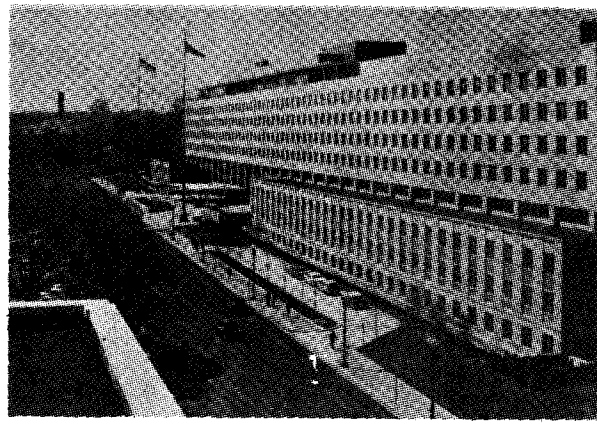


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The Society of Historians of American  
Political Institutions

VOL. 2  
NO. 1  
DEC. 1970

Letter from the Executive Secretary

December 1, 1970

Dear Colleagues:

The Society has just completed a rather difficult year that began with a call for a Committee to study our problems and make suggestions for their solution. Thanks to the diligent work of Forrest Pogue and his Committee colleagues, Wayne Cole, Jules Davids and Richardson Dougall, we now have a new Constitution which decentralizes the load of managing the Society by creating a number of standing Committees. You approved their work in September by a vote of 121 to 1. You also approved the two suggested changes to that document by votes of 85 to 33 and 85 to 31. These changes will be discussed at the December Council Meeting.

During the same year, progress was made on the State Department Internship Program (we are currently awaiting AHA final endorsement) and the Bibliographical Project. The Project Committee has been formed and consists of Larry Gelfand (Chairman), David Trask, Warren I. Cohen, Lloyd Gardner, Marion Zalmiser, Charles S. Campbell Jr., Diane S. Clemens and Warren Kuehl. Warren Kimball of Rutgers, Newark Campus, has received the appointment as Editor of the new SHAFR Roster and Research List and is now completing the revised roster for publication in early December.

At the Annual Council Meeting, we will discuss a number of further organizational plans such as financial procedures, incorporation, and the above amendments to the By-Laws. These will be reported to you at the Business Meeting.

As far as other conventions are concerned, you know, of course, that we cannot have joint sessions with the OAH, but we have arranged for a luncheon session in New Orleans in April. President Fred Harrington of Wisconsin will serve as chairman and our speaker will be Lt. General J. Lawton Collins who will discuss certain aspects of military-diplomatic decision-making during his term as Chief of Staff of the United States Army during the Korean Conflict. I believe that will be a most interesting session. The Program Committee is working on other plans for the PCBAHA meeting in August, 1971 and the SHA in November. We will report these plans to you when they are finalized.

With that, I wish you the best during the Holiday Season.

Joseph P. O'Grady  
Executive Secretary, SHAFR

## SHAFR SESSIONS

### AT PORTLAND AND LOUISVILLE

SHAFR jointly sponsored a session at the sixty-third annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, held in Portland, Oregon, September 3-5. "Extending of American Foreign Policy into the Pacific" was the theme of the session, presided over by W. Stull Holt of the University of Washington. Two very different papers were delivered: a broad, far ranging one by Donald D. Johnson, University of Hawaii, "Merchants, Whalers, and Missionaries as Foreign Policy Factors in the Pacific," and a very specific one by Sandra T. Caruthers, University of Utah, "Vicarious Imperialism: American Encouragement of Japanese Expansionism, 1870-1880."

Mr. Johnson's paper was a distillation of some fifteen years of study of consular and diplomatic papers concerning the Pacific, of some business journals, a few business and personal papers, and a small part of the available missionary literature. His conclusions were a direct attack on the views of Walter LaFeber and others that late nineteenth century expansionist demands represented a consensus of business and government leaders. American interests in the Pacific basin began as private ventures, Johnson asserted, with virtually no policy-making expected or requested of government. The first Americans to enter the area were traders, followed closely by whalers and much later by missionaries. None of these sought its principal salvation in expansive policies in the Pacific, nor did the failure to realize the dreams of Brooks Adams there doom the nation to economic stagnation. Publicists and politicians, according to Johnson, sought to legitimize their prognostications on future American interests and policies in the area by using economic arguments, yet this proved to be poor material on which to found national policy.

The interests of whalers were limited in time by the decline of their industry after the Civil War. They were limited in political influence by the narrow geographic base of the industry in New England ports. Yet in its heyday the Pacific whaling industry took more Americans into the region than did merchant shipping and missionary enterprise put together. The whalers asked relatively little of government, and they got less.

The missionaries sent fewer Americans into the Pacific basin than either merchants or whalers. Yet their geographic base at home was wider and their constituency larger than either of the other groups. It is a reasonable surmise that they had more influence on American views of Pacific peoples, if not more influence on national policy, than either of the other groups.

Mr. Johnson concluded his paper with a strong plea that further inquiry into the papers of business firms and responsible business leaders, together with specific study of the ways in which they sought to influence public policy decisions, is needed. The same is needed for missionary societies and individuals. New methods borrowed from the social sciences may help toward finding the true roots of national policies in and toward the Pacific in the past, and thus in the present.

While Mr. Johnson dealt with American interests throughout the entire nineteenth century in the Pacific, Professor Caruthers focused on one decade, 1870-1880, and specifically confined herself to two advocates of expansion, Charles E. DeLong and Charles W. LeGendre. Agreeing with Johnson that the post Civil War era did not display the interest in expansion noticed by Walter LaFeber, Miss Caruthers asserted that DeLong and LeGendre, two diplomats of the Grant era, encouraged the government of Japan to expand into Korea and Formosa. Unable to promote American expansion, the two diplomats qualify as "vicarious imperialists" by encouraging the Japanese. As Minister to Japan, 1869-1873, Charles E. DeLong secretly offered to help the Japanese foreign minister in an invasion of Formosa, by providing maps of the coast from officers of the American East India Squadron, and by securing the services of a Formosa expert, the former Consul General Charles LeGendre. All the while, DeLong assured the Secretary of State that he was advising the Japanese government to seek a peaceful and reasonable settlement with China. Indeed, it was this kind of duplicity, and DeLong's ignorance of diplomatic protocol, as well as his repeated spelling and grammatical errors which annoyed Hamilton Fish sufficiently enough to request DeLong's resignation in late 1873.

LeGendre was appointed as American Consul to Amoy in 1867. Like DeLong, LeGendre alienated his superiors, and after failing to win promotion in 1872 he became a Special Adviser to the Japanese Foreign office. For the next three years in this official capacity, and unofficially thereafter, he alerted Japan to her opportunities in Korea, north China, the Ryukyu islands, and Formosa. It was LeGendre who helped plan and execute the Japanese expedition to Formosa in 1874. LeGendre had become obsessed, Caruthers noted, by a desire to contribute to the cause of Japanese imperialism in the Far East. Thus, "the vicarious imperialist whose advice and services had been rejected by the United States had found a new home in Japan." Without enumerating anyone else, Professor Caruthers concluded that many other Americans found in a modern, progressive, expansionist Japan much to be praised and encouraged, for there were those Americans who ardently wished their homeland to emulate Japan.

In his commentary upon both papers, Professor E. Berkeley Tompkins of Stanford University called attention to the timeliness of the papers and their important differences. One was broad gauged; the other limited geographically, topically, and in time. Each author, Tompkins asserted, would have benefitted if he had adopted the other's technique and scope. Tompkins also called attention to the lack of a definition of "vicarious imperialism" in the Caruthers paper and suggested that perhaps neither DeLong nor LeGendre comport to the ideal of the normal or usual diplomat. Perhaps they were simply "two eccentric gentlemen."

Professor W. Patrick Strauss, of Oakland University, the second commentator, was as complimentary about both papers as was Professor Tompkins, although Strauss maintained that Professor Johnson under-emphasized the support given to commercial interests, whalers, and missionaries by the American government. Strauss called particular attention to the works of C. O. Paullin, as a corrective to Johnson's interpretation. Despite the lateness of the hour, and the fact that the SHAFR joint session concluded the PCB convention, a spirited debate ensued between the panel and the audience, especially between Professors Johnson and Abraham Nasatir of San Diego State College.

Peter M. Buzanski  
San Jose State College

SHAHR also jointly sponsored a session at the recent Southern Historical Association in Louisville, Kentucky, November 12-14, dealing with the activities of interest groups in the Middle East, 1914-1927, and their impact upon American interests and policy in that part of the world. The overall impression left by each of the three papers (Leon Boothe, Associate Dean at George Mason College, "The Zionists' Search for Policy, 1917"; Joseph L. Grabill of Illinois State University, "The Missionaries, 1914-1923"; and Thomas Bryson of West Georgia College, "The Merchants' Search: Admiral Mark L. Bristol, An Open Door Diplomat and Merchants' Factor") was that United States policy in and about the Middle East lacked both clear definition and effective leadership on the part of the government, thus increasing the significance of individuals and pressure groups who were actively concerned with their own interests in the Levant.

The paper delivered by Mr. Boothe dealt primarily with the role of American Zionists in the promulgation of the Balfour Declaration and President Wilson's subsequent secret approval of that plan. Working closely with the British Zionist movement, which had been granted access to British government communications facilities, the American Zionists worked hard to subvert a proposal of Henry Morgenthau, Sr. designed to entice the Ottoman Empire to leave the war. The Zionists believed that such a plan would sacrifice a Jewish homeland in Palestine, yet they had to avoid being labeled opponents of peace. The Morgenthau mission never got to Turkey, and Boothe believes the American Zionists played a key role in convincing Morgenthau to call it off. Their efforts to get Wilson to approve the Balfour Declaration are more difficult to evaluate. Although they constantly pressured House and Wilson to endorse the plan, Wilson's decision to do so was not a result of any contacts from Zionists like Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis. Boothe concluded that anti-Zionism among American Jews, which was plentiful in 1917, began to diminish significantly with the Balfour Declaration since to oppose such a homeland appeared disloyal to one's culture.

Mr. Grabill dealt with the activities of missionaries in the Levant and the attempts by the Protestant lobby, as he termed it, to influence American policy. Missionaries and their political lobby were pro-Arab and saw the conflict inherent in Zionism. The International Commission on Mandates in Turkey, which ultimately degenerated into the American government's King-Crane Commission, was dominated by missionary interests who hoped to see French influence in Syria replaced by either the British or the United States. Such efforts to extend United States influence came to naught. Although the work of missionaries in combatting famine and epidemic in Syria as well as the emotional appeal of Wilson's rhetoric about self-determination created substantial pro-American feeling, the government was not inclined to use that body of opinion as a means of extending American power into the area.

Admiral Mark Bristol, the U.S. High Commissioner to Turkey and Commander of U.S. Naval Forces in the Mediterranean, 1919-1927, demonstrates the validity of the "Williams thesis", according to Mr. Bryson. Bristol believed his major task was the expansion of American commerce in the eastern Mediterranean, and he used his dual authority to do just that. Like Charles Beard, Bryson sees Bristol as the quintessence of Mahan's theories. Bristol advocated a U.S. mandate over the entire Ottoman Empire, and saw philanthropic and

missionary work as the handmaidens of business. To Bristol, the job of the peacetime navy was the creation of a favorable climate for economic expansion, and he used the navy to find and report commercial opportunities and made naval communication facilities available to service business needs. Although Bristol promoted cultural expansion by philanthropic/missionary groups, he saw their primary value as promoters of western style governments and economic systems in the Middle East. While statistics show that American trade in the area did not actually expand during Bristol's tenure, Bryson asserts that his efforts resulted in a shift in the control of U.S. Middle Eastern policy from missionary groups to business oriented interests.

Professor John DeNovo of the University of Wisconsin at Madison commented on all three of the papers. He observed that each paper dealt with a special interest group, each met with short term success, but all had possibly flawed goals. He wondered whether Mr. Boothe added to our knowledge of the Zionists' activities and challenged the point that German attempts to take advantage of the situation by supporting Zionism significantly influenced Wilson's decision. He also questioned if Mr. Grabill contributed anything beyond what we already know, in spite of solid research. Mr. DeNovo also queried the vague terminology used by Grabill. The commentator saw Bryson's paper as a contribution in terms of the thesis it offered, although he believed the overall effect of the paper was a distortion because Bristol was larger than the Open Door mold. Although Bryson's essential point was true, the use of vague terms such as "American empire" was questionable. One general criticism was that none of the papers properly dealt with the Middle Eastern side of the questions.

The length of the program and the onset of hunger pangs which indicated the approach of the noon hour precluded any lengthy discussion on the part of the fifty or so persons in attendance.

Warren F. Kimball  
Rutgers--The State University,  
Newark College

## RESEARCH IN MODERN GERMAN

### FOREIGN MINISTRY RECORDS

The termination of the Second World War created a unique opportunity for diplomatic historians. Among the victors' spoils were some 400 tons of paper from the German diplomatic archives. Unlike the military records, which were largely destroyed by bombing and official destruction, the foreign policy records, with significant qualitative exceptions, survived with amazingly limited losses. They confront the scholar with a quantitative embarrassment of riches and an unusual dilemma of selection.

Unlike other research, the searcher may select one of two approaches in obtaining materials. Aside from the reading difficulties, the most convenient approach is through microfilm. In addition to saving the travel costs the researcher possesses three excellent catalogs listing the millions of pages available through this medium. They all stem from a welcome cooperation between governments, foundations, academic institutions, and individuals.

The captured archives fell into the three periods corresponding with the divisions of modern German history, 1867-1920, 1920-1933, 1933-1945. The records for the first time span are virtually complete. For the period of the middle years the files are incomplete because of purposeful destruction, fire, and loss in the chaos of 1948. It is possible, however, to locate most of these papers by searching in other offices. In this sense the curse of carbon copies is a boon to scholarship. The papers of Hitler's regime pose incredibly complex challenges because of his approach to foreign policy. While the archives are incomplete the seriousness of the losses remains unclear.

In 1946 the American and British governments (subsequently widened by French support) established the German War Documents Project to study, copy, and publish selections from the files for the years 1918-1945. They did not concern themselves with the earlier years. Various individuals and institutions, cognizant of their opportunity, sought foundation and public support for extensive microfilm undertaking. In an effort to bring all of these efforts together the American Historical Association sponsored the publication of a guide, A Catalogue of Files and Microfilms of the German Foreign Ministry Archives, 1867-1920 (Oxford University Press, 1959). While the filming was selective because of the massive bulk involved in the undertaking, the listing provides a valuable finding aid. The majority of important papers from this period have been filmed and are available for purchase through the responsible agencies.

For the years after 1920 the voluminous files present an even greater challenge. The Western Allies decided upon a massive copy and publication program. In part they needed the records for the Nuremberg trials, in part for the joint publication of the multi-volumed series, Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945. The officials copied the desired sources for both endeavors but added many other files as well. In an effort to provide an index George O. Kent assembled a detailed guide, A Catalog of Files and Microfilms of the Foreign Ministry Archives, 1920-1945 (Hoover Institution,

1962- ). This invaluable series will constitute four volumes upon completion. Currently three volumes are in print. It is a minutely detailed listing which will satisfy the most demanding information requirement. Kent indicates that the records are in reasonable order through 1940. Thereafter they become fragmentary and more difficult for use. The lack of understanding over the original organizational philosophy and destruction of the registry books provides major challenges to the scholar.

An important adjunct to these files is the Nazi Party Archive which includes many related materials. The Hoover Institution sponsored the microfilming of most of this collection. An excellent index is in Grete Heinz and Agnes Peterson, NSDAP Hauptarchiv, Guide to the Hoover Institution Microfilm Collection (Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1964).

The other approach is a personal visit to the repositories themselves. Interested persons should write far in advance to the Politisches Archiv des Auswartigen Amtes in Bonn. While the archivists are helpful, the work space is limited and users must register for a place in line. Reproduction services are excellent albeit expensive. The visitor must also anticipate certain inconveniences because the files are being reorganized under a different system than that used by the published guides. This adjustment, which will require several years, does not always permit sustained searching among the desired files. In view of the cost of living in Bonn, the scholar should be certain that he has both a confirmed desk and access to the desired papers before booking his passage.

For the Nazi Party Archive one may turn to Richard Bauer in the Berlin Document Center, 1 Berlin 37, Wasserkaefersteig 1. His helpful approach to all scholarly activity is known to anyone who has used the microfilm collections in the National Archives.

The East German holdings are not fully known. From their publications they do hold broken files which complement those in Bonn. In particular they have useful colonial and consular sources. They do not maintain service as part of their responsibilities. In fact, they are most reticent about granting direct access to the papers. Since they lack foreign exchange, one may try bartering microfilms from the Allied holdings for desired materials. Under the prevailing political leadership, this practice may lead the unwary into tragedy. Interested parties should contact Arnold Price, Central European Area Specialist, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540. He can provide an observation on the current possibilities.

Despite the rich treasure trove uncovered from the German archives there remains a plethora of unexplored themes. The diplomatic historian need merely suffer through the decision-making process. Certainly the documentary sources are available en mass.

Charles B. Burdick  
San Jose State College



Descriptive Pamphlets of National Archives Microfilm  
Publications of Interest to Diplomatic Historians\*

Microcopy Number	Title	Number of Rolls	Price of Microfilm
<u>Despatches From United States Ministers to:</u>			
44	The German States and Germany, 1799-1906	107	\$641
69	Argentina, 1817-1906	40	246
97	Mexico, 1823-1906	179	1064
121	Brazil, 1809-1906	74	441
223	Persia, 1838-1906	11	66

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\*Compiled by Milton O. Gustafson. This list is a continuation from the SHAFR NEWSLETTER, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 4-9, and No. 2, pp. 19-24, compiled by Peter M. Buzanski. All of the material is from Record Group 59, General Records of the Department of State, unless otherwise noted, and it is listed by series and thereunder by Microcopy number. The prices quoted in this list reflect the new pricing policy which went into effect on July 1, 1970; the prices quoted in the pamphlets, and in the two previous issues, are no longer valid. For further information about prices, or for copies of pamphlets, scholars should write directly to the Publication Sales Branch, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C. 20408. Scholars interested in materials for which no descriptive pamphlets currently exist, or which have not been microfilmed, should write to Dr. Milton O. Gustafson, Specialist in United States Foreign Relations, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C. 20408.

Microcopy Number	Title	Number of Rolls	Price of Microfilm
	<u>Despatches from United States</u> <u>Consuls in:</u>		
143	Acapulco, 1823-1906	8	\$ 48
146	Valparaiso, 1812-1906	14	79
154	Lima, 1823-1854	6	33
155	Callao, 1854-1906	17	96
159	Mazatlan, 1826-1906	7	41
165	Monterrey, 1849-1906	7	41
169	Monrovia, 1852-1906	7	38
183	Vera Cruz, 1822-1906	18	104
199	Santa Fe, 1830-1846	1	5
280	Nuevo Laredo, 1871-1906	4	28
285	Aguascalientes, 1901-1906	1	6
286	Campeche, 1820-1880	1	7
287	Merida, 1843-1897, and Progreso, 1897-1906	4	28
288	Camargo, 1870-1880	1	5
290	Durango, 1886-1906	1	8
291	Ensenada, 1888-1906	1	7
292	Guerrero, 1871-1888	1	7
293	Hermosillo, 1905-1906	1	5
294	Jalapa Enriquez, 1905-1906	1	5
296	Mexico City, 1822-1906	15	103
297	Mier, 1870-1878	1	5
298	Minatitlan, 1853-1881	2	14
299	Piedras Negras (Ciudad Porfirio Diaz), 1868-1906	5	35

Microcopy Number	Title	Number of Rolls	Price of Microfilm
300	Saltillo, 1876-1906	1	\$ 7
301	San Blas, 1837-1892	1	6
302	San Luis Potosi, 1869-1886	1	5
303	Tabasco, 1832-1874	2	14
304	Tampico, 1824-1906	8	59
305	Tehuantepec, 1850-1867	1	6
307	Zacatecas, 1860-1884	1	5
308	Ciudad del Carmen, 1830-1872	1	6
328	Oaxaca, 1869-1878	1	5
442	San Dimas, 1871-1873	1	5
485	Riga, 1834-1872, 1890-1906	1	6

Notes from Foreign Legations in the  
United States to the Department of  
State:

49	Brazil, 1824-1906	8	46
54	Mexico, 1821-1906	39	258
59	Spain, 1790-1906	31	224
98	China, 1868-1906	6	38

Letters of Application and Recommenda-  
tion during the Administration of:

406	John Adams, 1797-1801	3	20
418	Thomas Jefferson, 1801-1809	12	76
438	James Madison, 1809-1817	8	56
439	James Monroe, 1817-1825	19	131
531	John Quincy Adams, 1825-1829	8	51

Microcopy Number	Title	Number of Rolls	Price of Microfilm
639	Andrew Jackson, 1829-1837	27	\$ 162
650	Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, 1861-1869	53	391
<u>Records of the Department of State</u> <u>Decimal File, 1910-1929, Relating to:</u>			
274	Internal Affairs of Mexico	243	1752
314	Political Relations Between the United States and Mexico	30	203
315	Political Relations Between Mexico and Other States	2	13
366	Internal Affairs of Venezuela	33	216
411	Internal Affairs of Ethiopia (Abyssinia)	4	28
412	Political Relations Between the United States and Ethiopia (Abyssinia)	1	5
475	Political Relations Between the United States and Greece	3	19
476	Political Relations Between Greece and Other States	6	37
487	Internal Affairs of Chile	40	263
489	Political Relations Between the United States and Chile	1	6
490	Political Relations between Chile and Other States	2	14
488	Internal Affairs of Cuba	99	653
509	Political Relations Between the United States and Cuba	2	14
510	Political Relations Between Cuba and Other States	1	5
571	Internal Affairs of Egypt	31	211
572	Political Relations Between the United States and Egypt	1	5

Microcopy Number	Title	Number of Rolls	Price of Microfilm
573	Political Relations Between Egypt and Other States	1	\$ 5
577	Internal Affairs of Morocco	26	160
579	Political Relations Between Morocco and Other States	1	5
582	Political Relations Between Great Britain and Other States	13	81
610	Internal Affairs of Haiti	94	576
613	Internal Affairs of Liberia	34	217
647	Internal Affairs of Honduras	49	304
648	Political Relations Between the United States and Honduras	1	5
646	Political Relations Between Bolivia and Other States	18	106
655	Internal Affairs of Guatemala	40	250
656 & 657	Political Relations Between the United States and Guatemala	1	5
	Political Relations Between Guatemala and Other States	27	165
683 & 684	Political Relations Between the United States and the Netherlands	6	37
	Political Relations Between the Netherlands and Other States	1	7
748	Political Relations Between Peru and Other States	52	343
<u>Miscellaneous Microfilm Publications</u>			
61	Foreign Letters of the Continental Congress and the Department of State, 1785-1790	1	6
160*	Records Relating to the Suppression of the African Slave Trade and to Negro Colonization, 1854-1872	10	56

Microcopy Number	Title	Number of Rolls	Price of Microfilm
179	Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State, 1789-1906	1310	\$ 8017
205**	Correspondence of the Secretary of the Navy Relating to African Colonization, 1819-1844	2	14
247	Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789	204	1268
332	Miscellaneous Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789	9	54
570	Copybooks of George Washington's Correspondence with Secretaries of State, 1789-1796	1	6
586	List of U.S. Diplomatic Officers, 1789-1939	3	15
587	List of U.S. Consular Officers, 1789-1939	21	105
588	"War of 1812 Papers" of the Department of State, 1789-1815	7	44

\* Record Group 48, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior.

\*\* Record Group 45, Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records  
and Library.

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SHAFR ROSTER & RESEARCH LIST

Please use this form to register your general and current research interests as well as your current address. The Roster & Research List will be revised and issued on Sept. 15 of each year. In addition to an alphabetical membership roster, names will be grouped according to the subject matter of their current research (or according to their area of general research interest if no specific research project is listed), so please use descriptive titles in registering a project. Unless new data is submitted, previously listed research projects will be repeated in each issue. Submit the form at any time during the year, but before Sept. 1 to be included in that year's listing.

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Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Title: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

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General area of research interest: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Current research project: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ EST. COMPL. DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

check here  if this is pre-doctoral research.

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