 George St, Brisbane, a quick CityCat ferry ride from UQ to North Quay.

Registration

Registration will be open from 14.00 on Tuesday, 3 July in the foyer of the Forgan Smith building.

The registration fee includes morning and afternoon teas, the conference reception and the Fourth of July BBQ.

A/V and Internet

Each room has a Windows computer with Powerpoint and a projector. If you are using Powerpoint, please arrive before your session starts to load your file onto the computer and check that it works. We also recommend that you email your talk to yourself as a backup.

Wireless internet is available across the campus. You can login in with your Eduroam account or apply for a visitor account at **http://uqconnect.net/visitor**.

Lunch Options

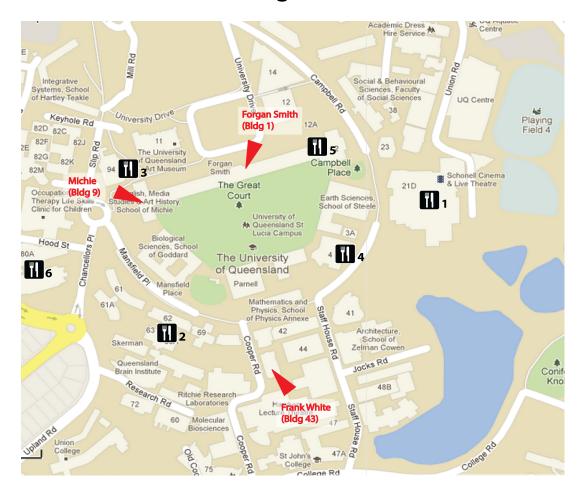The following eateries are within walking distance of the conference venues:

- ❋ Main Course Food Precinct, The Pizza Caffé and Red Room Bar & Grill in the UQ Union Complex (1 on map)
- ❋ Physiol Eatery and Café in Building 63 (2 on map)
- ❋ Darwin's and Burger Urge in Building 94 (3 on map)
- ❋ Wordsmiths next to the Co-op Bookshop (4 on map)
- ❋ Bar Merlo in the Duhig Building (5 on map)
- ❋ Saint Lucy Café et Cucina at the UQ Tennis Centre (not shown, but next to the tennis courts on the north side of campus)
- ❋ Genies in the Bioscience Precinct (6 on map)

More details can be found at: **http://www.uq.edu.au/about/places-to-eat**

Useful Links

UQ campus map: **http://www.uq.edu.au/maps/pdf/StLuciaMap.pdf**

Getting around: **http://www.uq.edu.au/maps/directions.html?menu=1**.

Getting Around

How to Get to UQ	**By taxi:**
	A taxi from Brisbane Airport will cost approximately $65. For bookings call: 131 924 (Yellow Cab) or 131 008 (Black-and-White Cab).
	By train:
	Airtrain services run every quarter hour to the Brisbane CBD between 5:30am - 8:30pm. You can take the Airtrain from the airport to Park Road Station, walk 50 m to the Boggo Road Busway and take Bus 109 to the UQ Lakes stop. The fare is about $24.50.
	Visit http://translink.com.au/ for bus, train and ferry information.

Tuesday
3 July

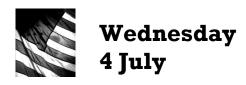|	
16.30 – 17.30	**Opening Keynote Address by Professor Ian Tyrrell, Scientia Professor of History, The University of New South Wales** *Following the Trails: The Spaces and Times of Transnational History and the Historiography of the United States* **Forgan Smith Building (Bldg 1), Room E302**
17.30 – 19.30	**Opening Remarks by Professor Fred D'Agostino, Executive Dean, Faculty of Arts, The University of Queensland** *and* **Opening Reception** **Forgan Smith Building Foyer**

Wednesday
4 July

9.15 – 10.45 *(parallel sessions)*	**Session: Versions of the American Dream** **Chair: Heather Neilson** **Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 201**

Disappointed Dreamers: Crisis, Tragedy, and the American Dream ❋ Carly Osborn, The University of Adelaide

The Possibility of Dignity in Breaking Bad ❋ Elliott Logan, The University of Queensland

Garrison Keillor's Literary Modesty and Lake Wobegon Days ❋ Richard Newman, The University of Queensland

Session: Issues in Postwar Foreign Relations
Chair: Daniel Fazio
Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 216

Kissinger and the Soviet Ambassador: The Role of Friendship and Affection in the Diplomacy of Détente ❋ Barbara Keys, University of Melbourne

All the Way? America, Australia and the Cuban Missile Crisis, October 1962 ❋ Laura Stanley, Victoria University

A Good War Gone Bad?: The Rise and Fall of World War II Analogies in the War in Iraq ❋ Jason Flanagan, The University of Canberra

Session: Cultures of Protest Since the Sixties
Chair: Daniel Fleming
Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 217

Operating in the Shadow of the Sixties? The Anti-Nuclear Movement and the Stigma of a Divisive Decade ❋ Kyle Harvey, Macquarie University

Building a Mass Movement in Defense of Life: The Right-to-Life Movement, Social Activism, and the Legacy of the 1960s ❋ Prudence Flowers, Flinders University

A Pale Imitation? Australia, the USA and the Diffusion of Radical Ideas During the 'Global Sixties' ❋ Jon Piccini, The University of Queensland

Session: Aspects of American Reform
Chair: Sarah Dunstan
Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 219

'Us is Spelled U.S.': The Crafted with Pride Campaign and the Fight Against Deindustrialization in the Textile and Apparel Industry ❋ Timothy Minchin, La Trobe University

Convincing Young Men and Women to Work Together: Building Cooperative Gender Relations in the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, 1881-1895 ❋ Eve Carroll-Dwyer, University of New South Wales

10.45 – 11.15	**Morning Tea** **Michie Building Foyer**

11.15 – 13.15	**Roundtable: The Revolution in American Life**
(parallel sessions)	**Chair: Tom Dunning**
	Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 201

The Founding Syndrome: Rhetoric and Reality in the Revolutionary Era and Beyond ❋ Michael McDonnell, The University of Sydney

Old Fashioned 'Tea Parties': Nineteenth-Century Parodies of the Revolution ❋ Frances Clarke, The University of Sydney

Forgotten Founder: Revolutionary Memory and John Dickinson's Reputation ❋ Peter Bastian, Australian Catholic University

Containing the Contradictions: The Revolution Remembered 1890-1945 ❋ Clare Corbould, Monash University

Session: American Foreign Relations
Chair: Jason Flanagan
Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 216

The United States' Exceptional Great War ❋ Douglas Craig, Australian National University

Loyal Advisor? Colonel House's Confidential Trips to Europe, 1913-1917 ❋ Nick Ferns, Monash University

A Social History of American Spaceflight in the Cold War ❋ Alain Hosking, La Trobe University

Session: American Cultural History
Chair: David Goodman
Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 217

Private Detectives and Privacy in the Early-Twentieth-Century United States ❋ Stephen Robertson, The University of Sydney

There's No Place Like Home: Museum Reconstructions of Shelter and the Interpretation of the Great Depression and the 1930s ❋ Meighen Katz, Monash University

Couture in the Cold War: The Alternative Consumer Culture of 1950s American Vogue ❋ Anna Rachael Lebovic, The University of Sydney

Making a Great Postpartum Impression: Hospitalized Childbirth and Psychology in Early Postwar America ❋ Shane Steven Smits, The University of Melbourne

Session: African American History
Chair: Michael Ondaatje
Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 219

Remembering Martin Luther King, Jr.: A Contested Legacy ❋ Daniel Fleming, The University of Newcastle

The Quiet Revolution: African-American Intellectuals and the Black Freedom Struggle, 1919-1956 ❋ Sarah Dunstan, The University of Newcastle

The Fate of African Americans Rests in the Hands of Ottomans: Lynching and the Armenian Crisis ❋ Sarah-Jane Mathieu, University of Minnesota

Perry Bradford: The Man Who Sold the Blues ❋ Luke Horton, The University of Melbourne

13.15 – 14.15	Lunch Break

| 14.15 – 15.45
(parallel sessions) | **Session: Fictions of the 1950s and 1960s**
Chair: Bronwen Levy
Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 201

The Curative Canny ✳ Erin Mercer, Massey University

The Mammy as Murderess in William Faulkner's Requiem for a Nun*: The Case of Nancy Mannigoe* ✳ Lucy Buzacott, The University of Queensland

A Cross Racial Dialogue on The Help ✳ Duchess Harris, Macalester College & Susannah Bartlow, Marquette University

Session: Conservation and Conflict
Chair: Ruth Blair
Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 216

To the Halls of Europe: Roosevelt, the African Safari and the Campaign to Save Nature (While Killing It) ✳ Ian Tyrrell, The University of New South Wales

Water Wars, Talking Water: Literature, Activism and Transcendentalist Eco-Politics in 19th Century America ✳ Stephen Harris, The University of New England

Watering Australia's "Dust Bowl": An American Idea in the Minds of Australians of the 1930s and 1940s ✳ Janette Bailey, The University of New South Wales

Session: American Film
Chair: Guy Davidson
Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 217

Uncanny Architectures in David Lynch's Cinema ✳ Thomas Mical, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute

On the Road to Nowhere: Wes Anderson's The Darjeeling Limited *and the New American Road Movie* ✳ Kim Wilkins, The University of Sydney

"They Impair an Actor's Performance": Clara Bow, the Talkies, and Disability ✳ Russell Johnson, University of Otago

Session: Culture and Foreign Policy
Chair: Peter Bastian
Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 219

Cinematic Diplomacy: International Film Festivals and Cold War America ✳ Jennifer Frost, The University of Auckland

Savagery and Civilisation in American Foreign Policy Discourse: Crafting the Masculinist Narrative of Benevolent Leadership ✳ Samantha E. Bedggood, The University of Queensland

The 1930s Isolationist/Interventionist Debate and the History of Emotions ✳ David Goodman, The University of Melbourne |

15.45 – 16.15	**Afternoon Tea**	
	Michie Building Foyer	
16.15 – 17.15	**Keynote Address by Professor Karla Holloway, James B. Duke Professor of English and Professor of Law, Duke University**	
	The Body: Law and its Biosocialities	
	Frank White Building (Bldg 43), Room 102	
17.30 – 19:30	**Fourth of July BBQ**	
	Forgan Smith Building Foyer	

Thursday
5 July

9.15 – 10.45 *(parallel sessions)*	**Session: Environmental Legacies** **Chair: Stephen Harris** **Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 216** *Writing the Yaak: Rick Bass and the Land the Wilderness Act Forgot* ❋ Inga Simpson, The University of Queensland *To Know the Dark: Wendell Berry on Darkness and the Strangeness of Place* ❋ Bryan Wallis, University of California, Davis *What We Leave Behind: Exploring Multiple Environmental Legacies in Leslie Marmon Silko's* Gardens in the Dunes ❋ Ruth Blair, The University of Queensland **Panel: The Material of American Studies** **Chair: Emma Halpin** **Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 217** *Regionalism and the Archive* ❋ Sarah Gleeson-White, The University of Sydney *Novel Objects* ❋ Melissa Hardie, The University of Sydney **Session: Issues in American Cultural History** **Chair: Tom Dunning** **Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 219** *"The Women Enter the Second Hundred Years of National Life as Political Slaves": The Woman-Slave Analogy and Nineteenth-Century Women's Suffrage* ❋ Ana Stevenson, The University of Queensland *The Pornographer of Terror: Paul Bowles and American Surrealism* ❋ Sam Reese, The University of Sydney
10.45 – 11.15	**Morning Tea** **Michie Building Foyer**
11.15 – 11.30	**Remarks by Niels Marquardt, Consul General of the United States** **Frank White Building (Bldg 43), Room 102**
11.30 – 12.30	**Keynote Address by Professor Paul Giles, Challis Chair of English, The University of Sydney** *Antipodean America: Literary Progressivism and Transpacific Feminism, 1893–1935* **Frank White Building (Bldg 43), Room 102**
12.30 – 13.45	**Lunch Break**

13.45 – 15.45 *(parallel sessions)*	**Session: Negotiating Gender, Identity, and Social Change** **Chair: Judith Seaboyer** **Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 216** *No Secret: Gore Vidal's Sexuality in the American Public Sphere* ✵ Guy Davidson, University of Wollongong *The Great Men of Jay Parini* ✵ Heather Neilson, Australian Defence Force Academy *"You're Not a Fictional Character, Are You, Mr. Ellis?": The Dual Self-Reflexivity of Autobiography and Metafiction in Bret Easton Ellis's* Lunar Park ✵ Nick Lord, The University of Queensland **Panel: Re-enacting the Sixties** **Chairs: Amanda Card and Meredith Morse** **Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 217** *Renewing Old Dance* ✵ Amanda Card, The University of Sydney *Sharing the Feeling: Authenticity in Reprisals of 1960s Body Art* ✵ Meredith Morse, The University of Sydney **Panel: Forms of American Studies: Reading Race, Space and Gender Across Genres** **Chair: Sarah Gleeson-White** **Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 219** *A Divided Southerner Searches His Soul: The Civil War, Civil Rights, and Robert Penn Warren's New Reconciliation Writing* ✵ Katherine Barnsley, The University of Sydney *Jean Toomer's* Cane ✵ Alix Baumgartner, The University of Sydney *American Masculinity Under Threat:* Red River *and* The Searchers ✵ Emma Halpin, The University of Sydney *Locating the American Self in Latino-US Hip Hop* ✵ Tara Morrissey, The University of Sydney
15.45 – 16.00	**Afternoon Tea** **Michie Building Foyer**
16.00 – 17.15	**ANZASA AGM** **Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 210**
19:00	**Conference Dinner** **The Villager Hotel, 185 George St, Brisbane**

Friday
6 July

9.30 – 11.00 *(parallel sessions)*	**Session: Mortality and Redemption in Turn-of-the Century Fiction** **Chair: Ruth Blair** **Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 216** *Religion and Uncertainty in the Work of Marilynne Robinson* ✻ Joanna Luke, The University of Queensland *"Called to Account": David Foster Wallace and the Dostoevskian Redemption Narrative* ✻ Lucas Thompson, The University of Sydney *Agency, Mortality, and the Significance of the Local in A. R. Ammons's Later Poems* ✻ Xanthe Ashburner, The University of Queensland **Session: The United States and Asia** **Chair: Yasuo Endo** **Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 217** *The Shaping of an Alliance: US and Australian Engagement in Korea, 1947–54* ✻ Daniel Fazio, Flinders University New York Times *Perceptions of Sino–Soviet Relations in the Periods 1949–1969* ✻ Tai Minh Nguyen, The University of Queensland **Session: Cultural History in Television and Drama** **Chair: Kim Wilkins** **Room: Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 219** *Fiction as Fact, Fact as Fiction: Reality Pseudohistory in American Culture from Poe to* The X-Files ✻ Steven Gil, The University of Queensland *PANIC ON BROADWAY! An Analysis of the Broadway Premiere of* Panic *by Archibard MacLeish* ✻ Andrew Holmes, Australian National University
11.00 – 11.30	**Morning Tea** **Michie Building Foyer**
11.30 – 12.30	**Plenary Panel Session: American Studies in the Twenty-First Century** **Yasuo Endo, The University of Tokyo** **Karla Holloway, Duke University** **Stephen Robertson, The University of Sydney** **Michie Building (Bldg 9), Room 211**
	Conference Concludes

Abstracts

Xanthe Ashburner

The University of Queensland

Agency, Mortality, and the Significance of the Local in A. R. Ammons's Later Poems

This paper concerns the work of the American poet A. R. Ammons (1926-2001). I suggest that the poet's commitment to that which is local, demotic, or ordinary is connected to an ongoing attempt to work through a range of issues relating to the question of human agency. Such a connection is particularly apparent in the poems from the late 1980s and 1990s, many of which leap from descriptions of the speaker's backyard and immediate landscape to meditations on mortality and old age. Yet if local nature figures as necessity, its vagaries and variations reminding us of our own finitude, the very ordinariness, or nearness, of our environments makes them spaces for, and affirmations of, the prospects of freedom and agency. Poetry itself is profoundly implicated here: as my readings of a few key poems from Ammons's later collections will show, it is through writing that one pronounces one's capacity for action, even if this is only the very humble action of being, as he says in *Glare*, "merely here."

Janette Bailey

The University of New South Wales

Watering Australia's "Dust Bowl": An American Idea in the Minds of Australians of the 1930s and 1940s

The conceptualization of the American 'Dust Bowl' of the 1930s impacted upon Australia. 'Dust bowl' as an idea, grew out of the US experience of severe wind erosion of the soil. However, this investigation will focus on the 'dust bowl' idea as a transnational one, and upon the influence of the Australian state and national media as a carrier of this US-born environmental idea.

The US Dust Bowl experience, social and economic impacts aside, famously produced the dramatic environmental phenomena of dust storms which carried tonnes of fertile soil from the Great Plains, and 'drift' which left farm properties buried under so-called 'desert sands'. But these erosion problems, and the production of media stories and images in response, were not a uniquely American experience. The Dust Bowl occurred during a period of general New World concern over 'accelerated erosion' or 'man-made deserts'. This paper will explore those Australian concerns by focusing primarily on the late 1930s and particularly, the 1940s. This is when the US 'dust bowl' idea, upon crossing both Australian ideological and national borders, became both reconfigured by, and used to interpret, a set of local conditions.

The time-delay of the transnational transfer of 'dust bowl' into Australia across the 1940s is important, as by 1942, after five years of severe drought, an older myth of irrigation was revived. Using American examples 'water conservation' in the form of dams was touted as one solution to our own 'soil menace' or 'dust bowl'. Various conceptualisations of nature and media productions inspired by them, as well as individual participants in media-produced debate surrounding the issue, contributed to the transnational construction of an Australian 'dust bowl' story.

Katherine Barnsley

The University of Sydney

Alix Baumgartner

The University of Sydney

Emma Halpin

The University of Sydney

Tara Morrissey

The University of Sydney

Panel: Forms of American Studies: Reading Race, Space and Gender Across Genres

This panel considers the importance of form in the practice and materials of American Studies' scholarship by exploring the problematics of race and gender across a variety of genres and media – essay, experimental novel, Hollywood film, popular music – over a long modern period. Alix Baumgartner reads Jean Toomer's experimental fiction of the 1920s to reveal its striking treatment of space in the depiction of African American communities. Katherine Barnsley examines Robert Penn Warren's neglected writings of the 1950s and 1960s to consider Civil War memorialisation in the context of the civil rights movement. Tara Morrissey draws out the implications of Baumgartner's and Barnsley's papers in her examination of Latino/a-US negotiations of racial identity in the realm of hip hop. Turning to Hollywood film – including, *The Searchers*, one of the most controversial portrayals of US race relations – Emma Halpin examines John Wayne's role in the production of a specific form of white American masculinity seemingly under threat in the postwar period. All four papers remind us of the pay-off of attending to the rhetorical and formal dimensions of American Studies.

❋ Katherine Barnsley
The University of Sydney

A Divided Southerner Searches His Soul: The Civil War, Civil Rights, and Robert Penn Warren's New Reconciliation Writing

In the aftermath of the American Civil War, sectional reconciliation became a driving force behind the War's memorialisation in a narrative tradition I have elsewhere called "reconciliation writing." Reconciliation writing is defined by its desire for white reconciliation, an increasing sympathy to the Confederacy, and a concomitant marginalisation of the voices and experiences of women and African Americans. This drive to reconciliation, I argue, characterises the work of Robert Penn Warren, exemplary of "the moral reflection that would make [desegregation] inevitable" (Christopher Metress).

This paper will draw out the ways Warren's 1956 essay, "Segregation: A Divided South Searches its Soul", and his 1961 novel, *Wilderness: A Tale of the Civil War*, reveal a white southern liberal imagination struggling to confront black-white relations amid increasingly urgent demands for Civil Rights by African American citizens. Since 1961-1965 marked not only the centenary of the Civil War but also the most vigorous period of the Civil Rights movement, Warren's reflections on the South, the Civil War, and black-white relations are particularly pertinent. Both Michael Kreyling and Forrest Robinson have challenged the extent of Warren's "reconstruction." Taking my lead from them, I argue that Warren's writing during his Civil Rights period updates, rather than challenges, reconciliation writing, and exhibits a desire to control black voices and experiences just as it represents a version of American history and citizenship that remains resolutely white.

✳ Alix Baumgartner
The University of Sydney

Jean Toomer's *Cane*

This paper will tease out the relationship between the fragmented aesthetic of Jean Toomer's *Cane* (1923) and its streetscapes to reveal Toomer's striking treatment of spaces as the correlative to the psychological states of the communities he depicts.

✳ Emma Halpin
The University of Sydney

American Masculinity Under Threat: *Red River* and *The Searchers*

As one of the most important postwar figures of American masculinity, John Wayne embodies a specifically corporeal meaning. His large gait, laconic speech and his bold and fluid movements are expressive of a characteristically "hard" masculinity. By examining two of Wayne's most controversial postwar performances as Tom Dunson in Howards Hawks' *Red River* (1948) and Ethan Edwards in John Ford's *The Searchers* (1956), this paper argues that Wayne's masculinity is concomitant with the disavowal of women and the privileging of all-male groupings. Situating discourses of femininity, patriarchy and empire within an articulation of Wayne's postwar image as American hero, the deeply flawed and compromised figures of Dunson and Edwards offer a darker and more nuanced characterisation of Wayne's image

✳ Tara Morrisey
The University of Sydney

Locating the American Self in Latino-US Hip Hop

Hip hop culture, and rap music in particular, have since the late 1970s developed from a grassroots, community-based art form into arguably the most prominent and profitable subdivision of American popular culture. Alongside hip hop's ever-expanding influence and evolving musicological sensibilities, however, has been the concurrent and increasingly stringent delimitation of its perceived "racial" character. The historical erasure of the Latino-US origins of, and ongoing presence within, hip hop has been concertedly discredited by Juan Flores, Raquel Rivera, and others. Such claims to ownership/authorship as connotative of legitimacy, however, sidestep the more crucial matter of racial essentialism in popular cultural performance, and its impact on negotiations of ethno-racial identity in the American context.

This paper investigates, through a transnational approach to "America," a more textured portrait of race and *latinidad* in hip hop performance, and situates the Latino-US identity debate firmly within the so-called black/white binary of US racial rhetoric. With reference to the works of contemporary performers Pitbull, Black Eyed Peas, and Immortal Technique, I intervene into the current discourse of both hip hop studies and critical race theory to uncover the new ideas of America and American-ness embedded in Latino-US engagement with hip hop.

Samantha E. Bedggood

The University of Queensland

Savagery and Civilisation in American Foreign Policy Discourse: Crafting the Masculinist Narrative of Benevolent Leadership

American foreign policy discourse has, since the nation's inception, been premised on a masculinist narrative of American benevolent leadership. This narrative has been pivotal in crafting a coherent rationale for American foreign policy, and has been utilised by statesmen to legitimise foreign policy positions for the last two centuries, having particular success in reconciling the philosophical conflicts between America's idealist foundation myths and its realist foreign relations agenda.

This paper will explicate the nature and defining characteristics of the narrative of benevolent leadership, arguing that the narrative is invariably linked both substantively and metaphorically to a masculinist ethos. Exploring the continuity that has existed within America's foreign policy vocabulary, despite considerable temporal variables, requires a survey of the recurring rhetorical means by which American Presidents have engaged in the process of gendered 'othering,' in order to draw upon and thereby perpetuate a masculinist metanarrative. This process of 'othering' refers to: a) the discursive feminisation and infantilisation of the Traditional Savage, people(s) whose vulnerability legitimises America's gallant protection; and synchronously, b) the denigration of the Modern Savage, a geo-political adversary whose nefariousness obligates America to take action. This paper will explore these recurring themes in twentieth-century presidential rhetoric.

Ruth Blair

The University of Queensland

What We Leave Behind: Exploring Multiple Environmental Legacies in Leslie Marmon Silko's *Gardens in the Dunes*

In 1999, Leslie Marmon Silko published a long, rather unwieldy novel called *Gardens in the Dunes* in which she rings changes on ideas of heritage and hybridity through the life of a Native American girl, adopted by white Americans at the turn of the 20th century. Indigo, the central character, experiences many different forms of gardening and interaction with the vegetable world through her adopted family. From the gardens in the dunes that she is forced to leave, to citrus orchards, her adoptive father's orchid-thieving expedition to South America, and to Italianate, English and Mediterranean gardens, the novel explores forms of husbandry.

The novel is remarkable for the way in which it embeds the theme of dispossession in a very broad environmental context. This paper considers, within these wide-ranging themes, the role of the garden and its processes of cultivation as a way of reflecting on some of the more damaging legacies of colonization but also the positive legacies of husbandry and the connections across cultures that are the gift of the garden.

Lucy Buzacott

The University
of Queensland

The Mammy as Murderess in William Faulkner's *Requiem for a Nun*: The Case of Nancy Mannigoe

This paper will read the character of Nancy Mannigoe in William Faulkner's 1950 novel *Requiem for a Nun* as she conforms to and distorts the archetype of the Southern black mammy. I will explore how the mammy became an essential figure within the fiction of the post-War Southern myth as she provided a space for black sexuality and maternity that countered the abject reality of black maternity under the conditions of slavery. I argue that the mammy resolves black female sexuality into benign maternity and slavery into domesticity. How then do we deal with a mammy who kills the white child in her care? William Faulkner used versions of the mammy throughout his fiction (*The Sound and the Fury*'s Dilsey is his most well-known), but it is in one of his later novels, the critically panned *Requiem for a Nun*, that mammy goes from nurturing, selfless surrogate mother, to murderess. I will explore how Nancy's murder of the white child in *Requiem* speaks to the maternal suffering that is at the heart of the mammy myth. Kimberley Wallace-Sanders suggests that there is a critical silence in regard to the "killer mammy" and she cites only one textual example of this figure, calling it "unique". I will examine how Nancy Mannigoe acts as both mammy and monster within the text of *Requiem* and how her representation speaks to the problems of race, gender, sexuality, and maternity in the post-War American South.

Amanda Card

The University
of Sydney

**Meredith
Morse**

The University
of Sydney

Panel: Re-enacting the Sixties

This panel considers the recent interest in some public spheres, notably among artists and protestors, in strategies of bodily movement and social and political gathering that were practised in the 1960s in the United States. Each speaker asks why these particular practices, whether in an aesthetic context or one of public protest, have regained currency, and how the moving body is central to their modes of expression.

> ❋ Amanda Card
> *The University of Sydney*
>
> **Renewing Old Dance**
>
> New York's dancers of the 1960s, particularly the members of the groups around the Judson Church, including the Grand Union, emphasised the ordinary and the everyday. The iconoclast artist Yvonne Rainer famously said 'NO' to the glamour, artifice, spectacle, and drama of modern dance. Dance scholar Sally Banes has related this aesthetic shift to an emerging interest in bodily freedoms, a desire for democracy in everyday life, new forms of community, and greater political participation. But why are contemporary dancers invested in the issues and ideas of this earlier moment in dance, revolutionary as it was, and related performance forms of the era (that is, Fluxus and Happenings)? This paper considers the ways in which contemporary artists now find the 1960s inspirational and meaningful, and what this interest means for dance in our contemporary world.

❋ Meredith Morse
The University of Sydney

Sharing the Feeling: Authenticity in Reprisals of 1960s Body Art

Artist Marina Abramovic recently re-enacted several important 'body art' works from the late 1960s and 1970s that focus attention upon the body of the artist under duress, or in a context that challenges social norms of behaviour. Rather than the original contexts for such works, usually small performance spaces or even private gatherings, these works were restaged at the Guggenheim Museum in New York and were the subject of wide publicity and even merchandising. This paper looks at the changes that occur to the works' original framing of shared experience and shared spaces, understood at the time to expose personal and social dimensions of authenticity, when artworks whose modalities are those of endurance, shock, and shame are re-enacted for a contemporary public.

Eve Carroll-Dwyer

The University of New South Wales

Convincing Young Men and Women to Work Together: Building Cooperative Gender Relations in the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, 1881-1895

While examining women's rights and shifts in gender relations, historians have tended to focus their attention on the radical groups that pursued women's rights. Arguably, this has meant that the influence of their more conservative counterparts has been underestimated or overlooked. This paper will explore the middle ground, examining a conservative transnational youth movement as it pursued gender equality under the frame of traditional values.

The Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor was established in 1881 in Portland, Maine. By the turn of the twentieth century it could boast one million members in the United States and four million members worldwide. CE was the first and largest evangelical youth group to admit both male and female members and it provocatively demanded that both sexes take an equal and vocal role within the organization. This paper will examine the obstacles initially faced by the society in the United States as it sought to enact equal participation. How CE sought to shift its members' value systems and worldview serves to illuminate the frustrations, visions and fears of both its leadership and members alike. Such analysis provides a window into the complex process of transforming gender roles. Further, it serves to provide a contrasting example to the simultaneous, and more frequently analysed, rise of muscular Christianity within late nineteenth century United States.

Douglas Craig

Australian
National
University

The United States' Exceptional Great War

It is a commonplace that the United States' experience of the First World War was so different from the rest of the Western world's that it established a twentieth century version of American exceptionalism that deeply affected the ways in which Americans saw themselves for the next century.

Scholars such as Jennifer Keene, Stephen Ortiz and Lisa Budreau have begun to reassess the impact of the Great War on particular aspects of American interwar culture, but I am beginning a project that focuses more explicitly on the effect (or non-effect) of the Great War on American political institutions, actors and discourse after 1918.

In this first step I will draw on aspects of Secretary of War Newton D. Baker and Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo's wartime policies to suggest another way of explaining why the United States' experience of the war should have been so different. By examining McAdoo's decisions on the funding of the American and Allies' war efforts, and then Baker's decisions over the transportation and deployment of the American European Force, I argue that a collective failure in Washington to agree upon the nature of the war – as a European war, as a Great War, or as America's war – not only bedevilled the American war effort but also set in train ambivalences in the wider community over the war's nature that contributed to the formation of a very different world-view as Americans contemplated the unfolding of the post-Versailles century.

Guy Davidson

University of
Wollongong

No Secret: Gore Vidal's Sexuality in the American Public Sphere

Gore Vidal's *The City and the Pillar* (1948), which he published at the age of twenty-three, was one of the earliest American novels to feature an unambiguous treatment of homosexuality. The novel identified Vidal with homosexuality and constituted a courageous public statement in a deeply homophobic period. Vidal has consistently rejected the contemporary notion of gay identity, declaring that "homosexual" is an adjective rather than a noun and that all humans are potentially capable of any sexual act. Nevertheless, his public professions of homosexuality (if not homosexual identity) had a significant impact on both gay and "mainstream" American culture in the post-World War II period. In this paper I discuss the complicating difference Vidal's professions make to the notions of the closet and the open secret, key analytical concepts for queer theory, the dominant mode of analysis of minority sexual identities within the humanities. Both these concepts define homosexuality as animated by dynamics of secrecy and revelation. They have come to be understood within queer theory as essential tools for understanding the reticulation of power and knowledge around queer identity. This essay proposes a challenge to these influential concepts, using the career of Vidal to begin to establish the conceptual and theoretical dividends afforded by an analysis of homosexuality "in plain view."

Sarah Dunstan

The University
of Newcastle

The Quiet Revolution: African-American Intellectuals and the Black Freedom Struggle, 1919-1956

Covering the period from 1919 until 1956, this paper maps the contours of African-American intellectual engagement with black identity from the end of WWI to the dawn of the civil rights era. Black intellectuals believed that identity could be used to overcome ingrained notions of black inferiority and their work played a pivotal role in shaping black protest. Yet despite a strong tradition of black scholar-activism, black American intellectuals are rarely studied as 'freedom struggle intellectuals'; instead their influence is relegated to smaller time periods like the Harlem Renaissance (1919-1936) and WWII (1939-1945) and largely airbrushed from the black political picture. Focusing on the work of key African-American intellectuals like W.E.B. DuBois, Alain Locke and Langston Hughes, this paper will break new ground by building upon new trajectories in Civil Rights history – most notably, Jacquelyn Dowd-Hall's theory of the 'Long Civil Rights Movement' – to reveal the depth and breadth of black intellectual involvement in the struggle against white supremacy.

Recognising that intellectual histories are not constrained by geo-political borders, this paper adopts a transnational lens, paying special attention to France, which, for African-American intellectuals, served as a gateway to European civilisation and to Africa. In WWI's aftermath, France hosted not only the Versailles peace negotiations but also the black response to these negotiations, the Pan-African Congress. This began a period of African-American dialogue with blacks from throughout the African diaspora about the nature of black identity and culminated in the 1956 *Congrès des écrivains et artistes noirs*. Contemporaneously, African-Americans engaged with the French intellectual scene in a cross-cultural dialogue involving some of France's most celebrated thinkers, including Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus. By drawing on English *and* French sources, this paper demonstrates that African-Americans' intellectual engagement with France had a significant impact upon their approaches to identity. In doing so, it sheds light on a neglected aspect of African-American history and expands the intellectual and political boundaries of the black freedom struggle.

Daniel Fazio

Flinders
University

The Shaping of an Alliance: US and Australian Engagement in Korea, 1947-54

In the formative years of the Cold War, Korea became important for both the US and Australia but for different reasons. For the US, communist designs on Korea were seen as part of a Soviet instigated push for global dominance through conquest, and therefore, South Korea needed to be given sufficient aid to prevent it falling to the communists. In the context of the evolving Cold War politics post 1945, Korea became a critical testing ground in American global efforts to contain communism. Australia too regarded the potential spread of communism as a threat, especially in South East Asia. However, it primarily saw its involvement in Korean affairs as an opportunity to prove it was a loyal and dependable ally for the US and Australia hoped this would make the Americans more amenable to agreeing to formalise a security/defence treaty between the two nations. For Australia, its role in Korea was about its own perceived vulnerability and the primacy of the commitment it wanted from the US to safeguard its security. This was evident with Australia's acquiescence in supporting the Japanese Peace Treaty only when the US agreed to formally sign a security pact with Australia and New Zealand. By analysing the significance of the American and Australian interaction in Korea, this paper offers insights into some key events and individuals in the history of US-Australian relations that, to date, have received scant attention. An examination of the American and Australian interaction in Korea increases our understanding of the evolution of the nature and shape of US-Australian relations post 1945.

Nick Ferns

Monash
University

Loyal Advisor? Colonel House's Confidential Trips to Europe, 1913-1917

This paper examines Colonel Edward House's European missions between 1913 and 1917 undertaken by President Woodrow Wilson's closest friend and advisor. House's advice was extremely influential upon Wilson's foreign policy, and these overseas trips served to shape the Colonel's attitude to American neutrality. This paper will examine the influences on House's advice, arguing that the Colonel gradually developed a pro-Allied stance, which greatly influenced Wilson's ultimate decision to enter the war. The primary influence on Colonel House's attitude was his relationship with British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey. I will investigate the friendship between the two men, examining the factors that drew the two men together. Scholars who have investigated House's trips to Europe tend to gloss over the intricacies of the House-Grey relationship. While the two men shared a close friendship, a close examination of their correspondence and the observation of others suggests that Grey's diplomatic goal was to establish close relations with the United States, and that a close relationship with House furthered that aim. This contributed to House's pro-Allied attitude, which contributed to America's entrance into the war.

Jason Flanagan

The University of Canberra

A Good War Gone Bad?: The Rise and Fall of World War II Analogies in the War in Iraq

World War II analogies played a central role in George H. W. Bush's approach to the first Gulf War. Not only did such analogies play a central diagnostic function in the administration's understanding of the nature and significance of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, but were also intelligently, consistently and effectively deployed to make the case for war. Initially, World War II analogies played both diagnostic and advocacy functions with regard to the George W. Bush's approach to Iraq. The Hitler analogy was central to many neoconservatives' understanding of the threat posed by Saddam Hussein, and post-war Germany and Japan were seen as models for a post-war Iraq. Moreover, World War II analogies were deployed to persuade the American congress and people as to the necessity of war. However, as this paper will explore, the World War II analogies were in many ways less "authentic" in the second Gulf War, and were increasingly challenged as that conflict unfolded. In the wake of increasing challenges from foreign policy critics, the administration turned to new and more tenuous analogies, and as it cast around for an analogy with some traction with an increasingly hostile public and press, we saw the emergence of history as spin.

Daniel Fleming

The University of Newcastle

Remembering Martin Luther King, Jr.: A Contested Legacy

The assassination of Martin Luther King on 8 April 1968 immediately prompted efforts to define his legacy. Coretta Scott King, his wife, established the King Center for Nonviolent Social Change while Congressman John Conyers legislated for a federal holiday in King's honour. Despite fierce opposition, Congress created King Day in 1983 and established the Martin Luther King Federal Holiday Commission with a mandate to institutionalise the holiday. Chaired by Coretta, the Commission used King's "I Have a Dream" speech to inspire celebration of "the principles of racial equality and nonviolent social change". Yet, after the first holiday (20 January 1986), historian Vincent Harding wrote that a "national amnesia" about King had developed as "the price for the first national holiday honoring a black man." Furthermore, David Garrow and Michael Dyson argued that the focus on King's "Dream" omitted his "radical" views on economic equality and demilitarisation.

This paper examines the challenge of memorialising a man who was a fierce critic of his nation. Based on extensive archival research in the Federal Holiday Commission files, it analyses the contested remembrance of King and the difficulty in desegregating what geographer Owen J. Dwyer described as the memorial landscape of the United States.

Jennifer Frost

The University of Auckland

Cinematic Diplomacy: International Film Festivals and Cold War America

Beginning with Benito Mussolini's establishment of the Venice Film Festival in 1932 with the aim of promoting and legitimizing his Fascist regime internationally, film festivals incorporated a geopolitical agenda. In response to the festival's favoritism in awarding films from Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany, the French, British, and Americans joined forces to found a counter-festival in Cannes. Originally scheduled for September 1939, the start of World War II in Europe led to the festival's postponement until after the war in 1946. Similar maneuvering occurred during the Cold War, with a film festival boom on both sides of the Iron Curtain, and the launching of festivals at Karlovy Vary in 1946, Edinburgh in 1946, Brussels in 1947, Berlin in 1951, and Moscow in 1959. As international showcases for national cinemas, film festivals became important sites for Cold War political maneuvering—not only for much-touted artistic and commercial exchanges, and nations, such as the United States, used their festival participation to pursue diplomatic efforts and engage in diplomatic disputes. Based on U.S. State Department and U.S. Information Agency records, this paper examines American cultural diplomacy at international film festivals in the 1950s and 1960s. Confirming findings in scholarship on the cultural Cold War, this paper will demonstrate how ideological and symbolic struggle was as much a part of U.S. Cold War strategy as military, diplomatic, and economic aspects.

Steven Gil

The University of Queensland

Fiction as Fact, Fact as Fiction: Reality Pseudohistory in American Culture from Poe to *The X-Files*

Although frequently viewed as a paradigm example of postmodernism, *The X-Files* (1993-2002) is a recent incarnation of an American cultural milieu that has been developing since the nineteenth century and the work of Edgar Allan Poe. This cultural milieu is one in which accepted reality is cast as illusion, a false perception or a hoax. In many instances, Poe tried to present fictional works as factual accounts through the use of a certain style (the scientific paper) or the incorporation of non-fictional material (historical journals). While it is unlikely that anyone believes the characters of *The X-Files* to be real, there are many who believe that the central events – namely, alien visitations, and government conspiracies to conceal the truth – are just as real outside of the narratives. This paper questions the prominence of supposedly postmodern elements in *The X-Files* and resituates the series in a historical progression of ideas that have gained immense popularity in the public sphere through fictional narratives and works of pseudohistory. By doing so, it will demonstrate the interactivity of fact and fiction that occurs in contemporary American popular culture.

Paul Giles

The University
of Sydney

Keynote Address

Antipodean America: Literary Progressivism and Transpacific Feminism, 1893-1935

This paper will address ways in which antipodean perspectives had a formative influence on the social, political and imaginative writing of various well-known American authors around the turn of the twentieth century. It will consider how Henry Adams, Mark Twain and William Dean Howells in the 1890s displaced imperial concerns onto a transpacific circumference, as well as considering how the friendship between Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Miles Franklin was important for the development of various kinds of feminist activism in the years around World War One. It will also address the antipodean encounters of Jack London, and will discuss ways in which the socialist politics with which London was familiar from his home in California ran into difficulties when he was confronted by union activists in Australia. It will go on to consider how the political radicalism of New York poet Lola Ridge, who grew up in New Zealand, came to be inflected by her residual antipodean consciousness. This paper will also describe how various civic leaders in the American West, such as Colorado governor William Gilpin, became enamoured of the development of intercontinental links for commercial purposes, and how Charles F. Lummis's journals *Land of Sunshine* and *Out West* also promoted various forms of transpacific consciousness. In this way the paper will suggest how the forging of antipodean crossovers in the first third of the twentieth century can be seen to provide a significant counternarrative within the broader framework of U.S. modernism, with the American West Coast, in particular, developing at this time strong antipodean associations that became folded in various ways into progressive social and political causes.

Bio

Paul Giles is Challis Chair of English Literature at the University of Sydney. Among his published books are *The Global Remapping of American Literature* (2011), *Transnationalism in Practice: Essays on American Studies, Literature and Religion* (2010), *Atlantic Republic: The American Tradition in English Literature* (2006), *Virtual Americas: Transnational Fictions and the Transatlantic Imaginary* (2002), *Transatlantic Insurrections: British Culture and the Formation of American Literature, 1730–1860* (2001), *American Catholic Fictions: Culture, Ideology, Aesthetics* (1992), *Hart Crane: The Contexts of The Bridge* (1986). He has also served as Director of the Rothermere American Institute at Oxford University (2003-2008) and as President of the International American Studies Association (2005-2007).

Sarah Gleeson-White

The University of Sydney

Melissa Hardie

The University of Sydney

Panel: The Material of American Studies

Bill Brown observes that by the end of the nineteenth century, "the invention, production, distribution and consumption of things rather suddenly came to define a national culture" [*Sense of Things 4*]. We are currently editing an issue of the *Australasian Journal of American Studies* on "The Materials of American Studies." Our selection of papers explores the role of objects in understanding, representing, tracing and conceptualising America, its past and present. We invited essays that explore the material of American Studies: the production, reproduction, consumption and circulation of objects from the colonial period to the present. This panel will give us an opportunity to discuss the ways in which the call elicited papers that explored the issue of the material from a variety of disciplinary and interdisciplinary perspectives, and to present our own work on the material of American Studies.

❋ Sarah Gleeson-White
The University of Sydney

Regionalism and the Archive

❋ Melissa Hardie
The University of Sydney

Novel Objects

David Goodman

The University of Melbourne

The 1930s Isolationist/Interventionist Debate and the History of Emotions

This paper considers the debate about US entry into WW2 in the context of the history of emotions. The debate cannot be understood without attention to the cultural forms of emotions such as resentment, hatred, fear and hope. These have had much less attention in the historiography than the rational programs implied in the labels isolationist and interventionist, which belong more to the international relations seminar or the party backroom than to the street or the living room. 1930s isolationism – a plebeian movement that drew deeply from the rich and contradictory American traditions of populism and was sustained by a robust and unselfconscious form of identity politics – was often openly emotional. Some of that emotion however had to be kept from public view because it traded in offensive characterisations of ethnic, racial and religious identities. The interventionists on the other side were often emotionally committed to a cosmopolitanism that could be politically disabling, and so some of their emotions too had to be subdued. The paper contends that the national debate took place on two levels: an emotional public relations battle fought with some sophistication and knowledge of advertising and public relations techniques, and a more covert discussion that traded freely in even more emotive discourses (such as anti-Semitism) not generally able to be spoken in public. Gender was important in shaping this public/private separation: interventionist women could speak more openly of their love of Britain than interventionist men, who were constrained by political realities to talk more abstractly and less effectively of the need to defend democracy; isolationist women were sometimes more free to express hate than isolationist men. Without an understanding of the relationship of the more subterranean emotional discussions to the public debate, we cannot fully understand this crucial national controversy.

Duchess Harris Macalester College **Susannah Bartlow** Marquette University	**A Cross Racial Dialogue on *The Help***

Duchess Harris and Susannah Bartlow, contributors to JeNDA's recent Issues of Our Time on *The Help*, propose a cross racial dialogue of *The Help*.

Kathryn Stockett's *The Help*, as first a novel and then a Hollywood film, was broadly shared in the United States as a cultural document offering an innovative conversation about race. Yet both the novel and the film foreground white women's experiences at the expense of both historical accuracy and nuanced subjectivity, particularly for representations of black men and women in the civil rights era. *The Help* highlights the racial-emotional insecurity of privileged white women, both in the text and in its reception in contemporary American culture.

As JeNDA editor Nkiru Nzegwu argues, "Reading *The Help* as a white supremacist film, enables us to foreground silenced historical facts, and to confront the sorts of horrors the Black women historians (ABWH) disclosed that destroyed the personhood of maids in the homes of Klan members and Klan sympathizers—sexual harassment, rape, abuse, and disrespect. Only by carefully reading between shifting celluloid frames can one discern that all is not what it appears to be".

Susanna Bartlow will explore what it has meant for her as a white feminist to engage the book and film. Duchess Harris will discuss how sisterhood across racial lines is possible, but not in the way Stockett imagines.

Steven Harris The University of New England	**Water Wars, Talking Water: Literature, Activism and Transcendentalist Eco-Politics in 19th Century America**

"Babble on, O brook, with that utterance of thine … I will learn from thee, and dwell on thee – receive, copy, print from thee" (*Specimen Days*, 1882). Walt Whitman, in lyrical communion with a mountain stream (Timber Creek, New Jersey), pledges a reverence towards the natural world that is as instructive in the 21st century as it was in late 19th century America. Whitman "sings" as poet-activist: in listening to the water, he voices a call to human beings to practice what is now referred to as ecological consciousness – the "radical openness of ecological thought", in Timothy Morton's words. That the waters of the stream "minister" to the poet is doubly significant; for it is the degradation of rivers and streams worldwide that so graphically marks the despoliation of fresh water supplies globally, and, both geographically and symbolically, maps the battlelines of the looming water wars of our time. In this paper, I will trace connections between Whitman's Transcendentalist conceptions of the poet (and artist) as prototypical political "eco-activist" and the later writings of figures such as Rachael Carson (*Silent Spring* (1962)) and Edward Hoagland (*Sex and the River Styx* (2011)). Comparative reference will also be made to the "wars" over water in Australian and the United States, and the role of rivers in the cultural imagination of both nations.

Kyle Harvey

Macquarie
University

**Prudence
Flowers**

Flinders
University

Panel: Cultures of Protest Since the Sixties

❋ Kyle Harvey
Macquarie University

Operating in the Shadow of the Sixties? The Anti-Nuclear Movement and the Stigma of a Divisive Decade

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, efforts to halt the spread of nuclear power plant construction and the development, testing, and deployment of nuclear weapons constituted a large and diverse 'movement.' Experienced activists, national peace organisations, and an incredible array of protest collectives each viewed the nuclear 'threat' in different ways. Each also sought to combat that threat using tactics, strategies, and rhetoric that were the most suitable or satisfying means of protest.

Such an assortment of protest styles and political ideas constituted a movement that was diverse and often divided. Yet this diversity and division also highlights just how complex the legacy and popular memory of 'the sixties' was to those on the left operating in its wake. Whilst some activists embraced the successes of the civil rights, anti-war, feminist, and gay rights movements of earlier years, others were wary of the stigma of the era. In an increasingly conservative climate, many within the anti-nuclear movement rejected the idea that their struggle operated in the shadow of the sixties. It is this negotiation of the past and its many meanings that characterises the struggle of anti-nuclear activists to define the most effective, and most satisfying cultures of protest in the wake of the sixties. This struggle mirrors that of many diverse movements on both left and right as activists, reformers, lobbyists, and citizens each attempted to make sense of—and take advantage of—the role of 'the sixties' and its popular memory in American life over the ensuing decades.

❋ Prudence Flowers
Flinders University

Building a Mass Movement in Defense of Life: The Right-to-Life Movement, Social Activism, and the Legacy of the 1960s

After the Supreme Court's 1973 decision in Roe v. Wade, the right-to-life movement in the United States rapidly emerged as a highly visible and controversial single-issue group. For national organizations, one of the biggest challenges was quickly and effectively establishing themselves as both political lobbyists and as advocates and coordinators of grassroots activists. To that end, many groups looked to the example of past social movements to help them make sense of the scope of their struggle. By the early 1980s the right-to-life cause was increasingly positioned as a socially conservative one and the movement happily benefitted from the lobbying tactics of the New Right and the Christian Right, but anti-abortion organizations and national leaders also consciously utilized the discourse, rhetoric, and example of Leftist activism in the 1960s. Even right-to-lifers who deplored the cultural changes wrought by the 1960s could see that the organizing traditions of that decade had been highly effective at reshaping the national conservation about civil rights, the Vietnam War, gay rights, and women's liberation. Anti-abortionists thus often found themselves drawing from the methods, strategies, and tactics

of 1960s protest movements. Furthermore, they consciously (but selectively) tried to lay claim to the legacy of 1960s struggle by framing themselves as the natural inheritors of the mantle of the civil rights movement.

Karla Holloway

Duke University

Keynote Address

The Body: Law and its Biosocialities

This paper considers the way in which necessary legal framings of culturally "othered" bodies--the appropriate end of legislatively conferred rights--results in a cycle of legal review and social constructionism. This pairing inevitably leads to an instantiation of the racial body as a scientifically validated text in which difference operates to confirm itself, rather than to point towards the sociality it conveys.

Bio

Karla FC Holloway is James B.Duke Professor of English at Duke University. She also holds appointments in the Law School, Women's Studies and African & African American Studies. Her research and teaching interests focus on African American cultural studies, biocultural studies, gender, ethics and law. Professor Holloway serves on the boards of the Greenwall Foundation's Advisory Board in Bioethics, the Duke University's Center for Documentary Studies, and the Princeton University Council on the Study of Women and Gender. She is an affiliated faculty with the Duke Institute on Care at the End of Life and the Trent Center for Bioethics and Medical Humanities. She has served as Dean of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Chair (and member) of Duke's Appointments, Promotion and Tenure Committee, and as an elected member of the Academic Council and its Executive Council. She is founding co-director of the John Hope Franklin Center and the Franklin Humanities Institute. Professor Holloway is the author of eight books, including *Passed On: African-American Mourning Stories* (2002) and *BookMarks--Reading in Black and White, A Memoir* (2006) completed during a residency in Bellagio, Italy as a Rockefeller Foundation Fellow. *BookMarks* was nominated for the Hurston/Wright Legacy Award for non-fiction. Professor Holloway spent Spring 2008 as Sheila Biddle Ford Foundation Fellow at Harvard University's DuBois Institute. The book she completed during that fellowship, *Private Bodies/Public Texts: Race, Gender, & a Cultural Bioethics* was published in 2011 by Duke U Press. Professor Holloway was recently elected to the Hastings Center Fellows Association--a selective group of leading researchers who have made a distinguished contribution to the field of bioethics. She currently serves as a member of Duke University's Board of Trustee's Committee on Honorary Degrees.

Andrew Holmes

Australian National University

PANIC ON BROADWAY! An Analysis of the Broadway Premiere of *Panic* by Archibard MacLeish

Panic, a verse drama by Pulitzer winning American modernist poet Archibald MacLeish was, at the time of its premiere on Broadway on 14 March 1935, one of the first major contributions by an American writer to the twentieth century verse drama revival. Furthermore, it was one of the earliest plays of the revival to explore a contemporary theme: the Great Depression and the moratorium of America's banks in 1933.

Although MacLeish would later find success with his Pulitzer-winning verse drama *J.B.*(1958), it was obvious following *Panic*'s premiere that it had failed to strike a chord with its audience. The day after opening, the 'word on the street' was that MacLeish's play was unstageable. It was described as "nebulous on the stage," a "pale and pretentious" theatrical event, and "confirmed the general rule that verse-plays should be read, not seen." Since then, critics, academics and theatre-makers alike have viewed *Panic* unfavourably; as a result it has suffered both critical and theatrical neglect.

This paper analyses the reception of *Panic*'s 1935 premiere and the various conditions and contexts surrounding it – particularly the political, cultural and theatrical – and suggests ways in which these conditions may have affected critical responses to the play itself.

Luke Horton

The University of Melbourne

Perry Bradford: The Man Who Sold the Blues

Anyone who is familiar with the history of the blues, Race Records, or the early record industry in America knows the name Perry Bradford. He is the enterprising young songwriter who in 1920 convinced OKeh Records to use a black vaudeville singer, Mamie Smith, instead of a white singer on the recording of his new blues composition, 'Crazy Blues'. This achievement kick-started the Race Records boom: the first commercial recording category for black singers and songwriters.

However, the rest of Perry Bradford's long and colourful career as a songwriter, performer, and song publisher has been left largely unexplored. In this paper I will look at some other moments of Bradford's life in order to reflect upon the opportunities and challenges faced by black music entrepreneurs in the 1920s and 30s. Additionally, in 1965 Bradford wrote an autobiography, *Born With the Blues*, in which he took issue with many aspects of the official, or received, history of jazz, and I will examine this repudiation in the context of his own career.

Alain Hosking

La Trobe
University

A Social History of American Spaceflight in the Cold War

This paper will discuss the significance of American space faring achievements in the Cold War to US society and culture, with particular reference to the Apollo program of 1961 to 1975. It will suggest new insights that can be brought to this subject through the application of social history. The Apollo Program spurred an unprecedented national mobilization of industrial and scientific power, becoming the most significant peacetime public works program in United States history. From its inception to its culmination, the lunar program consumed more than twenty-five billion dollars, employed directly or indirectly half a million Americans, and transformed whole regions. Space related workplaces touched all corners of the United States, but the key operations centers and sites of hardware manufacture cut a swath through southern and southwestern states; from Florida to Alabama and Mississippi, to Louisiana and southwest California. Population growth in space-focused locales during this period was the highest in the nation, as much as 371%, and some southern Democrats such as Senator John C. Stennis regarded the program as a 'Second Reconstruction' that would constitute a new technological era for the South. As the space-industrial-complex lent a transformative impetus to southern society so too was the South transformed by the period's social movements. The shock of *Sputnik* in 1957 came as President Eisenhower grappled with the school desegregation crisis in Little Rock, Arkansas. Four years later, John F Kennedy's 1961 statement of lunar-intent competed for column width with news of the racist reaction faced by Freedom Ride campaigners as they struggled to desegregate public transport. Efforts towards the conquest of space and the conquest of oppression were juxtaposed in the 1960s South—a confluence of idealism with strikingly different sources.

This paper, which represents my research towards a doctoral thesis on the subject will attempt to unite these concerns, to form a critical social history of American spaceflight in the period.

Russell Johnson

The University
of Otago

"They Impair an Actor's Performance": Clara Bow, the Talkies, and Disability

Historians have interpreted the transition from silent movies to talkies in a variety of ways, stressing, among other things, a process of technological advance and modernization. Drawing on emerging research in disability studies, this paper re-interprets that transition. From a disability perspective, the transition looks essentially like an effort to cure the movies of deafness. Talkies made the movies speak aloud rather than communicate through pantomime, body language, and written intertitles. Likewise, deaf education in the period emphasized *oralism* (lip-reading and speech) over *manualism* (non-verbal sign language). According to leading educational organizations and much of the public, deaf people who failed to overcome their disability by accepting the oralism cure and communicating as mainstream culture demanded could expect to be excluded, discriminated against, and isolated. Similarly, as Hollywood phased out silent movies, actors either needed to learn to communicate verbally—to speak their lines well and to be comfortable doing it—or they risked being left behind. The specific case of Clara Bow's experience with the transition from silent movies to the talkies will be examined to illustrate the argument.

Meighen Katz

Monash University

There's No Place Like Home: Museum Reconstructions of Shelter and the Interpretation of the Great Depression and the 1930s

Housing, or the lack of it, is regularly used in fictional representation of the Great Depression in order to signpost a character's fortunes. In the early scenes of *Seabiscuit*, for example, Red Pollard's family descends from their comfortable home into the 'Hoovervilles' with little explanation. We are simply meant to understand that they have suffered the effects of the economic crisis. Within museum exhibitions, housing is once again used as a means of interpreting the Great Depression. However, rather than shantytowns, it is recreations of middle-class or upper working-class housing that has become a recurring technique.

This paper examines case studies from two house reconstructions within American museum exhibitions about the 1930s and compares them with a similar construction in Canada. Neither house museums nor strictly period rooms, though borrowing from both, these installations provide a way to examine the 'everyday' of the Depression and the 1930s. Through the interpretation of communal domestic space the trends, influences and ideas that dominated the Depression decade become contained and framed. Living rooms, almost always furnished with radios, are a means of domesticizing politics and commerce, while porches invite discussion of community, ostracisation and belonging.

Lawrence W. Levine once argued that in order to truly understand the Great Depression, historians had to move beyond FDR and breadlines and view the era through other lenses including those of the living room and the neighborhood. This presentation will look at how some American public historians have achieved this.

Barbara Keys

The University of Melbourne

Kissinger and the Soviet Ambassador: The Role of Friendship and Affection in the Diplomacy of Détente

First as National Security Adviser and then as Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger developed a close relationship with Soviet ambassador Anatolyi Dobrynin. Through his eight years in office, Kissinger met with Dobrynin in the famous secret "backchannel" hundreds of times and talked to him on their direct phone line over a thousand times. This paper examines the elements of affection and trust that developed in this important relationship and suggests that these emotions had both general effects on Kissinger's approach to international affairs and specific effects on particular policy choices.

Anna Rachael Lebovic

The University of Sydney

Couture in the Cold War: The Alternative Consumer Culture of 1950s American *Vogue*

Many American historians have characterised 1950s America as an era that was irrevocably shaped by the affordable, mass-produced goods that flooded the market after World War II. It has been widely noted that in that in bigger context of the Cold War, these consumer goods became loaded symbols of the American dream. This presentation will explore how during these same years, American *Vogue*—a magazine devoted to chronicling and encouraging consumption—appeared to reject the new American mass market, choosing instead to focus almost exclusively on delivering high end European (and to a much lesser extent) American designs to its largely middle class readers. In attempting to percolate couture, this presentation will suggest that American *Vogue* crafted an alternative consumer culture of sartorial democracy, a significant departure in an era when consumption featured so centrally in American identity and life.

Elliott Logan

The University of Queensland

The Possibility of Dignity in *Breaking Bad*

Some of the most significant works of art of contemporary American culture are being discovered in the medium of television fiction series. This paper explores significant achievement in one of those so acclaimed works, *Breaking Bad* (AMC 2008-), a significance formed at an intersection between the discovery of the possibilities of an artistic medium, the aesthetic properties of television fiction series, and the realisation of human dignity.

This confluence of ideas on these subjects resists the predetermination of those subjects' characteristics and values, recognising instead the potential of these to be discovered and transformed through the ongoing process of their realisation. The possibilities of an artistic medium cannot be declared in advance of our experience of them but rather must be discovered through our experience of their realisation in that medium. As ongoing, unfinished works, a television fiction series' characteristics and its value are not given but are discovered over time. Human dignity—the worth of a human life—is similarly not given, but is realised or not through the ongoing articulation of that life in relation to others.

The paper gives an account of my experience of a moment of *Breaking Bad* that turns on the possibility of mutual recognition between a couple, and of the shared realisation or not of their better, more dignified selves. Considering this moment in relation to the intersections described above, the paper asks: Is it possible to say that in such a moment *Breaking Bad* has found in the possibility of human dignity one of the subjects of television fiction series, to be explored through its ongoing realisation and transformation over time?

Nick Lord

The University of Queensland

"You're Not a Fictional Character, Are You, Mr. Ellis?": The Dual Self-Reflexivity of Autobiography and Metafiction in Bret Easton Ellis's *Lunar Park*

Autobiography, as an act of reflecting on one's experiences, is an inherently self-reflexive mode of writing. In his 2005 novel, *Lunar Park*, Bret Easton Ellis takes this already narcissistic form and turns it into a work of metafiction. This is achieved by thematising the fictive nature of his oeuvre through an improbable plot whereby characters from his previous novels become real. The narrator, named Bret Easton Ellis, opens the novel with an account of his life that echoes—and amplifies—that of the real Ellis. Ellis's status as a celebrity author and member of the literary Brat Pack provides the background for the rest of the narrative. It is here that the textual Ellis—having moved to the suburbs with a fictional actress and their son—diverges from the authorial Ellis. Such a separation is, however, complicated by the insistence of truth implied by the appropriation of the real Ellis's name and life, as well as the persistence of the first-person voice. I argue that Ellis's use of the dual self-reflexivity of autobiography and metafiction allows him to explore both the private and public aspects of his life. Specifically, the fictionalisation of his own life engages with and critiques his identity as it has been constructed through media and publicity, while, at the same time, the metafictional devices he employs offer insight into those private moments and thoughts that have produced his body of work.

Joanna Luke
The University of Queensland

Religion and Uncertainty in the Work of Marilynne Robinson

Religion and uncertainty may seem strange bedfellows, yet their intimate relation informs the fiction and criticism of Marilynne Robinson, one of America's most acclaimed contemporary writers. I will demonstrate that Robinson's re-interpretation of traditional American Calvinist thought – both in her Pultizer prize-winning novel, *Gilead* (2004), and in a selection of her most recent critical essays – tends intriguingly towards ambiguity, open-endedness, and self-reflexivity. In each of these texts, uncertainty is presented, not as a theological problem to be overcome, but as a vital quality of religious, and especially Calvinist, modes of perception. Robinson's work, I will argue, thereby challenges an essentialized view of the religious as dependent on dogmatic belief and absolute conviction and, more broadly, operates to unsettle a rigid religious-secular binary.

Sarah-Jane Mathieu
University of Minnesota

The Fate of African Americans Rests in the Hands of Ottomans: Lynching and the Armenian Crisis

This paper looks at how African American intellectuals made powerful connections between the surge in racial violence against blacks in the South—with banishment and lynching the most pressing concerns—and the treatment of Armenians during the Great War era. I posit that African Americans saw the Armenian crisis as part of a broader pattern of global violence against minorities and hoped that if Americans rallied to safeguard Armenians, they would come to understand the urgency of safeguarding African Americans as well. Accordingly, the Armenian crisis was discussed extensively in the African American press and became a particularly exigent cause for W.E.B. DuBois and other prominent African American intellectual-activists.

Michael McDonnell
The University of Sydney

Frances Clarke
The University of Sydney

Peter Bastian
Australian Catholic University

Clare Corbould
Monash University

Roundtable: The Revolution in American Life

The American Revolution has always generated conflicting memories and interpretations; never more so than today, as Tea Party supporters pull on their buckled shoes, don three-cornered hats and hold aloft their Gadsden flags. But how and why have particular memories of America's founding moment come to dominate contemporary discussions? What cultural work have such memories performed over time? And what role should historians adopt in relation to the uses and abuses of Revolutionary memory?

The participants in this roundtable discussion are involved in a large-scale project to map out the way Americans have constructed, reshaped and deployed memories of the Revolution over time. In their current research and in two edited collections, one of which will be published in 2012 in the Public History series of the University of Massachusetts Press, they have gathered together a diverse group of international scholars from multiple disciplines to scrutinize the shifting modes of Revolutionary memory, from the founding of the nation to the current day.

Arguably the central event in American history, the Revolution is ineradicably tied to the nation's sense of identity and purpose. It is, in effect, at the heart of the nation. Yet despite this centrality, few recent attempts have been made to analyze or understand the Revolution's place in America's public life over the long term and in a broad comparative context. Focusing on how, why, and when the Revolution has been remembered or forgotten by different communities at different times, we have sought to critically examine evolving notions of this seminal event. Exploring the connections between individual and collective memories - when and how different interpretations of the past have combined or clashed to create a collective memory, for instance, or how some interpretations have come to dominate - our research aims to examine the role of memory in nation-making.

In this roundtable discussion, we will focus on the range of new research submitted to our large-scale project on Revolutionary memory. Drawing on the insights gained from this project, we will discuss recent advances in the field of memory studies; experiences gleaned from putting together a collection based on contributions from multiple fields; the historian's role in analyzing and critiquing historical memory; and the research gaps that remain to be filled in better understanding the Revolutionary past. In doing so, of course, the session will implicitly and explicitly confront not just the construction and re-construction of

the 'frontiers' of the imagined nation, but also the conflation of democracy with capitalism in evolving ideas of the founding period over a broad sweep of time.

❋ Peter Bastian
Australian Catholic University

Forgotten Founder: Revolutionary Memory and John Dickinson's Reputation

❋ Frances Clarke
The University of Sydney

Old Fashioned 'Tea Parties': Nineteenth-Century Parodies of the Revolution

❋ Clare Corbould
Monash University

Containing the Contradictions: The Revolution Remembered 1890-1945

❋ Michael McDonnell
The University of Sydney

The Founding Syndrome: Rhetoric and Reality in the Revolutionary Era and Beyond

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Erin Mercer

Massey University

The Curative Canny

The popularity of fantasy during the 1950s in America does not consistently rely on its ability to challenge cultural assumptions or political beliefs, as the proponents of "subversive" and "uncanny" popular fiction would have it. Often, the popularity of novels such as Richard Matheson's *I Am Legend* stem from their relationship to the preponderance of self-help fiction on the era's bestseller lists. Non-fiction titles such as *The Conquest of Fatigue and Fear*, *Relax and Live*, *How to Control Worry* and *Freedom from Fear* met with a massive readership, as did the equally popular fantasy fiction genres. It seems unlikely that readers were so frightened by their gothic-inspired comics and science fiction novels that they were forced to turn to self-help tomes for reassurance. Rather, I will argue that 1950s fantasy literature frequently acts as a fictional equivalent to non-fiction tomes, offering - in the words of Norman Vincent Peale's famous manual – "peace of mind."

Thomas Mical

Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute

Uncanny Architectures in David Lynch's Cinema

The tendency of increasing normalization of domestic space in postwar American suburban architecture is the result of a complex economical and ideological progression, some would say also a repression. Here the consumerist progression-repression is artistically questioned and critiqued in the scenography of middle-class America portrayed in the eccentric films of David Lynch. This paper will examine the role of the increasing dominance of the "normative" in light of the 20thC modernist discourse on "typical objects" for production - culminating in the mid-century modern style, and then utilize Lynch's uncanny filmic celebrations of neighborhoods, interiors, and even his furniture designs to call into question the symptoms of desire displaced in this process. The work seeks to explain a portion of the undertow of a libidinal economy in late modern architectural space, drawing from a diversity of architectural and theoretical constructs of desire that allow us to see the seamless universal spaces of late modern architecture becoming unhinged.

Timothy Minchin
La Trobe University

'Us is Spelled U.S.': The Crafted with Pride Campaign and the Fight Against Deindustrialization in the Textile and Apparel Industry

This paper will explore the 'Crafted With Pride in the U.S.A.' campaign, a high-profile effort to encourage American consumers to buy domestically-made textiles and apparel. Using a wide range of sources, the paper will examine an important campaign that has received little scholarly attention. Launched in 1984, the initial seven-year operation cost $100 million, and the funds were used to sponsor Miss America and to purchase national advertising on network television, including commercials that featured celebrities such as Ted Danson, Linda Evans, Eddie Murphy, Jerry Hall, and Bob Hope. Funding was provided by both textile companies and by labor unions, who put aside their historic differences because they recognized the seriousness of the import threat. Overall, the campaign succeeded in uniting the industry and in wining some important backers, most notably Sam Walton of Wal-Mart. Overtime, however, and especially after Walton's death in 1992, both Wal-Mart and some textile and apparel companies began to embrace off-shore production, and the campaign also struggled to change consumer behavior. Ultimately, importers and retailers prevailed, paving the way for the domestic industry's decline.

I will use the campaign to throw light on my broader project on the deindustrialization of the textile and apparel industry, which lost over 2 million jobs between 1973 and 2010. Crafted With Pride was a key part of the textile industry's response to industrial decline and it illustrates well how textiles should be at the heart of the deindustrialization story, the central argument of my bigger project. To date, however, most studies of deindustrialization have overlooked textiles, focusing instead on heavy industries such as steel and autos. This campaign also offers revealing insights into why Wal-Mart has become the biggest company in the world.

Heather Neilson

Australian Defence Force Academy

The Great Men of Jay Parini

In this paper I will discuss some of the work of the prolific and versatile American writer, Jay Parini, focussing in particular on his representations of the lives of various renowned men of letters.   The successful film version of his novel about Leo Tolstoy, entitled *The Last Station* (1990), has recently raised his public profile, however, little scholarly attention appears to have been paid as yet to his work as a whole, which includes a portrait of Walter Benjamin in *Benjamin's Crossing* (1996) and an acclaimed two-volume biography of John Steinbeck (1995). Parini has also edited a collection of essays on Gore Vidal, for whom he is the literary executor. This paper will mainly consider *The Last Station*, and Parini's latest novel, about Herman Melville (2011), as well as the influence of Vidal on his work.

Richard Newman

The University of Queensland

Garrison Keillor's Literary Modesty and *Lake Wobegon Days*

The monologuist and novelist Garrison Keillor's 1985 work, *Lake Wobegon Days*, is tuned in terms of its form, generic situation, tone, and vision or treatment of its small Midwestern town by a highly meditative posture of modesty. Keillor himself, his autobiographical voices, the Wobegonian people, the place itself, and the book's modulation of humour, style, eventfulness, and factual/fictional shades are generally marked by a deferential, deflationary wit and ruefulness that is both part of his imaginative heritage as a Midwestern writer and part of his suspended circumstance: his estrangement as a lucid outsider and his continuing imprisonment by Wobegonian social codes. The role and nature of this exceptionally pervasive modesty is significant in the reading and interpretation of Keillor's work, in that it involves the reader in a pastoral-aspected play of social and aesthetic reciprocity, and in that it can serve to extinguish some of the more instinctive and critically doubtful characterisations of his *Lake Wobegon* writing: that it is, for example, a Rockwell frieze, or a wholly scathing body of satire. What the books are—and what *Lake Wobegon Days* is to a peculiar extent, I would argue—is closely determined, busily adjusted throughout, by attitudes of withdrawal and forced, often absurdist egalitarianism: wearing navy-blue, never asking for seconds, juxtaposing Housman reverie with demotic nagging. This paper approaches the collaborative play and collective effect of Keillor's modesties in *Lake Wobegon Days*, and suggests that they are important in the consideration of his work as pastoral in mode, and as self-aware and rhetorically sophisticated in nature and voice.

Tai Minh Nguyen

The University of Queensland

New York Times Perceptions of Sino-Soviet Relations in the Periods 1949-1969

Sino-Soviet relations during the twenty years period from 1949 to 1969 had been represented by the *New York Times* from a perspective of an anxious American elitist observer trying to understand how changes to the relations were to influence the relations between the United States and China, and how the United States should respond to these changes. In the 1950s the *Times* had taken a hard line position which projected Communist bloc was monolith. This position was simply a follower of a view by American policy-makers. However, since early 1960s more diverse opinions had been presented in the *Times* by various columnists whose views on Sino-Soviet split varied widely from hard-line conservative to more liberal. Conservative opinions continued to follow American policy-makers which considered the split as temporary while a school of American liberals including the *Times'* editorial board held a view that Sino-Soviet alliance had been fatally wounded as early as 1963. Both schools shared a common view that after three years of self-destruction from 1966 to 1969 during the Cultural Revolution, Communist China had become weak and that it was not ready to be self-reliant. While some American conservatives believed that Communist China remained a danger to world peace with or without Russia's alliance, liberal thinkers including the *Times* suggested that China would turn to someone else other than Russia for its survival. They suggested that someone else was to be the United States of America.

Carly Osborn

The University of Adelaide

Disappointed Dreamers: Crisis, Tragedy, and the American Dream

Post-WW2 , America was a fertile breeding ground for a revitalised utopian idealism, based on the tenets of the American Dream. But as the threat of cold war escalated, and the gaudy trinkets of mass consumerism failed to satisfy, suburban America became for many a site of disillusionment, decay, and cultural crisis.

My paper is a reading of two late-20th-century tragic novels in this context: Jeffrey Eugenides' *The Virgin Suicides*, and Rick Moody's *The Ice Storm*. In each of these novels, the promised utopia of suburbia becomes instead a place of crisis, violence, and blame. Applying the theory of René Girard, I read these novels as tragedies with cathartic potential: narrative as medicine, or poison.

Next I consider the function of tragedy for American suburban communities in crisis, and the unique character of suburbia as a place of discontent. I explore the Judeo-Christian influence on American culture, and ask to what extent the American Dream is paradoxical, rooted in notions of both compassion and competition.

Lastly, I consider the role of tragic texts in the current circumstances of the American election-year, a context representative of a fundamental and ongoing process: the communal negotiation of the promises and perils of the American Dream.

Jon Piccini

The University
of Queensland

A Pale Imitation? Australia, the USA and the Diffusion of Radical Ideas During the 'Global Sixties'

Australian Sixties radicalism is generally dismissed as arriving "by airmail subscription". These subscriptions, so the dominant narration goes, were drawn almost entirely from the United States, unconsciously facilitating the rapid influx and dominance of American culture under the aegis of 'anti-imperialism'. This paper seeks to move beyond such clichés to a more thorough and nuanced understanding of how ideas moved across borders during this historical period – one marked by a new politics of global engagement. It will look at contemporary debates about 'Americanisation' within the protest movements themselves, unearthing a properly transnational politics. Protest ideas, whether from groups like Students for a Democratic Society, the Daughters of Bilitis or the Black Panthers were in no way mechanically copied or transplanted, but rather translated and contested. Nor were only American ideas or strategies employed – with locations as varied as Mao's China, West Germany or Cuba providing inspiration and motivation outside of the US-Australian nexus. Dislocating American centrality to Australian protest movements in favour of a diffuse and varied assortment of global associations provides for a more thorough and scholarly account of the period, encouraging further research in an underexplored field.

Sam Reese

The University
of Sydney

The Pornographer of Terror: Paul Bowles and American Surrealism

The polyglot American author and composer, Paul Bowles, had a strong association with Surrealism, particular when the movement was in exile in New York during the Second World War. Until now, however, this relationship has been largely ignored. Focusing on his first anthology of short stories, *The Delicate Prey*, this paper considers the question of the extent to which Bowles ought to be considered a Surrealist. It will argue that, rather than providing Surrealist narratives per se, his stories re-create an aestheticized reproduction of the 'surreal' state. This paper will also consider his initial reception by critics in America, who largely rejected Bowles' anthology, having earlier lauded his debut novel, *The Sheltering Sky*. In examining this, I will suggest the ways in which the broader intellectual currents in postwar America dictated the reception of Surrealism there. Ultimately, this paper suggests that the oppositional relationship between America and the Soviet Union governed the reception of both Bowles, and Surrealism.

Stephen Robertson

The University of Sydney

Private Detectives and Privacy in the Early-Twentieth-Century United States

Histories of struggles over the right to privacy in the United States follow a path from concerns over the postal system, through the anxieties created by new photographic technology and the behavior of the sensational press at the turn of the twentieth century, to debates over wiretapping that culminated in the Supreme Court's Olmstead v. US decision in 1928 upholding the government's right to collect evidence by that means. Missing from those accounts are efforts to regulate surveillance and protect privacy focused on the private detectives who undertook much of the activity that worried early-twentieth-century Americans. In particular, these years saw the development of licensing regimes to restrict who could conduct surveillance and provide a means of taking action against those activities intruded too far into their subjects' privacy. This paper will explore the practices of private detectives and consider what impact licensing had on those practices, and on evolving ideas of a right to privacy.

Inga Simpson

The University of Queensland

Writing the Yaak: Rick Bass and the Land the Wilderness Act Forgot

This paper explores the writing and advocacy of Rick Bass, and his relationship with Montana's Yaak Valley.

Bass continues a long tradition, of writers such as Muir and Leopold, of fighting for wilderness protection. Bass has focussed on the remote Yaak Valley in Montana's north, which despite nurturing the greatest biodiversity in the state, was excluded from wilderness protection bills in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, primarily due to its timber resources. Bills have been drafted, and come close to passing half a dozen times since, but have ultimately failed. Montana, after all, although fighting for the right to label itself the 'Last Best Place,' was one of the states to repeal federal protection for wolves in 2011.

It is not from the experience of a summer vacation, or year's sojourn, that Bass writes, but from nearly twenty-five years of living and working in the Yaak. This paper examines notions of authenticity when writing about place, the balance between art and advocacy, and our ethical obligations to the places we know and love.

Shane Steven Smits

The University of Melbourne

Making a Great Postpartum Impression: Hospitalized Childbirth and Psychology in Early Postwar America

This paper explores the social and cultural significance of changing practices of postnatal care, and how they related to psychological theory, in American hospitals in the late-1940s. Psychology emerged from the Second World War as a major paradigm in questions of the security and health of the nation. Childrearing theory and philosophy in the United States became centred on treating the child as an individual who required unrestricted comfort and care in order develop into a productive citizen, unhindered by dangerous neuroses. To this end, a small number of psychiatric experts conducted experiments in "rooming-in"; the practice of having the newborn infant kept with the mother after birth.

This paper diverges from much of the current historiography on the topic by not focusing on the mothers and their experiences of childrearing and motherhood in this period. Rather, it approaches these experiments as an example of how psychological theory infiltrated childcare practices and enhanced the perception of childrearing as a significant social issue in the United States.

Laura Stanley

Victoria University

All the Way? America, Australia and the Cuban Missile Crisis, October 1962

Crises can reveal much about diplomatic relations. The Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962 is one such example. Whilst scholarship on the Crisis is extensive, Australia's response to this event has yet to be studied. This paper aims to rectify this historiographical gap by examining the Australian government's response to the Crisis in the context of Australian-American relations. Most Australians supported the American response: America was then, and continues to be, Australia's most important ally. This is reflected in the literature, where Australia is characterised in the majority of studies as a dependent servant, rather than an independent formulator of its foreign policy in accordance with its national interests. Australia's response to the Crisis exemplifies the latter. This paper will demonstrate that the Australian government's public pledge of support for America during the Crisis was more calculated and deliberate than parliamentary and press statements suggested, and the Kennedy Administration perceived. By outlining the Australian government's private concerns over the Kennedy Administration's reaction to the Crisis, it will be argued that Australia carefully considered its national interests. The alliance greatly influenced Australia's response, but support for its ally was not a foregone conclusion.

Ana Stevenson

The University of Queensland

"The Women Enter the Second Hundred Years of National Life as Political Slaves": The Woman-Slave Analogy and Nineteenth-Century Women's Suffrage

In the centennial year of 1876, the National Woman Suffrage Association declared: "The men alone of this country live in a republic, the women enter the second hundred years of national life as political slaves." Throughout the nineteenth century, reformers and writers of various persuasions had invoked this distinctive rhetorical device – the woman-slave analogy – to critique the social, legal and political restrictions placed upon the women whose lives they were endeavouring to transform. Many influential women – including Abigail Adams, Angelina and Sarah Grimké, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Lillie Devereux Blake – made particular use of the woman-slave analogy, which compared the condition of and restrictions upon (white) American women to that of the slave. By describing women as "political slaves," post-Civil War suffragists and women's rights advocates were challenging the 14th and 15th Amendments, which enfranchised the newly emancipated African men, while women – all women – were left disenfranchised. In the battles for woman suffrage that took place during the late nineteenth century, the concept of women's lack of citizenship and belonging within the republic of the United States was condemned in terms of the woman-slave analogy. This paper will explore the use of the woman-slave analogy, as a rhetorical device that communicated the "political slavery" of nineteenth-century women, through the literature and cultural products of the suffrage and women's rights movements. The writings of Blake, Stanton and Anthony, including *Woman's Place To-Day* (1883) and the *History of Woman Suffrage* (1881-1922), as well as the 1876 meetings of the National Woman Suffrage Association, discussed the "political slavery" endured by American women. This demonstrated the rhetorical and ideological significance of the woman-slave analogy to nineteenth-century woman suffrage writers. An investigation of the perceived "political slavery" of women in these texts will illuminate how, through their pervasive use of the woman-slave analogy, suffragist women writers sought to critique the oppression endured by (white) women and secure all elements of citizenship for American women.

Lucas Thompson

The University of Sydney

"Called to Account": David Foster Wallace and the Dostoevskian Redemption Narrative

My paper seeks to better understand the influence of Fyodor Dostoevsky upon the fiction of David Foster Wallace. Focusing on the redemption narrative, my paper reveals a number of thematic and stylistic similarities between the two authors, using texts taken from across Wallace's diverse literary career. Arguing that redemption narratives are a crucial narrative sub-category for Wallace, recurring in numerous forms across his body of work, I explore the implicit theological and philosophical positions animating such texts. I also aim to investigate the ways in which Wallace's texts often problematise the notion of personal redemption, destabilising coherent narratives via insights from several postmodern theorists. The paper also has a biographical aspect, exploring Wallace's public construction of personal identity, through both his own recovery discourse-saturated redemption story, and the ways in which he viewed his own literary practice as progressing from self-indulgent stunt-pilotry to altruistic gift. The paper also has broader implications, concerning the influence of nineteenth-century Russian fiction on contemporary American writers, as well as the profusion of redemptive narratives within U.S. culture.

Ian Tyrrell

The University of New South Wales

Keynote Address

Following the Trails: The Spaces and Times of Transnational History and the Historiography of the United States

Taking examples from the late 19th and 20th centuries, I analyse two types of "transnational history" as they affect the United States: transnational spaces and the transnational production of the nation. I examine these tendencies from the standpoint of the current state of play of the "new" transnational history within U.S. historical writing. I contrast European and North American versions of transnational history; and consider the implications of transnational history for the experience of time and the conception of national history, especially around key 'moments' in which transnational spaces are constituted and reconstituted.

To the Halls of Europe: Roosevelt, the African Safari and the Campaign to Save Nature (While Killing It)

Theodore Roosevelt's African game hunt of 1909-10 has been a subject of both popular and academic interest. In this paper I argue that the African trip was more than a well-earned holiday, more than a way to make money, more than a visceral drive to discover nature and the wilderness, and more than a scientific expedition. It was a calculated move to draw attention to the ex-President on a global level, and to his causes. These causes included the need for conservation, but conservation in the interests of the nation, and of the trajectory of history towards an American hegemony of the Euro-American imperial world. The trip would connect his own personal history with that of European imperialism, and especially the 'settler' world of that imperialism, and yet serve as part of his growing orientation towards an internationalist as much as an imperialist outlook, as he sought to cement his place as a world statesman. The trip would prepare the way for the proposed World's Conservation Conference at the Hague that he initiated on the 5th of January 1909.

Bio

Ian Tyrrell is Scientia Professor of History at the University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia. Born in Brisbane, Queensland, he was educated at the University of Queensland and Duke University, where he was a Fulbright Scholar and James B. Duke Fellow. His teaching and research interests include American history, environmental history, and historiography.

He was a pioneer in the approach to transnational history as a research program for reconceptualizing United States history through his essay "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History" in the *American Historical Review* in 1991; and in *Woman's World/Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective* (University of North Carolina Press, 1991), which dealt with the issues of gender and empire in that leading nineteenth-century women's international organization. Among his other books are two dealing with aspects of transnational history: *True Gardens of the Gods: Californian–Australian Environmental Reform, 1860-1930* (University of California Press, 1999) and *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective since 1789* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire* (Princeton, 2010), continues the transnational theme, and displays a longstanding interest in the interplay of moral humanitarianism and empire.

He was (1991 to 1996) editor of the *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, and President of the Australian and New Zealand American Studies Association, 2002—06. A Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities, he was awarded a Commonwealth of Australia Centenary Medal in 2003, and has been a visiting professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris; and Joyce Appleby (Visiting) Professor of United States History at the University of California, Los Angeles, Fall 2009; and served as the Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth Professor of American History in the University of Oxford for 2010-11; and was appointed a Professorial Fellow of the Queen's College, Oxford.

Bryan Wallis

University of
California,
Davis

To Know the Dark: Wendell Berry on Darkness and the Strangeness of Place

American author, poet, essayist, and farmer Wendell Berry explores the innately contradictory nature of human dwelling in the world—being simultaneously home and in a strange place. I argue that Berry's essays, fiction, and poetry describe individuals and communities struggling to inhabit a home terrain that is both familiar, and on a more innate and pervasive level, dark, mysterious, uncanny, and strange. While having achieved near-canonical status amongst environmental authors, Berry is often dismissed by more recent eco-criticism as anachronistic, nostalgic, and not sufficiently cosmopolitan to address modern environmental concerns. I argue, however, that Berry's work is not simply oriented toward attaining an anachronistic harmonious rural ideal, as is often portrayed; rather, Berry's thought may equally, and in my view more usefully, be read in light of the work of current environmental philosophers such as Timothy Morton's dark ecology, the Christian mysticism of Thomas Merton, Heidgger's concept of aletheia, Derrida's writings on deconstruction and justice, as well as the disturbingly uncanny work of Berry's friend, Kentucky photographer Ralph Euguene Meatyard—bodies of work deal that with the simultaneous impulse of wishing to be at home in a familiar world, and recognition of the presence of strangeness, the uncanny, otherness, darkness, and a pervasive sense of mystery in material reality.

Kim Wilkins

The University
of Sydney

On the Road to Nowhere: Wes Anderson's *The Darjeeling Limited* and the New American Road Movie

From Huck Finn's desire to "light out for the territory" to Captain America and Billy's desperation to "get out of here, man", the act of taking to the road has long figured in American literature and film as a means of escape and discovery. Road Movies, with themes of the pursuit of actual and perceived freedom, the ongoing existential search for self and connection with the nation at their core, have experienced a massive decline in popularity since their heyday in the 1960s. Is it that now, in the 2000s, America no longer feels the need "to leave it all behind and drive"? Or has the concept of being "on the road" mutated too far beyond our filmic expectations of the genre?

Through Wes Anderson's 2007 film, *The Darjeeling Limited*, this paper will discuss what the Road Movie now looks like in contemporary American cinema. Through *The Darjeeling Limited*, the primary concepts and themes of the Road Movie will be examined, in particular the use of parody in relation to genre conventions, as well as the use of ironic dialogue and characterisation. The paper will present points on *The Darjeeling Limited* as an example of current American films that demonstrate an overwhelming sense of disconnection between characters, film and audience.

"I Came Not to Bring Peace, but a Sword:"
The Christian War God and the War of All against All

On September 16, 2001, visibly and appropriately grieving, George W. Bush stood beside his wife Laura on the White House lawn, and, without a script, articulated his deepest feelings about the heinous attacks of September 11. These "Islamic fascists" are "a new kind of enemy, he said;" they are "barbarians" without "remorse". Then he promised an American "crusade" against them.

Moslems around the world, the vast majority of whom were moderate and peace loving and as appalled by these attacks as he, who rejected the notion of jihad—the Islamic version of Holy War--nevertheless were deeply offended by the reference to the Crusades. Blessed by Popes and marching behind the cross, over several centuries pious Christian warriors fought brutal, sometimes genocidal wars of conquest against Moslems in the Holy Land (and for that matter European Jews and heretical Christians as well). Nearer our own times, almost certainly without realizing it, Bush's sensibility about the crusades had been filtered through the lens of Nineteenth Century romantic imperialism, particularly the fervent ideology that accompanied French invasions into Islamic lands. For example, when he saw Horace Vernet's huge and heroic painting of the French assault on Constantine in 1837, one observer declared, "We find here again, after an interval of five hundred years, the French nation fertilizing with its blood the burning plains studded with the tents of Islam. These men…are resuming the unfinished labors of their ancestors. Missionaries and warriors, they every day extend the boundaries of Christendom." And in 1860, sending French troops into the Levant, Emperor Louis Napoleon charged them: "You are leaving for Syria…On that distant soil, rich in green memories…you will show yourselves to be worthy descendants of those heroes who carried the banner of Christ gloriously in that land."[1]

Although he had been quite true to the ongoing energy contained in the crusading spirit of romantic imperialism, Bush soon dropped this vivid metaphor from the rhetoric he used when expanding the war on terror. Nevertheless, in that declaration on the White House lawn, with candor freed from political censorship by anger, he had once again raised the banner of holy war against a barbarian enemy, a Christian War against Islamic others who had declared holy war against the American people. Subsequently, the United States led invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq.

Far from creating the ideology of Christian War, President Bush unconsciously reiterated a set of beliefs that lies deep within the history of European religion, beliefs that European colonists brought with them when they settled the American wilderness and conquered its native peoples.

After centuries of Crusades, and prior to romantic imperialism came the European wars of religion, including the horrific Thirty Year's War, where Catholics and Protestants, all charged to their tasks by their clerics, put one another to death by the millions. Louis XIV, with the possible exception of Napoleon the biggest mass murderer prior to Hitler and Stalin and Mao, would repeat this history later in the 17th Century in France when he consolidated royal power through foreign wars and the persecution of French Protestants.

In Great Britain, the centuries long invasion of Ireland by England, which included the ethnic cleansing and colonization of Ulster, climaxed with the anti-Catholic holy war of Oliver Cromwell. In 1649, after slaughtering 2800 men, women and children in Drogheda and another 1500 in Wexford, Cromwell declared that he had been God's minister, doing justice to His enemies: "God, by an unexpected providence, in His righteous justice brought a just judgment upon [these barbarous wretches], and with their bloods to answer the cruelties which they had exercised upon the lives of divers poor Protestants." [2] The English colonists of North America brought these attitudes and experiences to bear against the Indians in the new world, against whom they warred with righteous racist ruthlessness. [3]

These imported bedrock beliefs served as moral grounding for a deep tribalism that antedated Christianity. This flexible faith, wielded by a people who believed themselves His chosen people, added ethical weight to their acts of slaughter against those they were certain were God's enemies.

In my recent book, *In the Name of God and Country: Reconsidering Terrorism in American History*, I studied the concept of Christian Holy War in the Nineteenth Century, climaxing in the American invasion of the Philippines, the first colonial war of a sort that Americans have continued to fight. But in this essay I will focus on the border war in Missouri and Kansas during the American Civil War, thinking back through some of the most haunting events I related in my book *Inside War*. I have never been able to put these accounts out of my mind. Neither have I been able to erase the horrific stories related to me over many years by several combat veterans, particularly from the war in Vietnam, nor their permanently stricken faces when they recalled memories that had seared them for life, nor what I have read in the psychiatric literature concerning the treatment of young men such as they who have committed atrocities—a far more common practice in all wars than we would like to acknowledge. The border war right in the American heartland was, unfortunately, only one in a seemingly endless sequence of such wars—it is exemplary but not unique. No more restrained than other warriors engaged in irregular warfare, Americans did not escape the most horrendous forms of warfare that are so characteristic of our species.

I do not have the space in this essay to convey the depths to which this guerrilla war descended, which are spelled out fully and painfully in *Inside War*. It became an endless cycle of robbery, arson, torture, murder, mutilation, an endless cycle of revenge and revenge and revenge. While using the most brutal and ruthless physical means, men and women reconstructed their personalities, their psyches and their emotional lives. They victimized one another, lied, dehumanized their enemies, lost all empathy and retreated into numbness, and buried their consciences behind a high, hard wall of utter antipathy.

You will have to bear with me now as I mention just a few of the practices of soldiers on both sides of this war—nearly all of whom were white, Protestant farmers who shared cultural values as they did ethnicity and language. These were not strangers from across the sea, but neighbors much like one's own, whom guerrilla warfare turned into violent enemies of an alien race.

In 1863, a Union spy who bludgeoned his enemy to death with a plowshare—reversing the biblical admonition—had gone on to literally deface Alfred Bolan, guerrilla captain in southern Missouri, a ferocious killer who had bragged of slaughtering forty Union men. Union troops and local civilians from miles around came to Fordyce to view his mangled remains that were put on public display. "His hair was all matted with blood and clotted over his face, rendering him an object of disgust and horror," Timothy Phillips, an Iowa soldier, reported. "Yet there were hundreds of men who gloated over him…there had perished a monster, a man of blood, of every crime, who had no mercy for others and had died a death of violence, and today hundreds gaze upon his unnatural carcass and exult that his prowess is at an end." [4] Note that Phillips used the passive voice as if the Union spy had acted only as the vessel of impersonal divine retribution.

Killing was insufficient—mutilation of bodies, and almost certainly torture before death, became standard rituals practiced by both sides in this war. I will trouble readers with one example of the many I found. Union Colonel William Penick, stationed in Independence, ten miles from this hotel, reported the discovery of the bodies of five of his men killed during one week of January 1863, in separate incidents. "They were all wounded, and killed afterwards in the most horrible manner fiends could devise. All were shot in the head, and several of their faces were terribly cut to pieces with boot heels, Powder was exploded in one man's ear, and both ears cut off close to the head." [5]

Seeing their comrades defiled that way, infuriated Union troops responded in kind. Take for example the orders of General Clinton B. Fisk, who admonished one of his colonels about a captive: "Try the bushwhacker by drumhead count-martial tonight, and let every soldier in Macon shoot him if he is guilty, which he doubtless is." And, elsewhere in Missouri, Webster Moses, a Kansas cavalry Sergeant recorded in his diary that his unit had captured "a few Rebs" one night, "who are next morning hung and shot at the same time."[6]

This behavior goes beyond execution of captured enemies. Such ritualized, slaughter was intended to completely dehumanize the other, deface him, desecrate the container of his soul while tearing his body to pieces, in the tradition of torturing and then drawing and quartering and disemboweling enemies practiced by European governments over most of pre-modern history. This was an aesthetic of obliteration. It would have been enough for a firing squad to kill a prisoner, for a bullet in the head to kill a downed fighter in the field. But more than killing was wanted: all in one's group were to draw together in this socialized drama of revenge. Doubtless such actions bonded the men practicing them, debasing the foe, exalting the brotherhood, exactly the analysis Iowa Private Timothy Phillips gave when gazing with his fellows at the bloody carcass of Alfred Bolan.

Blood sacrifice has deep roots in Christian history, going back to the times of Manichaeism, where the Devil was the other all-powerful one, as powerful as a non-omniscient God, to be contested through holy combat. This was an early Christian heresy, an alternative religion denounced by the Catholic Church, but when, over the centuries, the lust for vengeance was the paramount goal, it resurfaced time after time in differing forms.

If not consciously religious, at the very least this spiritually freighted absolute dualism served as a proxy for religious practice during this guerrilla war. For example, when he prepared, in his official capacity, to send Colonel Charles R. Jennison's especially notorious regiment of Jayhawkers into darkest Missouri, Kansas Governor John J. Ingalls was pleased to predict that this Union unit would take no prisoners, and would not be inhibited by "red tape sentimentalism," the normal limitations of civilized warfare. Ingalls labeled them "a band of destroying angels." [7] He was both horrified and thrilled by what he imagined would happen, and Jennison's men acted exactly as he anticipated. I do not believe his use of the term destroying angels was ironic: these Kansans were bringing the exact opposite of a reign of peace, and of course their Missouri Confederate guerrilla enemies operated under the same license.

Most of Jennison's band and most Missouri Confederate guerrillas were brutal and inarticulate fighters who practiced their preaching with gun and rope and knife. As I found their stories and tried to make sense of them, the chamber of horrors they had created was disturbing almost beyond comprehension. But for me the most disheartening individuals were the few well-educated, traditionally religious Christians who fought this war of all against all with clearly articulated, utterly righteous religious purpose. As it happens, both the examples I use here were on the Union side, but I am not playing the blame game here, not suggesting one side was more or less victimized or morally justified than the other.

Sergeant and later Lieutenant Sherman Bodwell, of the Eleventh Kansas Cavalry, who kept an usually reflective diary, was a deeply religious Connecticut Congregationalist and abolitionist who moved to Topeka in 1856 to join the antislavery forces fighting Missouri slaveholders over the future of the new territory. Unlike almost the other men in his regiment during the Civil War, whom he characterized as "negro haters," Bodwell was a racial liberal. Indeed, during the summer of 1862, when his unit was stationed in Jackson County fighting many of the most ruthless guerrilla bands, Bodwell ran a Sunday school for little black children. "Am so sorry we are liable to be ordered away from here," he recorded at the time. "We have the best of opportunities for doing good Christian work among the colored population here." On July 4, Bodwell's unit were offered a fine dinner by the African-American Union "friends of Independence….A better table, with more variety or abundance [than] I have ever seen. The colored people seem very intelligent, and glad to do us such a kindness." Bodwell extended this warmth and support to Union people of all races and ethnic backgrounds, including German-Americans, widely despised recent immigrants to the Western border.

As for his lurking, vicious guerrilla enemies, Bodwell felt nothing but hatred. One dark October day in 1863, Bodwell's platoon happened into a guerrilla camp, deep in the woods, where they cut down the body of a Union soldier swinging from a tree at the end of a rope.

When they left, the guerrillas had pinned a paper to the corpse's back that read: "This man was hung last evening, in revenge for the death of Ab Haller. He says that his name is Thomas and that he belongs to the Kansas 7th." Caught up in the cyclical spirit of revenge killing, Bodwell described with loathing the putrid, feral savagery of his enemies. "There seems to be something of the deathlike brooding over these camps. Always hidden…in heavy timber and creek timber and creek bottoms, offal lying about, cooking utensils, cast off clothing…the very air seems thick with the clime with which so lately they seethed."

Bodwell's diary is replete with full descriptions of the furious and thrilling catharsis he experienced when his unit chased down these subhuman fiends. Far from censoring his reporting of the murderousness of his unit's mode of warfare as did most diarists and letter writers , several of Bodwell's entries conclude with proud accounts of his unit killing wounded prisoners with a bullet in the face. In his fullest depiction, Bodwell put this atrocity in a Christian framework. One October day in 1863, his company flushed out two bushwhackers, one of whom, when attempting to escape on foot was, in Bodwell's words, "brought down" by his Major. As the rest of the company remounted and rode off, Lt. Reese of Bodwell's platoon asked the Major if he was "through with him," and after his commanding officer nodded assent, while Bodwell stood nearby, Reese "aimed and fired, a revolver ball striking just back of the eye & he was with his judge with all his imperfections on his head." As he relived this execution later on in his writing, there was something about it that remained incomplete. He regretted that he had not looked at the monster's face at the moment of death. "Lt. stood between us so I did not see his face." So Bodwell went up to Reese that night in camp and asked him about that moment. "Lt. says he intentionally raised his hand to protect himself and that an ashy paleness overspread his face, as when a cloud passes over the sun." Clearly Bodwell wanted confirmation that this beast's damned soul had flown straight down to Hell. He wanted this moment of vengeance to contain clear Christian judgment, that the avenging Union angels of light indeed had quenched the enemy of darkness as the fitting conclusion to their holy hunt.

On the day his unit was mustered out of the army in September 1865, Bodwell gave thanks to the Holy Spirit who had stood by him during his war for Christian virtue, national salvation and racial liberation. "So ends my service, in all three and a half years filled with tokens of loving kindness of Him who granted me the privilege of standing in my lot…on every march and in every engagement. [For] the loving, comforting, strengthening of the Holy Spirit, even when I have been most…forgetful of my Christian obligation, I can never, I feel, be grateful enough."

Had the simultaneously cold-blooded and pleasure-filled moments of execution been occasions of forgetfulness of Christian obligation for which the Holy Spirit had forgiven him? Or did he remain prideful for having served the Holy Sprit when he judged and killed a lethal enemy that had sworn to judge and kill him and his brothers in arms? In either case Bodwell's Christian faith armed him to participate fully and effectively in the war of all against all. Nothing in his diary or his later life gives any evidence of regret or traumatic post-combat stress disorder. Indeed he was unconflicted in his war-revised version of Christian practice— he had no doubt he was serving God and destroying the Devil. He killed without compunction. After the war was over, I have no doubt that he reverted to the Christian God

of Love, and behaved with fellow feeling and loving-kindness when he could to aid those in distress. The more absolute his faith, the more completely could he cleanse his conscience and put his past behind him.[8] He returned to Topeka and served as the well-respected Sheriff of Shawnee County, only to be killed when a drunken horseman ran him down in the street on September 12, 1871.

When he read his Bible, as he surely did every day of his life, Sherman Bodwell could have chosen reinforcing holy texts from which to derive both peace and war as the ultimate values of his faith. In the Sermon on the Mount as related in the Gospel of Matthew, he would have found the most eloquent expression of the God of love and peace. "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God," Jesus taught the multitudes. "Ye shall have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." [9] Just as much as Holy War, Christian non-resistance has a long and stirring history, from the Anabaptists of the Sixteenth Century and their Mennonite descendents, and the Quakers and other quietist Protestant congregations of our day, to Mahatma Gandhi, A. J. Muste and Dr. Martin Luther King. In a world wracked by repeated wars and great social injustice, this demanding implementation of the commandment not to kill has always remained a minority Christian practice. At the ethical center of Christianity, Jesus restated the Golden Rule, that admonition to fellow feeling that is at the root of all the major faiths, including Judaism and Islam. Jesus preached that the highest human good was not merely toleration but active mutuality and peacekeeping.

And yet, a Christian making war could also find moral affirmation and justification just five chapters later in the Gospel of Matthew. "Think not that I am come to send peace," Jesus commanded his disciples as he sent them forth to preach in the land of Israel. "I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance" against his family. "He that loveth [his family] more than me is not worthy of me…And he that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me."[10] This is the militant Jesus calling his followers to arms, a Jesus who lived in this world as surely as did the Prince of Peace. "The Kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force," Jesus preached.[11] Sherman Bodwell marched behind that cross, as had the crusaders and the long line of Christian warriors, into lethal battle against disbelievers. When the urgent needs arise, all ideologies, Christianity included, need pliability in order to sustain alternative interpretations. Perhaps Matthew's conquering Gospel had been necessary to motivate a small sectarian group to contest a hostile world. But later, when used by rulers, authorities and military leaders, this militant language takes on whole new dimensions of lethal intention.

Religious doctrine often justifies marching orders for true believers on the path of conquest. Right at the inception, embedded in the Puritan origins of America, John Winthrop preached to the very first settlers of New England on the ship bearing them to the new world that their expedition were the vanguard of the Chosen People, come to found a City on the Hill, a light unto the nations. This was to be a holy mission, not merely a material venture. They and the Indians who were already there made both peace and war, but most impressively a sporadic but protracted war to the hilt. Even Roger Williams, a Christian non-Resistant who wanted to live with the Indians in peace, when aroused by deadly attacks from his erstwhile native

friends, preached at them, "God has prospered <u>us</u> so that wee had driven [you] out of his country, and had destroyed multitudes of [Indians] in fighting and flying, in hunger and cold…and God would help us to consume them." [12] The Puritan fathers sailed across the sea as colonial emissaries of the revolutionary English Protestantism of Oliver Cromwell: they carried out their attack on the Indians in the same Holy Spirit as Cromwell when he massacred the Irish. This was the language of ethnic cleansing and slaughter, of a Christian and tribal war that served as an almost eerie predecessor to the border war during the American Civil War. The beliefs and the language had not changed all that much over the ensuing two centuries—during dire times this fully armed Christian faith, grounded in the King James Version of holy text, could be searched out for moral reinforcement. When the lust for vengeance overwhelmed the desire to live in peace with one's neighbors, when the Children of Light fought the Children of Darkness, moral dualism overwhelmed the oneness of God and the brotherhood of man.

Although my focus today is the Christian War God in the hearts and minds and arms of Civil War combatants in Missouri and Kansas, grounded in a centuries' long tradition of Holy War, the same corpus of beliefs was turned to other uses after that war ended. Indeed, white Christian warriors destroyed Reconstruction—the northern attempt to emplace bi-racial political and legal equality in the conquered Confederate States—deploying many of the same means and values that had been enacted along the border during the war. Well-armed paramilitary units, acting in coordination with politicians, overthrew Reconstruction in the Deep South, creating effective campaigns of organized violence against blacks and their white supporters. Not accidently, they called themselves Redeemers as they rallied the white community with endless intimidation tied to communal pageantry celebrating white blood while spilling that of blacks until they stripped their hated enemies of any political role. They believed they were routing Satan, purifying their homeland— that far from being regrettable, violence proved the depths of their faith.[13]

After ten years, northern Republicans in national power abandoned Reconstruction. In part the Redeemers had just worn them down, in part they were more interested in rapid economic development, but the Republicans also were faced with the enormous masses of threatening alien immigrants, working in huge belching factories, and living in seething and corrupt new cities, all created by the full-tilt industrialization the Republican party sponsored. Much like blacks in the southern countryside, these workers were brawn at the bottom of the social scale, indispensible in good times, expendable in bad, always suspect, often despised. And some of them responded in kind, politicizing their anger at being treated as subhumans, striking out at those they believed to be their oppressors. To native-born Americans, those who spoke out this way seemed to be emissaries of European Communism of a sort that had nearly destroyed Paris in 1871. When early Communist workers seized power and formed a commune after France collapsed during a Prussian invasion, the French army rallied and destroyed them, killing perhaps as many as 50,000 communards, and this event struck long-lasting fear into middle and upper class Americans.

In the decades after the Civil War thousands of European workers brought their radical beliefs with them into their New World proletarian experience. On May 4, 1886, during the depths of a terrible depression, at a rally of the International Working People's Association in

the Haymarket in Chicago, when the police were dispersing the workingmen with their truncheons someone from the crowd threw a dynamite bomb, and the police then opened fire. Seven policemen and an uncounted number of workers were killed in the melee. [14]

No one ever identified the bomb-thrower—it may well have been a member of the IWPA, some of whom worshipped the killing potential of dynamite—but it also may have been one of the many agents provocateurs the Chicago police employed to discredit the enemy.

In either event, the IWPA, about 80% German immigrants using a European revolutionary socialist analysis, had long defied and terrified the authorities in Chicago, and recently their marches and rallies, behind their banner, "No God, No Law, No Master," had begun to attract a huge new following. In their newspapers, broadsides and speeches the IWPA expressed their rejection of all authority. Proudly atheist, they even knew how to turn the Christian values of their oppressors against them. If one searches the ever-replete Bible, one can abstract a communist version of the Judeo-Christian ethic. Albert Parsons, the Texas born, Sunday-school educated, English speaking leader among the IWPA, delighted in using the Bible as his cudgel. For example on Thanksgiving Day, 1884 he spoke to 3000 men at the Haymarket, attacking the rich capitalists "enjoying today the feast of Belshazzar…wrung from the blood of our wives and children." Parsons turned sacred text against his class enemies, particularly quoting his favorite verses from the Gospel of St. James: "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your gold and silver is cankered…and shall eat your flesh as it were fire….Behold the hire of laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud." [15] At times Parsons was invited to speak at the leading Protestant churches of Chicago, where he repeated this news with glee to the very people he hated.

Imagine the gnawing fear of the better off as the economic crisis in Chicago deepened and their enemies grew in confidence and defiance. After the bomb exploded, the police and politicians in Chicago burst out in hysterical demands for vengeance. This was the period of the first great American Red Scare. The revolution seemed to have begun, and those in power believed that all means to kill it had to be used. Newspapers and pulpits across the nation cried out for revenge. The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* declared, "There are no good anarchists except dead anarchists…Let us whip these Slavic wolves back to their European dens from which they issue, or…exterminate them." And the *New York Times* added that the remedy for "an acute outbreak of anarchy [was] the Gatling Gun," and that subsequently "hemp, in judicious doses," would admirably check the "spread of the disease." Instructed by the State's Attorney to "make the raids first and look up the law afterward," the police swept the boarding houses and meeting rooms of the IWPA and arrested over 400 men, soon bringing seven to trial, before a packed jury, and with nearly every voice in the nation calling out for mortal revenge, hanging four. The courts did not find the bomb thrower, but convicted the leaders on the grounds that their words had encouraged those unknown men who did the deed.[16]

On May 9, 1886, five days after the explosion, when public fury was at its peak, David A. Noble, pastor of the New Jerusalem Congregational Church preached a sermon entitled "Christianity and the Red Flag," taking his text from *Isaiah*: Their feet run to evil, and they

make haste to shed innocent blood…wasting and destruction are in their paths. The way of peace they know not." As had been the case for both sides during the civil war along the border, Noble read the anarchists out of the human race. These were "fiends…fresh from European jails…miscreants [acting out of] cool, calculating and satanic maliciousness." They "must be made to feel the crushing weight of the authority they have outraged and defiled." Paraphrasing *Isaiah*, Noble urged holy retribution for the sins of these evildoers. "They have rolled their garments in blood…Let them drain the dregs of the cup of their own spilling." Referring to the Red Terror during the French Revolution as well as the fate of the commune, Noble thundered, "They have said that heads must fall; heads have fallen…Let these men now have the privilege of furnishing a few heads for the basket." Mocking his enemies, Noble continued, "I know of no cause more in need of martyrs. Let them have a few as speedily as possible." And he proudly pointed behind him on the pulpit: "The Old Flag has been bathed in blood over and over again, that it might mean liberty."[17]

Ironically, during their trial, the anarchist leaders employed the rhetorical tradition of Christian martyrdom at the hands of the modern Rome and the legacy of the minutemen of the American Revolution in an effort to sway public opinion to their side. For their part, Republicans continued to wave the bloody flag of the Civil War, conveniently adapted to a new enemy. Both sides used the dominant moral beliefs that their countrymen would understand, but the state had far more power to impose its version.

Later generations of anti-Communist warriors have continued to use this vision of the Christian God of War against their heathen enemies, as have many of those sponsoring wars abroad during the long term War on Terror, those who portray their enemy as Islamic Fascism. This vision of bathing the old flag in the blood of liberty conjoined to righteous vengeance remains the fundamental American language of just war.

To return to the Missouri heartland, during the nightmarish Civil War, the only alternative to combat was flight, and those who remained in the maelstrom reconstructed their world-view into light against darkness, repeatedly reinforcing their beliefs with murderous action. Even then, the ambiguity that makes us human could reemerge almost at random, leading to granting clemency here while visiting destruction there. But the essential lesson of this wartime experience was to kill them before they could kill you. It was nearly impossible to sort out some greater meaning when you were living this hell, and, on the whole, after the war was over, most combatants, just wanting to try to forget what happened, refused to discuss it.

Post Civil War grand narrators of victimhood and justice at first sought to insist after the fact that God and justice had been all on our side and against theirs, but as the decades passed the urge for national reconciliation demanded the rebuilding of the Civil War in memory as a glorious battle between noble Americans both Blue and Gray (but not black). Not surprisingly, the war of all against all was simply written out of this nationalist narrative—nothing about it could fit the notion of a redeemed and reunified nation. Even now, despite the rich and growing historiography to which many colleagues are contributing, many other historians remain eager to consign the border war, and guerrilla war more generally, to some distant place, to serve as what they call "sideshows" to the real event—all those sublime battles and that glorious victory for human liberty the just war brought. Places like Missouri and

Kansas, these historians insist, had been exceptions to the rule of civility with which most Civil War soldiers fought their war. Even more importantly for them, the ends of freedom had justified the means of war, and really that war had been a demonstration of courage and sacrifice and loyalty and manly virtue. Such assumptions may reassure us, but they are grounded in a refusal to look into the abyss that is actual war.[18]

Let me conclude, however, with an exception to this erasure of hideous memories, the deeply reflective 1886 lecture (the year of the Haymarket), given to the Minnesota Historical Society by John B. Sanborn, who had been Union commander of the five counties in the District of Southwest Missouri during the last two years of the war. Born in New Hampshire, trained as a lawyer, Sanborn moved to St. Paul in 1855, and immediately entered Republican politics. A talented volunteer officer, Sanborn rose to division commander in the army of U.S. Grant during the Vicksburg campaign, after which he had been transferred into a nearly pulverized portion of Missouri. Though he rebuilt a life in politics and the law over the ensuing twenty years back in Minnesota, Sanborn remained haunted by the border war he had fought.

Prior to his assuming command, Sanborn told his audience, "during one week a Confederate force would pass through the country for a hundred miles or more and burn the houses and destroy the property of every loyal man, and before my arrival, the Federal forces would soon go over the same section of the country and destroy the houses and property of all the disloyal." Sanborn believed that these ferocious sweeps had reduced the population of this district from around 35,000 to about 1500. Though he told his audience that he had put a stop to the Union side of this endless reprisal raiding, he failed to mention that on January 1, 1865, he had issued an order that banished 147 families (26 headed by women), and 97 individual women from his district, in other words around 25% of the remaining civilian population. He must have composed his list almost entirely from hearsay evidence, and one can assume that the houses and barns of the exiles were burned to the ground. Under enormous pressure when governing his corner of a divided nation, he too took measures he later realized were draconian and morally damaged.

During his address Sanborn looked deeply into the heart of darkness in the sector he had experienced. "If there is anything of value to a future age to be learned" from the guerrilla war along the Kansas/ Missouri border, he told his listeners—and us—"it is that there exists in the breasts of people of educated and christian communities wild and ferocious passions, which in a day of peace are dormant and slumbering, but which may be aroused and kindled by…war and injustice, and become more cruel and destructive than any that live in the breasts of savage and barbarous nations." At the center of the moral structure of these educated Christians, "elements of justice [were] implanted in their bosoms." During the war, the cardinal violation of this code of justice had been "the putting to death of innocent men for the offense of another man [even when] authorized by… government," that is to say by the side he was serving. "Human nature itself" had burst forth "in open opposition to such an exercise of tyranny," and this had led to the "introduction of the reign of chaos."

Very clearly, Sanborn had reconsidered the humanity not only of his enemies, but of his own side as well. He dismissed none as savage aliens, but considered all of the participants, men and women alike, northerners and southerners, to have been educated and Christian, people

much like himself, who had gone entirely wrong, reworking their essential morality in the name of the Prince of Darkness, destroying peace, creating a regime of utter destructiveness. He looked as honestly as he could into his own role and that of other Union and Confederate commanders like himself when he searched for the underlying injustice that had caused this border war to cycle downward into mutual obliteration. Authority had collapsed, peacetime morality had evaporated, chaos had reigned, Sanborn concluded his speech, when leaders had forgotten the injunction of King David, that "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God."[19]

[1] This discussion of the Crusades is grounded in Jonathan Riley Smith, <u>The Crusades: A History,</u> 2nd. Ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). The quotations are drawn from this volume, p. 302.

[2] Charles Firth, <u>Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England</u> (London, G> P. Putnams, 1900), 260

[3] Nicholas P. Canny, "The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America," <u>William and Mary Quarterly</u>, 3rd ser., 30 (October, 1973, 575-98. For a fuller discussion of the historically grounded cultural anthropology of Christian warrior rationalizations for slaughter of the other, see my essay, "At the Nihilist Edge: Reflections on Guerrilla Warfare during the American Civil War," Stig Forster and Jorg Nagler, eds., <u>On the Road to Total War: The American Civil War and the German Wars of Unification, 1861-1871</u> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, 519-40.

[4] Entry for February 2, 1863, Fordyce, Diary of Timothy Phillips, Wisconsin State Historical Society, quoted in Michael Fellman, <u>Inside War The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War,</u> (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 186.

[5] Colonel W.R. Pennick to Brigadier General Benjamin Loan, Independence, January 11, 1863, Letters Received File 2593, Record Group 393, National Archives. Quoted in <u>Inside War,</u> 188.

[6] Brigadier General Clinton B. Fisk to Lieutenant Colonel Daniel M. Draper, Macon, April 18,1864, <u>The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Army</u>, 130 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1880-1902),

Series 1, XXXIV (3), 216 (hereafter cited as OR); Entry for October 20, 1864, Diary of Webster Moses, Kansas State Historical Society, quoted in Inside War, 185-86

[7] John J. Ingalls to his Brother, Atchison, Kansas, January 2, 1862, John J. Ingalls Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, quoted in <u>Inside War</u>, 151. Emphasis in the original.

[8] Entries for July 4, 5, 10, 1862; August 4, 21, 24, September 26, October 1, 4,1863; September 20, 1865, Diary of Sherman Bodwell, Kansas State Historical Society, quoted in <u>Inside War</u>, 189-92.

[9] King James Version of the Bible, <u>Matthew</u> 5: 9, 38.

[10] <u>Matthew</u> 10: 34, 38

[11] Matthew 11: 12.

[12] Wiliams is quoted in Jill Lepore, <u>The Name of War: King Phillip's War and the Origins of American Identity </u>(New York: Random House, 1999), emphasis in the original.

[13] On the White Line Movement in 1875 in Mississippi, from which these generalizations are taken, see my chapter, "Blood Redemption: The Counterrevolutionary White-Terrorist Destruction of Reconstruction," <u>In the Name of God and Contry: Reconsidering Terrorism in American History</u> (Yale University Press, 2010), 97-142.

[14] The discussion of The Haymarket is drawn from my chapter, "The Haymarket: Terrorism and Class Conflict," <u>In The Name of God and Country</u>, 143-85.

[15] Parsons, speech at The Haymarket, November 29, 1884, <u>In the Name of God and Country</u>, 153. Parsons quoted from James 10: 1-4.

[16] The quotations in this paragraph come from <u>In the Name of God and Country</u>, 144-45.

[17] David A. Noble, "Christianity and the Red Flag: A Sermon Preached at the Union Park Congregational Church, May 9, 1886," Haymarket Affair Digital Collection, Chicago Historical Society, quoted from <u>In the Name of God and Country</u>, 168-69. Noble quoted <u>Isiah</u> 59: 7-8.

[18] The clearest and most recent elucidation of this effort to marginalize guerrilla warfare, and to deny extreme practices by Civil War fighters more generally is Mark Neely, <u>The Civil War and the Limits of Destruction</u> (Cambridge: Harvard, 2007). I take issue with this book and others of its persuasion in "Reflections on Inside War," <u>Views from the Dark Side of American History </u>(Baton Rouge: LSU), 136-51.

[19] Sanborn is discussed in <u>Inside War</u>, 127, 265-66. Sanborn quoted 2 <u>Samuel:</u> 23:3

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