

204. ^{lib.} Key to 122 Jr. Maj. Prof.

Sources in Am. Diplo. History.

Begin with Bibliography

Beer's - Bibliography of Bibliographies in Am Hist
Divided topically largely. Weakness: no distinction between
profound and the absurd - Should be cut by 4/5. List Biblio.
of varying value. Most of what I need in Am Hist.

Here is beginning of beginning.

Guide to Biblio in History in General: 1931-2 by Am.
Hist Soc. Allison - Faye. Guide. Pretty good, not for
research, but as introduction to literature of the field.
In each section, discriminates best in field, with criticism, then
a list of general books in field.

Grad students do not use guides enough, nor ask reference
librarian. Feel themselves experts.
(Prelim) Allison - Faye indispensable to teachers of History,
to broad view of History. Not indispensable to research.

Am Diplo. History. + Griffin

Major Biblio: Bemis, Guide to Diplomatic History.
Covers field to 1921. (Grace Griffin, Writings in Am. History,
25th annual.)

Bemis-Griffin Guide, publ in Washington \$3.50 by vol.

It is a model for ^{by Govt.} bibles for coverage. Bemis gave it very
high standards. Extraordinary coverage. Merits: Inclusion
of documents as well as secondary works, a section on manu-
scripts. Explains how to use mss in foreign lib.

Thorough: articles as well as books. Annotated well.
Commentary of best sort. Basis. Not so often the bias.

Fault: Rigid organization does not go beyond chronology
and country. Break down into chronology, countries.
Very little title. Need cross-reference index on topics.
Wealth of information.

Since 1920 Biblio field very poor.

Foreign Affairs ~~ptth~~ Biblios. by some pull of
For. Affairs Mag. Every 10 yrs. Includes Foreign books
which bear on Am For Rel. More than Bemis, but less.
Angled comment. vs. Beard. They are internationalists.

Ashley W. Dulles bro. of John Foster. Prominent in politics
since 1920's. They head Council of For Affairs. Thus slanted.
Carry books on intervention, praise. Critical of isolationist.

Bemis also had a particular point of view - He was an old-
fashioned imperialist. Defends Mex war, opposes success (Phil.)
vs. League of Nations. In His Guide, these views do not
show. Since he has changed his view. Guide could be
used with assurance.

Standard Reference wks.

1. Dict Am Biog. analytical vol. lists all diplomats
in the Dict. by profession, by area.

2. Am Foreign Rel. -

Encycl. of Soc. Science (Prelim) Good in Int.
field, for broad; many by Europeans. Plenty of good articles.

Dictionary of Am Hist - Topics. Disappointing.
Much too short, references too few. For review only.

Who Was Who in Am.

Indexes

Catholic

Reader's Guide to Periodical Lit.

Documents available in Am. Diplo. History:

Standard source. ^{by Country.} ~~Wharton~~ ^{Houghton} Chronological.
Sparks, Documents

Dipl Corr of ~~Am~~ Confed Period.

Am. State Papers arranged by country.

Papers related to Foreign Rel (For Rel)

At present: letters from ambassadors & consuls to Sec. State.
Contain instructions of State Dept. Parts of Pres. speeches &
exec. orders pertaining. Begins with Civil War. Gap between
state papers & For Rel. Filled by those publ by Cong.
but not good.

For Rel - do they leave out key information?

Do they falsify? There are omissions. They are cut - not
to save space, but to save face. Posvolstki
Dept. State Documents now open up to end of 1932. but there is a
catch. Restricted use from 1922-32. Up to 1941 you can
see documents, if you can persuade State that your work
is to best advantage of govt.

[Congr. Documents
For Rel early vols]

Middle Period.

For Rel at beginning was a single vol for whole year, by
countries, the very next year. Weak, because publ.
unimportant rather than imp. censored what important docs.
Left out key docs. often est, sometimes meaning was
changed. Thus from 1860 - 1914. Heavily doctored.
Be careful! Praise missionaries if possible, if not, doctor
the documents.

Alvey A. Adee, career diplomat, 1880-1920 2nd Asst
Sec. State Dept. (Censor), Precedent. State docs. show
lot of his green ink.

Since W. W. I. a very good source. Since 1919. Very
high level of documents. Several commendable documents.
No longer publ. last year's docs. "15-year rule."

2. Now has a staff of historians who select meaningful
documents. This collection has its limits. They make a
good selection. These must be cleared by pol. divisions.
A good test is whether it is creditable to State Dept.

Countries with which we are at present on good rel. do not like to publ. bad items of 1932-3. Such omissions. New infinitely more useful, for history. New they note admissions. Main omission is that which State does not have. Too many publ. officials now leave ofc. with their files.

For. Rel. basic State publ. Occasional extra vol. excellent material.

Also publ. current material for propaganda effect. Use them with enormous caution. (Peace + War)

Also publ. 2 vol. on Japan to 1941. Better than prog. pamphlets. Since publ. during war, must be used with caution.

New plans German documents study, but has been slowed down. New want to publ. Russ - German relations with a special purpose. With care - these may be scholarly, but purpose says doubt. Does not now publ. false info, but does publ. part of the story to prove a point.

Model of Hist. Publ. in accuracy: the Treaty Series. Only down to 1858, a modern hist. product. Long introductions to docs. ed. by David Hunter Miller. Real historical work. Goes thru private collection in U.S., also foreign archives, have a good story on negotiations. Prints treaties in all languages. All the documents you could ask for in a treaty. (What can you add?)

Present Period: Dept of State Bulletins or Press Releases. Does not include all that you want. But more extensive, + contains more, than did old For. Rel.

Other Publ. a lot of them, but hard to find. Every diplo subject ties in on some sort of Congr. investigation. These investigations sometimes result in value to public, others only publicize themselves. They do some value for history. Result in publ. of source material, Congr. publ. important. Biog. memoirs, secondary material, Cong. debates, newspapers, serials (Union List)

Inter-library loan. - Winchell- Locating Books for $2\frac{1}{2}$ loan.

Lib of Congress cards in 2 places - Hist. Soc. upstairs,
printed in bound volumes in Hist.

Dissertations more than 20 years old not important.
Dr. Diss. Acct. annual publ. Dizzy arrangement.
Also includes those in progress.

Most institutions require that teachers order books for
lib. Book: Long sheets from Lib of Congress as the
books come out. Establish relation w/ Librarian.

Summary:

Biblio:

Beers, Biblio. In Am Hist
Allison, Fay, et al, 'A Guide To Historical Literature
Bernis - Griffin, Guide to Diplomatic History.
Griffin, Grace, Writings in Am Hist. 1906 ff -
For Affairs, Foreign Affairs Bibliographies

Oct 6.

Am Far Rel. - Survey

Dividing Point comes in 1870's. then turn of trade balance - Import surplus prior to that time. Since, on export balance - this change really, quick, sharp. It reflects internal change. Shift from agrarian to industrial economy.

Shift from quality as well as quantity. Change in imports from finished products to raw materials. this turns attn from European countries, which we could not dominate, so we shunned; to raw material areas, Latin Am, Orient, Pacific; govt's weaker domination almost a necessity if economic control desired. In Far East, other powerful nations more deeply involved, had tough sledding. Lat Am policy one of domination; in Far East policy of equality.

Exports show something more as well. Were changing opposite to imports: from raw mat to finished goods. After 1870's, raw mat continue important, but drop in pct. of total. Mfg. more interested in mkt's in backward nations, because they would be more permanent.

Flow of gold and silver. By 1870's shortage of specie had given way because of Calif., allowed us to match imports. Other items: investments. Country which buys more than it sells, import capital. Before 1870, U.S. imported capital. Britain invested much here. From 1812-1870 important in Am: helped to devel anglophobia here. anti-foreign feeling.

At & after Am. Rev., most money from Netherlands. Dutch refunded debt in Hamiltonian period, financed 1st US Bank. Napoleonic Wars influence Dutch banking. U.S. did not give political control over to foreign capitalists. U.S. an example of a nation which used outside money well, built t'n systems on which industrialism based. Erie Canal dependent upon Br. cap.; Opening of Mid west due to Erie Canal. For Capital did not result in Am control from outside.

After 1870, still a debtor nation to W. & E. but money debts were carry-overs. By that time US also lending, borrowing, at same time. Trade balance shift made possible lending. this lending, though small, important. To Hawaii, Am money insured best plantations; best pl. made control of govt easy.

Must express outward move of U.S. as commercial, industrial move.

It was also political. "Manifest Destiny" used in agrarian period to excuse seizure of farm land. After 1870 overseas spread. Some argument worked both ways.

Appl. of Darwinianism to social sciences. Idea of expansion did not begin in 80-90's. Turn had come long before Sp-Am War. Ideas of exp. were justification for exp. A.T. Mahan opposed to imperialism in 1880, by 1880 strong expansionists. Justification follows the need.

Tradition: Am. stands together vs. world. If this so, no democratic course. Practical politics very sign. in this change. Politicians anticipated trends by favoring industry. Others saw change, did not like it. James G. Blaine, dull person, astute politician, magic personality that would catch votes. Type of political nature which gave him advantage. Approved, represented new business forces. Saw America industrialized, spread. Father of Pan-Americanism, a program to catch us up with Britain. Lodge, T. Roose. others. Bryan did not like the trend, emotionally & politically aligned with agrarians. opposed outward push of industrialism.

Navy: Mahan an idea-man of expansion. Pushing outward long before Mahan came along. Navy moving to Pearl Harbor, Samoa while Mahan still anti exp.

David D. Porter professional soldier, denounced political generals, volunteers. His ambition to get into politics. Dominated Navy dept. messed things up. Favored sail vs. steam. Did not foresee trends of industrialism. In 1880's navy thus emerges as political force in diplomacy. Tied in with traders who needed navy to protect trade, etc. ideological glue of Mahan.

By time of Sp Am war already outselling basic goods England, even in London. Already industrial, already big Navy. Action of Sp war accidental, small effect. Since 1870 larger & larger commitments overseas, steady stream. Basic overseas object was not territorial aggrandizement. Real power overseas independent of land: Philippines. Independent does not change American control which is economic. Big business did not want Sp Am war, investors did not want them.

Am trading interests did not want war. Marc Hanna, McKinley (voice of business) did not want war. McKinley, Tariff, Reciprocity, Gold standard. Deeply in debt to business.

Does this show ~~Sp Am~~ war businessmen oppose in principle? did not want war for fear of inflation. When business saw war won, then wanted to annex. After 1898, we stopped acquiring territory by war, continued to expand thru trade growth, investments, great Navy.

In World War I we became a creditor nation because difficulty in Europe in war. Increased financial expansion rapidly. Not only liquidated debts here, made more in Europe, Latin Am. Enlarged outlook, moving from backward (mil) lands to more advanced areas. Right away no control. Some of money invested in Europe did not get back. (Before war private bankers loaned, after entry Treasury loaned, this not replaced, looked upon as subsidy) Financial stake greater after war, because private bankers were repaid. Still predominant in Latin Am., going to Sen. Am.

Still not different in quality, continuation of some thing. Also push into Orient. W.W.I built up something already started. Financial activity led to military activity. We had taken sides in 1914 diplomatically. Entry into war, logical result of world power position. People thought of it as moral war. Not justifying world position, but war to save democracy. Disillusionment followed realization of simplicity of our view, were willing to reject Versailles. Pol groups, big business feared Versailles. Rejection by no means turning away from basic policy. Frick opposed Treaty, favored world markets. Thought economic internatl policy best carried on independently. Lodge blamed wrongly for reject Versailles, chief figure in expansion. Favored to pay 25 million to get in Am. oil.

Such independent action men were in error, because mil commitments by 1919 made pol. commitments necessary. Could have done what we wanted in League, and spared odium of staying out. By end of 20's, close to England in policy, recognized by men behind expansion that England no longer no. 1 enemy.

these things infinitely more clear in 1930's - 40's. Entrance in WW II saw greater interest in Am public in overseas. Am public still does not realize foreign commitments, chooses to look for moral.

Out of WW II, pol commitments emerge. Not only in VN, but place in condominium. In Anglo-Am partnership, US leading figure in arrangements.

Period before 1820's, future becoming apparent. 1776-1876 US agrarian. Low tariff (mostly) Cloy, like Blaine half-century too early. Hamilton even earlier prophet. Fell flat. South (Agrarian area) eliminated after 1861 protective era. Before, agrarians, when orgn. could win. After 1870, Bryan like Jackson + Jefferson agrarian, with much more public appeal, really represented agrarian spirit; opposition to industrial America. Had habit of catching the average man's ideas about Democracy. Put James' message in marvellous way. He was beaten. His group was beaten.

This in period, agrarian domination of diplomacy. Wanted farm land. In west. Mississippi. Jay disliked. In Federalist period, pol control in hands of business interests. Agrarian group not much able to put across desire for expansion. Even then: Federalists thought in terms of expansion. Tried to beat farmers. in (Roz Resolution) seize New Orleans, get support west. v v v

When Jefferson comes in. Refuses to fight a war over trade. Embargo. indicates no war with Engl for economic interests of trader class. Would handle a small war (Barbary) cheaper than bribery. Agrarian expansion could best go with a war, for Canada + Florida, war 1812. forced thru by "War Hawks." Farm land, control of waterway out, effort to control Indians. All agrarian interests.

Monroe Doctrine 1823 large part, effort to stake out area of world in which we plan to move. Canada too tough to take. Took Florida out of war, got rid of Indians on lakes, built up nationalism.

Added more by taking Texas. West Florida was the precedent. agrarian method of attaining land.

Republics adopted. Did not annex all of Mexico because most of Mexico did not have good farm land available.

Oregon. agrarian acquisition + fur traders. This virtually end of agrarian expansion. Gadsden Purchase because Davis group wanted Transcontl R.R. there

Slavery died out in North for yeg rather than moral reasons. N. farmer + S. farmer differed because of plantation. To get unity, promise something to both: Canada, Florida; Oregon, Texas. After 1840, San farmer still wanted land, nothing to offer North, so fed. govt could not go on. Some Northerners preached "Manifest Dest" Douglas. South came to feel expansion necessary for slaves. Old, New Slave area; Old sells slaves to New. Needing expansion. Also wanted new votes in Senate. South, failing to control U.S. diplomacy for own purposes, felt necessity of con. independence. Also banked on King Cotton. This failed because of wheat, Brit. reckoned cost carefully. Agrarian expansion dies out with South.

While agr. exp goes on, shipowners as a minority group try to establish ~~an~~ other policy. Tariff of 1789 helps shipowners. Federalist diplomacy helps shipowners. Jay Treaty, open China. Shippowners join Jeffersonian party to get ends. got pretty good deal. reciprocity on tonnage duties 1818. Tried to get Tariff recip with Germany 1840. Fishing bounties. Mail subsidies for Atlantic steamship. did not keep them, because of agrarian opposition. Navy explored where trade might go.

When Jeffersonian party died, joined Whigs. got Japan opened. Influence when Democrats in. Townsend Treaty with Japan 1854

Had ambitious program. Hawaii in 1850's. Perry wanted islands in Pacific. Orient, Panama area. Nicaragua. Walker worked with Vanderbilt, San planters.

Minority interests before war. Trade with W. Indies
Aspinwall.

Lincoln + Seward, both ex-Whigs, interested in expansion
Seward's Alaska. Beginning of Pacific network. Saw
importance of Pacific.

American Historiography.

Periods: Shift in trends of emphasis.

Middle

George Bancroft. - 1886 - Jackson to Post War Era - 1840
Nationalism - some changes in later period. secularized, toned down. Religious highly democratic. Other writers do not justify Democratic Party so much as he. Bassett, Middle Period.
Emphasis on Constitutional History: Von Holzt. Best Known.
Parkman. - Frontier, Fr. & Indian War. Border Conflict. France vs England in New World. Quite a lot of research. Colorful writing. History as Literature, Nationalism, generally willing to put Lord on side of U.S. - Parkman less than Bancroft. Cooper caught the spirit of the times better than most. Superimposed fictional characters on to a lot of truth as he saw it. Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, also colorful. Cooper reflected trends and atmosphere of 19th Century. Rather furious denunciation of squatter glorify red savage.

Bancroft a minority writer because of political affiliation. Federalist interpretation more common than Democratic. Hildreth & Bancroft at same time as Emerson. Intellectuals felt Democratic party below them. wanted intellectual aristocracy. Frothingham, Everett, et. perhaps more normal. Writers of upper class, & so considered themselves.

Modern

Scientific School - Peter Force - Am Archives. Dominant - McMaster. Henry Adams Transitional Historian.
Herbert Baxter Adams returned from Freiburg to Johns Hopkins. 1876 From 1880's on 1890's Ph.D. introduced. Demand for professionally trained writers of history. When college teachers became dominant as writers. Kraus, History of American History. Little interpretation. Essay in honor of M. Jernegan. Holt H.B. Adams' correspondence. Ph.D. from Germany, von Ranke school. - scientific, objective presentation of facts, little interpretation. Very ~~interpretation~~ prejudiced. themselves. Curtis, Theory & Practice in Hist Writing. Propositions. Hook, Definition. Randall & Hoxnes; Beale. Major preconception: Political predominant. Teutonic germ-theory. Am colonial emphasis. English institutions. Assumed that they had no assumptions.

Stopped being literary; Emphasis on fact. Turn to Darwinism for growth of pol. institutions. "Represented age of Science".

devoted to unemotional history in a most impassioned way.

Did provide professional training, proper use of sources. Push toward accuracy, use of significant methodology. Sought depth, rather than breadth.

Relativists - challenge to Scientific School since World War I. Chas. A. Beard Carl Becker. Real objectivity impossible. Everyone has "frame of reference". Must take some point of view.

Turner's Frontier theory in 1893.

Other trends: bring back literary materials; use other social scientists and their materials.

Eco Interpretation of Am Dipl History

Eco Interpretation of History - Determinism - Motivation Eco.

In American History = just before World War I, imported from ideas of Karl Marx - Here: C. Beard 1913. More recently Foreign policy, covers some eco int. Is Beard Marxian? To some degree.

Beale Critical year, economic interpretation.

In general: less in vogue now than 10 yrs ago. Due to Marxian. Heaton Interpretation of History.

Did Am. historians ever take up eco. interpretation? Surprisingly few historians test their materials by economic means.

Foreign Affairs.

Recent Beard books swing away from eco. interpretation.

"Devil" theory of War.

"Am For Pol in Making" - omits eco material.

"Pres Roosevelt & the War"

Bailey: public opinion introduced. (Std hist of State Dept) no eco interpretation. And no one has jumped him for it.

Bemis: Toughest of them all, grim; hist of State Dept.

Interp: main contentions: certain principles in Am hist. eg, arbitration, Monroe Doctrine.

Nearing + Freeman Dollar Diplomacy. good example of eco interp.
1925. Authors - left-wing. Public issues at that time called for criticism of the eco imperialism.

Materials: publ documents. no mss, not open. therefore not a research book. Partisan. Stands out as eco interp. in a field scarce in this type.

Not high among Dipl historians.

Griswold Far Eastern Policy, a wall Street book, put out by House of Morgan.

Nearing-Freeman: outward impulses of capital, State Dept protects these impulses.

Griswold, Taft etc. - State Dept - not bankers - provided outward impulse, called in bankers to invest, promote world peace.

> Beard's, Idea of National Interest, broad eco interp.

Eco interp not necessarily basic, but very few Dipl writers have tried to test materials by econ facts. Look out for this. Look for eco factors, take into consideration. We have striking eco change from agrarian to industrial culture we know certain eco classes operating.

Dipl also written with contact to local politics. More link with socio-intellectual. Weinburg, Manifest Destiny.

Next week: Manifest Destiny Period - Rev to Civ War
Continental expansion.

Oct 27.

Manifest Destiny = as preface to Exp overseas.
(1800 - 1850)

From 1840-1870 sectional controversy influences diplomacy: Southern planters desire plantation areas, vs. Commercial expansion.

Continental Expansion.

Weinburg, Manifest Destiny, very confused, strange argn. unique in monography of the idea. Tries to cut too deeply.

Essay on Geo Washington's Idea of Expansion, in Holt Essays.

Beard's Idea of National Interest, view: all expansion due to national interest of party in power. Agrarian group dominant to Civil War. (1934) Materials: largely secondary. not very broad use of secondary. Limited effort.

Continental expansion appealed to land speculators, agrarians on frontier, small farmer. Southern planter.

Sakolski, Great Am. Land Bubble, popular book. Land spec. a big business.

Gray, Hist of Sen Agri to Civil War.

Bidwell + Faulkner Hist of Nor Agri. to Civil War.

Expansion of a crop means expansion of people who grow them. In particular in South. Croven, Study of Soil Exhaustion in Va. Slave trade, land speculators impulse expansion.

Shannon, Farmer's Lost Frontier. since civil war (1900) others in series "Hist of Am Eco Life" on the way.

Immigrant groups - German - Irish.

Fur Trade - Oregon. John J. Astor. Porter, Kenneth.

Chittenden "Fur Trade". Fur Traders supported what we call "agrarian expansion". Tho in opposition, farmer + fur traders both wanted land. Large bibliography.

Joy Treaty 1795. involved fur trade. Forts on Great Lakes illegally held by British. Bemis, Joy Treaty... manuscript sources. pushed hardest into archives... most substantial work in dipl. hist. Burt opposed Bemis' view on why Brit. held on to forts. Sources: Canadian archives. Carnegie Series on Am-Canadian rel. "Good Will" Series. Burt neglects fur trade; Bemis leaves out the Indians.

Joy Treaty, unpopular for accepting British definition of terms, but evaded war. Pinckney Treaty, a key one for opening up of Mississippi, right of deposit. Economic stake in the Miss. Louisiana area. Also enacted because of interest in Louisiana and River. Bemis, Pinckney Treaty; Whitaker, Span-Am Frontier, Mississippi Question; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, (Confed period) Federalist Period - most important on Louisiana acquisition.

Conflict between Bemis + Whitaker, Miss Q. Bemis: Key is in European diplomacy, give concessions to new country. Am dipl is a by-product of European. Am advantage based upon Europe's distress. Whitaker: Influence of West was predominant. Spain yielded because of pressure of frontiersmen. (Multis archival research in both cases.)

Joy - Gardouin - Joy willing to halt expansion at Alleghenies, not insist on Miss. use, nor on Deposit at N. O. these essential to opening of Ky. + Tenn. Journal of Continental Congress. Lib. Cong. ed. Am Sec State series; biog. of Joy Monahan. based upon Joy's mss. show conflict between commercial and agrarian.

Jefferson's effort to purchase La. came after it was clear that Ky + Tenn insisted on Mississippi R. (Whitaker, ^{test} Lyon detailed,) whatever Napoleon's decision, a situation here made necessary the taking of it. Refuse to sell alliance with England was prepared. Pressure group gets its way.

War of 1812: Pratt. Expansionists of 1812; ¹⁹²⁵ war fought thru coop of N. + S. North would expand into Canada, South into Fla. Why get Can. + Fla? Indian menace, Tecumseh. This a novel view: old, a sea fight for freedom on sea. Uses debates, speeches, votes in Congress etc to show that backwoods favored war, seashore did not.

1931 Lord - Hunger interp: Lewis Hocker. discounts Indian menace land hunger for Canada. Unsubstantiated as yet.

In Fla. more proof of land-speculator motive.

Taylor Jour of Pol Econ: West used Miss as outlet. these goods interfered with by Brit navy.

Miss Vall 1944 Historiography of entry into W. of 1812.

Burt on 1812: return to emphasis on neutral rights, de-emphasize West, Pratt. Since Western pressure so strong before and after, hard to overlook.

U.S. getting a republic going, had a virulent patriotism, caused delusion of easy victory. Strong anti-British feeling.

Texas question. West - East Fla. California. Hawaii
Americans establish control. Did U.S. establish and defend
these movements. Not satisfactory except for E. Fla. where it did
not work. Westward movement of popl certainly brought about
favorable view in Washington.

Historical controversy over good + bad in Tex. exp.
Mexican War difficult to defend. Expansionist War; clear.
Polk wanted Texas, California, N. Mex., and wanted them
in a hurry. Created situation responsible for war. This clear.
How right were we? Was war necessary? Denounced by
many historians, generally now.

Bemis takes to task any who said it was bad. E. C. Barker,
Texas historian, Trans-Miss. Bibliography. These most important
as continuation of Manifest Destiny. 20th Century documents
of these.

> Sectional Conflict + Influence on Dipl. <

Ousley, Beards, Idea of Nat Interest

Martin T.P. art. on wheat.

Von Alstynes Am Dipl in Action

Joel P. Smith Rep Expansion

Confield, US + Santo Dom

Bemis, Am Sec State Series -

Wm Walker in Nicar.

Cuba Ruch.

Sectional Conflict + Diplomacy 1840-1870.

Expansion into ag lands desired by planters

Bradley on Hawaii (whalers, traders, missionaries)
Wm. Walker's filibuster first into Sonora, Lower Calif. Looking for rails, land. Did not know lands were so dry. Walker not a planter, but allied to planter class. Planters wanted to expand to sell surplus slaves.

Planters opposed to annexation of whole of Mexico would be free states. Fuller, Movement to Annex All of Mexico Monograph. Slavery prohibited in Mexico, one phase of trouble between Mex + Texans. Fuller cites op. by John C. Calhoun.

1848 - H of R big margin free. Senate even.

North - all-Mexico movement confused. Some manifest - destiny people wanted it; some thought of religious motive, commercial motive.

Trist treaty - Southern desire for land but not where free states could be formed. North desires free states.

Santo Domingo + Cuba Haiti - Slavery remained only in Cuba. therefore Southern planters most interested in Cuba. Haiti Negro republic, improbable to reconst. slavery since Napoleon's failure.

After Walker's failure in Calif., had reput. as adventurer. More than anything else, probably represented himself. Personal aggrandizement. Sympathy in South, some support from Sen. expansionist. Connected with Vanderbilt: complications. He was interested in transit across Nic. Hotels, stage-coach, lake steamers. Here Van made his money. He typifies foreign investor, forerunner of a new type of imperialism. Agrarian expansion thus tied to new imperialism.

Wm. Aspinwall, Marshall O. Roberts. N.Y. Bankers, competitors of Vanderbilt.

Panama R.R. finally finished in 1850. Til it finished, Nicaragua favored.

Vanderbilt lined up with Walker, gave free passage to people who wanted to go help Walker. They split; Walker a bad guesser, thought V. would lose control of his rail co. Communications line by Steamship closed.

Mary Williams, Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy, Good Book.

Planter expansionists did more in Cuba than in Cen. Am.
Did not really have as much stake as did Britain. Chief
trading nation, prestige. In retreat in 1840's - decided
she would no longer conquer - Britain allows U.S. in on
equality with Clayton & Bulwer Treaty, 1850. (Remember Treaty.)
Whigs in power in U.S. Dems the party of expansion
on basis of agrarian emotion. Whigs later commercial
expansion. Content to take this position. Dems deride.
there was a treaty w/ Colombia 1846 gave U.S. right to
a canal in Panama; really treaty of alliance, made
Panama nearly a protectorate. Could send in troops
to protect right of transit. This treaty used in 1903 to
justify seizure.

Violated spirit of Clayton - Bulwer - so did British.
From political: whig treaty, a retreat
From English view: retreating, but putting up a
barrier to someone else.

U.S. kept pushing into Cen Am. Walker, Vand.
Aspinwall. Bombardment of Greytown 1854.
Britain accepted insult. (Crimean War) meant that
in spite of Clayton - Bulwer U.S. dominant. Politics
also enters: Pierce pres. Emotional expansionist. Nor.
wanted Sen. support. Made pol. sensation to attract
support. Fumbled a showy move. Made excitement at
Greytown. There was also a navy wanting to make sensation.
This not simply a planter affair.

In Cuba more of planter
Green, the Filibuster (Walker)
Scroggs -
Parker, Rel with Colombia

Cuba Rauch

Routt - sees Southern expansion as more than just for lands, but a rounded economic unity. Community of New Orleans.

Lopez expedition. Typical program for revolt using native talent; also used in Panama, Hawaii. Failure of Lopez exped. due to lack of orgn, not good support from Sen. John A. Quitman.

Ostend Manifesto part of planter expansion. (Ed of Dem Rev ^{Reynolds} paper)
"Young America Movement" Geo Sanders (party publicist of Dem Party) had as aim taking of territory in west. Some roots in Ky. George Law (steamship man)
Curti, "Young America" Am Hist Rev (1926.)

Efforts in sympathy for dem movements overseas. Hungary, Poles, (Kossuth 1850.) Italy. Pol peak 1848-1854. Moral justification movement. (Manifest Destiny concept.) Preached that we should take interest in democratic revolts anywhere in world.

After California, nothing to offer north to balance Southern expansion, now have ideological offering. Stephen A. Douglas makes capital of "Young Am." to get Northern support. Did not work because ideology not much of a dish to offer North.

South Atlantic Quarterly, "Sanders" Curti.

Canada.

Joe Patterson Smith, Republican Expansionists. Seward arch-expansionist. Taking Canada an old story in 1867. Why take it? Reciprocal trade, fishing interests. Political: Repubs hoped to get votes from new states. Irish vote,

Reciprocity of 1854 by British to get trade outlets for thru U.S. Perhaps forestall Canadian unhappiness.

After Civil War, some commercial expansion, some pol. Northern politicians desire Canada to popularize themselves. publicity. More states. U.S. normally Democratic Repubs, feared that return of Sen. states would mean end of Repub. Tried to bid for labor, Irish, farm votes.

Minnesotans plan land speculation in Canada. James W. Taylor. Radicals get reciprocity cancelled to make Canadians feel pinch, desire union. Invited Canada into Union. Significance: Dominion in 1867.

Canadian annexation related to practical Republican politics.
All that they could get was Alaska. 1867. Annexation of
Alaska came in Johnson's adm. Could get nothing thru
Congress, but got Alaska thru Senate appropriation
of House. Many voted in hopes of getting Western Canada.

With Secession of South, planter expansion no longer
desirable.

America + Revolutions Abroad
Religious interests abroad.

Bertrand "US + Rev Fr." *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 5th Ser XXXIII
1906' 6392-430

Jones, "La a factor in Am Dipl 1795-1800", *Miss Vall*, I (1914), 44-56

+ Channing, *Hist U.S.* IV.
Whitaker, A.P. *Miss Question*.

Fuller H.B. *Purchase of Florida*.

+ Paxson, *Index of SAm Repub.*

McGrane, "Am Position on rev of 1848 in Germany", *Hist. Outlook*, XI (1920) 333-337.
Earle, "Am Interest in Greek Cause 1821-27", *AmHist Rev*, XXXIII (1927), 46-63

+ JZ 83 May. *Contemp Am Opin of Mid Cent. Rev in Eur Europe*
- M 46

Richard W. Von Alstyne, *Am Dipl in Action*, Stanford U.

S. Wells Wms, "Middle Kingdom."

E.N. Curtis "An Opinion of French Nineteenth Cen Revols", A.H. Rev., Vol 29, 249-270.

Attitude of a people mutable; should lead to international-mindedness. In 1830, Jackson's victory made news of change everywhere welcome. Whigs more cautious to comment. - Statesmen generally cautious, men of letters decidedly enthusiastic, representing bulk of opinion.

In 1848 differed only slightly from 1830. House Senate & Adm express joy. Journals in favor, regardless of party. When Fr. govt abolishes slavery, at once a split, not along strict party lines. Sec papers take alarm. Anti-slavery. Free-soil groups happy.

General: official attitude & of people in general friendly, wealthy & conservative critical if not openly hostile.

1870: rev judged on personality of Nap III, overthrown. Coup d'état unpopular. Attitude toward South in Civ War marked friendliness. Made South favor Nap III. North favor new govt. Congress much more cautious. No publ demonstration.

Concl: in main Am publ opinion favorable to Democratic changes in other lands particularly in France. But: approval not unanimous. Conservatives anti. South opposed last 2 revs. Threat to property rights in 1848 alarm.

② Diminishing rate of publ interest. Twice told tale, also increasing wealth & sophistication of society.

Von Alstyn, Missionary activity in Oregon had achieved scant results, p 563-4

Tyler Dennett, Americans in Eastern Asia, Macmillan 1922 - Chap XXIX "Missionaries & Am Pol in Asia" - 555-577.

Dipl & Consuls depended upon missionaries for transl. Not important in Japan. Books publ by missionaries influence Am pol.

Legal status of missionaries hard to define. aggressively try to open China. Christianity a disintegrating influence on Manchu.

Missionaries oppose purposes of China. Befriend, support Korea. Position in persecutions of missionaries illustrates that direct Am relations with states of Far East subject to the modifications of competition.

Rights of missionaries become basis by merchants for a demand for trade.

Missionary contributed to disintegration of Chinese Empire, at some time creating much to repair the damage: much harm & little good comes from govt protection of missionary work, missionary best when sep from political.

McGrane, "Am Position on Rev of 1848 in Germany" Hist Outlook, XIV, 333
American neutrality ultimately overcame German designs. 339

M.E. Curti "Young America", Am Hist Rev XXXII, (1926) 34-55.
Young Am had glorious ideals for future of country and
an ambitious program for realizing them. Yet the ideals were
as vague as they were grand. Movement was a failure,
partly because of inherent weakness and partly because of
sectional opposition and of ~~too~~ established economic interests.
Significant: Young Am's ideals expressed ideas of many Americans.
Crystallized and stimulate such ideas.
Geo. N. Sonders, volatile Kentuckian, prime mover. Ed.
Democratic Review 1852. William Carry a partisan.

Revolutions overseas.
over changes abroad.

Curtis,

Marcus Hansen, Atlantic Migration: were German-Americans
revolutionary in 1848-50? Apathetic

Schaeffer, Voting of Germans in 1860 in Mid West Am Hist Rev
(10-15 yrs ago) Germans voted Democrat.

Come for economic reasons which presupposed liberal views.
Sympathetic to revolt. Influence on practical politics here.

Curtis article.

Polish revolt of 1863 little attn. Irish favored revolt-
in Ireland.

After 1870 revs. in Europe were of proletarians against the
some sort of capitalism we supported. New type of rev-
olution.

Hazen, Contemporary Am Opinion toward Fr Rev. - Jeffersonian
party use the rev. for its pol purposes. Also a popular
sentiment. Link, opposes Hazen's view. Felt people did not
have much interest in rev. Not a basic interest. (Dem Clubs.)

Fr minister Adet here 1795-96 mixed in politics,
declared for Jefferson. Reflected much that Jeff party
was trying to do here.

XYZ + Undeclared naval war showed that zeal
had died as rev settled down. Undecl war unpopular,
came at same time: Alien + Sedition Acts.

Civil War marks turn in sentiment. Enthusiasm
for Greeks, Lat-Am, first 2 French marks pattern of
opinion. Irish revolts after 1870 popular. As a whole
as U.S. become industrialized, sympathy for rev
died. Also a big power opposed to war. New set
out to "protect" certain things. Cuban revolt managed
to evince many of the old feelings, but in a separate
category, since revolt promised to give us something.

First Russian rev rec'd enthusiastically. (1917) Stood
to give us something: get rid of autocracy in war for democ.

In Mexico, Díaz promised to give stability, tho a dictator. Rev of 1910 not well rec'd here. Expropriation made mex rev unpopular.

Machado 1933 but when Gran St. Martin cracked down on Am. business, Am. cracked down on him.

Rev to separate colonies, set up separate nation encouraged for purpose of trade.

Chinese revol. 1911. First Taiping 19th Cn. movement against Manchu empire. Am trade with officials of Manchu. Rebels to some extent influenced by U.S. but at same time U.S. fears anti-foreign attitude of Taiping, lined up on side of Manchu. Against rev. Traders favored Manchu, missionaries split. not very effective. Rebels defeated, then Americans became increasingly critical of Manchu. In 1900 Boxer "Rebellion", anti-foreign, sponsored by Manchus. Put down by foreign arms. Difficult decision to make: put down Manchu, what happens? Foreign invasion. U.S. out. W.W. Rockhill made official case - maintained Manchu empire. to protect trade there. Rockhill group tried to reform Manchu, failed.

1911. Rev not popular w/ Am bus men for investors. traders. Confirmed opinion that bad rev. Looked down upon it. Am missionaries in general sympathetic, so W. Wilson recognized Chinese Repub. 1911-1926 counter-rev in China, confusing Am opinion, Wilson, Missionaries. Guessed wrong as to who would win supported opponents of Nationalists. Opposed Sun Yat-Sen, supported Yuan Shih-Kai. After Chinese nationalists became powerful, swung around to support them.

Americans not much interested in Far East, not most interested in getting informed. 100 yrs ago, uninformed general opinion sympathetic now no sympathy.

Span Rev: normal Am practice, let loyalists have arms. Keep rebels from getting any. But in '30's strong feeling to keep out of war; also at the time we were cooperating w/ Eng + France to keep Axis out of Spain. FDR feared Catholic vote, takes position of "neutrality". Present decision to support Franco now associated with anti-Communist movement.

Caused hardly a ripple in opinion: shows that American people not very much interested in foreign affairs. Argentine issue is some as that of Franco.

Dennett, Am in Eastern Asia, most extensive work in the field, based on State Dept mss. not profound.

Pro-missionary (related, in missionary movement.) yet critical of their methods. Wrong in going beyond treaty rights, too enthusiastic. Critical of missionaries for not capturing higher levels of society. Latourette also pro-missionary, but reassess missions. Feels that it has failed.

Mainland, Missionaries & Far East. Pacific Review 1941. Miss. were prime source of information of China. State Dept did not always accept view of businessmen Sino-Jap war.

Bradley (Hawaii.) Religious influence from N. Engl. Whaling, stop-over for China. ABCFM - Comm For Miss. eco influence overpowers. Determines fate of Hawaii. Sons of missionaries get into sugar business. Am. missionaries advised officials in Hawaii, turn toward U.S. Naval influence also strong.

By & large, missionaries favor increase in trade to raise standard of living, to impress natives with Am life. Often opposed traders, But yet mutually supporting.

Miss. spread Am. influence in several directions.

Pratt, Exp of 1898. shows belligerent attitudes of religious groups. Denies the business men wanted war. Rel groups favor general expansion. with Mexican war also preachers supported war. Rev Josiah Strong, social darwinism, excuse for expansion.

Investments Abroad.	Bankers,	Dollar Dipl.
Neerins & Freeman	Rippy, Fields	Series on Vanguard Lat-Am.
Marshall, Jenks,	Kepner, "Banana Emp."	Jones.

Lewis, Jour Pol Econ, XIV (1906) 602.
Inman, Ventures in inter Am friendships (S. 9)
Rippy, Pol Sci Q. XLIX (1934) 195. Brit Bondholders.
Ed. Hurlington, Mexico & her foreign creditors.
H. N. Denny, Dollars for Bonds

R. L. Morrow, Hisp Am Hist rev X, (1930) 2.

R. R. Hill, Fiscal Intervention in Nic.

* Jenks L. H. Cuban Colony.

P. G. Wright, Cuban Lit

C. Beards, Crime of Cuba.

DeWitt, Southw. pol & soc sci ^{year} XI (1930) 156 Argentine

T. W. Overlock, For. financial control of China

Finch, Am jour inter. law. XVI, 1922, 25.

C. F. Remer, For inv. in China.

Marsh Margaret A, Bankers in Bolivia

Ugarte, Manuel

~~Davenport, E. H., Oil Trusts &~~

✓ Knight M. M.

+ Jones Chester L, Caribbean Interests

Scroggs Filibusters & Financiers.

Hobson, Imperialism

—, Evolution of Modern Capitalism.

J. Fred Rippy, Capitalists and Colombia, Vanguard 1931.

Intro by Harry F. Barnes. gives imperialistic process:

1. Merchants & Bankers recognize opportunity for pecuniary gain in backward areas.
2. their penetration is followed by appeals to respective foreign offices to relieve friction of local politics.
3. Requests ultimately lead to mil intervention and pol adm of such areas.

Believes Col. an eco dep of U.S. oil is the real issue between the two.

there is a sound basis for eco. relations between two - Supplem. economies.

Beman, L.T. (ed) Selected Articles on Intervention in Lat Am. (Handbook)
N.Y. 1928.

Collings H.T. Billions of our capital invested in Latin Am.

Am has not invested money because it desired control. Capitalists demand interest rather than intervention.

Investment policy: ① Supervision by State Dept. - essentially neg.

Shipstead Hendrick "Dollar Diplomacy" in Lat. Am.

Doubt that 'Moral Doct. dead (1927). Present LAT-Am policy is one of eco aggression involving pol dictatorship. tho still covered by name of Moral Doct, has nothing in common with that doct. Believes dollar dipl is not paying off.

Jenks, Leland H. Our Cuban Colony. Vanguard, 1928.

Intro by H.E. Barnes: same as for Rippy's volume.

Jenks. Conduct of U.S. in for. rel. has always resembled that of other modern powers. It is no more altruistic than others. This is true of Cuba, the "sacred cow" of Am dipl. the story of Cuba is incidentally political fundamentally economic.

Platt Amendment has outgrown its usefulness.

Isaac Joslin Cox "Yankee Imperialism and Span. Am Solidarity", Hispanic Am Hist Rev, IV, (1921), 256-265 -

Latin Americans are outraged at the crime against Colombia in Panama incident. gives Colombian view.

Nearing & Freeman, Dollar Diplomacy, N.Y. 1926

Foreign investments soon are reflected in realm of politics.
Soon makes demands on foreign govt.

3. Am interests have been working on concessions in things ^{spheres of infl.}
4. Am capital leads to active interference in internal affairs of foreign countries.
5. Failing to get satisfaction from local govt, appeal to U.S. govt.
6. After a territory has accepted U.S. control, mil occupation ceases.
7. Sequence is completed by armed conquest of territory, purchase of territory, w/o consulting populations concerned.

Hist of US in 1st half of 19th Cen almost unbroken territorial expansion. Monroe Doct, left way open for Americans themselves to colonize unoccupied sections of Continent, without European rivalry. Fitted the need of Am. imperialism.

Just as Am foreign policy in first half of 19th cen had been accommodated to policy of territorial expansion, and later had become essentially commercial to meet the needs of the rising mfg class, it now ~~had~~ assumed, in addition, the rôle of assisting Am investments in foreign, and particularly tropical, countries. U.S. now reaching point which had driven European countries into the Far East and into Africa.

U.S. has traveled a long way from isolation & non-intervention.
(Last chapter excellent interpretation of Am dipl hist.)

S. G. Dunman Problems of Pan Americanism, N.Y. [c1921]

Chap VIII gives dependence of Caribbean area.

C. L. Jones. Caribbean Interests of U.S. N.Y. & London, 1919.

Chap XVII & XVIII. Exploitation of resources has led to combination & big business.

Marsh, Margaret A. Bankers in Bolivia Vanguard N.Y. [c1921]

Tin and Indians are the most significant elements in Bolivia today. U.S. is vitally interested in Tin. Mrs. Marsh describes geog, Indian, importance of mineral resources, transportation problem. Then analyzes loan to Bol. in 1922 by U.S. Bankers. Thus Bolivia becomes a type of economic imperialism: country rich in natural resources; backward people; lack of domestic capital; inefficient, corrupt adm. of country's inadequate revenues, thus needing foreign financial aid.

Marsh - cont.

The govt's foreign policy revolves around the security of foreign investments. p. 132.

Knight, Melvin M. The Americans in Santo Domingo, Vanguard, N.Y. [c 1928]

Investors lend in Santo Domingo at 10-12%, assuming a risk. If interest or capital is endangered, big lenders are sure to ask their govt "to exact compliance with 'the principles recognized by all civilized nations'".

"... Manifest Destiny - which ~~is~~ at its worst has been a mixture of Pan-Americanism and Gott Mit Uns - ..." p. 3.
there is a real "Yonkee Peril" in Santo Domingo. there is a danger that we may take the prosperity and leave her the posterity.

Pratt, J.W. Expansionists of 1898, Johns Hopkins, Baltimore 1936. Chap VIII. "The Imperialism of Righteousness."

"... the missionary-minded among religious people in the United States were quite as eager to discover foreign outlets for their energy as were commercial people." p. 282. Viewed Cuban problem as a moral one.

"When war was actually declared, the churches found no difficulty in justifying it. It was a war for humanity..." p. 286.
the only Christian denominations generally opposed to war were Friends + Unitarians.

J. A. Hobson, Imperialism: a Study, London, 1905 (Rev Ed)
Chap II. Imperialism becomes necessary when one industrial nation faces competition. the United States an example: "Here is a country which suddenly breaks through a conservative policy, strongly held by both political parties, bound up with every popular instinct and tradition, and flings itself into a rapid imperial career for which it possesses neither the material nor the moral equipment, risking the principles and practices of liberty and equality by the establishment of militarism and the forcible subjugation of peoples which it cannot safely admit to the condition of American citizenship." p. 65. (this is due to unprecedented rapidity of the industrial revol.)

Ch VI, "Eco. Taproot of Imperialism"

pp 68-69. "The adventurous enthusiasm of President Roosevelt and his 'manifest destiny' and 'mission of civilization' party must not deceive us. It is Messrs. Rockefeller, Pierpont Morgan, and their associates who need Imperialism and who are fastening it upon the shoulders of the great Republic of the West. They need Imperialism because they desire to use the public resources of their country to find profitable employment for the capital which otherwise would be superfluous." "Cuba, the Philippines, and Hawaii are but the hors d'oeuvre to whet the appetite for an ample banquet."

p 70: "the stronger and more direct control over politics exercised in America by business men enables them to drive more quickly and more straightly along the line of their economic interests than in Great Britain."

p 83: "Imperialism, as we see, implies the use of the machinery of government by private interests, mainly capitalists, to secure for them economic gains outside their country."

p 86-87 Taxation under Imperialism: "the people must pay, but they must not know they are paying, or how much they are paying, and the payment must be spread over as long a period as possible." "Imperialism, therefore, makes everywhere for indirect taxation; not chiefly on grounds of convenience, but for purposes of concealment."

112 - US & Brit succumbing to militarism.

116-117- task of sol is not to die for country, but to kill for country. In so much as he dies he is a failure; he attains perfection as a perfect killer.

Foreign investments in the U.S. D. Harrow proves such investments are not controlled by H. of Morgan. Does not prove.

Heland Jenks, Migration of Brit Capital to 1875 - one of best books. major shortcoming: lengthy disc. of difficulty of Brit bondholders after panic of 1837.

Mc Grav, Foreign Bondholders and Am State Debts etc. book. Brit sources -

Brookings Institute Study: Cleona Lewis, America's Stake in Internatl. Inv. Brit capital.

No adequate study of Dutch financing.

Depl status of Am affected by default of debts after 1837. In Bemis' text is on account of early national debt, also some in Sec. - States. Foreign companies still in U.S.

J. Myers Hist of Gt Am Fortunes. - written in "Progressive" period, represents Marxist pt. of view. Many special irritations: Brit. criticism, even those based on his books. Hist of Bigotry "Am Strikes Back." spirit makes it interest. Later line modifies original view that a certain few families gain control of Am industry. Opponent of wealthy capitalist. Some contradictions, but after 2 generations stands up surprisingly well. Shortcomings: failure to get into private papers which are still not open. Also biased.

Carnegie + Brit capital. Morgan + European Capital in Civil War. Could have gotten more, but could not use it - Confed. Union: Prussia. Stolberg-Wernigerode: U.S. - German relations. Vagts: German - Am Rel (German) Bismarck friendly to Union.

Both raised money in London. Robt J. Walker, agent of Union.

1780-1800 loans by Dutch bankers interested in profit. French lenders do so for pol reasons. In 19th Cen, Engl. dominates loans to states, to fed govt. Am companies careful not to have European ~~companies~~ directors, kept control of industry. Pattern set by First U.S. Bank, charter requires native directors, sign. as the beginning.

Morgan an Anglo-Am firm. Task: to sell Am. R.R. stock to Brit investors. in 19th Cen, in 20th Cen to sell foreign stock in U.S. Connecting link between British bankers + Am. industry. Good rel between London + N.Y. a key to H. of Morgan, and to Am for. investments.

Carnegie first sold Am R.R. bonds in Engl. work with H. of Morgan. with Anglo-Am tie-up, change after 1890. No real competition for loans or pictured.

Example: Russo-Jap. War.

(Consortium 1905 illustrates close tie-up between Am + foreign bankers.) Paris supported Russians. N.Y. + Lond back Japan over Manchuria.

Jap. Japs supported by Kuhn-Loeb Co. - in war.

(Kennon brog of Harriman.) Largely financed from London. But U.S. coming up. London mkt getting shaky for Jap securities, N.Y. comes into picture, Jacob Schiff of Kuhn-Loeb. He was in London, saw how things go. pledge Am. money, encourage Japs. Kuhn-Loeb has German connections, bring Berlin in. Bought bonds from Japan, later sold in London mkt. J.P. Morgan has London tie-up. Schiff has also sentimental reason for going into plan - anti Russian.

Get Anglo-Am tie-up - toxic.

Consortium came afterwards. Japanese decorate Schiff, do not give Harriman a rail road.

Anglo-Am enterprise the spearhead of Am imperialism. Horst-Barker. 1887. concession from China. Anti-British, violently. other opponent J.P. Morgan. N.Y. - London tie-up that early, wrecked him.

Willard Straight - Crole brog. (Crole neo-fascism)

Chinese customs service, then tried to invite Am. capital into Manchuria. Ry. Tied with Harriman. also Am. diplomat. Later employed by H. of Morgan. Called American Cecil Rhodes, but a failure. Married Whitney girl. Almost complete failure. (Son Michael publ New Repub with Morgan money!)

Straight came to concl that could not deal with Russ or Jap over Manchuria, turns to China. theory, a China supported by Am money. could resist Russ. Tied with H. of Morgan with London backing. Tried to get a Ry in Manchuria. Jap + Engl opposition too much. "Neutralization prog of 1911" by China. Russ + Japs combine through catalyst of Straight. Ultimately kept Am. bankers out. Illustrate
① Am - Brit capital tied together. Where British lukewarm, nothing happened.

② Wall St - Washington tie-up. Straight had little difficulty doing what his bosses wanted done. As to which moves first, difficult. Griswold says Washington

Control Wall St. Perhaps Wall St. pushes Washington in Far East.

③. Wall St - Washington not interested in moral reasons for entering China. A practical Business: Wall St. in investments, Washington in Trade. Willard Straight shows way Dollar Dipl goes. Anything to help am. business. After 1911, Straight and many Am businessmen tie up with Japs to try to invest in China. Try to dig Canal.

1916 - Am. Red Cross in China provides famine relief: Try to prevent floods in China. (Huai River project.) New lands for Chinese. Willard Straight takes over project. Admitted Jap bankers w/o asking Chinese.

Whitney's made him rich quickly. Financed many projects. New Repl: H. Croy "Promise of Am Life". S-Attitude that rich have certain obligations. C. wrote "official" biography of Straight. Too close to S. family. Though a failure, gets buildup. Impressionable personality.

Consortium - special combo of bankers backed by gents. China faced international monopoly of capitalists. Field, Am Particip. in Internat'l Consortium. Combo to hurt China. (backed by gent of U.S. - no real friend of China) try to exploit China to help financiers - hoping that pol control would go along with it. U.S. could not monopolize China inv. late, not enough capital. By cooperation could get in. W. Wilson withdraws from consortium. Russians & Japs come in for Pol reasons.

Nations involved in W.W.I., cons. broke down. Tried to raise it after war. "to put China on her feet financially". to keep Japan from upsetting equality. Wilson changes mind about foreign investment. Wall St reluctant to join 2nd Consort. Now worked with Japan. New Wilson wanted a consortium, Wall St. goes in on own terms: money must not be used against Japan. (T.W. Lamont chief Morgan man on for. affairs 1917 - almost to present.) Wall St not pro-Jap: just interested in profit. In 1st Consort. U.S. relatively minor, in 2nd U.S. only big-money people. Yet took in other nations; Wall St does not want to stick neck out, not want to go along with Wilson anti-Japan very far. Wilson not Anti-Jap as is shown. Wall St. generally favors stable govt. U.S. uses Japan as anti-Communist force.

Navy. Mahon-
Sprints - Rise of Am Naval Power

Beale H.K. "On ~~to~~ Rewriting Reconstruction History"
Antislavery Rev, XIV (1940) 807-827.

Publ consular reports in mid-1890's predicted what was coming in future.

Inv. in Orient, US. had too much opposition from Europe. In discussing dollar dipl. it is essential not to make it too simple. There is much besides investment money.

Vanguard Series 1920-1930, where there was opposition to US. position in Nicaragua, \$ dipl under fire from liberals, left. Fade out - Good Neighbor Policy; shift in liberal interest turned to Cen Europe. Probably did not sell. Depression (Endowed from a fund.) Loans created an impossible situation in Lat Am, forcing revolution. During WWI, when European nations engaged, much capital went to Lat Am. Govt Bonds, Direct Investment. Criticism against this program reflected in Vanguard Series. Good illustr. of series of history books to ^{argue} a point. When stock mkt broke, no more loans. Lat Am defaulted. No more loans, even when they could lend: Wall St. Friends of Wall St in Lat Am thrown out in palace revolts. No need for continuing attack. Represent a situation which still exists. Default is not repudiation, ultimately payment resumed. Many bonds bought by Lat. Am. govts. Even when govt bonds faded out, direct investments remained. Depr. brought to world exchange control, prevented companies from bringing profits home. Reinvestment thus increased investments. Good Neighbor a policy of friendship, not one of surrender of investments. Roosevelt brought pressure in Mexico re expropriations. Vanguard books over-simplified problem, leaving out sentiment, tone unpopular after 1930's among liberals.

Two opposite examples of treatment of foreign investments: Mexico + Venezuela. Mexican agrarian revolution anti-foreign. In Venezuela foreigners control, increase tax.

Chas H. Wilson "Empire Green & Gold" 1947 United Fruit Co book, (employee of co) for a while worked for Good Neighbor board. - to some extent co. now regrets what it did in depression, changes policy to good neighbor. Teaches subsistence agri. Try to win favor of natives. Balance short-run exploitation with long-run exploit. Does not really change economic domination policy. Recently rising nationalism, also rising improving means of control.

Obvious: Lat Am needs money from somewhere. If they can get it without worst of a dipl. well off.

Tone: highly critical, partisan, antagonizing. Though based on adequate research, tone causes suspicion, probably causes historians to look down on them.

Trade-Reciprocity J.L. Laughlin, "Recip." Ellis, Tansill, 1854 Ta.; (Canadian Recip. 1911)
Tasca (Roosevelt era.) Trade Problems: Em. Johnson, Hist of For Comm.
Poath, Exp of 1898. chop. Fisheries:
Setser, Comm. Recip. Policy of U.S. (to 1825.) Clauder, Comm in Nap Wars.
Eug. Schulzger, Am Dipl & Furtherance of Commerce - 19th Cen.

Navy. — General, books on Navy have little diplomacy, books on dipl neglect navy. (Same as commerce.)

T. Roosevelt's Naval War of 1812, Tactics mostly. Relatively few connect dipl w/ Navy.

A.T. Mahan, important as historian, as imperialist. Many points of view leave him out (sectionalism etc.) Still important!

Interest of America in Sea Power, 1897: Christian civilization is at crossroads; Oriental menace.

Armaments and Arbitration, Place of Force in International Rel. 1912
Upholds "race patriotism", nationalism. Use force to hold back yellow hordes until white (Anglo-Saxon) institutions can withstand.
Anglo-American alliance. National, race, language superiority.

These offense of capital fleet

"Moral Aspects of War". Arbitration is O.K. provided that nothing important is discussed. "White man's burden", duty of whites to rule. "Interest confers right." Interest is worthless without force-

theory: pure power. Assume, possibly, to control world strategically. Proceed: ~~for~~ someone else does, better be you.

If originally thought in terms of power, and later turned to morality, it was perhaps to sell goods. Really, he equated the two.

like other pro-British writers, he anti-Russian.

Ships of Line (Navy) + Merchant Marine = Sea Power

Sea Power equates with World Power.

Blinard, Japanese Influence on Am Naval Power.

Livezey, Mahan on Sea Power.

German use of submarines shows that they accepted theory.

1. thought they could build a capital fleet.
2. Use sub to break blockade.

Beard uses Mahan as example of extreme pro-British. Beard: continental nationalism.

Mahan: what kind of historian? — few footnotes on first books. used other secondary sources — Purpose not to do research, but turn out 20 books or so, avg of book a year. Later used footnotes sparingly; obvious that trying to prove a point. More important practically than historically. Influenced professional imperialist school.

Belonged to inner imperialist school: Hay, T. Roosevelt, W.W. Rockhill, Olney, Lodge. Had substantial influence. Naval League established.

He fitted right into the times: Big Navy Bill of 1890. Advocate, propagandist. Substantial influence on naval history, other historians now notice navy. Helped turn historians imperialist. Influence not over.

> Brodie, Sea Power and the Machine Age — calls atten to importance of new technology in naval devel. Steam, etc. Boats required by steam.

Sprouts, Rise of Am Naval Power — worth reading, because naval engagements not discussed. Not admirals' hist. Effort to follow naval policy. Attempt to combine naval history with contemporary hist.

Early idea of Navy was "gunboat idea" — protect shores in order that internal development might go on. Main job in Civil war was blockade; even a scow would be of value. Antiquated vessels kept. Conservatism: admirals, navy yds, repair business. Navy can be tied to business interests in places: Steel industry gained at expense of Navy yards. Broader tie-up after 1890. Ch. of Commerce, N.A.M. play along with Big Navy idea. Org. of Navy League 1903 unified navy pressure. "Yellow peril" enthusiasts (Hearst) also favored.

Opposed, economy congressmen, place movement of churches. Navy feared this. Tried to draw Christianity into their side.

Navy entrenched by 1914, maintained. Stronger than Army, because of propagandist. Navy had made transition from that of Westward

movement. Army of westward movement fought Indians, had not made transition. Elihu Root under T. Roosevelt installs genl. staff. Had not yet sold itself to Congress and to public as had Navy. By 1916 could sell preparedness program to Cong. Navy had sold some thing in 1890. Took a second step in 1914. "A Navy second to none". Army had to depend upon volunteers, Plattsbury movement.

Sprouts Book II = Brit navy or Am navy = which should be larger? At League of Nations, Wilson uses Big Navy as threat to get Britain in. Was willing to trade off navy in return for Britain in league - Economy movement led to smaller appropriations.

FDR in Big Navy trad. infl by Mahan, also by love of Britain, love of sea. Army spectacularly unsuccessful to get big peace-time training program. Watered down ROTC Nat. Gd. In 1940's, draft, now permanent. Use of mil officials to do dipl work, now appears in position of equality with navy.

Pauline, Pro-Navy.

Winston, Exec Agents on Am Dipl.

New pres has asked for coordination of mil with dipl. 1946. Carried out in 1947 defense & sec. Legisl. Army has a bright, substantial future.

Donald Mitchell New American Navy better than Knox.

Theo Roosevelt and the Big Navy.

Spykman, Am Strategy & World Politics.

Party Politics & Am Exp

1850 -

Any text.

Weinburg Manifest Destiny

Curri Growth of Am thought

Hofstadter Social Darwinism

Pratt, Exp of 1898 - Ch. I.

Rippy on Isolation

Bernis Washington Farewell Address Am Hist Rev

Weinburg - Holt Series. (Goldman ed)

Har. Netter Org of W Wilson For Pol.

Theories of Imperialism & World Orgn.

W War I & II
Something of origin on both sides.

Perkins, Am in 2 w war.

W. Millis -

Bell W Wilson

Seymour Dipl of W War

N. Baker - Why we fought

Ray S. Baker Biog of Wilson.

W. Millis, Road to War

C. H. Grattan Why we fought

C. C. Tansill - Am goes to War.

Har. Peterson Prop for W. War.

Squire, Brit Prop by U.S.

was II. Anti.

Morgenstern Pearl Harbor

Killie this is Pearl

Beard Am Fr Pol in Making

Pres Room + Comm of War.

(Look at Reviews.)

Harrison Atlantic August

(Tonsill in Miss Val Hist Rev present favorable.)

Longer. Our Vichy gamble, pro-Adm.

League of N. confict pro D.F. Fleming
Bailey. anti-HC Lodge:

Trade & Am Exp Overseas.
Laughlin Reciprocity.

large series.

Ellis. Con-Am Fr Ship - Recip, 1911. - favors coop with Britain
Tonsill - Reciprocity of 1854. Hopkins dissertation. small book.
Not interpretative.

Joe Patterson Smith, Repub expansionists of 1867.

Only two treaties of recip worked: Cuba 1902-3(?) Hawaiian
1876. Article by Dozer. on Hawaii treaty.

Opposition to reciprocity from local sugar-growers. Special interests.

Sylvester Stevens, Hawaiian Annexation... sectional interests in reciprocity.
Sugar growers vs. Beet sugar; refiners in West Coast. Reciprocity
was a tool of imperialists. Why did they use it so rarely?

① A general belief in principle of protection - only in 1861 was principle
adopted on major scale. By 1870, protectionists saw that to break down
tariff principle might be harmful. ② Special interests.

Tyler or Muzzey Blaine on recip: saw in 1890 that Am prod too
great for home consumption. (11 yrs ahead of McKinley) McKinley Tariff of
1890 contained recip clause.) Mkt for mfg gds hard to find - compet.
Potential mkt was in backward countries. Best: organize recip program,
reduce tariffs in return for adv abroad. No longer needed protection on
home mkt. More imp to open mkt abroad thru recip. This is straight
expansion propaganda. Recip of 1890 watered down, in reverse. Still
get concessions from Lat Am. Limited type in 1897. Roosevelt not
interested in recip. fear of tariff.

As an imperial device it was a type of econ control with
gains to U.S. Made Canada under control of U.S. Recip with
Hawaii made it virt. a territory, followed by annexation.

Become tied to U.S. - encouraged Hawaii to concentrate on sugars

become dependent upon Am. Sugar mkt. Adv. of recip lost by Tariff of 1890. Am sugar beet given bounty. Sugar business in bad, led to annexation. Overly simple, but obviously important. Spearhead group was the Americans in Hawaii, sentimentally connected with U.S.

Fitz Gibbon: American - Cuban Relations - not so hot.

Cuba recip made Cuba eco. connected with U.S. Mil situation also part of story - Became so much a dependency that almost become a monopoly. In 1930's we were willing to give up Platt Amend - now use sugar as club, not marines.

Since 1934: In days of Blaine + McK. proposed as one way of getting into foreign mkt. Mfgs resisted argument until last generation, all still not educated. Blaine-McK. saw of futility of recip in near future: try other tools: good-will does not require any concessions. (Pr of Wales.) Pan-Am Union result. Persuaded by good-will, sell goods. Lat. Am's suspicion.

Along with good-will, used other means: actual use of force (goes well with good-will.) Panama 1903, many less-spectacular events. Devel of force connected with other motives: strategic reasons, Canal Policy; also way of developing business: with invasion of marines, led to investment by Wall St. This led to trade increase.

L-Am resist good will, complain about force. Held Recip in reserve. 2 world wars sent things all our way in L-Am. no matter how unpleasant we were. Also strategically dependent upon U.S. defense, for arms for dictators, armies gain strength. Bad will results.

U.S. in 1934 thus turned to recip, at bottom of serious depression. Needed outlets in Lat Am. Force had failed, was losing mkt.

Reconsidering policy, de-emphasis of force but secure over-all control.

Boers. Recip forced in 1930's by Cordell Hull - (FDR little interested.)

Program of 1934 recogn that industry reached maturity, no longer fear of oversea compe. Little down for farmer, emphasis on industrial products. Provide for Am trade expansion, which makes for unbalance in imports, leading to further Amer investments abroad. To balance the sheet. Still opposition to recip. mfg not profit, farm groups.

US. Chamber of Commerce, use of Commerce Dept for promotion of Trade.
Exporters have had ear of govt. seeks mltis for them. Navy cooperates.

Politics and American Expansion.

Any consistent policy? Not often major issue. Since 1930 Dems for Internationalism in general.

1. Foreign policy not a major issue between parties
2. ~~For~~ Party split on other issues.

often efforts are made to take foreign affairs out of campaign (as tariff, which never elects anyone, though does defeat people.)
might be a contributing factor

Popular mandates on vague side - Issue of diplomacy never put to people. Many other issues fall in same category.

Votes of particular groups may swing on election. 1888 Anti-British
1916 O'Leary letter anti-Irish felling. also anti-Germans.

1844 - Turned on foreign issue: Texas + Oregon Cloy hedged.

1884-88-92 1900-1916-1920 here are there for rel
influenced. From Roosevelt, had keen interest in foreign affairs
Made decisions with eye to politicians "Quarantine Speech"
Chicago 1937.

As a whole, presidential elections do not turn on foreign affairs.
Most Americans only mildly interested. A small group vitally interested, for special reasons - Business, Navy, politics, etc. Key is attitude of professional politician to get or keep office: reflect viewpoint of dominant group - Expedient. Even Marshall must follow certain political adjustments to keep in tune with public.

Seward on out-and-out expansionist; politically ambitious and in a bad way.

Be careful of nomenclature imperialists, etc.

Political point of view since 1880:

Republican policies in general: tie-in with industrialists
make policy of commercial expansion. tho by no means a unified party. Blaine annexationist. Roosevelt primarily interested in spread of US influence, cheaper than annexation. Republican shift.
Financial expansion - govt finance -

Both parties committed to private trade + investment; look upon govt entry as a temporary affair. Dems feel govt must remain in finance field. How long? Shades of opinion. Accent on private interest a

little heavier on part of Repubs.

Republican party consistent in imperialism. Sen Navy Arthur built the new Navy. Marc Hanna interest in steel, battleships.

Anti-Imperialist League predominantly Republican, with big names, opposed expansion of 1890's. Had a separate convention in 1900, endorsed Bryan. Had continuous existence to present. Dominant part of party 1919-present? At least in time of league struggles. Policy of withdrawal

Isolationists 1919-20 were few; grew in '20s. Yet continued to be expansionist in economic interests. Limited change of face on Navy (1921) Decision for expansion in general, but type of exp. made difference. Support financial expansion very much. Opposed league. might tie their hands. Political motive also.

Dem Party also imperialistic transformed into expansionist.

Ideas Justifying Expansion

Pratt. "Exp of 1898." Ch I. Foundations of New Manifest Destiny. Fiske, Burgess, Mahon, Strong related to Darwin Theory.

Businessmen oppose Span-Am War. Fear of Inflation, Free Silver.

Hofstadter, Social Darwinism.

Rockefeller defends old ~~Trust~~ Trust Idea. by this theory. Wm Sumner of Yale. a follower of Darwin in international relations who on anti-imperialist

Lawenberg in Miss Val. Hist Rev on Darwinism.

These writers do not connect Darwinism with imperialism, except as an excuse for action. Pratt goes too far in blaming all of imperialism on social Darwinism; also acts on scraps of information. Sumner anti-imperialism. Really, overseas expansion real beginning in turn of trade balance - Because Span-Am war opposed by business interests, no evidence that general program that of expansion not economic at base.

this war not urged by business, but by church groups, humanitarians - Teller Amendment by beet sugar interest of his state, Colorado.

many other excuses given for imperialism, in addition to Darwinism.

gent nationalism of U.S. of late 1890's. Of a piece with European nationalism of this time - rampant, super-patriotism. Pattern of the modern state. Religion, economic, psychological. Has varying slogans, sometimes no slogans. Unfortunate to overstress any one phase of it. Well variety of excuses (defenses) for imperialism make it clear that they are only something added to a going trend. Look for right, rather than might.

Imperialists not only defended Sp-Am war, but also expansion from 1870's on. Businessman's expansion. Anti-imperialists concentrated on objection to acquisition of territory. Wm G. Sumner, Bryan (Curtis, Bryan & World Peace) Wilson had ideas of foreign policy long before he became president, and based upon morals. (Natter.) Bryan talked in moral terms, thought in eco terms, to extent of favoring farmers over industrialists. A pacifist, he left cabinet on basis of coming war. "Cooling-off" treaties, prevent war by postponement of actual decl. Felt that Sp-Am war "morally correct", but did not favor eco. expansion. Believed in democracy too well. Put free people in bondage. Annexation foreign peoples thus wrong, morally. Control of people by Wall St. bankers also wrong. (Bryan & Wilson) thus opposed territorial and economic. Yet during Wilson's term, did annex territory (Virgin Is.) with no plebiscite. Also greatly extend control over territory thru economics. Wilson's job to explain apparent shift in policy: superiority of Am way of life - Burgess' nordic, anglo-saxon idea. German-English-Am. Soon loses german. Still in moral terms. An economic motive is an immoral motive. Also did not like expansion territorial motive. Expand because of great natural resources which make exp. inevitable. Bryan hostile to Wall St. Expansion of 1913-1921 therefore does not discuss economic. ~~After~~ did maintain creditor status, great eco. expansion. War I. saw U.S. attain dominant position in world economy.

Wilson criticized use of force, as bell people down. When he used force, Wilson justified by "using force to help people up."

Difficult for Bryan to conceive of democracy in industrial soc.

Outside Am, was example of America which counted. Wilson said this not enough; must actively spread democ. Use world as battlefield. expressed in moral terms.

If internationalists are to succeed, need more than moral pattern.

Josiah Strong great in pushing social Christianity, missionary. Secondary expansionist.

Anti-Imperialists of 1898-1900, becoming exp. in 1913-1921 shows growth of the movement. After War I, main conflict between a Wilson group, pushing international view; and other group of expan., some isol., econ exp. Almost none of isolationists favored economic self-sufficiency. Those who did always referred to Continent. This group promoted expansion. H.C. Lodge.

America First group favored mil. expansion. These arguments between wars were between 2 groups of expanders. Were a world power. Some people continued to believe that certain aspects were irrelevant: pacifists. Old Progressives opposed both major types of expansionists. Connected with farm groups. After Depression, generally lined up with New Deal. Patch framework of capitalism.

FDR, in international field, not Old Prog. A combination of Wilson expansionists, plus economic exp. Saw good & bad, moral ideas. Genl. belief in self-determination. Also acutely conscious of economic - due to Depression. Careful not to call himself a Wilsonian too often. Also denounced Wall St. but worked willingly with big business. No sympathy with pacifists. Associated with Old Prog mainly on domestic front. Not a Marxist. They have for most part opposed expansion. Almost certainly had thought thru that U.S. must expand. Continuing expansion.

Two World Wars.

Sources in 1914-17 have been well-covered w/ few exceptions: European archives adequately. Main problem is interpretation. Much more evidence than for most periods.

Newton Baker, Why We Fought: Germany violated human rights, British violated property rts. Palmer on Baker set forth thesis. ^{See St. Lansing} these books had very much emotionalism. Germany was bad, militaristic, autocratic, inhuman. Generally ignored criticism of Engl.

Wisconsin War Book (all great minds on the campus) hysterical, Germany bad always bad.

Mock + Larson, Words that won the War = writings on W.W.I. New historians entered fray. Prepare indictment

Abrams, Ray: Preachers Present Arms. ^{Pennsyl. Ph D thesis.} American Mercury late 20's. Gratton - "Historians Cut Loose".

Revision: on whole story of war, led by Harry E. Barnes in Am. Hist. Rev. 1919. Maybe all anticipated by anti-war group in 1917. La Follette, etc. or German publications pre-war. Major pt: softening German war guilt: Barnes, Fay, et al. By and large omit economic; are dipl. studies.

Of Am. entry, came a bit later. (Beard in first line of revisionists for War II.) Gratton, 1929. Van

With depression and distrust of bankers, revision natural. Also answers to revisionists. Great deal in the revisionist's material - opened up new sources. Answers also got to sources. did not get a good acceptance in mid-30's. Since, opinion has been more along line of answers. New also bring in psychology. Not great deal of work done since. Many revisionists recanted - Millis (in conversation, & in book on War II.) Peterson also regretted writing

League of Nations issue: Bailey books on Wilson. substantial research, limited to private mss, chiefly Wilson. Not very deep. Rapid, to influence world peace - Used new material, had no worshipful attitude.

D.F. Fleming pro-Wilson, pro-league. R.S. Baker, Bell worship Wilson. H.C. Lodge Senate + League.

Perhaps more books on rejection of League, also League and his red scare 1919-20. recognition of Russia. shockingly little written. Sprunt's book II. Davis, A Navy Second To None. Navy League. Neutrality period of War I Wittke, C. Childs, German-Americans.

In '30's much on foreign policy. Primary material. much of diplo hist little on early New Deal. Sherwood, Roosevelt + Hopkins illuminating. Stimson reminiscences are best. "On Active Service". A good job - not cluttered up with obivous, has real use.

Hull memoirs not so good. Does not differ between contemporary opinion + later; by-passed most questions.

Walter Johnson - Stettinius

Harry E. Barnes on current foreign policy.

Dexter Perkins, Am in Two Wars. shows attitude of historians who favored entry into II. International historians.

General excuse: Am in such an important position that was inevitable. Internationalists have done little based on research.

Walter Johnson, Battle vs. Isolation. Wm A. White Committee reports. Army books not so good to date as Morrison for navy. A. has had many more historians than navy - too many. "Hot" books are killed - Bell Wiley on Negro Sol in War II. Both service campaigns for recruits, against each other.

Mail comdr. papers - Eisenhower, H.M. Smith.

Stillwell Papers publ after his death, not revised, raw materials. not a concerted narrative, some punch to it. War link US-China. Violent anti-Roosev. Pongent.

Churchill memoirs important for Am far. pol. Also a Polish ambassador Defeat + Victory.

N. Blankfort, the Big Yakell = Carlson.

Beard's last two books -

Am Far Pol in making = not very valuable. FDR controlled by trend of domestic ~~foreign~~ policy. Not much of internationalist. Beard calls him isolationist.

FDR. did not publicize his program to people. Does not take up non-advertised methods by which he allied with Eagle + R.

Pres Boss & Coming of war - hostile reviews.

did not get into State Dept papers, Roosevelt's papers. thesis:
FDR, after promising non-intervention, then involved as in Lend-lease. Notes Am. involvement in European crisis - convoy system - Pearl Harbor investigation. Discussion of term "convoy." Falsification of early reports of Atlantic conflict. ("Necessary deception of Am people") Wrote down anti-war pledge in 1940. Am. particip in war long before War II. Intention was to build up term "attack" until war. (FDR difficult to assess) when "attack" failed to materialize, turns to Japanese end, gets them to attack.

Dulles, Road To Teheran Russia + America, 1783-1943

friendly Russia. Historian in war. Pleasant atmosphere - Sirokan, Russia + U.S. friendly.
Next few years - animosities.

Foreign Policy books for Harvard use area experts. Eco + Pol situation of the country. Brinton, Fairbank.

Foreign Rel. Annual Publications - Keep up with ~~with~~ what goes on. by Council on For. Rel. - has definite pts of view. Lot of documents publ regularly. Also by World Peace Foundation, Boston.

Bibliog by Council on For. Rel. every 10 yrs. Slanted. Magazine Foreign Affairs. For Pol Rpts useful. Every two wks.

Field.

U.S. a world power, for rest of our lives. Connect all writing new with world affairs. Unfortunate tendency: to study U.S. and almost nothing else. (Am Civilization, etc.) this specialist ought to be aware of world. Should not be turned away from the world. Fight urge toward Am. studies, pushed by organs having a real purpose. (Am. Legion)

Breakdown in periods for whole world, for specialty. World approach. also in teaching. Join, link areas.