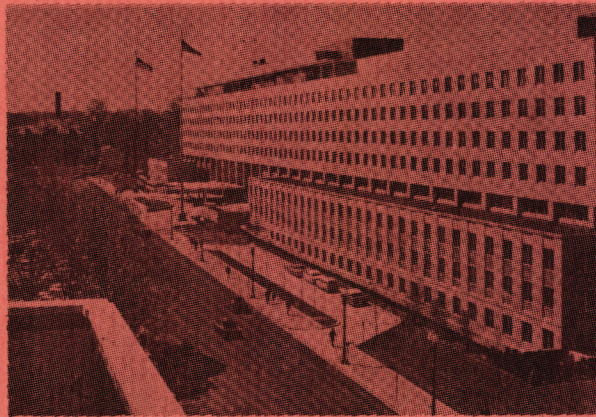
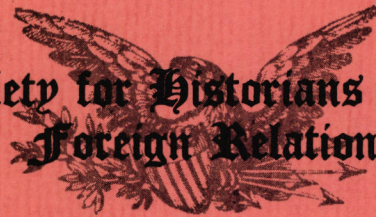


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### THREE GENERATIONS OF DIPLOMATIC HISTORIANS

by Robert H. Ferrell, Indiana University\*

Three generations of diplomatic historians in this country quite easily span the years back to before the First World War, to the time when the founders of the American Historical Association were still active as teachers and scholars. This is a fact that we all know, but remarkable because it points to the youth of historical scholarship in the United States. It makes all of us in a sense historical monuments, because in our own lifetimes, or in those of friends yet living, we can trace the rise of our discipline.

I find the youthfulness of the discipline a constant subject for speculation, and even for nostalgia, as I discover I can learn various truths about the profession by talking with my older friends. I discover that the problems which arise within our own universities, problems that sometimes seem so pressing, and often so exasperating -- problems of promotion, of tenure, of administration (who shall be chairman, who shall be dean, or president), problems of new rules for graduate study or undergraduate instruction: I discover, after talks with my older friends, that these problems have been plaguing the profession for three generations. Recently I have been reading J. Fred Rippy's memoir, published in Texas, which bobbed into view in a footnote to something which I now can't place, and his account of his years at the University of Chicago is illuminating, to say the least. At the outset of his career he found himself under the chairmanship of a Scotsman named Andrew C. McLaughlin, and every time Rippy came in with an offer from another school McLaughlin would sigh and raise his salary a few hundred dollars. Then the time came when the Scot was going to retire, and an unseemly contest occurred for the chairmanship, between William E. Dodd and Ferdinand Schevill. It was not a contest in the sense that both men were openly fighting for the chair, but it was the sort of awkward choice which, if either of the contestants had said but a few words of withdrawal, would have made everything much easier. The problems of today thus were the problems of yesterday, and of years gone by.

In talking with my friends of the older generation I so often obtain the feeling that they are thinking to themselves that if only they could give the profession

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\*This article is the Presidential Address delivered by Professor Ferrell at the luncheon of the Society during the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, D. C., December 1971.



another whirl, if only they could start again in the present academic circumstances, their lives would have been easier. When friends sense that their thoughts are moving in this direction they often raise a point of principle, to the effect that if they had it to do over again they would do exactly as they did, and I know, and you know, that in the sense that they had chosen history as a profession they mean what they say -- they were not saddened, as have been some of our friends and acquaintances who have chosen business careers, and they thoroughly enjoyed their life with history. Still, they also know how cramped, how circumstanced, their lives were. In recent years our colleagues with twenty and more years of advantage than ourselves (or people, I should say, of my generation) have been writing memoirs. Dexter Perkins published Yield of the Years two years ago, and Fred Rippey's Bygones I Cannot Help Recalling appeared in 1966. Samuel Flagg Bemis has written a touching private memoir, a few chapters of which have appeared in a little magazine published at Old Sturbridge. Friends of these eminent diplomatic historians, such as the elder Arthur M. Schlesinger, John D. Hicks, and Roy F. Nichols, have published autobiographical accounts that touch our own discipline and that discipline's leading figures -- for, after all, in the old days there were not 20,000 historians in this country. When the American Historical Association got together in its annual meeting it was easily possible to get all the historians to stand on a photographer's monkey arrangement and take their picture. But to come to the point: the memoirs show the fun of it all, the enjoyment with which young historians then entered the profession; and yet they show the chancyness of the entrance, the difficulty of getting started, especially the cramped surroundings of the early years, when good positions were not easy, when it took years of patience before the autobiographical subjects made it into a major university. A further point of interest, I might add, is that some of them never did make it into a major university.

Our predecessors in the field of diplomatic history did not have a life of ease, and found themselves often teaching under the chairmanships of gentlemen of the really older generation, the generation that could remember the Civil War, a generation that regarded the teaching of history more as a preoccupation than a profession. The teaching loads were heavy, usually nine hours, frequently twelve, with extra work for extra money. The salaries were small and rose by increments that today would be deemed, if I may use a southern Indiana expression, chicken feed. It was impossible in these good old days to confront a dean, in the way in which a member of our group of my own generation once gave a dean an ultimatum -- that the dean had that morning to raise his salary, else he would leave. My friend left, and got a better job; in the old days there would have



been no place to go. And the colleagues of the older generation often had to live in localities and in houses that today would make us shudder. After living in a hovel, Fred Rippey moved into a house of modest proportions on Blackstone Avenue, but though he spent many years in Chicago he found the city bleak and unfriendly and was unhappy. Samuel Bemis spent Wanderjahre in the West, first at Colorado College in Colorado Springs, then at Whitman in Walla Walla, and has never regretted those years because, as he wrote on the blurb of one of his dust-jacketed books, the experience made him a Western man as well as an Eastern man. Still, the circumstances were not always pleasant, and in Washington State the Bemises lived in a little shack which was so cramped that the renter of the shack spent one winter putting up a lean-to back porch -- after which, to be sure, the Bemises moved out and went to Washington, D.C., to begin another life.

The inspiration of research opportunities in the field of American diplomatic history kept these men going, whatever the disappointments of salary, location, rank, colleagues. And what a field they faced! Dexter Perkins was able to take the Monroe Doctrine as his doctoral thesis; no serious scholar had considered the subject in its archival resources. Samuel Bemis could begin with Jay's Treaty, and move to Pinckney's Treaty and other studies, without fear of being overtaken by scholars ambitious for the same subjects. Woodrow Wilson, a college administrator rather than a serious historian, had said at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904 that things were getting pretty difficult with thesis subjects, that the best ones had been taken, and only the high and dry places were left; but falser words were never spoken, even by Wilson, and the scholars of American diplomatic history soon were joyously at work.

It was the inspiration of magnificent subjects, and also the inspiration of a few great teachers in the then leading institutions of the country -- Harvard, Columbia, Chicago, and California at Berkeley. Not everyone could study with Edward Channing, the small, quizzical, roly-poly man who guided the young Sam Bemis. Channing had known Henry Adams, and Henry Cabot Lodge, and was a magnificent synthesizer, a human bridge between the amateur, literary historians of the nineteenth century and the scholars of the twentieth. But there were other men of talent to teach the young men of 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, the years before and during and just after the World War, such marvelous individuals as Herbert E. Bolton, and the galaxy of scholars assembled at Harper's university in Chicago. Julius W. Pratt studied at Chicago in the early postwar years. Louis Martin Sears likewise studied at Chicago. Thomas A. Bailey, a younger man than the other scholars of what I have called the first generation, studied at Stanford under Edgar E.



Robinson. There was a spirit akin to pioneering as the young men set to work in the virtually empty field of American diplomatic history, under the tutelage of the best teachers at the best universities.

Not merely touching their work but profoundly affecting it, giving it at first an air of working in the midst of great events, then an air of exuberance, eventually (when discouragement set in) an air of melancholy, was the World War of 1914-1918, the war which we historians of more than half a century later now can see was the most important war of modern times, much more important than the Second World War. The First War opened the twentieth century, dramatically narrowing the choices for the generations that were to come, and our friends of the older generation found themselves just beginning their academic careers and then confronted and eventually troubled by the war's rhetoric and enthusiasms. Sometimes they were caught up in events of the war, as in the case of Samuel Bemis who was aboard the Sussex in March, 1916, going over to France to do some more work on Jay's Treaty in the Paris archives, when a German torpedo struck the Channel steamer and broke it in half, with heavy loss of life. Bemis floated around in the water for a few hours, then reboarded the section of the vessel that was afloat, and was picked up by a British destroyer. Whatever the experience, personal or intellectual, the result was professionally important, for the young men of that generation sensed if they did not understand that the placid world of the nineteenth century had ended and that both in their teaching and their researches in American diplomatic history there now was an immediacy that their subject never before had possessed.

A final formative influence upon the older generation -- I should perhaps apologize for spending so long a time on the first of the three generations -- was the Great Depression. Individuals such as myself, born in 1921, have a close and saddening memory of the Depression, for in my own case it meant that my father, who was an official in a bank in Cleveland, lost his job and the family had to move to a farm in Wood County, Ohio, two miles to the south and a mile west of Custar, Ohio, if you know where that is. For the first generation of diplomatic historians the Depression did not mean such journeys, as like most of the teachers in the country they at least managed to hold their jobs through the winter of the Depression. The great economic cataclysm nonetheless brought down enrollments, dramatically limited opportunities for travel, presented daily and graphic illustrations of the failure of the American and world economies, and raised questions about national and international politics that were far different from the upward-and-onward illusions of the Progressive Era and the New Era. No longer could anyone consider the World War as an



interruption in the rise of American civilization, and Charles A. Beard himself could lose faith in the leadership of his country, and even the country's future. The consensus school of American historians, so much derided of late, was a sort of affirmation, perhaps, by some of the individuals who had experienced the Depression and, like Sieyes, survived. The older diplomatic historians in their later years liked to show the forward movement of public opinion, or the constant shrewdnesses of the early American diplomats, and from the historical record they believed they were right in such demonstrations, but behind these efforts to unify there sometimes was memory of the Depression. The Depression disappeared in the full employment of the Second World War, but the uncertainties lingered on. Anyone who does not believe this should talk to some of the older colleagues who as they pass into retirement are vastly concerned about annuities and general income to protect them from the American economy, and occasionally from this concern will emerge worries about the state of the nation and the world which, if suitably worded over in formal writings, have been in the minds of the writers for forty years.

As for the second and third generations of American diplomatic historians, these are groupings or categories which are much easier to set out in their purposes and longings and aspirations, for one has here, I believe, two distinct groups -- my group, a transition group if you wish, which came to maturity or to full maturity during and after the Second World War, and the younger group for which even the Korean War is a childhood memory and which has grown up during the war in Vietnam. The Second World War was of course the cataclysmic experience of my generation. I remember so well my own academic experience, of how I had graduated from Waterville High School, in Waterville, Ohio, second out of a senior class of fourteen, and with a complete naturalness -- after all the year was 1939, and money still was not easy to come by -- went down the road nine miles to the ketchup center of the world, Bowling Green, Ohio, where there was a teachers college founded in 1914 which by 1939 had become known as Bowling Green State University. I took up a curriculum of public school music, and when forced to take two history courses, presumably to broaden my knowledge, found them so irrelevant, one might say, that I managed a near failure in the first semester and a mediocre grade in the second. After completing this two-semester course in ancient history, knowing next to nothing about the subject, I entered the U.S. Army and within months found myself in Egypt, surrounded by ancient history. From this chastening translation and a subsequent amateur interest in architecture came the decision to study history. After two more years at the university -- that is, at Bowling Green -- I thought it would be nice to go to Yale because my uncle lived in Derby, Connecticut, and Yale for



some reason took me that year, 1947, I think because they wanted a few strays from west of the Hudson. Once there, and at the outset failing my German test after three years of college German at BGSU, I slowly gravitated into the seminar of Samuel Bemis and the rest is, one might put it, history.

My experience and that of my generation was with the war of 1941-1945. Who among my group can forget it? If most of us did not see action, we saw the reflections of action: the hundreds, even thousands, of droning planes in the air that clear morning of June 6, 1944; the sirens blowing on the tanks as they lined up along the hedgerows; the dead cows in the little fields, feet sticking up foolishly. After the interminable experience of doing unpleasant things, finding reading impossible, being cold, and the rest of it -- then getting out and running, almost literally running, for an education, only to find within months that the Russians were putting pressure on Iran and the American government was putting pressure on the Russians and it looked as if the whole record was about to be played over again. Back to our studies we would go, to raise our heads now and then, to come out of the Yale Station post office in September, 1949, to read the headline on the New York Times, "RUSSIANS EXPLODE ATOMIC BOMB." Then, after the traumatic experience of obtaining the doctorate, to find that it didn't mean so much after all (at Yale that June of 1951, someone threw all the Ph.D. diplomas on the grass in the graduate school courtyard, and we all floundered around trying to find our own). Then the business of finding a job. No job the first year, and a miserable position in the government in Washington, standing in the exhaust of the buses, evenings in the Library of Congress. The second year a place at Michigan State, which turned out to be a very pleasant place indeed, as I met my wife there, in one of the survey classes.

My generation came into the universities to teach when the war boom of enrollment had flattened out, and salaries had flattened out, and we spent an apprenticeship of ten years of modest living and modest talking with our departments before in the hectic 1960's we rose to our present eminences. At last, we thought -- after the war, after graduate school, after waiting out promotions and salary increases -- we had made it: the universities now would be made over in our sophisticated images. At that moment, sometime in the mid-1960's, we heard some squawks from what appeared to be the peanut galleries, but we gave no attention. Shortly afterward, as the Vietnam War turned sour, the books and reviews and review articles began to appear.



It would be a waste of your time to comment on the work of the revisionists, as you can read such commentaries in several places, and most of you have already done so. Some of us middle-aged types cannot, for the lives of us, see how Turner and the open door and progressivism and consensus have gotten so involved with the writing of the past. I suppose what annoys or at least mystifies the middle-aged generation is that we are now becoming known as traditionalists. We take note of the fact that some of our critics, in acts of the impudence, misspell our names, but to call us traditionalists really bothers, for in most of us the revolutionary fires are still burning and we can celebrate the auto-da-fe of a dean with as much gusto as any youngster, and maybe more. I can see even now the flushed face of my friend denouncing the dean to whom he gave the morning ultimatum, at least ten years ago, and he'd do it again today, even this very morning. We think, in sum, that some of the younger generation are being unfair with us.

I say some of the younger generation, because for the most part the third generation of diplomatic historians, individuals in their twenties and thirties, are not revisionists but are working away at various plots (I use that word in the sense of pieces of land) in the field in the same hardworking manner that the men and women of preceding generations have worked. The remarkable fact about historical revisionism in our own time is how few historians -- one can name them on one hand -- are in that part of the field. The younger people are working in the traditional way, sometimes at not so traditional subjects, certainly without the enormous opportunities that opened to the first generation of diplomatic historians and in some sense even for the second generation. It is becoming ever more difficult to find good thesis topics, though we have by no means reached the bankruptcy of the doctors of English (if one may take as truth the remarks to the Modern Language Association by Morris Bishop some years ago). But the opportunities are still there. Anyone who looks at the lists of doctoral thesis topics in American diplomatic history in recent years is struck by their ingenuity, by their worthwhileness, by the opportunities remaining in the field. It is only part of the larger field that Professor Wilson years ago said was so thoroughly occupied.

If one were to assume, and I so assume, that as the individuals of my generation find themselves extremely sympathetic with the older generation of diplomatic historians, understanding at least while not having had their experiences, if one were to assume that as we understand the older generation so do most of our younger colleagues understand us and not merely tolerate us but share with all of us the unbroken web of experience in the



archives and records; as we all have lived in Mrs. S. S. Snyder's Victorian rooming houses and shared conversation with Mrs. Snyder, now in her late seventies and about to give up the business; as we have spent the evenings in laughter and amusement in the Greek restaurants that used to confront the Library of Congress on its south side and now have migrated down the avenue a short way, with the same questionable menus and the same occasional fires: if one were to assume that within our fraternity of diplomatic history, now brought together semiannually under the aegis of Joseph O'Grady, there is more consensus than fracas, then what do we need to do? More of the same, surely. To which I would add that we have made some mistakes of professionalism which have grown out of the large economic opportunities of recent times, and we need to correct them. We need to talk less about money and moving, less about the numbers of graduate students who have gotten enmeshed in our nets, less about the impropriety of teaching undergraduates, less about the plane trips and the speaking engagements and the time off for research (never known, more simply, as time off for study). We need to realize that in our age of easy communication it is ever so easy to go into the office and sit there with an attitude of business or busyness, whereas in actual fact days and days can pass, in a daze if you will, without our reading a single book or part of a book. The opportunities for study, for reading (it is not necessary to write, so long as one reads), are better today than ever before. And given the extraordinary international situation of recent years -- the trillion dollars that have gone into national defense in the last quarter century, a half trillion of it in the Kennedy-Johnson era, added to the failure of the Vietnam War with all of its tragedies, the eclipse of the American Century within only a quarter century of its announcement -- given the world in which we now live there is a vast need for study, and for teaching, the like of which no generation of American diplomatic historians has experienced before. It is a challenge which all of us, older, old enough, and not so old, like to think we are intelligent enough, and energetic enough, to take up.



WILLIAM L. NEUMANN: A PERSONAL RECOLLECTION AND APPRECIATION

by Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr., State University of New York, Albany\*

Only a year ago Bill Neumann, who died this past September 30th at the age of 56, presided over the luncheon meeting of this group in New Orleans. Several years earlier at the AHA in Washington he delivered a paper on Peace Research and the Historian which was one of the landmarks along the route to the founding of the CPRH. My own friendship with Bill goes back much farther--to the more than 25 years ago when we first met as conscientious objectors in WW II. Between chopping down trees and sawing wood at the C. O. camp in Eastern Oregon, we discussed our revisionist views of American history and our hopes of resuming the civilian careers which we had each barely begun.

Before either of us was discharged from Civilian Public Service, Bill had the unusual experience of being denounced over CBS radio on Sunday, April 8, 1945, by William L. Shirer. Although Shirer did not mention Bill by name, it was indeed William L. Neumann who was the author of a pamphlet entitled The Genesis of Pearl Harbor. This pamphlet, published in the spring of 1945 by the Pacifist Research Bureau of the Society of Friends, was attacked by Shirer as Japanese propaganda which sounded "as though it was written by the clever little men in Tokyo." What Shirer objected to, of course, was the argument that Pearl Harbor was not "a totally unprovoked stab in the back" and that, because "it failed to explore fully the peaceful alternatives to an uncompromising stand, the American government must bear due share of the responsibility for the war in the Pacific." Mr. Shirer notwithstanding, The Genesis of Pearl Harbor was a sober analysis of Japanese-American relations and a fine pioneering bit of contemporary revisionist history.

After the war Bill and I both ended up here in Washington--not however to work for the government. Our experience as C. O.'s had disillusioned us forever about Uncle Sam as an employer. I began teaching at American University, and Bill accepted a research position at the Foundation for Foreign Affairs. This was a small organization of some half-dozen people financed largely, I think by Henry Regnery of Chicago. The Foundation was supposed to try to stem the tide of official history gushing from the

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government and such quasi-official agencies as the Council on Foreign Relations. The Foundation put out a magazine American Perspective and a number of monographs. Bill did a good deal of writing and before the demise of the Foundation in 1951 became its last director. In 1952 and 1953 he was staff consultant for foreign affairs of the Republican Policy Committee of the U. S. Senate then headed by Robert Taft.

Bill's experience with the Foundation and "on the hill" was, I believe, most significant in terms of his overall career. The mixture of scholarship, journalism, and politics gave him a broad outlook on foreign affairs. It also contributed the journalist's ability to write under pressure and at the same time his impatience with doing longer works in book form. Much of Bill's writing accordingly is not better known in the profession because it lies buried away in scattered articles. But Bill always thought of himself as a historian which, indeed, he was primarily. Teaching jobs, however, were scarce in the 1950's, although Bill was in some demand as a part-time lecturer in the Washington area and held temporary positions at American U., the University of Maryland, Howard U. and the University of Virginia before he went permanently to Goucher College in 1954. At Goucher he was happy as a popular and influential teacher. He was also active in college affairs and never spared himself in speaking before community groups in behalf of peace, or in writing for a popular audience, as he did in his revisionist book reviews for the Baltimore Sun newspapers. His productivity along these lines, although considerable, is probably pretty much lost in any tangible way. But his personal impact in the Baltimore and Washington area was impressive.

In his historical research and professional writing, Bill Neumann followed a broad approach to diplomatic history. He was especially interested in the relevance of history, including peace history, to our own lives. Thus although his Ph.D. from Michigan in 1947 was in Latin American history, he quickly shifted over to general diplomatic history with a particular interest in the period of World War II. His work on Japanese-American relations was also basically an effort to understand why the two nations had gone to war in 1941. Without competence in the languages, Bill had no more pretensions about being a Far Eastern expert than he had an interest in remaining a specialist in Latin American history. Although he published a short work on the Recognition of Governments in the Americas in 1947, his first important book, Making the Peace, 1941-1945, was a paperback issued by the Foundation for Foreign Affairs in 1950. This work forecast his lifelong concern with World War II diplomacy.



Making the Peace is an analysis of the wartime summit conferences from the Atlantic Charter meeting off Newfoundland in August 1941 to Yalta in February 1945. The perceptiveness of the work encouraged Harper & Row to publish a much expanded and updated version in 1967 under the new title After Victory: Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin and the Making of the Peace. After Victory, in comparison with some of its more pretentious competitors, is a critical, though temperate, revisionist account of FDR's efforts at global peacemaking. It continues the useful teaching technique, pioneered in the earlier 1950 version, of providing inserts within the text of the most pertinent diplomatic documents. The book is an especially good introduction for serious students interested in the relationship of the diplomacy of World War II to the onset of the Cold War.

In regard to FDR and anent concerns over the issue of the origin of the Cold War, I find interesting a letter that Bill wrote to me, commenting on the reactions he was able to observe in Washington on Thursday evening, April 12, when the news of President Roosevelt's death reached the capital. Bill's letter, dated April 19, 1945, is from one of the several hundred in our correspondence from 1944 to 1971. He writes as follows: "I was having dinner a few blocks from the White House when the rumour of the President's death spread. We went right over before the crowds collected and had a chance to see the cabinet hurrying in and some of the early excitement. Then Saturday I watched the funeral cortege which was very impressive, but I couldn't understand why the army insisted in hauling a half mile or so of guns, big ones, in a funeral procession. They didn't fire a salute anyway. One Negro company marched with all white commissioned officers. The crowds were interesting to watch. I think most of the stories of deep emotional reactions were products of the newspaper room. People surely felt the historical sense of a great event, but I didn't see any weeping and wailing. The first remark I did hear after news spread was a soldier at a bar, 'God damn it, now we will get out of this . . . army!' But I don't think it was typical."

Bill then refers to some excerpts I sent him on press reactions to FDR's death and adds a marginal notation that the Patterson newspapers in Washington and New York--the Times Herald and Daily News--in their editorial tributes to FDR quoted his speeches, featuring prominently the "I hate war" and "no American boys to foreign wars" phrases. By an amazing coincidence these same papers on the Thursday the President died, just hours before the event, ran a cartoon picture of the White House draped in black, and on the lawn a ghost labeled "The Truth about Pearl Harbor." In his letter to me Bill added: "Amen on that martyr role."



Well, we know at least two people who will uphold the theory that the peace was lost before FDR died and would have been as bad if he had lived. But I suspect we will be outnumbered for a good many years, and we'll live to see almost a Lincoln-like veneration grow up around FDR."

Bill was too pessimistic here about the coming of World War II revisionism. And his own writing contributed to its onset. In the twenty years between the respective versions of his revisionist books, Making the Peace and After Victory, Bill Neumann did a number of articles and chapters in co-authored books, while he worked on his major scholarly study of Japanese-American relations leading to Pearl Harbor. This was the book he was already thinking about when he wrote the Genesis of Pearl Harbor back in 1945. Some of the shorter pieces he published from time to time were byproducts of this larger study. Others were the result of his desire to give a wider perspective to the U. S. role in the Far East. Particularly noteworthy are articles about FDR's longstanding concern over the possibility of war with Japan and his admiration for Mahan's naval ideas. For the Harry Elmer Barnes symposium Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace, Neumann wrote a long account of "How American Policy Toward Japan Contributed to the War in the Pacific." And he also continued to do more general articles like the bibliographical survey of "Allied Diplomacy in World War II" published in the somewhat unlikely, but well-paying, U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings. Better known in the profession is his chapter in the volume Isolation and Security, edited by Alex DeConde and published in 1957. Under the title "Ambiguity and Ambivalence in Ideas of National Interest in Asia," Neumann delineated the lack of any clear understanding of the U. S. purpose in China and the contradictions in American policy toward Japanese expansion.

The most important of Neumann's works is America Encounters Japan: From Perry to MacArthur, published by the Johns Hopkins Press in 1963, and reissued later in paperback editions by both Harper & Row and Hopkins. This relatively slender volume of some 350 pages is based on original research in American sources as well as on secondary materials derived from both U. S. and Japanese archives. It offers an interesting study of cultural and economic relations to go along with the diplomatic history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although approximately one half of the book is devoted to the twentieth century, there is a good balance and sense of historical proportion throughout. An underlying thesis is that leaders like Stimson and the two Roosevelts were reluctant to admit to the American people that United States efforts to maintain the Open Door in China entailed the danger of war with Japan and of the militarization of America. A few reviewers



thought the book somewhat pro-Japanese. Scholarly reviewers were impressed with the skillful ordering of the data and with the acuity of Neumann's analyses. Hilary Conroy in an informal note to me praises the work for grappling with the big question of whether the Pacific War was inevitable and for showing the shortsighted, even dishonest, handling of Japanese relations by American statesmen.

Although America Encounters Japan must now remain Neumann's major work, I think it would have been supplanted, had he lived, by the book on which he had been working on and off for almost a decade, and for which he had done research during two trips to Europe--one with the help of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. This book was to have been a study of how certain nations, formerly enjoying the status of great world powers, reacted to the enforced later reality of much lesser roles. Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, and England were the nations, that Bill proposed to include in his analysis. A paper at one of the meetings of the CPRH sketched out some of his ideas on the subject, but I doubt that the materials he had gathered are in publishable form.

Just a month before his death, for a symposium on New Deal Foreign Policy to which I was also invited but could not attend--and so missed a last visit--Bill wrote a paper on "Roosevelt's Options and Evasions in Foreign Policy Decisions, 1940-1945." This paper shows how FDR's attempts to balance domestic political pressures with wartime overseas diplomacy grew out of some of his earlier romantic beliefs and dogmas on foreign policy. If the contributions to the symposium are published, it will be Neumann's last work.

In conclusion, I think we may all appreciate what Bill Neumann contributed to peace research in history by the force of his personal enthusiasm and in the range of his scholarship. Our recollection of these qualities will remain even though his untimely death has prevented the completion of the work for which many of us entertained high expectations.



THE DIPLOMATIC HISTORIAN AND THE  
RESOURCES OF NAVAL HISTORY

by Dean C. Allard\*

Naval records of potential interest to the diplomatic historian are both extensive and widely scattered. The purpose of this brief account is to identify some of the major repositories that hold such resources, and to describe in more detail the holdings and services of the specialized repository with which the author is associated.

Within the Washington, D. C. area, the well known U.S. National Archives and the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress contain numerous groups of official archives and personal manuscript collections relating to the Navy. The private Naval Historical Foundation has collected scores of naval personal manuscript collections, most of which are available in the Library of Congress. At the Marine Corps Historical Division are the personal papers of a number of senior Marine officers. All of these records, plus those of such additional depositories in the Washington vicinity as the Operational Archives, are described in an 82-page pamphlet (U.S. Naval History Sources in the Washington Area and Suggested Research Subjects), published by the Naval History Division in 1970. This booklet will be sent to scholars upon request.

Among the more elusive holdings of naval records are those found in several Federal Records Centers. Although these organizations primarily contain governmental records that are scheduled for eventual destruction, they also have permanent holdings of value to diplomatic historians. For example, among the important groups of records deposited in the Suitland, Maryland Center by major Washington naval staff officers, is a comprehensive file of naval attaché reports, dating from 1900 through World War II. The archives of the Government of American Samoa (a territory administered by the Navy Department for more than half a century) are in the San Francisco Center. Scholars interested in the experience of major deployed forces of the Navy, such as the post-World War II Sixth and Seventh Fleets, will be interested to know of the large collections of senior fleet command files currently held by the Federal Records Center, Mechanicsburg, Pa.

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Within the Navy, there are at least two repositories that can serve the research needs of scholars in the foreign affairs area. One is the Naval Historical Collection at the Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, which controls the archives of the college dating since the latter 19th century, plus personal manuscript collections of some of the naval officers associated with that important institution.

The other naval organization is the Operational Archives of the Naval History Division, which is a specialized repository for documentation relating to naval operations in war and peace, and to strategic, policy, planning programs undertaken by senior naval headquarters. Almost all of these records date since 1939.

The Operational Archives has long concentrated special attention upon acquiring, usually on direct distribution from the originator, individual documents relating to its selected subject areas. Specific examples include the reports describing the combat and peacetime activities of naval units, and the plans or orders that provided the broad guidance under which these operations were undertaken. Other types of documents include records detailing fleet organization and strength, oral histories of many officers (including a number of senior naval policy makers), classified publications relating to operations and policy, and the annual histories that have been submitted by many naval commands at various times since 1941. All of this material is individually indexed in order to make it as usable as possible.

Another major category in the Operational Archives consists of groups of records, mostly already organized, received from the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations and other major naval staffs. The archival groups of this nature that are selected for accessioning by the Operational Archives are those which, though relatively small in bulk, are unusually valuable for the information they contain on recent operations, strategy, policy, and planning. Excellent examples of records meeting this description are the files of the War Plans Division of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, primarily dating from 1939, which contain much significant strategic and policy data. The often-used General Board records, one of the few groups in the Operational Archives with extensive material dating prior to 1939, is another key group. It is extremely rich in documentation on virtually all aspects of naval policy during the first half of the 20th century. Yet, the General Board material is limited in bulk and exceptionally well arranged and indexed.



An associated category is the office files of senior naval officers, which, at their best, represent a selection of materials that were of particular significance to commanders with broad policy responsibilities. Examples of such materials include papers from the immediate offices of Admirals Ernest J. King, William D. Leahy, and Charles T. Joy.

The papers of some individuals, received from private sources, also are found in the Operational Archives, although it is the policy of the Director of Naval History to encourage potential donors to present such personal manuscripts to the Naval Historical Foundation. Examples of manuscript collections that nevertheless have been donated over the years to the Navy Department include those of Admirals Daniel E. Barbey, Thomas C. Hart, William V. Pratt, Paulus F. Powell, Richmond K. Turner, and Harry E. Yarnell.

In addition to its own holdings, the Operational Archives attempts to maintain information regarding naval materials held in other repositories. The guide to U.S. Naval history sources in the Washington vicinity, previously referred to, represents an effort to communicate some of this knowledge to scholars. In addition, historians will be interested to know that the Operational Archives has begun an index to naval personal and official collections in other parts of the United States. To date, almost 1,000 collections, in approximately 150 repositories, have been identified.

Until such time as it may be possible to publish a more complete version of the index to records outside the national capital area, the staff of the Operational Archives will gladly correspond with scholars seeking information on specific records. We also will be pleased to answer inquiries regarding the other categories of source materials referred to in this article, or to refer researchers to the appropriate repository.



FROM THE EDITOR'S BASKET:

1. Report on "Foreign Relations" Series

REPORT OF THE MEETING OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE  
ON "FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES"  
HELD AT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, NOVEMBER 5, 1971

The regular publication of successive volumes of the documentary series, "Foreign Relations of the United States," by a professionally expert and dedicated staff within the Historical Office of the Department of State is a distinctive enterprise in which the Government and the people of the United States deserve to take great pride. This series not only serves the professional interests of scholars, but, by conducing to more general knowledge and more accurate understanding of American foreign policy, it serves the public interest in the broadest sense.

This national asset has been deteriorating in recent years -- not in the quality, but in the timeliness, of the product. The Advisory Committee has repeatedly deplored the tendency to allow the series to fall farther and farther behind and urged the Department to take the relatively modest measures that would have checked and reversed that tendency. The results have been discouraging; the time lag between events and the publication of volumes covering those events has now been stretched to approximately 25 years, despite the officially proclaimed policy of holding it at 20 years. It is our conviction that this slippage reflects the assignment of an unduly low priority to the Foreign Relations program. The value and importance of the enterprise have not been adequately appreciated at the higher levels of government.

The consultations and deliberations of the Advisory Committee at its meeting in November, 1971, revealed substantial reasons for hope that this situation is changing. In large measure, we suspect, because of the controversy engendered by the unauthorized release of "The Pentagon Papers," there is now a lively interest in the declassification and publication of documents relating to foreign affairs to be found throughout the government and in various sectors of the American public. Newspapers that have not been known to give editorial support to the recurrent recommendations of the Advisory Committee have become champions of the people's right to read foreign relations documents. A high-level Council on Classification Policy has been created within the Department of State. By special administrative decision, the Department opened most of its



files covering the wartime years, 1942-45, in January, 1972, substantially before the normal date for making these records available. The President has asked for exploration of the questions of declassifying, and possibly of publishing ahead of normal schedule, documents pertaining to major international crises of the postwar period. Finally, the President ordered on March 8, 1972, that the Foreign Relations series be brought within three years to the twenty-year standard, and directed the heads of relevant agencies to give full cooperation in reaching and maintaining that standard.

These initiatives point to the increasing acknowledgment of the importance of the work of the Department's Historical Office. The staff responsible for the Foreign Relations series is in fact the key component of the State Department's declassification system. In selecting and compiling documents for publication, it initiates consideration of declassification. In publishing the series, it gives declassification meaning by making cleared documents readily available to scholars, the press, and the public at large. If the current sense of urgency concerning this matter is to be translated into a scheme for the orderly, systematic, and responsible release of papers, this clearly must involve the strengthening of the capabilities of the Foreign Relations staff.

The Advisory Committee supports the President's insistence upon a crash program to reduce the interval between events and publication to twenty years, and therefore urges that the Historical Office be authorized without delay to recruit highly qualified professionals in adequate numbers to achieve that objective.

Aside from the long-standing personnel shortage, the most serious barrier to the accelerated production of Foreign Relations volumes is the increasingly cumbersome and time-consuming matter of securing clearance for documents selected for inclusion. This problem grows as the staff moves farther into the postwar years and encounters larger numbers of papers that require clearance by executive agencies other than the Department of State, and by foreign governments. Within the Department, and in relation to other agencies, the Historical Office frequently finds itself engaged in something like an adversary procedure, advocating prompt and affirmative decisions on clearance and encountering delay or resistance. The Historical Office requires and deserves assistance in this matter. We urge the Secretary of State to require that declassification of documents for inclusion in Foreign Relations volumes be handled at the level of the Country Directors, to support



the Historical Office in its insistence that galleys be reviewed without undue delay, and to provide effective means for resolution of disagreements within the Department concerning the propriety of declassifying particular papers. We further recommend that the Secretary intervene on behalf of the Historical Office whenever negotiations are required with agencies outside the Department to facilitate prompt and reasonable decisions on clearance questions. Moreover, we urge that the Council on Classification Policy support the Foreign Relations publication program by acting vigorously to expedite the clearance process.

We note with approval that the recent opening of the documentary files through 1945 has the temporary effect of extending the "open period" several years beyond the standard 30-years-before-current-date terminal point and of eliminating the "restricted period." The Advisory Committee believes that both aspects of this exceptional situation should be perpetuated, and we recommend that the Department adopt a new regulation, providing that the records for a given year (other than those in particularly sensitive categories requiring special treatment) be opened when the Foreign Relations volumes for that year are published or when twenty-five years have elapsed, whichever occurs first. This would establish 25 years as the maximum, and 20 years as the optimum, duration of the closed period. The proposed regulation, like the one it is intended to replace, will doubtless engender some difficulties and dissatisfactions, but we believe that the advantages of making foreign policy materials subject to open access five to ten years earlier, without re-introducing the cumbersome provision for a "restricted period," would outweigh any disadvantages that could reasonably be expected.

The Advisory Committee reacts favorably to the possibility, suggested by a spokesman for the President on August 12, 1971, that the appropriate section of the Historical Office might undertake to compile and publish collections of documents relating to major international crises substantially before those events would be covered by Foreign Relations volumes published in normal course, and recommends that such a program be carried out. This would have the advantage of making particularly important documents generally available in timely fashion, facilitating scholarly research and nourishing public discussion concerning issues closely relevant to current foreign policy problems. While we are aware that the advancing age of a document lessens the difficulty of releasing it, it is also true that the same factor lessens the importance of releasing it; the older the document, the more its value for the democratic process tends to diminish. It might be



added that the preparation of "crisis volumes" should provide valuable groundwork for the editing of the regular Foreign Relations volumes that will in due course provide more comprehensive coverage of the same episodes, thereby contributing to the maintenance of the Foreign Relations schedule. If it should prove impossible to revive the Current Documents series, the "crisis volumes" would also compensate in some measure for that loss to research and public education. We nevertheless urge that, in any case, vigorous efforts be made to provide for the resumption of the Current Documents publications.

Finally, the Advisory Committee recommends that authorization and funds be provided for it to meet with representatives of the Historical Office twice each year, adding a spring meeting to its traditional autumn session. This proposal is motivated by the sense that a single annual meeting does not offer adequate opportunity to follow up recommendations put forward in the annual report, since the primary business of that meeting is the formulation of a new report. If an additional meeting is arranged, it is our intention that the annual report of the Advisory Committee will continue to emanate from the fall meeting, and that the spring meeting will be devoted exclusively to inquiry into and discussion of the reactions engendered and the results generated by the report of the previous fall.

Inis L. Claude, Jr., Chairman	
Richard C. Snyder <sup>(1)</sup>	American Political
Elmer Plischke <sup>(1)</sup>	Science Association
David R. Deener	American Society of
Alwyn V. Freeman	International Law
Walter LaFeber	American Historical
Ernest R. May <sup>(2)</sup>	Association
Paul A. Varg	

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(1) Mr. Plischke, a retiring member of the Advisory Committee, participated in the 1971 meeting in lieu of Mr. Snyder, who was unable to attend. Mr. Snyder nonetheless joins in this report.

(2) Mr. May could not attend the 1971 meeting, but joins in this report.



2. From the Historical Office, State Department

DECLASSIFICATION OF DEPARTMENT  
OF STATE RECORDS FOR WORLD WAR II

Effective today (January 21, 1972), the Department of State has declassified almost all of its foreign policy records for the years 1942-1945 inclusive. This action has been taken by special administrative decision, applicable only to the records of the period of World War II. It does not void the Department's standing regulation which provides for the opening to researchers of records 30 years old.

Since the British Government has taken similar action in opening most of its World War II records, arrangements have been made for individuals doing research in the Department's records to use formerly classified papers of British origin which are filed there and which have been declassified by the authorities in London. In view of the close coordination between the two capitals in the conduct of foreign policy during the war, the bulk of such papers is substantial.

The Department's records for the years 1942-1945 are in the custody of the National Archives and Records Service, and most of them are located physically in the National Archives building in Washington, D.C. They may now be consulted by all researchers in accordance with the standard procedures of the National Archives and within the limitations of the present Archives staff to service requests for records.

3. Concerning "Books for Asian Students"

Dr. Joseph P. O'Grady, Executive Secretary  
Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

Dear Dr. O'Grady:

As you may know, UNESCO has designated 1972 as International Book Year. With the help of American organizations, the IBY Committee will express the importance of books to social progress through such activities as exhibits, aids to library development, and international meetings.

For our part, we felt we could best cooperate by doing more of what we have been doing for 17 years, sending good books to Asia. We, therefore, have committed our program to a distribution of one million books and journals during the Book Year, a 25% increase over our average annual rate.



We will need the help of the American people to reach this goal. We are informing all potential sources of books about the needs in Asia. But I am writing to you with not so much of quantity in mind, as with the thought that you represent the best way to inform professional people of quality book needs. We know from experience, many professional groups have helped over the years, that your members are potential donors of the best kinds of books.

Also, there may be persons among your membership who would consider the program as a charitable organization to which contributions of money can be made usefully. Donations of both books and money to The Asia Foundation are tax deductible.

We would greatly appreciate your consideration of running a short notice in your media, once or more times this year, describing Asia's book needs. A suggested notice is attached for your possible use and re-editing.

Sincerely yours,

Carlton Lowenberg  
Director, Books for Asian Students  
451 Sixth Street  
San Francisco, Ca. 94103

#### INTERNATIONAL BOOK YEAR 1972

Books and Journals are Needed in Asia. . .

Donations of books in excellent condition dated 1962 or later, and scientific, technical, and scholarly journals in runs of 10 years or more dated from 1950 are needed for Asian colleges, libraries, and research groups.

If you will get your donations to BOOKS FOR ASIAN STUDENTS, 451 Sixth Street, San Francisco, CA. 94103, this program will arrange for overseas shipping and country distribution.

Contributions of money specifically for shipping expenses are also needed. Donations in kind, or money, to The Asia Foundation, sponsor of the program, are tax deductible. Write the program if you wish further information.



Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations NEWSLETTER:

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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 July 15 to be included in that year's listing.

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