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Development of Charles A. Beard's Ideas on American Foreign Policy

Paul Lynn Schmunk

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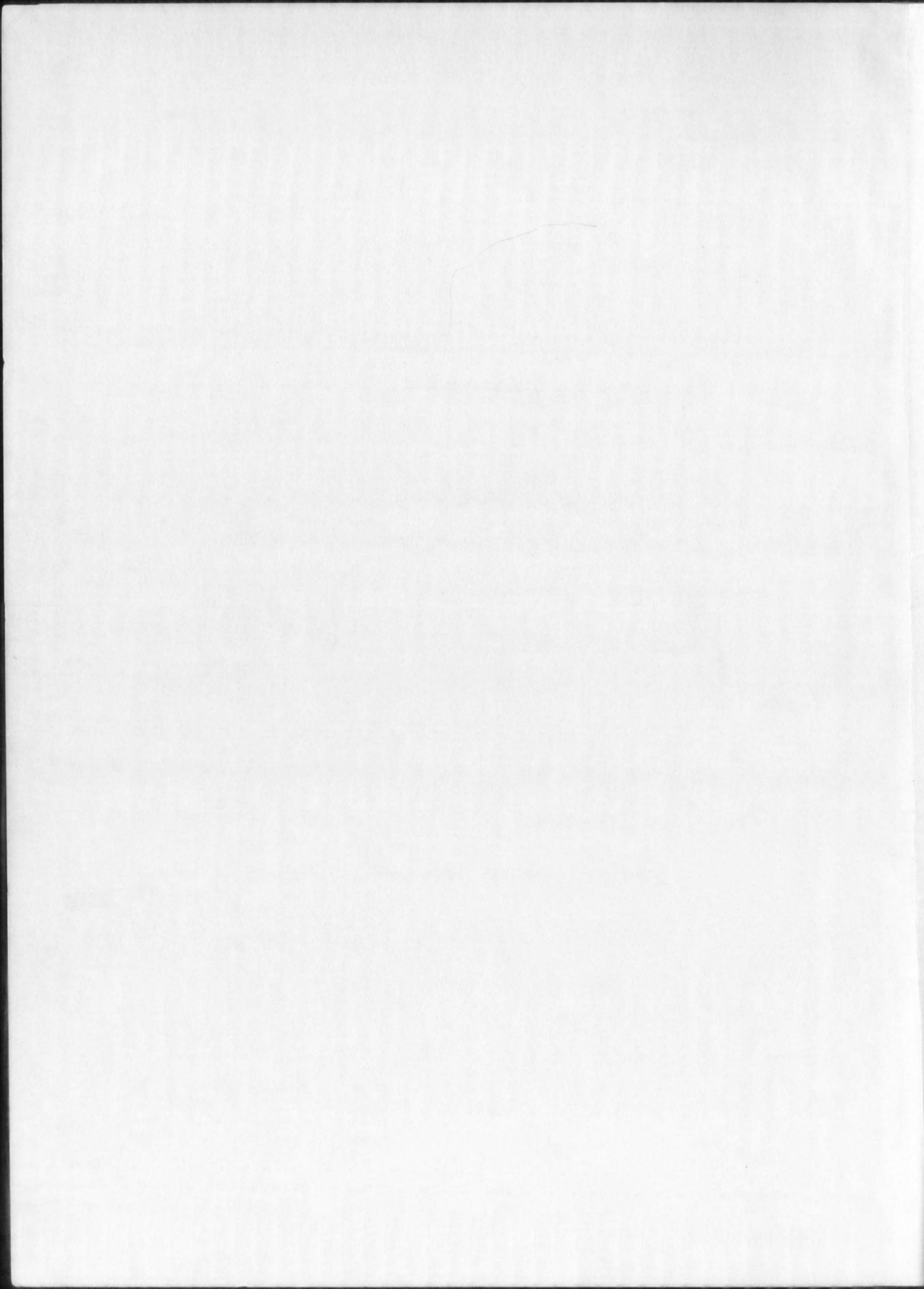
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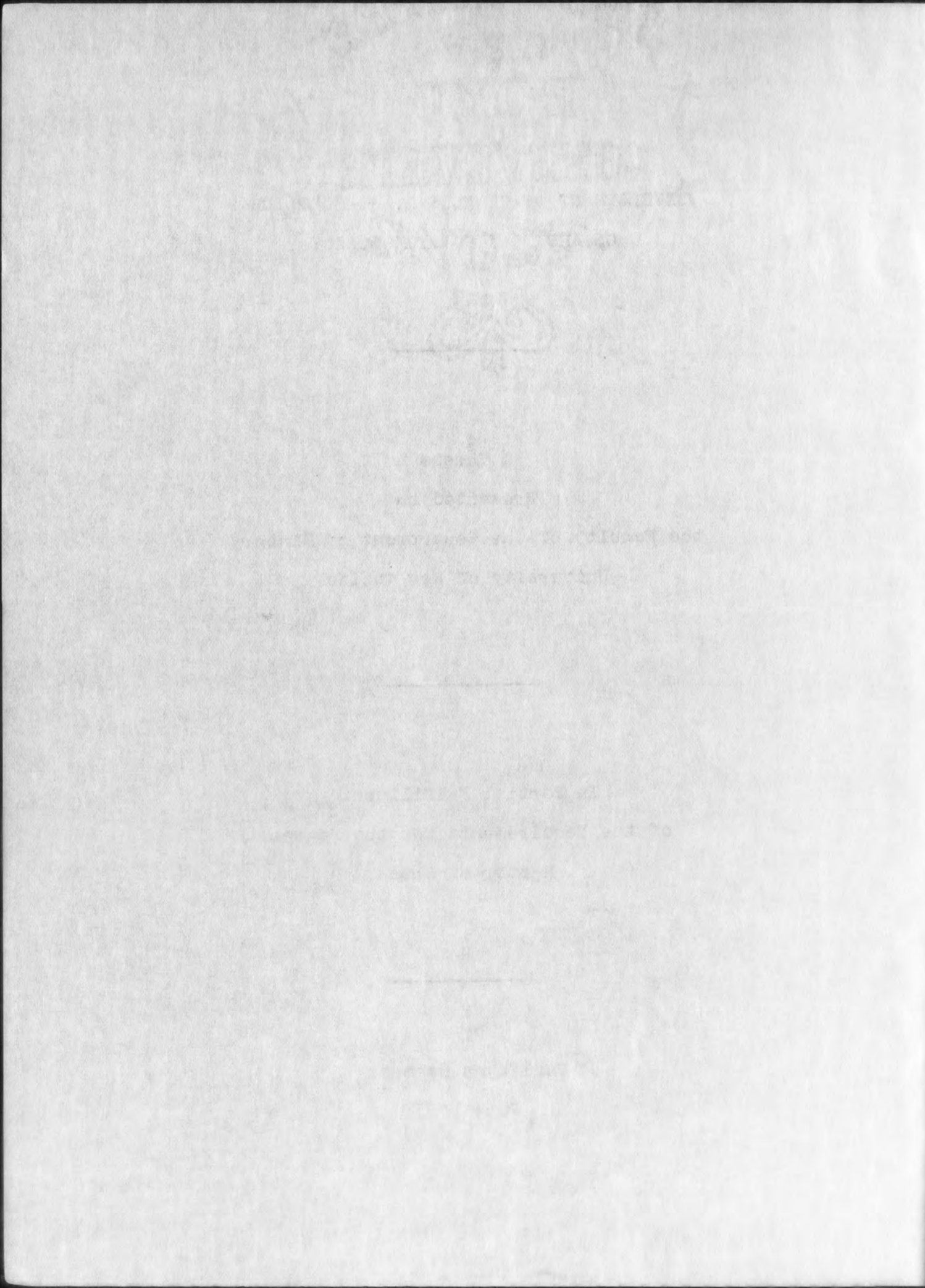
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Dean E. Slade P.O. Box 471 Santa Fe, N.M. 87501	October 1974

DEVELOPMENT OF CHARLES A. BEARD'S IDEAS
ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of History
University of New Mexico

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Paul Lynn Schmunk
June 1953



This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

E. Castetter
DEAN

5/29/53
DATE

Thesis committee

George Winston Smith
CHAIRMAN

Frank P. Reece
Paul Jones

This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's com-
mittee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the
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ments for the degree of

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Charles Austin Beard, the American historian and political scientist, was the son of a prosperous Indianian descended from pioneer Scotch-English stock.¹ In his young manhood, Beard graduated from little DePauw College, visited Hull House, studied at Oxford University in England, and traveled widely on the Continent. His American academic life centered around Columbia University, where he received a Ph.D. in 1904, and taught for eleven years. At Columbia he shone brightly in one of the most brilliant academic galaxies ever assembled in America,² but resigned in 1917 over the issue of academic freedom, and devoted the rest of his life to a wide variety of activities which ranged from advising the Japanese government, to writing The Rise of American Civilization.³

¹For the documented details of Beard's early life, see Chapter II.

²John Erskine, My Life as a Teacher (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott Company, 1948), pp. 92-95; Alvin Johnson, Pioneer's Progress (New York: The Viking Press, 1952), pp. 155-56, 165, 167, 240, 273, 276, 278-80, 398.

³Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, The Rise of American Civilization, 4 vols. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927-1942). The series, widely used in schools and available in most libraries, probably achieved the greatest circulation of any of Beard's works.

Beard often ventured into controversy and his foreign policy writings tended to be highly individualistic, as he had a world view quite unlike that of the majority of foreign policy writers.⁴ His outlook was considerably fashioned by an intense hatred of imperialism, as well as an intimate knowledge of the political and economic configurations of foreign nations, which often made him appear to favor the ambitions of other countries rather than those of America, although he was at all times a deeply patriotic American.⁵

The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate the development of Charles A. Beard's foreign policy views. This problem necessitates not only an analysis of Beard's ideas relative to foreign policy, but also the illustration of how his viewpoints on domestic policy were inseparable from those on foreign affairs.

This paper first presents Beard's biographical context, for background purposes, then a study of his early foreign policy views which include his attitude toward the First World War. These first two chapters demonstrate the development and the disintegration of a world view in which

⁴See Chapter V.

⁵Henry A. Wallace, for example, referred to Beard as "America's greatest patriot." See, Henry A. Wallace, "Beard as a Planner," The New Republic, LXXXI (January, 1935), pp. 225-27. Wallace was United States Secretary of Agriculture at this time.

Board of the National Defense University and the
policy writers tended to be highly idealistic, as he
had a good view of the state of the world of 1945.
policy writers, "the outlook was considerably different
an intense hatred of imperialism, and with a deep
knowledge of the political and economic conditions of
foreign nations, which often made the picture of the
ambitions of other countries rather than those of America,
although he was at all times deeply patriotic in the sense
The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate the de-
velopment of Charles A. Beard's foreign policy views. This
problem has been not only an analysis of Beard's ideas
relative to foreign policy, but also the influence of new
his viewpoints on domestic policy have been considerable, even
those on foreign affairs.

This paper first presents a historical con-
text, the background of the period, the early
foreign policy views which led to his final views on the
First World War. These views are then compared with the
development and the final stages of his views on foreign
development.

The Conclusion.

Charles A. Beard, for example, returned to Beard's
"America's Economic History," 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934,
as a pioneer, "The New Economic History," 1935, 1936,
and the United States Government of the
at this time.

international unity was the predominant aspect. The next two chapters cover the period of the Twenties and the Thirties, in which Beard developed a theory of national interest he called Continentalism.⁶ Chapter five is largely concerned with the diplomatic and military preparations which eventuated into the Global War. Chapter six explains Beard's virulent attacks upon the foreign policy of Franklin D. Roosevelt after the close of hostilities.

As a writer, Beard refused to imprison himself between enclosures of buckram, but diverted his writing talents to upwards of twenty-five different magazines, the most noteworthy of which were Harper's Magazine, The Nation, The Atlantic Monthly, Foreign Affairs, The American Historical Review, The American Political Science Review, and, especially, The New Republic. These periodicals were valuable in gauging the climate of foreign affairs opinion. The New York Times, from 1914 to 1948, helped greatly in filling in the details of Beard's stormy life and public opinion. Many of the memoirs of Beard's co-workers, such as that of Alvin Johnson, economist, and director of the New School for Social Research, trace fragments of Beard's career as seen through contemporary eyes, and also add much to the knowledge of the times.

⁶See Chapter V for Beard's own definition of Continentalism.

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For the period before America's involvement in the Global War, The Congressional Record, the Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the recently published memoirs of Herbert Hoover, and many contemporary historical appraisals were indispensable in the creation of this study. Since the end of the war many memoirs of the leading governmental dignitaries have been published, of which the most important are those of Winston Churchill, Count Ciano, and Henry Stimson. Robert Sherwood, who served Roosevelt in many confidential capacities before and during the war, has also contributed a remarkable account which vividly interpreted the role played by the ubiquitous Harry Hopkins, the latter day Colonel House. Former Ambassador Joseph C. Grew recently dashed much cold water on the views of earlier historians and writers who described the events leading up to Pearl Harbor. For the pre-war period, the joint Congressional investigation of the Pearl Harbor attack was a storehouse of official telegrams, letters, and intrigues of various governments.

The writer also had the good fortune to correspond with Charles Beard's perceptive seventy-eight year old widow, Mary Ritter Beard, who collaborated with her husband on the writing of The Rise of American Civilization series.

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mental significance have been assigned, of which the most im-
portant are those of Winston Churchill, James Watson, and
Henry Watson. Robert Watson, the Government's
many confidential sources before and after the war, has
also contributed a remarkable amount of material. In-
cluded the following: the Government's history, the
latter day Government. Robert Watson, the Government's
recently dated with the end of the war of the
contents and writers who described the events leading up to
Paul Watson. For the first period, the first Government
investigation of the Paul Watson case was a complete
official reference, before, and the end of the war.
Notes.

The writer also had the Government's cooperation
with Charles Watson's perspective on the war and the
Henry Watson case. The Government's perspective on the
writing of the History of the American Revolution.

CHAPTER II

CHARLES AUSTIN BEARD (1874-1948):

THE BIOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

The roots of Charles Austin Beard were deeply embedded in old American stock. When Beard's grandfather moved from North Carolina to Indiana in a covered wagon, he caused his neighbor's eyebrows to raise because he left his expensive furniture behind and loaded his wagon with books.¹ Beard's father, William Henry Harrison Beard, a staunch Republican,² was a wealthy building contractor, farm owner, banker, and newspaper proprietor of Knightstown, Indiana.³ William Beard's son, Charles Beard, was born in 1874 on a farm near that village, and later attended a Quaker academy by day while doing heavy work on the farm after school.⁴ After graduating from the academy, the young Indianian published the family

¹Eric Goldman, "The Origins of Beard's Economic Interpretation of the Constitution," Journal of the History of Ideas, XIII, No. 2 (April, 1952), 234-36. See also, Hubert Herring, "Charles A. Beard, Free Lance," Harpers Magazine, CLXXVII (May, 1939), 641-42. Both of these historians got their information from personal interviews with Beard.

²Charles A. Beard, The Republic (New York: The Viking Press, 1943), p. 270.

³Herring, loc. cit.

⁴Herring, op. cit., pp. 641-45. Beard said he never felt the need of any exercise after his farm days. He noticed his father always preferred banking to farming.

newspaper for four years, campaigned for Republican politicians, and then, at the age of twenty-one, entered DePauw College, a strict Methodist school located in the sleepy little town of Greencastle, Indiana.⁵

At DePauw, Beard, due to remarkable good fortune, gained the fundamentals of a good education.⁶ Young Beard's major professor, Colonel James Riley Weaver, was a former employee of the diplomatic service and a veteran of the Civil War, who was mustered out as a lieutenant but who eventually gained his colonelcy in a reserve status. Professor Weaver used methods which were quite unique for that period in American education as he stressed independent research by the students to be used in writing project essays. Weaver not only expected his students to be familiar with the writings of Aristotle, Plato, Locke, Rousseau, Machiavelli, Hegel, Bagehot, Green, Taylor, Darwin, Spencer, Buckle, Guizot, Ruskin, John Adams, Adam Smith, Mill, and Marshall, but he

⁵Letter from A. A. Carsen, Department of History, DePauw University, to the author, February 23, 1953. See also, for details of Beard's early life, besides sources named, Maxine Block, editor, Current Biography (New York: W. H. Wilson Company, 1941), pp. 57-60. Beard made the paper "pay", a habit he was to apply in later years with remarkable success.

⁶Letter from Mary R. Beard to the author, February 21, 1953. See also, Merle Curti, "A Great Teacher's Teacher," Social Education, XIII (October, 1949), 263-66, 275-76. Most of the details of Beard at DePauw, unless otherwise noted, will be drawn from these two sources. Some information also, from Herring, op. cit., pp. 641-45.

also required his students to use newspapers and government documents in working out their projects on social and governmental problems. Weaver, a good Republican, taught Marxian theory in this Republican-Methodist school. Professor Weaver, according to Mary Beard, helped to "mould," and "stretched," Beard's mind; he was a "true educator."⁷ Another part of the political theory course included some critics of modern society: Ely, Bellamy, Henry George, Giddings, and Small. Weaver emphasized the social content of political science as opposed to abstract theory, and he also stressed the influence of bias on opinions.⁸

Beard and Weaver mutually appreciated the abilities and outlook of the other. Later, at the time Beard applied for a teaching position at the University of Wisconsin, his old professor wrote, "Mr. Charles Beard is full of zeal, fond of investigation, and has keen insight into truth. He has been one of the best men in my work during the last thirteen years."⁹ When Beard returned to DePauw in 1915 to receive an

⁷Letter from Mary Beard to the author, February 21, 1953. See also, Curti, loc. cit. When Beard first began work at Columbia, Marx was "out of bounds." Professor Jesse Priest also influenced Beard, impressing upon him the effectiveness of "forensics as argument more than oratory," said Mary Beard.

⁸Curti, loc. cit. Beard was to become almost dogmatic in his later description of the controlling influence of "frames of reference" as well as he was also to emphasize humanitarian economics.

⁹Curti, op. cit., pp. 274-75.

The route of Charles...
in old American...
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Pross, 1963, p. 175.

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newspaper for four years, campaigned for Republican politicians, and then, at the age of twenty-one, entered DePauw College, a strict Methodist school located in the sleepy little town of Greencastle, Indiana.⁵

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also required his students to use newspapers and government documents in working out their projects on social and governmental problems. Weaver, a good Republican, taught Marxian theory in this Republican-Methodist school. Professor Weaver, according to Mary Beard, helped to "mould," and "stretched," Beard's mind; he was a "true educator."⁷ Another part of the political theory course included some critics of modern society: Ely, Bellamy, Henry George, Giddings, and Small. Weaver emphasized the social content of political science as opposed to abstract theory, and he also stressed the influence of bias on opinions.⁸

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⁹Curti, op. cit., pp. 274-75.

honorary degree, he was heard to say to Weaver, "I am glad to have the privilege of thanking you again as one of my most revered and respected professors."¹⁰

It was not all books, political theory, and debating for the young Phi Beta Kappa student at DePauw. In the summer of 1896, Weaver sent Beard to Chicago to observe the social realities of poverty, there emphasized by the continuing depression of 1893.¹¹ The pre-DePauw Beard had been convinced, largely by adequately fed southern Indiana, and his Federalist-Republican background, that Populists, Single Taxers, and Socialists were all fools. At Hull House, Beard listened to Clarence Darrow argue with the Socialists and then wrangled with both sides. As he listened, he was not quite so positive of the certitudes of Knightstown Republicanism.¹²

¹⁰Curti, loc. cit.

¹¹Goldman, op. cit., pp. 234-35.

¹²Goldman, loc. cit. See also, Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910), pp. 177-180: "The Decade between 1890-1900 was, in Chicago, a period of propaganda as over against constructive social effort. . . . Great open meetings were held every Sunday evening in the recital hall. . . . and every possible shade of opinion was freely expressed." Among the speakers at Hull House during this time were Lyman Gage, the banker; Samuel Jones, the "golden rule" mayor of Toledo; Henry George; George D. Herron; Benjamin Kidd; Victor Berger; and local anarchists.

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It was also at DePauw that Charles met the brilliant Mary Ritter,¹³ from Indianapolis, who was to become his wife and to collaborate with him in the writing of many books.¹⁴ The year of his graduation from DePauw, 1898, the restless red-haired patriot attempted to form a volunteer company for the Spanish-American War, but the recruiting authorities rejected his offer.¹⁵ Beard, determined to seek action on another front, in the same year, went to Oxford in England, to study constitutional law with Professor William Stubbs,¹⁶ but he never allowed his studies to interfere with his observation of the social problems created by the industrial

¹³Letter from Mary R. Beard to the author, February 21, 1953.

¹⁴The collaboration included two children, Miriam, born in 1901, and William, born in 1907. Miriam wrote among other books, The History of the Businessman (1938), and William, besides helping his father on many books, wrote Government and Technology. Miriam's husband, an ex-German army officer of the First World War, Alfred Vagts, wrote a very distinguished two volume work on German-American diplomatic relations. Mary Beard also wrote many books on her own, and Beard's grandson, Delbert Vagts, assisted Beard with one of his last books, The Federalist (1948). The Beards were probably America's "first family" of historical writing.

¹⁵Samuel E. Morison, "Did Roosevelt Start the War?" Atlantic Monthly, CLXXII (August, 1948), 91, 97. This article is a long, drawn out sneer at Beard, but brilliantly written. Morison, a war-time naval captain, never forgave Beard his campaign against the Navy and his jibes at the Mahan philosophy of sea power.

¹⁶Letter from Mary R. Beard to the author, February 21, 1953. Stubbs was one of the great authorities on English law and constitutional history.

It was elected to the first session of the Congress
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and to the Congress of 1901, the Congress of 1902,
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to study constitutional law with Professor John Lubbock, 1902
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13. Letter from Mary A. Ritter to the Congress, 1902.
21, 1902.

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16. Letter from Mary A. Ritter to the Congress, 1902.
21, 1902. The Congress of 1902, the Congress of 1903,
law and constitutional history.

revolution.¹⁷ Beard mingled with Tory reformers, trade unionists, suffragettes, single taxers, and Socialists in England, all the kinds of people who would be considered persons non grata back in Knightstown. The paternal shadow of the conservative William Beard was scarcely seen in the hustle and bustle of industrial England. The sharp eyes of the effective labor statesmen, J. Ramsay MacDonald and J. Keir Hardie, were both attracted to the articulate young Beard, who with Mary, his wife, spent long hours lecturing to workers in the mill towns, in the factories, and even down in the mines.¹⁸

It wasn't long before Beard, who had carried in his pocket for years John Ruskin's message of social reform, Unto This Last, decided with the help of another American disciple of Ruskin, Walter Vrooman, that the workingmen of England should have an opportunity to get a decent education. Their idea, as Beard expressed it, "was not to manufacture a

¹⁷Goldman, op. cit., pp. 235-37, and, Herring, loc. cit., portray young Charles Beard in England fairly well. The best account is H. B. Phillips, "Charles Beard, Walter Vrooman, and the Founding of Ruskin Hall," South Atlantic Quarterly, L (April, 1951), 186-91. Vrooman was the "John the Baptist" of the Christian Socialist movement in America. Beard came back for a short visit to America and married Mary Ritter in 1900. She returned with him to England.

¹⁸Goldman, op. cit., pp. 235-38; Herring, op. cit., pp. 641-43.

superior class or let loose a horde of half-baked agitators on the world, but to give those who have an aptitude for education, that which will help them raise their fellowmen, not rise above them."¹⁹ The keen judge of men, J. Keir Hardie, said appreciatively of the determined young Beard, "When in the course of conversation he closes his eyes, knits his brow, sets his teeth, and pounds his left palm with his right fist, one feels as this young man progresses through life something is bound to go down before him."²⁰

The first thing to go down before Beard was the English tradition that education was bad for workingmen. Beard and Vrooman were successful, with the aid of subscriptions from various sources, including labour unions, and \$60,000 from Mrs. Vrooman, in establishing a Labour college to take its place beside the dignified colleges of the upper classes

¹⁹The Clarion, February 22, 1899, cited in H. B. Phillips, op. cit., pp. 186-88. "Walter Vrooman and I," said Beard, "belonged to Teddy Roosevelt's lunatic fringe--wild eyed cranks lacking in respect for academic traditions." For Ruskin's ideas, see, John Ruskin, The Works of John Ruskin, E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, editors. Vol. XVII, Library edition, Writings on Political Economy (London: George Allen, 1905).

²⁰The Clarion, February 22, 1899, cited in H. B. Phillips, op. cit., pp. 189-90. MacDonald had his eyes on Beard for a cabinet post when the Labour Party got into power, which was expected to take place in the due course of time. See, Time Magazine, XLIV (August 21, 1944), 98. MacDonald is quoted as saying, "Beard would have been a member of my cabinet if he would have stayed in England."

superior class of people who are not only
on the world, but who give to the world
action, that which will help them to
rise above them. The man who is of this
said representative of the human race, in
the course of conversation he often says, "I am
not his child, and I am not his child's
one feels as if he were a stranger in
in bound to be a stranger in the world.
The first thing to be done is to find out
prediction that everything was to be done
Victorians were supposed to be the best of
various sources, including the Bible, the
Mrs. Victorians, in particular, were supposed to be
place better and different collection of the same class.

The second thing to be done is to find out
Phillips, on the other hand, was supposed to be
and said, "I am not a stranger in the world."
will give them a better idea of the world
for Russia, a better idea of the world
Phillips, on the other hand, was supposed to be
will give them a better idea of the world
George Allen, 1907.

30
The third thing to be done is to find out
Phillips, on the other hand, was supposed to be
heard for a better idea of the world
power, which was supposed to be the best of
time, and the best of the world.
Donald is now in the world, and he is now
of my country it is now in the world.

31
The fourth thing to be done is to find out
Phillips, on the other hand, was supposed to be
heard for a better idea of the world
power, which was supposed to be the best of
time, and the best of the world.
Donald is now in the world, and he is now
of my country it is now in the world.

which had graced the velvet lawns of Oxford for centuries.²¹ The next move made by Beard was a clarion call of affirmation in book form, for Englishmen to clean up the social debris of the industrial revolution and to achieve the "good, the true, and the beautiful":

. . . As we look forward along the centuries of the future we see the struggle for existence taking only a small portion of man's energy, leaving all the remainder of his powers of heart and brain for the enlargement and enrichment of life.²²

During Beard's stay in England, there occurred the Boer War, an event which was to cause a setback to the Labour movement which had occupied Beard.²³ Of Beard's outstanding friends

²¹Letter from Oxford University to the author, March 25, 1953. See also, New York Times, May 22, 1949. Beard's memory was honored, along with Vrooman's, at the fifty years anniversary ceremonial of Ruskin College.

²²Charles A. Beard, The Industrial Revolution (London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1901), p. 39. See also, Goldman, op. cit., pp. 234-36. Beard also spent some time wandering on the continent. He was impressed by German social reforms but disliked the Prussian military men forcing him off the sidewalks into the street while walking.

²³William Stewart, J. Keir Hardie (London: National Labour Press, 1921), pp. 143-53; Benjamin Sacks, J. Ramsay MacDonald, In Thought and Action (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1951), pp. 362-73. Two of Beard's English labor leader acquaintances, J. Keir Hardie and J. Ramsay MacDonald, were opposed to the Boer War which took place in 1899. Opposition to wars as sources of great social evil was to become a major intellectual strand in Beard's later writings. Both Hardie and MacDonald received considerable personal abuse and suffered loss of prestige as a result of their denouncing the Boer War as an imperialistic adventure.

THE LIFE OF

which had passed the first years of his life in the
The next move was by Henry to a small town of
in book form, for attention to be given to the central figure of
the industrial revolution and to the life of the people, the life
and the beautiful.

As we look back on the life of Henry we can see that
future we see the struggle for the future of the world, the
small position of the world, the small position of the world, the
of his position of the world and the world of the future, the
ambitions of the world.
Building Henry's life in the world, the world of the future, the
an event which would be the world of the future, the world of
which had occurred in the world of the future, the world of

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40. The first of the world of the future, the world of the future,

in England, only one, Frederick York Powell, the savant, who also occasionally contributed articles to sporting magazines, was to oppose the cause of the Dutch farmers in South Africa.²⁴

In 1902, Beard left his activities in England and returned to become a gadfly of the social conscience of America. Beard, still paying his own way, with a fellowship, began the study of political economy and history at Columbia University.²⁵ His next move was to hurry through his master's degree on civil service reform measures before he was ready to receive his doctorate, in 1904, on English laws, a subject he had long delved into in England under Professor Stubbs.²⁶ After receiving the official seal of educational approval from the dignified hands of the Columbia President, Nicholas Murray Butler, Beard settled down near the Columbia campus with his family, and began his academic duties for his alma

²⁴Sir Sydney Lee, editor, Dictionary of National Biography (1931-1940) (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), pp. 433-34. York Powell is described as a "jingo" socialist during the Boer War. For Powell's ideas on social reform, see the introduction written by Powell for Beard, The Industrial Revolution, loc. cit. See also, letter to the author from Mary Beard, February 21, 1953.

²⁵Charles A. Beard, The Office of the Justice of the Peace in England (New York: Columbia University Press, 1904), Preface 1 and 11.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 1-159. This was to be a very scholarly presentation, not advocating anything, except possibly justices of the peace.

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in England, only one, Frederick James, the son of the
also occasionally mentioned, and as a result of this
was to oppose the cause of the poor in London.
Africa, 24

In 1905, Beard had his reputation as an author and
turned to become a member of the London School of Economics.
Beard, still paying his own way, with a fellowship from the
study of political economy and history at University College.
His next year was to study law at University College.
After on civil service, Beard returned to the University
receive his doctorate, in 1907, for his thesis, "The
had long delved into the history of the English constitution.
After receiving the degree of Doctor of Laws, Beard
from the University of London, and in 1908, Beard
Murray Butler, Beard settled down to his work, and
with his family, and began his researches into the history

of the English constitution, the history of the
Bismarck (1871-1890) (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1905),
pp. 425-52. Beard's work is based on the original
material, and the history of the English constitution
before, and the history of the English constitution
The Industrial Revolution, 1800-1850, 2 vols., London,
the author's own work, 1905.

Beard, A. L. (1887-1948), The English Constitution, London,
George Allen and Unwin, 1905. (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1905),
pp. 1-10.

Beard, A. L. (1887-1948), The English Constitution, London,
George Allen and Unwin, 1905. (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1905),
pp. 1-10.

mater as a lecturer in history.²⁷ Beard, however, had not abandoned his thesis concerning worker's education. In 1905, he was named to the advisory committee of the newly formed Rand School of the Social Sciences in New York City, designed for worker's education.²⁸

Beard's early scholarly writings were textbooks on European history,²⁹ which were fairly novel in their interpretation for that time as they stressed economic determinism.³⁰

²⁷James Harvey Robinson, Readings in European History, II (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1906), Preface vi, dated November 3, 1905: "I have been greatly aided by Dr. Charles A. Beard, Lecturer in History in Columbia University, who has devoted many hours . . . and prepared bibliographies."

²⁸Ira Kipnis, The American Socialist Movement, 1909-1912 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), p. 257. Beard contributed numerous lectures to the school and outlined programs for many years. See also, New York Times, January 26, 1919, and The New Republic, LXX (October 8, 1930), 210, for Beard's continued work at the Rand School.

²⁹For example, Charles A. Beard, Introduction to the English Historians (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1906), is a collection of writings with editorial comment which present the major viewpoints on points of controversy in English history. Beard collaborated on two books with James H. Robinson: Readings in European History (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1909), and The Development of Modern Europe, 2 vols. (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1907).

³⁰Beard, Introduction to the English Historians, op. cit., pp. 623-37. He used economic emphasis especially in explaining the development of English imperialism around 1900. Beard selected J. A. Hobson's violent attack on the validity of the economic motives of the political party advocating annexation of territories. Hobson's views on imperialism were the only selection made by Beard concerning this highly controversial subject. Beard uses excerpts from J. A. Hobson's Imperialism, A Study (London: Archibald Constable and Company, Ltd., 1902).

By 1909, Beard was ready to begin his numerous contributions to periodicals of all descriptions; these numbered five hundred by the time of his death in 1948. Most of his early short writings concerned state governmental reform problems,³¹ and called for the popular progressive devices of direct government, the initiative, the referendum, recall, and short ballot. As evidenced by the topics chosen for his periodical articles, Beard was now primarily interested in American political science which he began teaching in 1909. In that same year he wrote American Government and Politics, which was to go through twelve editions.³² In the next few years Beard also wrote volumes which were to analyze almost every major organ of American government.³³

³¹Charles A. Beard, "Ballot's Burden," Political Science Quarterly, XXIV (December, 1909), 589-614; and "Constitution of Oklahoma," Political Science Quarterly, XXIV (March, 1909), 95-114.

³²Charles A. Beard, American Government and Politics (New York: The Macmillan Company, twelve editions, 1910-1941). Beard lays stress on the heavy cost of armaments in the 1914 and later editions, saying that three-fourths of federal income was used for war or war preparations; 1914 ed., p. 356.

³³Charles A. Beard, The Supreme Court and the Constitution (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), and American City Government (London: W. Univin, 1913). The latter book was received very favorably except by the American Political Science Review (n.n.), which said that "... the book is too inclined to attribute recent progress in city government to valuable devices of progressivism, such as the recall." American Political Science Review, VII (May 13, 1913), 319.

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By 1909, Beard was one of the leading figures in the movement
to popularize of the scientific method. He was
hounded by the time he came to the United States in 1909.
shorter writers condensed some of his work into a book
and called for the popularization of science.
Government, the initiative, the initiative, the initiative,
believed. As evidenced by the United States for the movement
articles, Beard was now a leading figure in the movement
Intellectual science which is based on the scientific method.
each year he wrote Principles of Psychology, Principles of
Psychology, Principles of Psychology, Principles of Psychology,
was to go through twelve editions, and the last one was
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Psychology, Principles of Psychology, Principles of Psychology,
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major organ of American government.

Beard was one of the most popular lecturers on the Columbia campus, always ranking near or at the top of student polls.³⁴ Beard told his students to discard many of the popular ideas on various issues and to examine the documents for themselves. Arthur W. Macmahon, who observed Beard at Columbia, said:

. . . His easy ways belied how fiercely intent he was on research, writing and practical service. Yet students, graduate and undergraduate alike, turned to this man as to the light. The warmth about the mouth complementing the glint of the eagle eyes, the spare simplicity, the unstudied attitude of proud and equal deference to all human beings of whatever age and position, all radiated beyond his own classes.³⁵

Beard varied "moods of acid irony" with those "of an ardent and indignant idealist."³⁶

When Beard took his own advice on examining documents and began analyzing many old treasury department documents connected with the Founding Fathers of the Constitution he produced a highly controversial volume entitled An Economic

³⁴Arthur W. Macmahon, "Charles A. Beard as a Teacher," American Political Science Review, LXV (March, 1950), 1-19. See also, John Erskine, My Life as a Teacher (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott Company, 1948), p. 93: "No one at Columbia could rival Beard as an orator . . . he had no match in the type of political eloquence which democracy engenders."

³⁵Macmahon, loc. cit.

³⁶Loc. cit. See also, Matthew Josephson, "Charles A. Beard, a Memoir," Virginia Quarterly Review, XXV (October, 1949), 582, 602. Josephson, a student at Columbia during Beard's tenure, said there were four hundred students waiting to get into Beard's classes.

Beard was one of the most prominent figures in the

Columbia group, always, ranking first in the eyes of his
polle. 34 Beard said his student of history was not

far ideas on various issues and sometimes the opinions of
themselves. Arthur H. Hanson, who spent years in

Columbia, said:

His easy way of dealing with the world was one of the
on research, writing and speaking. He was a man of
graduate and was a great asset to the group. He was
to the light. His easy way of dealing with the world was
the gift of the spirit. He was a man of great ability, and
unstudied remarks of profound truth. He was a man of great
human being of whose words and actions, all were
beyond his own class. 35

Beard varied "moods of coldness" and "moods of warmth"
and independent ideas. 36

Then Beard took the view of the world as a whole

and began analyzing many of the things that were
connected with the world. He was a man of great ability
produced a sharp contrast between the world of the

34 Arthur H. Hanson, "The World of the Future,"
American Political Science Review, 1934, 28, 1-12.
See also, John Hanson, "The World of the Future,"
J. F. Lippincott Company, 1934, 1-12.
could rival Beard as an analyst of the world, and the
type of political structure that he was, in general.

35 Hanson, loc. cit.
36 Ibid., loc. cit.
Beard, a model of the world, was a man of great ability,
1934, 28, 1-12.
Beard's easy way of dealing with the world was one of the
his to put into words.

Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States.³⁷

Ex-President Taft eventually felt constrained to offer a lengthy protest of Beard's use of economic determinism in connection with the sacrosanct Constitution.³⁸ A later writer has likened the book to exposure of the donation of Constantine by Lorenzo Valla.³⁹

³⁷Charles A. Beard, An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913). Beard's thesis pointed out the apparent fact that the Founding Fathers of the Constitutional Convention stood to protect their material interests when they adopted the Constitution. Among the reviews were these quotations:
 "... Ultimate effect of Beard's work bad ... will give erroneous impression and foster class conflicts." The Dial, LV (August 1, 1913), 870.

"Students of Constitutional History ... can find much in Professor Beard's laborious researches and luminous exposition." New York Times, October 3, 1913.

"... a writer of bad books, grossly unscientific, unrelated to fact and quite unconvincing in their nature." Reinterpretation of Beard in New York Times, October 10, 1913.

"He has looked beneath the surface of things and brought forth new facts long neglected." William E. Dodd, review in the American Historical Review, XIX (October, 1913), 162.

"Every patriotic citizen of the United States, every lover of liberty, should rise to condemn him and the purveyors of his filth and rotten perversions." The Ohio Star (Marion, Ohio), May 3, 1913, cited in Goldman, "The Origins," loc. cit.

³⁸Beard, The Republic, op. cit., pp. 277-78. Ex-President Taft denounced the book during an address to the Pennsylvania Club of New York City in 1915. See also, Henry F. Pringle, The Life and Times of William Howard Taft (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1939), p. 860.

³⁹Harry B. Parkes, Recent America (New York: The Crowell Company, 1941), p. 231. Justice Holmes also derided Beard's lack of idealism in the Holmes-Pollack Letters, M. W. Howe, ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946): "The writer does not believe that high mindedness is possible for man."

Beard did not present a radically new thesis in his book on the Constitution. Algie Simons, a student of Frederick Jackson Turner, had changed Turner's frontier thesis into an economic interpretation of the Constitution in 1911.⁴⁰ Simon's book, in spite of his protestations to the contrary, followed a strict Marxian line with his own addition of making the capitalist greedy and the worker oppressed and noble.⁴¹ J. Allen Smith, a liberal professor at the University of Washington, had preceeded Simons with an economic interpretation of the Constitution in 1907, but his tone was so stridently Jeffersonian that he was regarded as just another radical dissenter.⁴² Beard's monograph on the Constitution, called by the author an "arid survey,"⁴³ appeared to the

⁴⁰Algie Simons, Social Forces in American History (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911). For Turner's influence on Beard, see, Malcolm Cowley and Bernard Smith, editors, Books That Changed Our Minds (Boston: Doubleday, Doran Company, 1939), pp. 61-71.

⁴¹Simons, loc. cit. Compare Simon's treatment of businessmen in Chapter XXIII with his treatment of workers in Chapter XXIV.

⁴²Allen Smith, The Spirit of American Government (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907), p. vii.

⁴³Charles A. Beard, An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913), p. 324. Beard was very careful not to show any bias; but he did achieve an effect by detaching the framers of the Constitution from any concern over "the vague thing known as the advancement of general welfare," or some abstraction known as "justice." p. 17.

Beard did not present a revealing new thesis in his book on the Constitution. Algie Simons, a student of Felix Frankfurter, had changed Turner's traditional thesis into an economic interpretation of the Constitution in 1911.⁴⁰ Simon's book, in spite of his protests to the contrary, followed a strict Marxist line with his analysis of capitalism and the capitalist class and the working class and the middle class. L. Allen Smith, a liberal professor at the University of Washington, had preceded Simon with an economic interpretation of the Constitution in 1907, but his book was so essentially Jeffersonian that he was regarded as just another radical dissenter.⁴¹ Beard's monograph on the Constitution, called by the author an "anti-survey,"⁴² appeared in 1913.

⁴⁰Algie Simons, *Social Forces in American History* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911). For Turner's influence on Beard, see, Malcolm Cowley and Bernard Smith, editors, *Book of the Century* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1939), pp. 51-52.

⁴¹Simon, loc. cit. Compare Simon's treatment of business in Chapter XXII with his treatment of workers in Chapter XXIV.

⁴²L. Allen Smith, *The Spirit of American Government* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907), p. vii.

⁴³Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913), p. 32. Beard was very careful not to state his bias; but he did achieve an effect by detaching the members of the Constitution from any connection with the various things known as the advancement of general welfare, or some abstraction known as "justice," p. 17.

suspicious reader to be stripped bare of both rhetoric and moralization, which of course made Beard's thesis more devastating. By careful documentation, Beard was able to present a convincing argument that the Federalists, especially James Madison, had designed the Constitution as an economic document.⁴⁴ Beard's "fragmentary" monograph was, in the words of Eric Goldman, an "ideological coup d'état," even though the Columbia historian was nominated by Warren Harding's Ohio Star (Marion, Ohio) as chief hyena in a headline drama entitled, "Scavengers, Hyena Like, Desecrate the Graves of the Dead Patriots We Revere."⁴⁵ Beard made his thesis so apparently uncontradictory that as late as 1948 his only change was the addition of two more federal bondholders, Benjamin Franklin and Alexander Hamilton, to the other economic-minded Founding Fathers.⁴⁶

⁴⁴Actually Beard always had great respect for the Federalists. See, Beard, The Republic, op. cit., pp. 74-89, 267-272, 277-280; and Beard, "Crab Apple Juice," The New Republic, LVII (February 13, 1929), 354, for Beard's opinion of John Quincy Adams, "A noble old Roman was John Quincy Adams . . . a honorable servant of the Republic, a scholar . . . an imaginative thinker."

⁴⁵Goldman, op. cit., pp. 245-48; and The Ohio Star, May 3, 1913, cited in Goldman, loc. cit.

⁴⁶For Beard's only later corrections see, Beard, An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution, 1948 edition, loc. cit.; Preface to the 1935 edition, pp. xiv, xvi. For the influence of Beard's economic interpretation on historiography, see the following: Harold W. Faulkner, The Quest

In spite of the lack of authoritative enthusiasm generated for his economic analysis of the Constitution, Beard refused to abandon his thesis.⁴⁷ In 1915, Beard's Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy described the Federalists as the party largely of the well born, while it held Jefferson's party attracted mostly the small-propertyed and artisan classes.⁴⁸

Beard's professional career continued successfully at Columbia in spite of his unorthodox theories concerning governmental institutions, and by 1910 he had advanced to adjunct professor of politics.⁴⁹ There was evidence, however, that Beard's popularity with the students was greater than with the administration. In 1909 he was the almost unanimous

for Social Justice, 1898-1914, XI (A History of American Life Series; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), pp. 246-48; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., New Viewpoints in American History (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928), pp. 71, 192, 264. Schlesinger stated that Beard was the first historian to use the term economic revolution. For a contemporary adaptation of Beard's thesis, see, Marshal E. Dimock and Gladys O. Dimock, American Government in Action (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1946), pp. 71-72.

⁴⁷In the 1925 edition of An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution, Preface, 1, Beard stated that economic determinism was but a key to understanding history--not the key.

⁴⁸Charles A. Beard, Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915).

⁴⁹Macmahon, loc. cit. See also, Columbia Spectator, October 10, 11, 1917.

REVIEWS

WILLIS EVERTS

In spite of the fact that the book is written for the general public, it is not a popular work. It is a serious study of the history of the Negro in the United States, and it is written in a scholarly and objective manner. The author, Willis Everts, is a well-known historian and a member of the American Historical Association. The book is a valuable contribution to the history of the Negro in the United States, and it is a must-read for anyone interested in the subject.

The book is a study of the Negro in the United States, and it is written in a scholarly and objective manner. The author, Willis Everts, is a well-known historian and a member of the American Historical Association. The book is a valuable contribution to the history of the Negro in the United States, and it is a must-read for anyone interested in the subject.

For Social Studies, 1932-1933, by Willis Everts. New York: The Century Company, 1932. Pp. 300. \$2.00. This book is a study of the Negro in the United States, and it is written in a scholarly and objective manner. The author, Willis Everts, is a well-known historian and a member of the American Historical Association. The book is a valuable contribution to the history of the Negro in the United States, and it is a must-read for anyone interested in the subject.

In the 1932 edition of the book, the author has added a new chapter on the Negro in the United States, and this new chapter is a valuable contribution to the history of the Negro in the United States.

Chapter 1, The Negro in the United States, 1932-1933, by Willis Everts. New York: The Century Company, 1932. Pp. 300. \$2.00.

Chapter 2, The Negro in the United States, 1932-1933, by Willis Everts. New York: The Century Company, 1932. Pp. 300. \$2.00.

choice of the student body to become dean of his department.⁵⁰

Beard remained active in the practical application of his political theories.⁵¹ There was trouble brewing for the independent-minded scholar, however, because of the intolerant anti-intellectual atmosphere created by the European war. Many Americans were convinced that it was America's duty to enter the war to save their English friends, or to save humanity in general, or to register protests against alleged German brutality.⁵² Meanwhile, President Wilson was pleading with his fellow Americans to be neutral in "thought, word, and deed," and at the same time he was urging the United States to prepare for eventualities.⁵³ In April of 1916, a newspaper headline accused Beard of saying, "to hell with the

⁵⁰Macmahon, loc. cit. See also, for Beard's outstanding popularity, Columbia Spectator, October 10, 11, 13, 14, 1917.

⁵¹New York Times, January 19, 1915: Beard drafted a resolution adopted by the Committee for Revising the Federal Constitution; February 9, 1915: Beard was chosen Supervisor for the Training School for Public Service of New York City.

⁵²For the influence of German propaganda and opinion, see, Joseph Grew, The Turbulent Era, Walter Johnson, editor, I (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952), pp. 140-70; and Donald Day, editor, Woodrow Wilson's Own Story (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1952), p. 198.

⁵³Day, Ibid., pp. 199-231.

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choice of the student body to become a member of the faculty.
He remained active in the practical application of
his political theories. He was a specialist in the study of
independent-minded scholars, however, because of the fact that
and anti-intellectualism, some were attracted to the study of
many Americans were convinced that it was essential to
enter the way to save their country. He was a member of the
faculty in general, or to participate in the study of
German literature. He was a member of the faculty of the
with his fellow Americans to be involved in the study of
and deed," and at the same time he was writing the history of
states to prepare for revolution. In April of 1910, a
newspaper headline suggested that he was "a roll-up."

50
American, Inc. of the New York Public Library.
has published, Journal of the American People, 1917.

51
New York Times, January 19, 1917. The article
reaction against the American people and the
Constitution. February 2, 1917. The article was
for the training school for public service at New York City.

52
for the influence of German propaganda and
see, Joseph G. Allen, The German People, 1917.
I (Boston: Boston Public Library, 1917), pp. 1-10.
Donald Day, editor, Boston Public Library, 1917.
Little, Brown and Company, 1917.

53
Day, Little, Brown and Company, 1917.

flag."⁵⁴ Beard actually said, "We could not really expect to have liberty without the abuse of it."⁵⁵ He also hinted that it was no worse for small boys to spit on the flag in public than in private. The trustees of Columbia used this occasion not only to question Beard about the flag incident, but also interrogated him on his political and educational philosophy. Mr. Francis P. Bangs and Mr. Albert Coudert, who had formerly praised his research on the Constitution, now denounced Beard's teachings as subversive. The trustees ordered Beard to warn members of his department against inculcating disrespect for American institutions. When the members of his department laughingly asked if the Tweed ring were an American institution, Beard organized a faculty caucus in which he warned the faculty that the trustees planned a general doctrinal inquiry.⁵⁶

⁵⁴New York Times, April 24, 1916. See also, the editorial in the same edition entitled "Free Speech and Free Treason." New York Times regarded Beard as a dangerous man at this time.

⁵⁵New York Times, April 27, 1916. See also, Charles A. Beard, "A Statement," The New Republic, XIII (December 29, 1917), 249-50; and "What Professor Beard Said About the Flag," The New Republic, VII (May 6, 1916), 18.

⁵⁶Beard, "A Statement," loc. cit. The trustees did not carry out their plans for a general investigation. See also, New York Times, January 21, 1916, p. 8. New York Times earlier damned editorially the professor's desire for academic freedom. See also, Erskine, op. cit., pp. 93-94; Beard "spoke and wrote with such fervor that he was regarded as a threat. . . . he was a simple and genuine American patriot."

Meanwhile, Beard watched the progress of the European war with tremendous concern: "The intellectual leaders of the German people are bent upon a consolidation of military and economic dominion such as the world has never seen."⁵⁷

Beard feared that the fact that the German working people considered the Allies imperialistically minded would prolong the war, and if the United States propaganda were to win over the German people for peace,

. . . it would be well for the people of Germany to know that Americans will not shed one drop of blood to enlarge the British empire. . . . The pat little phrase "liberty against autocracy" is more likely to deceive ourselves than the Germans.⁵⁸

The battle of "liberty against autocracy" was not only waged on the fields of France but also underneath the spreading oaks of the Columbia campus. The highly respected psychology department head and world famous scientist, J. McKeen Cattell, refused to abandon his unorthodox views on college administration and military conscription when the conservative trustees of Columbia, demanding conformity on these matters, apparently found the war hysteria useful in keeping

⁵⁷Charles A. Beard, "Das Annexionistische Deutschland," The New Republic, XII (July 14, 1917), 309-14.

⁵⁸Charles A. Beard, "Perils of Diplomacy," The New Republic, XI (June 2, 1917), 136-37.

Meanwhile, Beck had written the program of the American

war with Americanism. The intellectual leaders of
the German people are now in a position of military
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Beck feared that the fact that the German working people con-
sidered the Allies imperialist and that they would fight the
war, and if the United States intervened, would win over the
German people for peace.

... it would be well for the people of America to
know that Americans will not and are not about to
enlarge the British empire. The only British empire
"liberty against autocracy" is now likely to become
autocracy than the German.

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waged by the fields of France but also in the
tag ends of the Columbia empire. The fight against au-
thority department head and world famous scientist, J. Robert
Castell, refused to abandon his position as a college
administration and military organization when the country
five trustees of Columbia, demanding conformity of ideas
matters, apparently found the way to settle the matter.

57 Charles A. Beck, "The Americanization of Germany,"
The New Republic, XII (July 14, 1917), 509-10.

58 Charles A. Beck, "The Battle of Columbia," The New
Republic, XI (June 8, 1917), 170-71.

independent-minded college professors in line.⁵⁹ The trustees dismissed the highly respected Cattell because, so they said, he had sent a letter to Congress protesting the sending of conscripts to France without their consent.⁶⁰ Their real reason for dismissing Cattell was because he advocated greater faculty guidance of the Administration of Columbia University and had satirically demanded that Columbia President, Nicholas Murray Butler, turn his residence over to the faculty for use as a club house.⁶¹ The trustees insisted that the "pacifist" Cattell, who had a son fighting in France, leave Columbia, to which the bitter Cattell replied, "the trustees are in place only in Trinity Churchyard, the president (Butler) fit only to be a ward politician."⁶² This was too much for Beard who, by resigning, rebelled at the idea of

⁵⁹W. B. Pillsbury, "James Mckeen Cattell," Bibliographical Memoirs, National Academy of Sciences of the United States, XXV (New York: National Academy of Sciences, 1949), pp. 1-9. Cattell had helped to form the Association of University Professors and introduced the experimental method of psychology in the United States. See also, Columbia Spectator, October 10, 12, 13, 1917; Erskine, loc. cit. Erskine was a teacher at Columbia at the same time as Beard. For a concise picture of the faculty's troubles with the trustees, see his chapter entitled, "Teachers and Educators Ruffled by War," pp. 98-160.

⁶⁰Pillsbury, loc. cit.; Columbia Spectator, October 12, 1917.

⁶¹Columbia Spectator, October 12, 1917.

⁶²Loc. cit.; Pillsbury, loc. cit.

academic freedom being engulfed in the tidal wave of prejudice that demanded strict conformity. Beard was able to see the well known handwriting through the ivy of the collegiate walls. Not only were the trustees "reactionary and visionless in politics and medieval in religion, but a professor's status was lower than a day laborer's."⁶³ Of the trustees and the President of Columbia University, Beard wrote:

"Those who had been least concerned about genuine popular battles in the United States, elbowed their way to the front in shining armor to champion the war for democracy."⁶⁴ A few months later Beard let it be known who the shining armor was to be reserved for:

. . . Men of will, initiative, and inventiveness, not afraid of falling into error in the search for truth, will shun such a life of fruitful lubricity (teaching under censorship), as the free woman avoids the harem.

. . . Those who have the great passion to create, mould, and to lead, to find new paths, will look upon the University as an unclean thing.

. . . How can the calm voice of reason prevail if it is known to be modulated to suit the whims of paymasters who come once a month to see if their servants have obeyed orders.⁶⁵

⁶³Beard, "A Statement," loc. cit. See also, New York Times, March 12, 1918. Columbia was congratulated on its "deliverance" from a "fake" teacher.

⁶⁴Charles A. Beard, "Political Science in the Crucible," The New Republic, XIII (November 17, 1917), supplement, 3-4.

⁶⁵Charles A. Beard, "The University and Democracy," Dial, LXIV (April 11, 1917), 335-36.

Although the student body of Columbia passed a resolution requesting Beard to return to the "harem,"⁶⁶ the ex-professor wasted little time getting into public service. The Bureau of Municipal Research of New York City appointed Beard as director in March of 1918. The same year he helped to organize the New School of Social Research along with Thorstein Veblen and the historian of ideas, James Harvey Robinson.⁶⁷ At the New School of Social Research, Beard gave many lectures, long remembered by his auditors, on practical politics and related topics.⁶⁸ He spent four years as director of municipal research and observed the increase of intolerance and denials of civil liberty with mounting disgust:

It was undoubtedly the study of such writings (on liberty) by Franklin, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Sumner that made so many old fashioned Americans seem utterly mad in the Year of Jubilee, 1917. It is to be hoped that a million copies (of their writings) will be sold--to the collectors of antiques.⁶⁹

During America's participation in the war, Beard enrolled as a government propagandist, and he was one of the

⁶⁶New York Times, October 12, 1917. See also, the Columbia Spectator, October 10, 12, 13, 1917.

⁶⁷New York Times, March 7, 1918. The New School was to promote "unhampered" teaching.

⁶⁸Macmahon, loc. cit.

⁶⁹Charles A. Beard, "Blasting at the Constitution," The New Republic, XLIII (July 29, 1925), 269. For a good account of wartime intolerance and unwarranted suppression of opinion, see, Jane Addams, The Second Twenty Years at Hull House (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), pp. 153-220.

many learned men set to remove all possible doubts as to who was actually responsible for the war in a tract called The War Cyclopedia.⁷⁰ He also called for his fellow citizens to loosen their purse strings to buy war bonds.⁷¹ Beard suffered the general fate of his fellow writers as far as the production of outstanding theses were concerned:

. . . The war years for the social sciences were singularly barren in systematic ideas. . . . the overwhelming nature of the disaster that had befallen civilization imposed a sense of futility on the professional scholar. . . . There was in fact a widespread renunciation of intellectual independence. Since each party to the conflict set up two contrasting political systems, its own ideas and those of its opponents, the field of possible variation in individual opinion on any question was narrowed down to the right view and the wrong, and to take the latter was traitorous. Historians therefore became official propagandists and focused on the prevailing struggle the views of the past.⁷²

After the cessation of hostilities, Beard began collecting materials concerning the causes of the war.⁷³ He was

⁷⁰James R. Mock and Eugene Larson, Words that Won the War (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939), p. 172.

⁷¹Charles A. Beard, "Call Upon Every Citizen," Harpers Magazine, CXLVII (October, 1918), 655-56.

⁷²"War and Reorientation," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, First edition, VI, 189-228. With this quotation in mind, the reader should turn to Charles A. Beard and Frederick A. Ogg, National Governments and the World War (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919), pp. 10-14, 160-90, and read Beard's acceptance of Wilson's war aims and the wartime organization of government.

⁷³Charles A. Beard, Cross Currents in Europe Today (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1922). Beard said that Russia, Austria, France, Germany, and England were equally mired down in war guilt.

one of the first revisionist historians of the war and his conclusions were later more fully documented and accepted by Sydney Fay and Harry E. Barnes.⁷⁴ Beard's passion for reform, as well as for truth in war diplomacy, became international in his enthusiasm for improving the administrations of city governments, and he became a special advisor to the government of Tokyo in 1922.⁷⁵ A short time later, Tokyo suffered a severe earthquake. Beard offered his services to rebuild the city,⁷⁶ and they were accepted.⁷⁷

In between governmental planning chores, Beard finally explained in The Economic Basis of Politics who were the step-fathers to his ideas on economic determinism in history and politics. In this book he traced the origins of the American Constitution, which he analyzed as having some native elements, but was mostly derived from British and French influences.⁷⁸

⁷⁴Sydney B. Fay, The Origins of the World War (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929); Harry E. Barnes, The Genesis of the First World War (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1926). Also see Chapter III.

⁷⁵Charles A. Beard, "Outlook of City Improvements in Tokyo," Trans-Pacific, VIII (January, 1923), 79-81.

⁷⁶New York Times, September 5, 1923.

⁷⁷New York Times, September 13, 1923. See also, Charles A. Beard, "Goto and the Rebuilding of Tokyo," Our World, V (April, 1924), 11-21.

⁷⁸Charles A. Beard, The Economic Basis of Politics (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1922), p. 67.

one of the first revisionist historians of the war and his conclusions were later widely documented and accepted. Sydney Toy and Harry E. Barnes, ⁷⁵ Beard's assistant for many years as well as his chief in war planning, became instrumental in his enthusiasm for improving the administration of city government, and he became a special advisor to the government of Tokyo in 1922. ⁷⁶ A short time later, Tokyo suffered a severe earthquake. Beard offered his services to rebuild the city, ⁷⁷ and they were accepted.

In between governmental planning chores, Beard finally explained in The Economic Basis of Politics who were the fathers to his ideas on economic determinants in history and politics. In this book he traced the origins of the American Constitution, which he analyzed as having positive elements, but was mostly derived from British and French influences. ⁷⁸

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⁷⁷New York Times, September 5, 1923.

⁷⁸New York Times, September 12, 1923. See also Charles A. Beard, "Beard and the Rebuilding of Tokyo," QJR, XXXV (April, 1924), 11-21.

⁷⁹Charles A. Beard, The Economic Basis of Politics (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1922), 2, 3.

Even before the theories of Locke, Madison, Webster, and Calhoun, Aristotle and Machiavelli had regarded different forms of government as being determined by different types of property distribution.⁷⁹ The United States, according to Beard, became a democracy because of a wide distribution of property. As if to certify the soundness of his intellectual genealogy, the American Association of Political Science selected Beard as president in 1926. What he told his colleagues left no doubt that, though he had left the academic pastures, Beard still considered himself a teacher at large:

Can those of us who teach and write today honestly avoid the challenging fact their students must work in the substance of the approaching years, not in the ashes of yesterday?⁸⁰

The Political Science Association president and his wife, Mary, decided to sift through those ashes of yesterday⁸¹ and produced a red-hot-coal history of America. The Rise of American Civilization embodied Beard's disillusionment with the Treaty of Versailles and served as a spur to the "nameless masses" to make America a work of art through

⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 1-99.

⁸⁰Charles A. Beard, "Time, Technology, and the Creative Spirit of Man," American Political Science Review, XXI (February, 1927), pp. 1-11. This was Beard's presidential address to the American Political Science Association in 1926.

⁸¹Block, loc. cit.; Herring, loc. cit.

Even before the passage of the National Labor Relations Act, the National Labor Relations Board, established in 1935, had been a part of the government's effort to bring about a more equitable distribution of property. The National Labor Relations Board, established in 1935, had been a part of the government's effort to bring about a more equitable distribution of property. As it is to certify the representation of the employees of property, the American Association of University Professors selected Board as president in 1935. When he took the office, he was not a doubt that the Board would be a success. He still considered himself a laborer in the field. Can those of us who have not yet taken the time to avoid the challenge of the Board's existence meet with the substance of the opposing force, not in the name of yesterday?

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79th, pp. 1-20.

Charles A. Beard, "The National Labor Relations Board," in *The Spirit of Man*, National Labor Relations Board, 1935, pp. 1-11. This is a very important address to the American Association of University Professors.

81st, pp. 1-20.

domestic means.⁸² It called for a more extended democracy and gave Beard a large following as it became a standard textbook for many college classes and was a best seller.⁸³

Strangely enough, this book, representing an affirmation of the democratic spirit, in one sense was an encyclopedia of undemocratic instances. The pecuniary classes loomed almost as invincible at the close of the book (1927) as they did at the beginning when Alexander Hamilton and the Federalists gave tone to American life.

Beard did not stay in America to observe the clash of economic classes or to receive plaudits for his historical synthesis, as his next effort to aid struggling humanity led him to the Balkans where the powder keg of the World War had exploded. Beard spent 1927 and part of 1928 observing and analyzing the Yugoslav government. "They appreciated my

⁸²Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, The Rise of American Civilization (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927), II, 831, Preface ii-viii.

⁸³Asa D. Dickinson, The Best Books of the Decade 1926-1935 (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1937), p. 169. Beard was rated the fifth favorite author between the years 1926-1935 by popular opinion, p. 170. The Rise was the sixth most popular book during this period, ranking just behind Death Comes to an Archbishop and The Bridge of San Luis Rey. By 1939, the public had purchased 175,000 volumes of The Rise. See, Herring, loc. cit.

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⁶² Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, The Rise of American Civilization (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927), II, 871, Preface xi-iii.

⁶³ Alan D. Dickinson, The Best Books of the Decade 1926-1935 (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1937), p. 193. Beard was rated the fifth favorite author between the years 1926-1935 by popular opinion, p. 170. The Rise was the sixth most popular book during this period, ranking just behind Death Comes to an Archbishop and The Bridge of San Luis Rey. By 1939, the public had purchased 175,000 volumes of the Rise. See, Hearings, loc. cit.

advice, but continued to oppress the Croats and the Macedonians," Beard said later.⁸⁴

Beard came back from Yugoslavia cured of enthusiasm for democracy in any place except America. He moved his family from New York City to the rustic serenity of a rambling old farm house on top of a hill near New Milford, Connecticut. The country boy from Indiana had completed the circuit by fleeing from America's largest metropolis to the hinterland. It was near New Milford that Beard did most of his foreign policy writing, almost in complete isolation, as he refused to have a telephone or a radio on the premises, probably because of his deafness.⁸⁵ One waspish critic has complained that Beard would not have become a die-hard non-interventionist if he had been pestered by students. His large herd of cows could not talk back to him.⁸⁶ This theory must be viewed in a larger background as Beard made numerous lectures

⁸⁴Herring, loc. cit. See also, Eric Goldman, Rendezvous with Destiny (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1952). Goldman has an account of Beard's "mission" in Yugoslavia in which "he simply lies," according to Mary Beard in a letter to the author, March 21, 1953. She also said that Beard did not go to Yugoslavia "to advise the King whom he did not even agree to meet."

⁸⁵Block, loc. cit.

⁸⁶Morison, loc. cit.

advice, but continued to oppose the U.S. and the Western-
ians," Beards said later.⁸⁴

Beards came back from his travels, tired and disappointed
for democracy in any place except America. He moved his
family from New York City to the remote vicinity of a rambling
old farm house on top of a hill near New Milford, Connecticut.
The country boy from Indiana had completed his studies by
fleeing from America's largest metropolis to the wilderness.
It was near New Milford that Beards did most of his writing.
policy writing, almost in complete isolation, as he refused
to have a telephone or a radio in the premises, and he refused
to have a car.⁸⁵ One wag said outside his examination
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ours could not talk back to him.⁸⁶ This theory must be
viewed in a larger background as Beards was a man of many faces.

⁸⁴ Hanning, loc. cit. See also, E. A. Goldman, Beards-
Years with Beards (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1937). Goldman has
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author, March 21, 1937. She also said that Beards did not go
to Yugoslavia "to advise the King whom he did not even
to meet."

⁸⁵ Block, loc. cit.
⁸⁶ Newman, loc. cit.

to public gatherings, and played host to a glittering intellectual salon at his famous Sunday morning breakfasts.⁸⁷

Beard's early years were busy both with practical political administrative work and political agitation. The scope and depth of his interests was truly amazing, while his literary output was prodigious.⁸⁸ The man had tremendous vitality, but back of that energy was the ideal of putting political science and history to social uses. That ideal was to spur him to write book after book on foreign policy, while at the same time he continued to develop his many other scholarly interests. Even his dairy farm production rate reflected Beard's practical abilities. Within a few years he sold three hundred thousand quarts of milk a year wholesale.⁸⁹ Beard had laboriously gathered a small fortune by 1927, much

⁸⁷Letter from Henry A. Wallace to the author, March 6, 1953. See also, Macmahon, loc. cit.: Beard was in contact with all segments of opinion through letters, lectures, and informal gatherings. He was an extremely sociable man for a serious scholar. F. York Powell, Regius Professor of History at Oxford, said Beard was "the nicest American I ever knew." See, Josephson, loc. cit.

⁸⁸The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature lists sixty-six periodical articles written by Beard during the years 1906 through 1927. The Library of Congress Card Catalogue lists thirty books and pamphlets written by Beard during the years 1901 through 1927. In addition, Beard wrote dozens of book reviews.

⁸⁹Morison, loc. cit. Even men who disagreed bitterly with Beard on foreign policy described his personality in glowing terms.

to public gatherings, and I have been to a number of them.
I have also at his home many times, and I have
heard his early years were very happy and healthy.
Political administrative work was his main occupation, and
he was very successful in his career, and he was very
literate and very capable. He was very capable of
self, but even of that energy and the idea of
political science and history. He was very capable of
to give him to write a book on history, and he was
at the same time he was very capable of writing a book on
any interest. Even his early years were very happy and
heard's practical abilities. He was very capable of
these hundred thousand dollars, and he was very capable of
heard had laboriously gathered a small fortune of \$100,000.

67 Letter from Henry J. Ford to the author, dated
1917. See also, Macmillan, 1917. Ford was in contact
with all sorts of people and was very capable of
information gathering. He was very capable of
action, and he was very capable of action.
at Oxford, and he was very capable of action.
See, Macmillan, 1917.

68 The author's father, who was a very capable
sixty-five years old, was very capable of action.
years 1900 through 1917. He was very capable of
action, and he was very capable of action.
in the year 1917. He was very capable of action.
Gordon of book review.

69 Macmillan, 1917. Ford was very capable of
with Ford on the subject of his father's
Gordon's name.

of it invested in blue-chip stocks and bonds, again emphasizing his old Federalist predilections.

Beard's early writings were all connected by their desire to bring the history of the past to serve as a practical basis of evaluating the political, social, and economic realities of the present.⁹⁰ His fundamental idea in his writings was that the past flowed into the present and the actual present, not the past, was the genuine concern of the political scientist and historian. None of his books, however, could be regarded in any way as a merely propaganda effort. They are all historical in treatment, based on appropriate quotations from the wielders of governmental power, and they took most of the recognized scholar's books into account in their bibliographies. Beard founded the first college course of its kind in this country, based on a practical analysis of American government; out of this grew his popular American Government and Politics.⁹¹ His probings of the Constitution and the Supreme Court were a further development of his

⁹⁰Beard, The Development of Modern Europe, I, op. cit., Preface, iii: "It has been their (the authors') ever conscious aim to enable the reader to catch up with his own times; to read intelligently the foreign news in the morning paper . . . the more fundamentally economic matters have been generously treated . . ." See also, Beard, Contemporary American History, op. cit., Preface, v, vi.

⁹¹Macmahon, loc. cit.

of it favored in blue-ship crews and white-ship crews.
Alas, his old Federalist friends,
Seward's early writings were not so much
aimed at doing the history of the country as
basis of evaluating the political, social, and economic
situation of the present. The Federalist was not
was that the past lived into the present and the future.
present, not the past, was the Federalist's concern.
old scientist and historian, none of his books, however,
could be regarded in any way as a historical effort.
They are all historical in the sense that they are
quotations from the history of government, and they
took most of the recognized authorities, books, and records in
their bibliography. It is almost as if of course
of its kind in this country, but it is a historical effort
American government; but it is not a historical
Government and Politics, by Seward, is a historical
and the Supreme Court were a historical effort.

Quoted: The Federalist, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 1.
Federalist, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 1.
Federalist, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 1.
Federalist, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 1.
Federalist, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 1.
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attempt to arrive at a historically true picture of the American political scene as opposed to abstractions.

In many ways Beard's early life admirably equipped him for the analysis of American foreign policy. He had lived through the exciting days of American colonial expansion and anti-imperialists who had fought the ideological battle over the validity of John Bull's mission in the Boer War. The young historian read deeply in classical and contemporary theory of economics, politics, international law, and sociology; his broad learning enabled him to get a perspective unusual for a writer on diplomacy. The remaining chapters of this essay are devoted to the conclusions Beard arrived at as he jeered, assessed, jabbed, and pondered over American foreign affairs as they unfolded from year to year.

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he looked, assessed, judged, and pondered over American

foreign affairs as they unfolded from year to year.

CHAPTER III

CHARLES BEARD'S EARLY FOREIGN POLICY VIEWS

Some commentators on Charles Beard appear to believe that his interest in foreign policy came quite late in his life, or at least not until his first edition of The Rise of American Civilization.¹ The truth is that a definite world view on international policy can be traced from his very first book, The Industrial Revolution (1901),² down to his last volume, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Coming of the War (1948).

In his early writings Beard pointed out the unity and interdependence of the world. In The Industrial Revolution he described the growing complexity of world trade, a development which increased the unity of the world because "profit

¹For example, Max Lerner and Samuel E. Morison. Certain other errata created by these writers will be disclosed later. See, Max Lerner, "Civilization and the Devils," The New Republic, CXIX (November, 1948), 21-24; Samuel E. Morison, "Did Roosevelt Start the War?" The Atlantic, CLXXXI (August, 1948), 91, 97.

²Letter from Constance M. Winchell, Columbia University reference librarian, to the author, March 23, 1953: "The Industrial Revolution is kept in almost constant use." This has been a popular little book since 1901 and has had nine editions printed.

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WILLI

CHAPTER 1

CHARLES BEARD'S EARLY WORK

Some commentators on Charles Beard have said that his interest in foreign history was not only a life, or at least was until his first visit to the American Division. The truth is that a realistic view on international affairs can be seen from his book, The Industrial Revolution (1911), a study of the rise volume, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Politics of the Day (1948).

In his early writings Beard pointed out the interdependence of the world. In The Impact of Revolution he described the growing complexity of world affairs, a world in which increased the unity of the world economy.

¹For example, Max Lerner and Barbara H. Stein, John F. Kennedy: The American Years (1961), pp. 1-2. See also Lerner, The American Revolution and the World (1961), pp. 1-2. See also Lerner, The American Revolution and the World (1961), pp. 1-2.

²Letter from Charles E. Beard to the author, March 22, 1951. See also Lerner, The American Revolution and the World (1961), pp. 1-2. See also Lerner, The American Revolution and the World (1961), pp. 1-2.

and interest had no patriotic feelings."³ A few years later Beard added several more ingredients to his formula of international unity. Missionaries, scholars, and traders were constantly exchanging ideas and "men of different races are led to see their common interest in peaceful intercourse."⁴ International expositions were useful in getting people to visit other countries during peacetime thus advancing the education of nationalities in the advantages of peace. The Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907 further demonstrated the mutual interest which nations had in preserving unity, and even encouraged the friends of international peace to believe that practical agreements could be worked out which would prevent war.⁵ Beard could even see good flowing from the combination of powers in ententes. In the Balkan disturbances, preceding 1914, he thought that some of the credit for localizing the trouble should go to the alliances then existing among the great powers.⁶

³Beard, The Industrial Revolution, op. cit., pp. 51, 88. See also, Introduction to the English Historians, op. cit., pp. 307, 520, 623.

⁴Beard and Robinson, The Development of Modern Europe, op. cit., p. 369.

⁵Ibid., pp. 370-71.

⁶Charles A. Beard, European Sobriety in the Presence of the Balkan Crisis (New York: American Branch of the Association for International Conciliation, 1908), pp. 1-14.

and interest had no patriotic feelings.⁵ A few years later Beards added several more ingredients to his formula of international unity. Missionaries, scholars, and teachers were constantly exchanging ideas and "men of different races are led to see their common interest in peaceful intercourse."⁶ International expositions were useful in getting people to visit other countries during peacetime thus advancing the education of nationalities in the advantages of peace. The Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907 further demonstrated the mutual interest which nations had in preserving unity, and even encouraged the friends of international peace to believe that practical agreements could be worked out which would prevent war.⁷ Beards could even see good flowing from the combination of powers in ententes. In the Balkan disturbances, preceding 1914, he thought that some of the credit for localizing the trouble should go to the alliances then existing among the great powers.⁸

⁵Beards, The Industrial Revolution, pp. 211, 212.
⁶See also, Introduction to the Modern History, pp. 211, 212, 213, 214.
⁷Beards and Robinson, The Development of Modern Europe, pp. 211, 212, 213.
⁸Ibid., pp. 210-211.
⁹Charles A. Beards, European Bolshevism in the Perspective of the Balkan Crisis (New York: American Branch of the Association for International Cooperation, 1908), pp. 1-14.

The young, red-headed historian, who saw great chances for men to gain material, educational, and spiritual advantages from peace, also saw the sharp intensity in the thrusts for trade that the nations of the world were making. Young Beard read practically every volume in his field of interest that he could lay his hands on, but there was one book, Imperialism, a Study, by the English economist, John A. Hobson, which registered more upon his mind than all the others.⁷

John Hobson was an acute and original thinker whose extreme views prevented him from ever gaining an academic post in England.⁸ His explanation, about 1900, of the growing tendency toward imperialism on the part of all the advanced industrial nations was primarily economic. The industrial nations embarked upon imperialism because of unhealthy economic distribution in their own countries. The economic welfare of a country required a correct balance between

⁷Letter from Mary Ritter Beard to the author, March 6, 1953. Mary Beard said that "Beard's foreign policy ideas were not dictated by Hobson," but from the frequent use Beard made of Hobson's ideas he can be assumed as being a prime influence.

⁸Sir Sydney Lee, editor, Dictionary of National Biography (1931-1940) (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), pp. 433-34. Hobson was a correspondent during the Boer War. He "had a firm grasp on a wide range of facts, a great gift of logical exposition, and was a humanist in economics." Beard owed much of his entire domestic program, outlined in The Open Door at Home, to Hobson, which will be demonstrated later.

The young, red-headed historian, who now gives chapters for men to gain material, educational, and political views from George, also has the sharp interest in the history for trade that the nations of the world were making. Beard read practically every volume in his field of interest that he could lay his hands on, but there was one book, Imperialism, A Study, by the English economist, John A. Hobson, which registered more upon his mind than all the others. John Hobson was an acute and original thinker whose extreme views prevented him from even visiting the universities in England. The explanation, about 1900, of the growing tendency toward imperialism on the part of all the advanced industrial nations was primarily economic. The industrial nations embarked upon imperialist policies of unequal economic distribution in their own countries. The economic welfare of a country required a correct balance between

Later from Harry Witter Beard to the author, March 1933. Harry Beard said that "Beard's 'Foreign Policy Ideas' were not discussed by Hobson," but I am too "frank" to have made of Hobson's ideas he can be assumed to have a place in finance.

Dr. Sydney Lee, editor, Dictionary of National Biography (1941-1942) (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), pp. 473-4. Hobson was a correspondent during the four years he had a fine career on a wide range of facts, a great deal of logical expositions, and was a humanist in conduct. Beard owed much of his entire domestic program, outlined in The Open Door in Asia, to Hobson, which will be demonstrated later.

expenditure on consumption and on capital goods. The principal cause of imperialism was that the capitalist class of one country made more money than they could invest profitably in their home country because the poverty of the great masses of people rendered them unable to buy all the products of the capitalist's factories. The remedy of this situation was, of course, to pay workers more money so they could consume more goods. As it was, the wealth piled up faster in the business group's hands than it could use it. The result was that the capitalist class, which controlled the government, demanded that profitable openings be made for its wealth abroad--meaning imperialism.⁹

Four years after Hobson published his thesis, Beard adopted it wholesale, by the chapter, in his Introduction to the English Historians.¹⁰ Six years later Beard said in his The Development of Modern Europe:

. . . These two powerful forces--factories seeking markets and capital seeking investment--are shaping the foreign and commercial policies of every important

⁹Hobson, Imperialism, a Study, op. cit., pp. 63, 82, 92-95, 174, 175, 177. The Marx-Lenin theory had a superficial resemblance to Hobson's theory with the vital difference that the Marxian theory was unalterably deterministic while Hobson's main emphasis centered upon the ethical choices open to man in his struggle to shape economic forces to his own desires.

¹⁰Beard, Introduction to the English Historians, op. cit., pp. 623, 673.

expenditure on construction and on social work. The main-
pal cause of industrialism was that the capitalist class of one
country made more money than they could invest at home. In
their home country because the majority of the population
people rendered them unable to buy all the products of the
capitalist's factories. The necessity of these countries was, of
course, to pay out more money than they could produce at
home. As it was, the capitalist class had to be paid
group's hands than it could use. The result was that the
capitalist class, which could not produce enough to pay for
that profitable operation, had to look for a market in
the industrial.

Four years after Hobson published his book, the
adopted it wholesale, by the British, in the form of
the British Empire. In the years that followed, in the
The Development of British Empire.
... These two new world powers--the United States and
Russia and capital--which had been the main cause of
foreign and commercial relations of every country.

Chapter, Introduction, A Study of the British Empire, 1902, pp. 1-10.
1902, pp. 1-10. The book is a study of the British Empire, and a study
which resembles the book of the British Empire, and a study
since that the British Empire is a study of the British Empire.
which Hobson's book is a study of the British Empire, and a study
open to men in the British Empire, and a study of the British Empire.
own feelings.
1902, pp. 1-10. The book is a study of the British Empire, and a study
of the British Empire, and a study of the British Empire.

European country. They alone explain why the great industrial nations are embarked on what has been termed a policy of imperialism, which means a policy of adding distant territories for the purpose of controlling their products, getting the trade with the natives and investing money in the development of national resources.¹¹

Beard, who read furiously and reflected constantly all his life,¹² never wavered from these conclusions on the nature of imperialism as promulgated by Hobson.

In 1910, when Beard had been promoted from lecturer in history to adjunct professor of politics, and his interest and work were more directly centered on American problems, he still held to his theme of world interdependence. New complications, however, were developing which would have to be dealt with. Speaking of the increase in American trade he said,

. . . The protection of those very commercial interests, however, has drawn us into intimate connections with other foreign powers, and may at any time lead us into the necessity of cooperating with them in military expeditions.

. . . Moreover no political doctrines (such as isolation) with regard to our independence from the rest of the world are strong enough to overcome those material

¹¹Beard and Robinson, The Development of Modern Europe, op. cit., p. 328. Beard also used Hobson's description of the missionaries being the advance agents of the traders.

¹²Letter to the author from Mary R. Beard, March 6, 1953. There were ten thousand books at Beard's disposal at his New Milford home.

REVIEWS

WILLIAM BENTLEY

European countries, the United States, and the British Empire, and the policy of imperialism, which is the basis of the world economy. The author is a student of the history of the world economy, and his book is a study of the world economy in the past and present.

Bentley, who was formerly a member of the British Empire, is a student of the history of the world economy, and his book is a study of the world economy in the past and present. He is a student of the history of the world economy, and his book is a study of the world economy in the past and present.

In 1910, when Bentley was a student of the history of the world economy, he was a student of the history of the world economy, and his book is a study of the world economy in the past and present. He is a student of the history of the world economy, and his book is a study of the world economy in the past and present. He is a student of the history of the world economy, and his book is a study of the world economy in the past and present.

The protection of the world economy is a study of the world economy in the past and present. The protection of the world economy is a study of the world economy in the past and present. The protection of the world economy is a study of the world economy in the past and present. The protection of the world economy is a study of the world economy in the past and present.

1. Bentley, William. The History of the World Economy. London: 1910. 2. Bentley, William. The History of the World Economy. London: 1910. 3. Bentley, William. The History of the World Economy. London: 1910.

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and moral forces which are linking our destinies to those of the world at large.¹³

Beard went on to explain that a way out of the struggles over trade might be gained through international tribunals and that America, who prided herself on not spending the huge sums for armaments and armies that plagued Europe, actually spent seventy-two per cent of a total annual expenditure on war. He implied that as long as the major nations of the world scrambled for imperialistic gains the costs of military establishments would rise.¹⁴ After 1910, practically all of the European countries continued in an armaments race, causing Beard to lose a great deal of his air of serenity and detachment when he discussed American foreign policy. The younger Beard, who out of sympathy for the Cubans, had volunteered for service in the Spanish American War, was now morally disgusted by the upshot and hoped that America would never shame herself in such a sordid commercial fashion again.

Beard sharply criticized the trend of events which led America to annex the Philippines:

. . . It was fortunate for the conservative interests that the quarrel with Spain came shortly after Mr.

¹³Beard, American Government and Politics, 1910 edition, op. cit., pp. 332-33.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 354-57.

and moral forces which are being developed in
those of the world at large.

Beard went on to explain that a new world
class over time might be gained by international relations
and that America, the world herself, as a country, the
page runs for movements and changes, and that the world
ally spent seventy-five years of a great world expanding
on war. He implied that as long as the world is divided
worlds separated by imperialism, which the world of military
establishments would like to keep, the world is not
the European countries continue to be separated, and
ing Beard to leave a great deal of his work to be done
testament when he discussed the new world order. The
younger Beard, who out of sympathy for the world, has
tested for service in the world, and now
nearly finished by the world and now, the world is
never again himself in such a world order with
again.

Beard sharply criticized the world order which is
America to annex the Philippines.

... It was to be a world order, and
that the world will be a world order.

12 Beard, American Government and Politics, 1914-15
New York, N.Y., 1914-15.

13 Ibid., pp. 14-15.

McKinley's election, and they were able to employ that ancient political device, "a vigorous foreign policy," to divert the public mind from domestic difficulties. This was particularly acceptable to the populace at the time, for there had been no war for more than thirty years, and, contrary to their assertions on formal occasions, the American people enjoy wars beyond measure, if the plain facts of history are allowed to speak.¹⁵

On the subjugation of Aguinaldo he wrote:

. . . Reports of these gruesome barbarities reached the United States and aroused the most severe criticism of the administration, not only from the opponents of imperialism, but also from those supporters of the policy, who imagined that it could be carried out with rose water.¹⁶

The new developments in the Far East were fundamentally caused by economic motivation: "The acquisition of the Philippines was simply an episode in the development of American commercial interests in the Orient."¹⁷ Beard feared that

¹⁵Charles A. Beard, Contemporary American History, 1877-1913 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914), p. 199. For Beard's "righteous indignation" on some of the political undercurrents of the Spanish American War, see, Beard, "Roosevelt and Realpolitik," The New Republic, XLIII (June 3, 1925), p. 87.

¹⁶Beard, Contemporary American History, op. cit., p. 218. See also, for sheer virtuosity of vituperation poured on T. R. Roosevelt: Charles A. Beard, "Roosevelt and Lodge," The New Republic, XLIII (June 17, 1925), pp. 103-04.

¹⁷Beard, Contemporary American History, op. cit., p. 224. For a similar description expressed by Hobson in 1902, see, Hobson, Imperialism, a Study, op. cit., p. 68: "It is this sudden demand for foreign markets for manufactures and for investments which is avowedly responsible for the adoption of Imperialism as a political policy and practice by the Republican Party to which its great industrial chiefs belong and which belongs to them."

Mellini's election, and they were able to employ that ancient political device, "a vigorous foreign policy," to divert the public mind from domestic difficulties. This was particularly noticeable in the campaign of 1908, for there had been no war for more than thirty years, and, contrary to their assertions on that occasion, the American people enjoy wars beyond measure. In the plain facts of history are allowed to speak.

On the suggestion of Alexander he wrote:

... Reports of those citizens who had been in the United States and accused the most severe criticism of the administration, not only from the opponents of imperialism, but also from those supporters of the policy, who imagined that it could be carried out with ease.

The new developments in the Far East were fundamental-ly caused by economic motives: "The acquisition of the Philippines was simply an episode in the development of American commercial interests in the Orient." IV. Beard feared that

Charles A. Beard, Contemporary American History, 1897-1913 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914), p. 190. For Beard's "vigorous indignation" on some of the political underpinnings of the Spanish American War, see, Beard, "Roosevelt and Imperialism," The New Republic, XLIII (June 3, 1925), p. 37.

Beard, Contemporary American History, op. cit., p. 210. See also, for other instances of virulence against on T. R. Roosevelt, Charles A. Beard, "Roosevelt and Lodge," The New Republic, XLIII (June 17, 1925), pp. 107-08.

IV. Beard, Contemporary American History, op. cit., p. 224. For a similar description expressed by Hobson in 1902, see, Hobson, Imperialism, a Study, op. cit., p. 23: "It is this sudden demand for foreign markets for manufactures and for investments which is everlastingly responsible for the adoption of imperialism as a political policy and practice by the Republican Party to which the great industrial class belongs and which belongs to them."

that economic aggression took the path of expansion. "There were some," he wrote, "who began, shortly after the Spanish War, to speak of the 'impending conflict' in the Orient."¹⁸ Beard never gave up this early thesis of the economic determinism in imperialism, or the idea that the competition over trade eventually led to warfare. He was a man of strong passions, great enthusiasms, and a fierce desire to discover the truth and then to teach it.¹⁹ "A good teacher always exaggerates," he told his pupils.²⁰

In The Rise of American Civilization Beard portrayed American physical imperialism and economic penetration which transpired under Presidents Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson, primarily as criminal aggressiveness toward weaker nations.²¹ American intervention in the regions South of the United

¹⁸Beard, Contemporary American History, op. cit., p. 226.

¹⁹Josephson, op. cit., pp. 585, 602. See also, Macmahon, loc. cit. Both of these men were former students of Beard's. Mr. Josephson was also his "friend and neighbor for twenty years."

²⁰Macmahon, loc. cit.

²¹Beard, The Rise, II, op. cit., Chapter XXVI, "Imperial America," pp. 480-537. For a viewpoint similar to Beard's imperialism, see, Hoover, Memoirs, II, op. cit., pp. 210-13; Bemis, American Secretaries of State, VII, "Latin America and the Caribbean," op. cit., pp. 111-25. Bemis gives a more realistic interpretation of American intervention, citing numerous episodes of native disorder and corruption in local governments.

that economic expansion took the path of expansion. These were some," he wrote, "who began, shortly after the Spanish War, to speak of the 'imperialist conflict' in the United States. Beard never gave up this early thesis of the economic determinism in imperialism, or the idea that the competition over trade eventually led to warfare. He was a man of strong passions, great enthusiasm, and a fierce desire to discover the truth and then to teach it.¹⁸ A good teacher always exaggerates," he told his pupils.²⁰

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¹⁹ Josephson, op. cit., pp. 252, 253. See also, Wagoner, Joe. cit. Both of these men were former students of Beard's. Mr. Josephson was also his "friend and collaborator twenty years."

²⁰ Ketchum, Joe. cit.

²¹ Beard, The Rise of American Civilization, pp. 480-481. For a viewpoint similar to Beard's imperialism, see, Roosevelt, Message, VII, pp. 10-15; Beard, American Pageant of States, VII, pp. 11-12. Beard also America and the Caribbean, op. cit., pp. 11-12. Beard gives a more realistic interpretation of American intervention in the numerous episodes of native disorder and corruption in local governments.

States appeared to Beard as dark dramas promoted by money grubbing businessmen, in which peaceful countries such as Nicaragua, Haiti, and Santo Domingo, suffered unwarranted depredations on their personal and public liberties without adequate compensation.²² Beard never cited instances of American sponsored health and sanitation improvements in the countries occupied by American military personnel. He belittled President Wilson's Haitian expedition with this blast:

In 1915 the Marines carried the American flag into Haiti and established American suzerainty there after killing more than two thousand natives, who for one reason or another, got in the way of the operation.²³

Beard, who, for the previous ten years of his life, had used his influence as a writer on behalf of peaceful international relations, became convinced early during the First World War that the roots of decent civilization were threatened by German militarism.²⁴ In a remarkable statement after the war, when by an ironical twist of fate he had been put on the Senate's list of pro-German pacifists and

²²Beards, The Rise, II, op. cit., pp. 502-05; Bemis, loc. cit.

²³Beards, The Rise, II, op. cit., p. 503.

²⁴Charles A. Beard and F. A. Ogg, National Governments and the World War (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919), pp. 1-14.

radicals, Beard thundered out a capsule history of his aroused passion for war:

I am not and have never been a pacifist.

I never belonged to Mr. Wilson's sweet neutrality band.

I did not vote for Wilson in 1914 because I believed his pacifist policies wrong. I voted for Charles E. Hughes.

I was never "too proud to fight."

At the time when Wilson, along with Teddy Roosevelt, was ordering his countrymen to be neutral in thought, word, and deed, namely in the autumn of 1914, I was denounced at City College for a speech in which I attacked the Central Powers as responsible for that war.

..... I was forbidden to speak on that subject again. When Nicholas Murray Butler, Elihu Root, and Secretary of War Keppel were issuing peace propaganda, distributing pamphlets and organizing pacifistic societies by the thousands, and employing Columbia instructors to write pacifistic tracts, I was teaching the truth that war had been one of the most tremendous factors in the origin of the state and the progress of mankind. My old students will bear me out.

I never advocated war for war's sake, but I was never "too proud to fight."²⁵

In 1916, the "toughest minded historian America has ever produced" was deeply moved by the supposed plight of the Belgians:²⁶

²⁵New York Times, January 26, 1919. Charles A. Beard's letter to Senator Lee A. Overman of the investigating committee. Dr. Harry Overstreet (of The Mature Mind) who was about to be commissioned as major in the Army, was also named. Jane Addams led the list of pacifists and "pro-Germans."

²⁶New York Times, February 27, 1917. Four hundred thirty Columbia faculty members signed a petition asking Wilson to do something to stop the "deportation" or removal of the Belgians from their land by the Germans. For an insider's point of view on the atrocity stories, see, Grew, The Turbulent Era, I, op. cit., pp. 143, 160-61, 164-65. Grew was in Germany before the American entry.

I have thought for some months that this country should definitely align itself with the allies and help eliminate Prussianism from the earth. Even without authorization of Congress the President can now take a stand which will compel Germany to rescind her illegal orders or admit defeat.²⁷

But the high-principled historian's conscience began to torment him immediately after America became involved in this long desired conflict. Beard saw his former students, fired by his idealism, begin their long tramp which for many, ended in shallow graves on French hillsides.²⁸ A few months later, after sadly noting the fact the more conservative forces in the country appeared determined to use super-patriotism as an excuse to reverse the advance of social progress, he resigned with great courage and eloquence, his hard won professorship at Columbia in protest against threats to academic freedom.

²⁷New York Times, February 27, 1917. Beard was to change his mind radically about the possibilities of Presidential power twenty-three years later. See same issue of New York Times for Wilson's "Peace Without Victory" speech and some senatorial and foreign reaction; for example, "Wilson thinks he is President of the Whole World." See also, Columbia Spectator, October 9-12, 1917.

²⁸For other tormented liberal's and idealist's convictions on the meaning of America's entry into the war, see, "War and Reorientation," Encyclopedia of Social Science, I, pp. 189, 228; Sumner Welles, The Time for Decision (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), p. 3; Heinz Eulan, "Man Against Himself," American Scholar, IV (Winter, 1951), pp. 291-304. This article tells of Walter Lippman's hopes and fears before and during World War I. Beard was in contact with the brilliant young editor of The New Republic during those years. For great hopes of peace before war, see, John Dewey, "Conscience and Compulsion," The New Republic, XI (July 14, 1917), p. 297.

For Beard democracy meant democracy:

We are in the midst of a great war and we stand on the threshold of an era which will call for all the emancipated thinking that America can command. I have from the beginning believed that a German victory would plunge us into the black night of military barbarism. I was among the first to urge a declaration of war by the United States. . . . While I remain in the pay of Columbia, I cannot effectively do my humble part in sustaining public opinion or take a position of independence later.²⁹

Beard had been optimistic about the results of the war. As Sumner Welles has said, ". . . a world without wars lay in the future."³⁰ Out of the war, Beard believed, was to come the regeneration of the study and application of political science, which he considered in the past had often been divorced from political and social realities.³¹ When, later, Beard realized that the war had not produced the good effects he expected, his psychological reaction was acute pain and a

²⁹Columbia Spectator, October 9, 1917. Beard's letter of resignation to President Butler. Beard's resignation caused a great upheaval of emotion, near riots, two strikes by five hundred students, several petitions signed by the student body to get Beard back, and a snort of pure glee from the New York Times. See, editorial, New York Times, October 17, 1917, "Columbia's Deliverance."

³⁰Sumner Welles, Time for Decision (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), p. 3.

³¹Charles A. Beard, "Political Science in the Crucible," The New Republic, XIII (November 17, 1917), pp. 3-4.

deep and lasting sense of frustration.³² This reaction to World War I was immortalized in The Rise of American Civilization (Volume II) with a savage irony that failed to obliterate the profound sense of caring of a man who was still tormented by his relation to the war.³³ So dismal was the end result of Wilsonian idealism to Beard that he even began to suspect an utterly capricious beginning of America's involvement in the war:

. . . . It cannot be denied that there is authentic evidence for another view of the case, namely, that the President, having come practically to the end of his rope as regards to domestic policies--offerings to planters, farmers and trade unionists, as he himself confessed to Colonel House on September 28, 1914--reached the conviction in 1915 or early in 1916 that he could play a masterful role on the international stage by taking the United States into the war on the side of the Entente Allies, irrespective of German Submarine tactics.

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³²For the story of the super wartime patriotism, intolerance, suppression of liberty, and the post-war let down in morals, decency and common sense, see, Jane Addams, The Second Twenty Years at Hull House (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), Chapter V, "Five Years of War," pp. 113-152; Chapter VI, "Post War Inhibitions, 1919-1929," pp. 153-187; and Chapter VII, "A Decade of Prohibition," pp. 221-261. See also, for the war and post-war conditions, Preston Slosson, The Great Crusade and After (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931).

³³Beards, The Rise, 1946 edition, op. cit., pp. 621-680. It was the Carthaginian peace imposed on Germany, which Beard regarded as bearing the seeds of a new war, which conflicted the sharpest with his belief of "peace without annexations." The World War I, thus regarded as Beard did, was another one of a long series of imperialistic scrambles for markets, trade, and care of the "dependent people's" raw materials.

. . . it cannot be denied that President Wilson was revolving in his mind the question of his leadership and mission in world affairs, and kept revolving it until he finally broke with the German Empire.³⁴

The origins of World War I demonstrated to Beard his early theory of the interdependence and unity of the world. This early world view insisted that America was inevitably to be dragged into the war by the magnet of trade and intellectual intercourse between nations. Beard's world could flourish only if all the component parts were allowed to function in their normal commercial activity. At this time Beard was a much stronger devotee of a kind of materialistic determinism than he was to be later when he bit by bit chopped away at his deterministic thesis, earlier expressed in An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution, until there was really little left. There was another Beardian life-view, however, which had always struggled for dominance over the somewhat impersonal creation of economic interpretation. This other Beard theory was the product of the fiery young believer in John Ruskin's social gospel, an almost fanatical devotion to improving the social and educational conditions existing in the world.³⁵

³⁴Ibid., p. 632. For an inside story of the start of the war from the German viewpoint, see, Grew, The Turbulent Era, I, loc. cit.

³⁵For Ruskin's influence on Beard, see the following: Charles A. Beard, "Ruskin and the Babble of Tongues," The New Republic, LXXXVII (August 5, 1936), pp. 370-72; Charles

The Beard who lived up to Ruskin's ideal of an intellectual crusader for social justice was the young Hoosier who lectured to workers on their opportunities in English mill towns; it was the Beard who founded Ruskin Hall; the practical teacher of politics who made speeches and wrote articles demanding the "progressive" devices of politics such as the recall and woman suffrage. A man of such rigid principles of conduct was bound to be tormented by what he considered to be a betrayal of his students of the classroom and a hoax also on all those who read his propaganda pieces advocating the

A. Beard, "Individualism and Capitalism," Encyclopedia of Social Science, I, p. 156. Beard said Ruskin's influence as a prophet was great. Ruskin changed the direction of political science by stating it was the science of making the natural order conform to mankind's moral and material needs, not a science of the material order commanding mankind's blind adaptation. See also, The Beards, The Rise, 1946 edition, op. cit., I, p. 18; II, pp. 420, 427; Charles A. Beard, The Nature of the Social Sciences (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1934), pp. 42, 46, 159. Ruskin, Plato, Hobson, and Aristotle were linked together. For Ruskin on war and the good life, see, John Ruskin, The Works of John Ruskin, Library edition, XVII, Writings on Political Economy (London: George Allen and Company, 1905), pp. 9, 102. "You may grow grapes for your neighbor, at your liking or grape shot; he will also catalically, grow grapes or grape shot for you, and you will reap what you have sown." P. 142 of Minerva Pulvis, "Capitalists when they do not know what to do with their money, persuade the peasants in various countries that the peasants want guns to shoot them with." Later, Ruskin said, the capitalists collect interest and principle on the guns, and then charge the peasants for the destruction caused by war. See also, H. B. Phillips, "Charles Beard, Walter Vrooman and the Founding of Ruskin Hall," South Atlantic Quarterly, L (April, 1951), 186, 191. "Beard and Vrooman were disciples of Ruskin around 1899."

REVIEWS

IN THIS ISSUE

The Editor who lives up to his motto of an interest-
factual overview for social justice and the good of the
feared to workers on their own terms in the United States
towns; it was the book, the journal, the book, the journal
and teachers of politics and social science who were
demanding the "progressive" revision of politics and the
recall and women's suffrage. A new kind of political education
conducted was found to be conducted by what he considered to be
a betrayal of his students of the education and a book that
on all those who read his progressive phrase "progressive" in

A. Board, "Individualism and Socialism," *Journal of*
Social Science, 1, 1, 1911. Board's motto is "Progressive
a prophet was sent. Board's motto is "Progressive
and science by stating it was the science of social
natural order and the natural order of the world.
not a science of the material order of the world.
blind adaptation, the book, the book, the book, the book,
tion, no. 1, 1, 1911. Board's motto is "Progressive
The Nature of the Social Science, the book, the book, the book,
and some, 1911. Board's motto is "Progressive
Aristotle was the first to say, the book, the book, the book,
good life, the book, the book, the book, the book,
edition, 1911. Board's motto is "Progressive
Allen and Board, 1911. Board's motto is "Progressive
for your nation, the book, the book, the book, the book,
entirely, the book, the book, the book, the book,
you want the book, the book, the book, the book,
falsehood that they do not want the book, the book, the book,
persuade the people in various ways, the book, the book, the book,
want to know the book, the book, the book, the book,
falsehood that they do not want the book, the book, the book,
change the book, the book, the book, the book,
also, the book, the book, the book, the book,
Foundation of the Social Science, the book, the book, the book,
1911, 1911. Board's motto is "Progressive
around 1911."

relentless prosecution of the war. Thus, there was an essential dichotomy in the intellectual make-up of Beard--a kind of mental split-personality. It is to be remembered that he started The Rise of American Civilization shortly after he resigned from Columbia, perhaps in an act of atonement. The Rise of American Civilization, while there was malice toward many in it, represented primarily the old Ruskinian spirit in Beard--a plea for the nameless masses to continue developing an ever more satisfying and bountiful civilization so that it would be "the dawn, not the dusk, of the Gods."³⁶ The Beard of 1914 who demanded intervention in the European war, contrasted greatly with the young disciple of Ruskin of 1899. This is what Beard had said when he performed the matriculation ceremony for the first workingmen students at Ruskin Hall:

I would have you seekers after truth, for that alone will make you free. Work earnestly and faithfully and your toil will be rewarded. Your reward will not be in pounds and pence but a far richer reward--that of a broadened and deepened life.

..... There is no wealth but life.³⁷

³⁶The Beards, The Rise, II, 1927 edition, last page.

³⁷The Clarion, February 22, 1899, cited in Phillips, op. cit., p. 189. In front of the speaker's stand from which the twenty-five year old Beard spoke, was a huge oil painting of John Ruskin, dressed in working clothes Ruskin wore when he took his students out to mend the roads around Oxford University.

Those "young seekers after truth" looking out across the Atlantic with sightless eyes from a ravine in the Argonne forest, must have been thrilled by the stirring sights of the return of "normalcy" to the United States.

REVIEWS LITERARY CRITICISM

These "good" books after the fashion of the modern
the Atlantic with Atlanticism even more so than the
forest, must have been the first of the series of the
return of "normalcy" to the United States.

CHAPTER IV

CHARLES BEARD SPLITS THE WORLD IN TWAIN

Charles Beard was by no means a convinced believer in the political and economic views of Woodrow Wilson,¹ but because he fully realized the economic interdependence of the world, and because he had faith in the eventual triumph of an expanding democratic form of government, he considered American participation in world politics both wise and inevitable.² In Beard's opinion, America entered the war in 1917, "to aid in overthrowing militarism and imperialism and in preventing their return to plague the earth's weary multitudes."³ Indeed, a new era had dawned for long suffering humanity in 1917,

. . . for those who have the faith will believe that a real change has come in the long course of history and that the years 1917-1918, as surely as the age of the American and French Revolutions, will mark the opening of

¹Charles A. Beard, "Jefferson and the New Freedom," The New Republic, I (November 14, 1914), 18-19. Wilson's political philosophy meant "the democracy of small business." Wilson misjudged the inevitable trend toward concentration of industry, hence his Jeffersonian emphasis, regarded by Beard as unrealistic.

²Letter from Mary R. Beard to the author, March 21, 1953; Charles A. Beard and Frederick A. Ogg, National Governments and the World War (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919), pp. 1-14, 560-70.

³Beard, National Governments, ibid., p. 14.

a new epoch in the rise of government by the people and in the growth of a concert among the nations.⁴

After the peace of Versailles had presented itself to Beard's eyes as the exact antithesis of a "peace without victory," he spent three years investigating the documents concerning the diplomatic negotiations leading up to the war.⁵ As a result of his investigations of the European archives, Beard worried about the fruits of secret diplomacy and the lack of public control over foreign policy. Beard's world view of economic unity, of the free play of economic forces in competition between friendly rivals, suffered a cruel blow. The prosperity of the Europe in July, 1914, depended on the relatively free and easy operation of economic forces on a world stage--a ready exchange of commodities, unimpeded intercourse, friendly negotiations, and spirited rivalry among all the commercial nations,⁶ but, by 1922, it appeared to Beard that

. . . if no stay is given to discriminatory and exclusive practices which now marks the policy of every nation, we will go forward into a period of trade war and conflict from which we will look back even upon the

⁴Ibid., p. 570.

⁵Charles A. Beard, Cross Currents in Europe Today (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1922), pp. 1-6. "The Carthaginian Peace" produced catastrophic economic results. Beard borrowed the term "Carthaginian" from John Maynard Keynes.

⁶Ibid., p. 84.

conditions of this day as the happy state of a golden age from which we fell.⁷

A new economic federation, or increased marketing cooperation of European nations was the only alternative to new wars, but the United States could not aid in the foundation of the European union, because "a constitution without an army, which was absent in the League, (was) only a shadow of power,"⁸ and the European states would be further divided, not solidified, by American meddling.⁹ The Europeans, it appeared, distrusted the Americans, even as Americans were convinced that European diplomats at Versailles had betrayed the Wilsonian peace gospel.

In 1922, Beard feared that since the United States had become the greatest financial and industrial center of the world, it would be driven by natural economic tendencies to imperialistic activities unless a consciously directed foreign

⁷ Ibid., p. 138.

⁸ Ibid., p. 139.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 264-65. See also, Carl L. Becker, "Review of Gross Currents," Nation (November 22, 1922), 553. Carl Becker regarded Beard's forebodings with deep affection: "Mr. Beard . . . is an exasperated cynic and a warm friend of suffering humanity. He is a hard headed idealist, the sworn foe of all that is soft and comforting and merely well intentioned. Perfectly aware of human folly he never quite loses faith in human nature."

policy diverted the country from that course.¹⁰ Because economic conditions in Europe were chaotic, not suitable for the profitable investment of American capital, United States' industry, Beard said, would naturally turn to the ancient hunting grounds of profit-seeking adventurers--China.¹¹ Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes's Washington Conference of 1921-1922 meant that the United States was determined to have its trading rights in China secured, and the naval holiday was a palliative extended to bankrupt England in payment for her abrogation of the treaty of alliance with Japan. As Mr. Harding had pronounced, in his usual flannelly fashion,

. . . With Germany prostrate and penitent none feared the likelihood of early conflict there (in Europe). But the Pacific had its menaces and they deeply concerned us. Our territorial interests are greater there.¹²

Getting down to the nub of the issue, according to Beard, the United States was determined to keep Japan from annexing China, hence the fine moral and ethical ring of the Open Door

¹⁰Beard, Cross Currents, op. cit., pp. 239-62. See also, Alvin Johnson, op. cit., pp. 248-50. According to Alvin Johnson, who wrote the economic articles for The New Republic that influenced Wilson, the war time President was an "economic illiterate" and misinterpreted Johnson's ideas.

¹¹Beard, Cross Currents, op. cit., pp. 250-60.

¹²Ibid., pp. 258-59.

SECRET

EXHIBIT

policy directed the country's economic development. In the
basic conditions in various years of the country's economic
profitable investment of the country's economic development.
Hussey, heard that, would be the first time in the country's
the grounds of a profitable investment of the country's economic
of State Chairman M. Hughes's economic development of the country's
1953 meant that the United States was prepared to give the
standing rights in China, and the United States was
palliative attempt to help China in its economic development.
operation of the country's economic development.
Hussey had announced, in his report, that the country's
the likelihood of economic development of the country's
the Pacific had the economic development of the country's
Our economic development of the country's economic development.
Getting down to the case of the country's economic development.
United States was interested in the country's economic development.
China, hence the United States' economic development of the country's

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Policy which, nevertheless, failed to obscure completely its economic goals.¹³

In 1922, Beard, like Harding, was convinced that Asia held its "menaces," but, to Beard, the sensible manner to avoid conflict was not for the United States to plunge ahead in Chinese commercial imperialism, but to refrain from aiding American investors with the coercions of diplomacy and arms, and to withdraw the physical symbols of that imperialistic policy from the Philippines and South America.¹⁴ Beard looked at the long future and saw the tides of time flowing against the grandiose possibilities of military or commercial imperialism in Asia:

The actors are in their places, but no living mind can divine even the first act to say nothing of the denouement. Asia is old, wise, fertile in ideas and rich in potential resources. It had its empires, its religions and philosophies long before the geese cackled on the banks of the Tiber. Many conquerors have tried their fortunes there. England has brought the vast Southern peninsula under her imperial dominion, but her subjects stir ominously and the solid structure may in time dissolve. Japan aroused from her lethargy by Yankee enterprise, is equipped in wealth, industrial power and military strength to extend and defend her mighty hegemony. China, huge, amorphous, beset by a thousand ills, threatened with dissolution, and restless under the influence of western ideas lies prostrate, but having survived a

¹³Ibid., pp. 260-65.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 268-70. Beard also feared an increase of the proletariat of the United States accompanied by an aristocracy of wealth through an increase in industry because of imperialism.

hundred conquests and conquerors, may yet smile in her enigmatic way upon the Lilliputians who assail her.

* * * * *
The Russian people multiply with the passing years and they push out upon the Asiatic plains with the force of an Alpine glacier.¹⁵

As Beard turned his speculative eye from Asia to Europe, there was certainly nothing original in his indictment of the peace of Versailles as a monstrous crime which fastened on Germany sole responsibility for the war, and then saddled her with heavy reparations to expiate her war "guilt."¹⁶ John Maynard Keynes, a British economist who had attended the peace conference, wrote, in 1919, his vitriolic book, The Economic Consequences of the Peace, which succeeded in destroying the already frayed vision of Wilson as a world saviour, and left a portrait of a self righteous, "bamboozled old Presbyterian," a "deaf and dumb Don Quixote."¹⁷ Keynes'

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 252-53. Beard also made another remarkable prophecy which came true one year later. See, Arthur Bullard, "The New Russian Economic Policy," Foreign Affairs, I (December 15, 1922), 140-46. Beard predicted a year in advance that the Bolsheviks would have to allow "petty industries to flourish." Beard did not view the Russian experiment with much favor because he thought the Bolsheviks lacked practical technological and managerial skill. See also, Beard, Gross Currents, op. cit., Chapter VI, "The Russian Revolution," pp. 163-81.

¹⁶ Beard, Gross Currents, ibid., pp. 15-100.

¹⁷ John Maynard Keynes, The Economic Consequences of the Peace (London: Harcourt Brace and Howe, 1920), pp. 41-53, 55. J. A. Hobson had a similar reaction to the Versailles Treaty: J. A. Hobson, "Will America Stop Another War?" The New Republic, XCI (July 30, 1938), 224.

argument asserted that Wilson talked pious platitudes while Clemenceau and Lloyd George turned the treaty into a document of vengeance.¹⁸ The reparations clauses, "an expression of senseless greed overreaching itself," would lead to economic misery for Germany and also serve as an unsettling influence in the economy and peace of the world.¹⁹ The great hopes of the liberals of the day were blasted by the treaty, especially those of thinkers like Beard who emphasized the economic factors underlying national conflicts. That organ of liberal opinion, The New Republic, ran in headline size type:

THIS IS NOT PEACE

Americans would be fools if they permitted themselves to be embroiled in a system of European alliances. America promised to underwrite a stable peace. Mr. Wilson has failed. The peace cannot last. America should withdraw from all commitments which would impair her freedom of action.²⁰

With this blast at the former white knight, Wilson, The New Republic soon started serializing Keynes' Economic Consequences of the Peace.²¹

¹⁸Keynes, Economic Consequences, op. cit., pp. 32, 51. See also, Beard, Cross Currents, op. cit., p. 265. Beard's way of stating the "lessons" of Mr. Keynes: "In my opinion it would be unwise for the United States to attempt to play the part of a big brother for Europe tortured by the inevitable after-war hatreds."

¹⁹Keynes, Economic Consequences, op. cit., p. 103.

²⁰The New Republic (May 24, 1919) cover.

²¹Economic Consequences of the Peace was serialized in the issues December 24, 1919, to January 21, 1920. Beard, of

Beard not only believed in the Keynesian theory but he also was having troubles with economic consequences at the New School of Social Research. The "most exciting lecturer in the whole academic world" resigned in 1922 because he concluded that contributors of money to the New School were undermining complete academic freedom.²² Beard, "the ruggedest individualist who ever lived,"²³ had not even wanted the New School to own its own buildings because it meant chaining the faculty down, and forced all sorts of compromises upon its free spirit.

At the time Beard impressed the intelligentsia in his lectures at the New School of Social Research he was also Director of the Bureau of Municipal Research for New York City.

course, by no means shared all the opinions of The New Republic editorial policy, but he was a frequent contributor. Max Lerner, in Ideas are Weapons, has made the mistake of assuming that Beard was influenced greatly by The New Republic editorial group of Lippman, Johnson, and Herbert Croly. Croly and Lippman were strong for Wilson's domestic policy--Beard never was. However, Beard considered Economic Consequences, by Keynes, one of the most important books of the years 1885-1935. See also, Edward Weeks, "Fifty Influential Books," Publisher's Weekly, CXXVII (March 23, 1935), 1228-29; Beard, Cross Currents, op. cit., "Economic Outcome of the War," pp. 83-139. In Beard's opinion, actual events in Europe, three years later, proved the Keynesian theory.

²²Alvin Johnson, op. cit., pp. 277-88. James Harvey Robinson also resigned. He had followed Beard in resigning from Columbia.

²³Morison, Did Roosevelt Start the War? op. cit., p. 91; Alvin Johnson, op. cit., p. 276.

Viscount Goto, Mayor of Tokyo, visited Beard at the Bureau and persuaded him to come to Japan to plan for the future development of Tokyo.²⁴ Beard analyzed the American economic thrusts toward the Orient as steps toward war, but he was not one to resign himself to letting economic consequences work their way unhampered. His Japanese venture, coupled with his forebodings of war in Asia, made him determined to do what he could to increase understanding and friendship between Japan and the United States. The picture of Beard as a narrow nationalist is shattered by the portrait of the dedicated internationalist in Japan who desired international understanding and a Bureau of Municipal Research for the whole world.²⁵ Beard advised his fellow-countrymen that the economic situation in the Orient had changed because of Japan's rise to industrial power. The people of the United States needed much more information than they possessed if they were truly to understand Japan's historic mission.²⁶

²⁴Charles A. Beard, "Rebuilding in Japan," Review of Reviews, LVIII (October 19, 1923), 34.

²⁵Charles A. Beard, "Municipal Research at Home and Abroad," Journal of Social Forces, III (March, 1925), 495-97.

²⁶For a picture of a genial Viscount Goto and a dedicated, almost fanatical appearing Beard, see, Beard, "Rebuilding in Japan," op. cit., p. 34. For the quoted words, see pages 34-38. See also, New York Times, September 13, 1923.

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Beard continued to keep his attention focused on foreign policy disputes between Japan and the United States throughout the Twenties, as he was convinced that Asia was to be the stage upon which the next great world drama would unfold, and he believed that financial capitalism in the United States would force the issue, backed by a "grand design" of the Navy board.²⁷ To Beard, the real basis of the argument between America and Japan in 1925 was not immigration, but the trade and profits of China:

. . . . Hard boiled Tories who rejoiced in trampling on the liberties of the Filipinos, the Haitians, the Dominicans, the Nicaraguans, and the other wards of the American marines were visibly pained to see Japan holding a piece of territory belonging to poor, dear old China.²⁸

On the other hand, the Japanese militarists, who had read the history of England and the United States with growing admiration, were probably getting ready to "extend their strategic frontiers to the moon unless stopped by an unmovable body."²⁹

²⁷Beard, Cross Currents, op. cit., p. 251, for early suspicion of the Navy bureaucrats. For his views on the thrust of capitalism toward war in Asia, see, Beard, "War with Japan," Nation, CXX (March 25, 1925), 311-13.

²⁸Beard, "War with Japan," op. cit., p. 313. Also see, Beard, American Government and Politics (4th ed.), 1924, loc. cit. The 1924 interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine brings all the Caribbean region under the national supremacy of the United States.

²⁹Charles A. Beard, Letter to the editor of The New Republic, "On Future of Japan," LXIX (December 16, 1931), 137.

Beard considered the economic, political and social results of World War I to be a plague on all mankind, excepting the one fact that the allies temporarily had beaten down militaristic Germany.³⁰ He did not like the idea of a European conference on adjustments of debts because "adjustment could have only one end, namely, relieving Uncle Sam of his vest and suspenders as well as his coat, and why should American taxpayers relieve the Black Shirts?"³¹

While Beard may have talked like a disgruntled nephew of Uncle Sam at times, he was by no means content to consign America and the world to unnecessary misery if his advice could help prevent it. On his own initiative he undertook, in 1927, a study of the government of Yugoslavia in an effort to determine if the tinderbox of the Balkans might be patched up to prevent another explosion.³² Proud democrat that he

³⁰Charles A. Beard, "Heroes and Villains of the World War," Current History, XXIV (August, 1926), 730-35. Beard did not agree with the moral issue of the guilt clause raised by Harry Elmer Barnes in his Genesis of the First World War (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1926). Barnes feared German hatred of clause 231 would precipitate another war.

³¹Charles A. Beard, "Bankruptcy Fire Sale," American Mercury, XI (July, 1927), 287. Beard saw American chances of getting into the next bloody shambles as excellent. He said that if European nations paid their debts they would not have money for war.

³²Charles A. Beard and George Radin, Yugoslavia: The Balkan Pivot (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930). Radin was an American-Yugoslavian lawyer of no special distinction.

was, he refused to talk to the King³³ and was disgusted with the oppression of the minority groups within Yugoslavia.³⁴

Hating the thermidorian reaction of the Harding and Coolidge regimes in the United States, but hating still more the prospects of further setbacks to individual liberty and common decency through another war, Beard looked to Europe for portents of peace.³⁵ He thought that since all countries had investments in other countries, they had some semblance of mutual interest. While American and French money was being invested in Germany and Italy, the chances for war were lessened because in the event of hostilities the financiers could not collect on their bonds.³⁶ The haunting spectre of Bolshevism, which was useful in giving national governments a clue as how society might shape up after still another war,

³³Letter from Mary R. Beard to the author, March 21, 1953.

³⁴Mary Beard, who accompanied Beard to Yugoslavia, said that Beard went to Yugoslavia in the interests of making a purely scientific study of the government. Letter from Mary R. Beard to the author, March 21, 1953. See also, Goldman, Rendezvous with Destiny, op. cit., pp. 282-83.

³⁵For Beard's disgust with the Harding and Coolidge administration of the State and Justice Departments, see, Charles A. Beard, "Count Karolyi in America," Nation, CXX (April, 1925), 377-78. Beard stirred up the audience at the Civil Liberties Union dinner so much over his reading of the record of the suppression of civil liberties that the audience rose as a body and cheered fifteen minutes.

³⁶Charles A. Beard, "Prospects for Peace," Harpers Magazine, CLVIII (February, 1929), 320-30.

was also helping the chances of peace. The international forum provided by the League of Nations was a force for peace because it provided a place for discussion of grievances. Beard described commercial intercourse with the world as necessary for a strong America which meant that the old fundamental dogma of isolationism was obsolete.³⁷

There were serious fissures developing in Beard's world view of an economically interdependent world community which he at once called attention to. Not only could economic expansion mean peace but it could foster war. He believed that cut-throat economic rivalries had caused World War I, and this condition of competition existed again.³⁸ Although the nations had denounced war in the Pact of Paris, they were increasing their armaments in unprecedented amounts. Because seven and a half million Germans were located outside Germany by the vindictive Treaty of Versailles, Beard predicted German restlessness would hasten a bigger and more ruinous conflict.³⁹

Charles Beard, a cosmopolitan intellectual who had spent as much time in Europe and Asia as in America during

³⁷Charles A. and William Beard, The American Leviathan (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), p. 736.

³⁸Charles A. Beard, "Bigger and Better Armaments," Harpers Magazine, CLVIII (January, 1929), 133-43.

³⁹Loc. cit.

was also helping the spread of peace. The international forum provided by the League of Nations was a forum for peace because it provided a place for discussion of grievances. Beard described commercial internationalism with the world as necessary for a strong America which meant that the old fundamental dogma of isolationism was obsolete. There were serious dangers in existing in Beard's

world view of an economically interdependent world community which he at once called attention to. For only could economic expansion mean peace but it could mean war. He believed that out-thrust economic rivalries had caused World War I, and this condition of competition existed everywhere. If the nations had remained war in the past of peace, they were increasing their armaments in unprecedented numbers. Seven and a half million men were armed against Germany by the vindictive Treaty of Versailles. Beard predicted that man reasonableness would prevent a danger and have within ten-

times.

Charles Beard, a conservative internationalist who has spent as much time in Europe and Asia as in America, during

Charles A. Beard and William I. Miller, *The American Revolution* (New York: The Modern Library, 1937), p. 13.

Charles A. Beard, *The American Revolution* (New York: The Modern Library, 1937), p. 13.

1937, p. 13.

the 1920's, came to believe there was something self-defeating in the prospects for great advances in civilization in other countries besides America. Beard, a thinker with craggy purposes, organized his world view around the idea of civilization--an idea of a course of events whose openness is intrinsic, and an end that is its own means, expanding, alternating, and enriching as it compounds. Civilization was viewed by Beard as the human enterprise, bringing forth more liberating inventions and discoveries of the human spirit. Civilization was the struggle for perfection, for the good, the true, and the beautiful. The one invariable in the progress of humanity which disturbed civilization was war.⁴⁰ Beard, the thinker, remained at home in the timeless and boundless world of ideas, but his greatest hopes for the development of high civilization in a mad and unstable world became pinned to America.

Much of Beard's new obsession can be understood by referring to his address at the Williamstown Farm Round Table,

⁴⁰Charles A. Beard, editor, Whither Mankind (New York: Longman Green and Company, 1928), Introduction, pp. 1-25, and Epilogue, pp. 403-40. See also, Beards, The Rise (1927 ed.), op. cit., Preface and the last two pages; Beard, The Nature of the Social Sciences (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1934), pp. 59, 72, 118, 121; Beards, The American Spirit, loc. cit. Mr. Samuel E. Morison has the unhappy distinction of insinuating, by intent, that Beard was a stable theologian, hampered in his thought by the presence of cows. See, Morison, loc. cit.

organized by Henry Wallace in 1927:

. . . I begin by confessing a prejudice for the land of my birth and for the ideals that we professed before we began, under the thoughtful patronage of our mother, England, to acquire dependencies, protectorates, moral obligations, and mandates in the interests of humanity, to administer water cures and Krag rifle medicines, to shoot, bayonet, gas, bomb and eviscerate backward peoples, in the name of the higher good and profitable investments.

. . . I would have my country become economically independent--relying upon our own economy, primarily self supporting, we cannot be shaken by the disasters of war or the coming revolt of the subject peoples of the earth against the arrogance of the imperialists.

. . . Income taxes should be increased . . . every dollar taken from the plutocracy diverted from investment in foreign countries, to be lost in the next war for democracy (unless our soldiers and sailors can bring it back at the point of a bayonet) and devoted to the extension and enlargement to our domestic economy is a gain to America.

. . . We need to develop a new science . . . for want of a better name we may call nation planning, supplementing the budding science of city and regional planning, inviting all classes and interests to put away self deception and to maintain a fairly balanced system of national planning.⁴¹

Beard believed that the people of the United States failed to take advantage of their opportunities to make an abundant civilization, even in the material direction in which they were so potentially capable. Another planning enthusiast, Henry Wallace, who sought to increase the soundness of the

⁴¹ Charles A. Beard, "Agriculture in the Nation's Economy," Nation, CXXV (April 17, 1927), 125-200. A stenographic record of Beard's speech to the Williamstown (Massachusetts) Agriculture Round Table.

SECRET
W. T. WILSON

organized by Henry Wilson in 1891

I have by no means... of my birth and for the... we began, under the... England, to establish... obligations, and... to establish... sheet, patronage, and... in the name of the... month.

I would have... dependent--relying upon... regarding, we cannot be... of the coming revolt... against the... of the... of the...

Income taxes... taken from the... foreign countries, to... (unless our soldiers... at the point of... and enlargement... America.

We need to... better than we... The budding... viding all... tion and to maintain...

Good belief... take advantage of... civilization, even in... were so potentially... Henry Wilson, who... the...

1) Charles A. ...
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nation's agricultural economy in 1927, came in contact with Beard at the Williamstown Farm Round Table and heard the Beardian condemnation of war. Wallace wrote,

. . . At that time in personal conversations with me he was very strong in the thesis that so many schools, so many miles of roads, so many hospitals, so many irrigation structures, etc., could be built with what was being spent for wars, past, present, and future. . . . On this subject, he was intensely sarcastic and intensely indignant.⁴²

As Beard grew older it is obvious that he grew less tolerant of the forces, especially the destructive powers of war, that interfered with his enduring thesis of civilization. Another man who previously inspired Beard with his theories of imperialism, John A. Hobson, also had a world view which could point a way out for America from the impending crisis of world conflict in spite of possible repercussions to his home country, England. Hobson again anticipated Beard's future line of thought:

. . . There is of course a third alternative (for America) that of a political and economic self sufficing isolation, a virtual self sufficing national life. This is still a possibility. . . . The trading stakes of Europe are small compared to the wealth of America. Substantial isolation could be got without any appreciable sacrifice of otherwise profitable trade. A growing population, with a rising standard of consumption could thus absorb for its internal requirements virtually the whole of capital and of economy of agricultural profit. Above all the conscious adaptation of this isolation policy

⁴²Letter from Henry Agard Wallace to the author, March 6, 1953.

... nation's agricultural economy in 1937, and in 1938
Bent at the Williamsport Fair, about 1938, and in 1939
Bentish agricultural fair, in 1939, and in 1940
... At that time in New York State, and in
he was very young in the 1930s, and very active, and
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ment, 1938

As Bent grew older, he was more and more
testament of the fact, especially the historical movement
war, that interested him in the subject of the war
Another man who grew up in the 1930s, and in 1940, and in 1941
Imperialism, John A. Johnson, who had a very strong
could point a way, and for the time being, this
of world conflict in light of the subject of the war
home country, Ireland, and in 1938, and in 1939, and in 1940
future line of thought

There is of course a very strong feeling
America) that of a political and economic system, and
Isolation, a virtual isolation, and in 1938, and in 1939, and in 1940
is still a possibility, and in 1938, and in 1939, and in 1940
Europe and Asia, and in 1938, and in 1939, and in 1940
stantial isolation could be established, and in 1938, and in 1939, and in 1940
association of other countries, and in 1938, and in 1939, and in 1940
Isolation, with a feeling of isolation, and in 1938, and in 1939, and in 1940
groups for the future, and in 1938, and in 1939, and in 1940
of isolation, and in 1938, and in 1939, and in 1940
all the conditions of isolation, and in 1938, and in 1939, and in 1940

March 6, 1938
Bentish Agricultural Fair, in 1938, and in 1939, and in 1940

would signify that America prefers safety and material prosperity and a distinctly American Civilization to organizing a commonwealth of nations.⁴³

Beard, who was almost as well acquainted with the history of other nations as he was that of his own, watched the rise of naval power and recognized an enemy which would defeat the Hobson-Beard thesis of American Civilization. As far back as 1922, Beard had begun to suspect that the Navy Board was imbued with the extravagant expansionism of Mahan, and when naval construction continued to increase, it became a major crusade for him to enlighten the public on the implications of "sea power."⁴⁴ Paradoxically as it may appear, in the light of the American and British program of naval disarmament effected at the Washington Conference of 1921-1922, the American program of naval expansion, following 1932, carried an aggressive implication, not only to Beard, but to the Japanese. The oriental island kingdom visualized itself

⁴³John A. Hobson, "America and Internationalism," Nation, CXXVII (May 27, 1925), 600. Hobson was a contributing editor for the Nation for many years. Perhaps Beard, who read practically every good journal in America, did not read Hobson's article, but this Hobson theme was to be Beard's main argument for the next fifteen years.

⁴⁴Beard, Gross Currents, op. cit., p. 251, for early fears of navy; Beard, The Navy, Defense or Portent (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1932), a collection of Beard's articles and speeches about the navy. For Mahanism, see, Alfred T. Mahan, The Influence of Sea Power on History (1890), and The Interest of America in Sea Power, Past and Present (1898). For Beard's speaking tour, see, New York Times, February 28, 1932.

would signify that America was not only a nation of
prosperity and a highly developed nation, but
organizing a commonwealth of nations.
Bead, who was elected as well as elected, was the
body of other nations as he was elected to the
rise of naval power and reorganized navy which would be
least the Hobson-Bead thesis of American civilization. As
far back as 1922, Bead had been the president of the Navy
Bead was joined with the expansion of American of nations,
and when naval construction continued to increase, it became
a major crusade for him to build the navy. In the English-
cations of "sea power,"⁴⁴ Bead's thesis was that navy power, in
the light of the American and British program of naval dis-
armament effected at the Washington Conference of 1921-1922,
the American program of naval expansion, following 1900,
carried an aggressive implication, not only to Bead, but to
the Japanese. The original intent of American naval build-

⁴⁴John A. Hobson, "Imperialism and Internationalism,"
Nation, CXXVII (May 27, 1923), 300. Hobson was a distin-
guished author for the Nation. The only issue of the Nation
who read practically every word printed in the Nation, and not
read Hobson's article, but it is known that he was to be
Bead's main argument for the fact that the navy was a
AA
Bead, League of Nations, pp. 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

to be in an analogous position with that of Britain, and Japanese statesmen believed that its growing trade, industrial power, and national self consciousness all necessitated an increasing "responsibility" for it to assert itself around the home waters and bordering the Asiatic mainland. Furthermore, the Japanese boycotted the London Naval Conference of 1930, according to their subsequent interpolations, because the United States, Great Britain, and France refused "the total abolition of capital ships and aircraft carriers, which are aggressive in their nature."⁴⁵ Basically, Japan smarted under the connotations of inferiority implicit in the 5:5:3 ratio established by the Washington Conference of 1921-1922, and also feared the alignment of British and American naval

⁴⁵Shepard Jones and Denys P. Meyers, "The Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs (Hiroto) to the American Ambassador at Tokyo (Grew), February 12, 1938," Documents on American Foreign Relations (1938-1939), I (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1939), pp. 483-84. See also, for other diplomatic notes and previous documents relative to the naval problem, pp. 481-82, 485-89; "Representative Louis Ludlow to Secretary of State Hull, February 7, 1938," pp. 495-97. Ludlow, alarmed at the implications involved in the "super navy bill" of 1938, told Hull, "Benjamin Harrison once said to me, 'We have no commission from God to police the world.'" See also, on naval expansion and attempts to limit construction, Samuel I. Rosenmann, compiler, Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, V (New York: Random House, 1936), pp. 89, 659. See also, p. 372, "Letter from the President to Secretary of the Navy, September 4, 1935:" "Our national legislature gave a very definite expression of its purpose to increase the strength of the American Navy to a degree (compare with Japanese attitude in text) commensurate with American needs, interests, and responsibilities."

to be in an analogous position with that of Britain, and
Japanese officials believed that the American line of conduct
trial power, and national self-determination. It is possible
an increasing "responsibility" for the Asian situation.
the home waters and borders. The Japanese position
more, the Japanese rejected the American demand for
1950, according to their experience in Japan, and
the United States, Great Britain, and France.
total abolition of conscription and military expansion, which
are aggressive in their nature. The Japanese position
under the constitution of Japan, which is in the
ratio established by the Japanese Government of 1946-47,
and also feared the alignment of Japan and the United States.

Shepard Jones and John E. Meyer, "The Japanese
Minister for Foreign Affairs (Minister of Foreign Affairs)
Ambassador at Tokyo (Japan), 1950-1951," Journal of
American Foreign Relations, 1950-1951, pp. 1-10.
Foreign Relations, 1950-1951, pp. 1-10.
diplomatic notes and previous documents relating to the
problem, pp. 1-10, 1950-1951, pp. 1-10.
Secretary of State, 1950-1951, pp. 1-10.
for, signed by the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs,
bill" of 1950, 1951, pp. 1-10.
"We have no commitment to the United States in this
also, on naval expansion and other matters of international
Samuel I. Rosenberg, "The Japanese and American
Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1950-1951, pp. 1-10.
52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

power against her, which appeared to be the practical upshot of the abrogation of the British-Japanese treaty of friendship arranged at the Washington Conference.

Again Beard was traveling in the wake of less energetic and determined individuals who had also become alarmed at navalism, especially Edward M. Earle, who served as a Harvard history professor and also as a lecturer at the Army War College:

The enlargement of our fleet must of necessity demand more coaling stations, fortified bases and defensive positions, which in a vicious circle will require a yet larger navy for their own defense.

.....
Cleveland urged a large fleet in order to enhance the national prestige; McKinley advocated a larger fleet to maintain the prestige already acquired. McKinley recommended a merchant marine auxiliary to the Navy; Roosevelt demanded a bigger navy for the defense of the merchant marine. Roosevelt vigorously promoted the Panama Canal as an aid to our carrying trade; the Republican platform of 1912 called for "American ships and plenty of them to make use of the great inter Oceanic canal now nearing completion." Admiral Mahan pleaded for the annexation of Hawaii as a means of defending the Panama Canal; McKinley urged the construction of the canal to assure the defense of Hawaii. In this manner the Navy gathers momentum as the years roll by.⁴⁶

⁴⁶Edward M. Earle, "The Navy's Influence on Foreign Policy Relations," Current History, XXIII (February, 1926), 648-65. For a short summary of Mahan's influence, see, Julius Pratt, "Ideology of Expansion," Avery Craven, editor, Essays in Honor of William E. Dodd (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), pp. 350-61. See also, "Influence of American Sea Power, Present and Future," Review in Nation, LXXVI (July 14, 1898), 34. Mahan, said the Nation, was the mouthpiece of an American tendency toward aggression. His motto was that if the United States does not grab backward peoples' lands someone else will. Alfred T. Mahan, The

Beard was convinced that a general war was approaching, and since America continued to promote trading activities while it increased munition supplies and battleships, it appeared as though the administration were preparing to take part in an eventual conflict; he consciously sought a way out of the predicament for his country. The advent of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the Presidency, and also the the command of the fleet, was hardly a cheerful prospect, for Roosevelt was well known for his love of the navy and had also played the civilian Admiral's role to the hilt during his tour of duty as Assistant Secretary of the Navy during World War I.⁴⁷ Roosevelt's attitude of friendliness to the Chinese and his insistence upon continuing the Stimson non-recognition policy

Interest of America in Sea Power; Past and Present (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1896); his slogan, "Force, the rude, ignoble and imperfect arbiter so far has won, and still secures the greatest good in the checkered history of mankind." For one of Mahan's contemporary's unflattering opinion of Mahan's technical naval knowledge, see, Elting E. Morison, Admiral Sims and the Modern American Navy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942), pp. 63, 70, 164, 172, 223-24. Admiral Sims decided that Mahan was a fine naval officer as long as he confined his activities to the classroom.

⁴⁷For Roosevelt and navalism, see, Sara Roosevelt, My Boy Franklin (New York: Crown and Company, 1933), p. 15; Raymond Moley, After Seven Years (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1939), pp. 94-95; letter from Henry A. Wallace to the author, March 6, 1953. For Roosevelt's letters to Mahan and use of Mahanism during and before World War I, see, Fred Freidel, Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Apprenticeship (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1953), p. 13.

concerning Japan's acquisitions in China did nothing to allay this fear,⁴⁸ especially since Beard was convinced that Japan sought regional supremacy in the entire Far East.

Beard's counter attack on the trend toward navalism and indiscriminate internationalism was first propounded in his speech at Williamstown in 1927, and it continued with mounting intensity in his formal writings, America Faces the Future (1932), The Idea of National Interest (1934), The Open Door at Home (1934), The Devil Theory of War (1936), America in Midpassage, and A Foreign Policy for America (1940). The over-arching conception, grand assumption, or theory in all these books was "Continentalism," or a belief in the United States as a country of continental proportions, possessed of a sufficiency of raw materials and technological ingenuity, could remain an ever progressing democracy.⁴⁹ A certain amount of foreign trade would be carried on under the

⁴⁸For early fears of Roosevelt's Far Eastern foreign policy among Roosevelt's advisers, see, Rexford G. Tugwell, The Stricken Land (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1947), p. 177; Moley, op. cit., pp. 94-95; Rosenman, II, op. cit., p. 169. For Beard's attitude, see, The Navy, Defense or Portent, loc. cit.

⁴⁹Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, America in Midpassage (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), pp. 380-82, 450-54; Charles A. Beard, A Foreign Policy for America (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1940); American Government and Politics, 1938 edition, op. cit., pp. 266, 269; Charles A. Beard and G. E. Smith, The Open Door at Home (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), Preface v-vii, p. 10.

Continentalist policy but the United States would be able to select foreign commodities with an eye to improving foreign relations because the great continental mass-market of the United States gave the nation the advantage of a buyer's position. Beard argued against the assumptions of the Mahan-Theodore Roosevelt imperialists, the Wilsonian Internationalists, the Stalinist United Fronters, and the Trotskyite World Revolutionists in stating that America could live peacefully and democratically at home, assured of a plentiful supply of needed tropical raw materials because the European possessors of tropical colonies would have to sell in the markets of the United States or go bankrupt.⁵⁰ As a friendly reviewer described it, Beard's program was,

. . . too commonsensical to appeal to the romanticisms of Dorothy Thompson, the Navy League, or the Fourth International, but when it came to genuine "Americanism" Beard had it all over his opponents.⁵¹

Two of Beard's most substantial books which illustrated the historical development of his passion for Ruskinian reform and a Continentalist foreign policy were The Idea of National

⁵⁰Beards, America in Midpassage, op. cit., pp. 382-91, 446-53; Charles A. Beard, "Collective Security," The New Republic, XCV (February 2, 1938), pp. 356-59. Beard debated the collective security argument with Earl Browder.

⁵¹John Chamberlain, "The New Books," Harpers Magazine, CLXXIX (July, 1939), p. 108. Chamberlain admired Beard so that he wrote a book using Beardian ideology entitled The American Stakes (1940).

Interest and The Open Door at Home. At the time Beard wrote these books, 1934, European political alignments were evolving into the extremist totalitarian forms which caused Beard to speculate more and more on possibilities of war and American involvement, especially since the New Deal appeared unable to solve the economic crisis in the United States.⁵² With the breakdown of the London Monetary Conference of 1933, and the flowering of national socialism in Germany, the countries of the world began to develop autarky, or programs of economic self-sufficiency, which increased international tensions.⁵³ Beard as a realist, and guardian angel of American democracy, warned that America would have to change its economic way of life if it were to survive the threats of Hitlerism and the depletions of war. In The Idea of National Interest, Beard interpreted past and present ideas of national interest as viewed and promoted by the Navy, the agricultural lobbies, business interests and the American State Department. From these often conflicting and self-serving points of view, he theorized upon the course the country should actually

⁵²Charles A. Beard, "National Politics and War," Scribners Magazine, XCVII (February, 1935), 65-70. Beard said Roosevelt would plunge the United States into war to escape the economic crisis of the United States.

⁵³Moley, loc. cit., for the story of the breakup of the London Monetary Conference. Roosevelt worked against the program of Moley and Hull.

pursue, or, where the genuine national interest of the country lay in the days ahead. He described the initial New Deal policies with approval:

Fragments of a new conception of national interest appeared in the policies and measures of Franklin D. Roosevelt, which were the opposite of those of the search for ever expanding foreign outlets of the Hoover and Coolidge administrations. Amid them was the central ideal: by domestic planning and control the American economic machine may be kept running at a high tempo supplying the intra-national markets without relying primarily upon foreign outlets for "surpluses" of goods and capital.⁵⁴

At the same time Beard noted that the administration must be contemplating another policy, because it pushed naval construction, though a huge navy would not be needed if manufactures were to be designed only for home consumption, and that Japan and Britain copied America's naval expansion program. This would eventually mean war.⁵⁵ Beard's interpretation of the expansion of American naval power took into cognizance the internal political conditions of Japan, where the militarists continually agitated for naval parity with the United States and Britain, and described American naval maneuvers in the Pacific, acts hostile to Japan's position in

⁵⁴Charles A. Beard and G. E. Smith, The Idea of National Interest (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), p. 552.

⁵⁵Beard and Smith, The Idea of National Interest, op. cit., pp. 546-52.

the Far East.⁵⁶ Parity between the two countries actually approached in 1933, because the American navy stood at sixty-five per cent of the treaty strength allowed by the Washington Conference, while Japan's navy had mounted to ninety-five per cent of treaty limits. Japanese statesmen concluded that the abrogation of the Japanese-British treaty of alliance after the Washington Conference meant that Britain and the United States, in combination, possessed a far greater Pacific naval striking force than her own, which was detrimental to Japanese "paramount" interests in China. The possibilities of American-Japanese naval parity dissolved in June, 1933, when President Roosevelt suddenly allocated \$238,000,000 from the National Recovery Act appropriations for the construction of new warships. The Japanese people, long dissatisfied with the connotations implicit in the 5:5:3 ratio established by the Washington Conference, exerted pressure on the moderate government to abrogate the Washington Treaty.⁵⁷ Beard

⁵⁶"Ambassador Grew to Secretary Hull, September 15, 1934," Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Japan: 1931-1941, I (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 249-50. Facts relating to Roosevelt's expansion program are found documented in notes 54, 55. See also, Rosenmann, Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, V, op. cit., p. 659, for naval expansion authorization.

⁵⁷"Ambassador Grew to Secretary Hull," op. cit., pp. 253-54. The Japanese Foreign Minister, Hiroto, told Grew that they would give notice to terminate the Washington Naval Treaty before December 31, 1934.

WITNESS STATEMENTS

the far East. 20. Further, it is the testimony of a witness
approached in 1933, because the American Navy was at that
five per cent of the fleet, which was allowed to be built
for conference, which was the result of the Washington
per cent of the fleet. It was also decided that
the obligation of the Japanese fleet to be reduced
after the Washington Conference, which was held in 1922
United States, in connection with the Washington
the naval building program in the Far East, which was
to Japanese "armaments" in the Far East. The obligation
of American-Japanese naval parity was maintained in 1922,
when President Roosevelt announced his policy of
the National Recovery of armaments and the building
of new vessels. The Japanese policy, long known, was
the construction of a fleet to be built in 1933, which was
the Washington Conference, which was held in 1922,
government to reduce the building of the fleet.

20. "The American Navy to be reduced to 10,000 tons in 1933,"
States, Japan, 1933-1934, 1935-1936, 1937-1938, 1939-1940,
Government Building Office, 1939-1940, 1941-1942, 1943-1944,
ing to Roosevelt's program of naval disarmament and
notes 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37,
ges of President Roosevelt, 1933-1934, 1935-1936, 1937-1938,
expansion of the fleet.

21. "The American Navy to be reduced to 10,000 tons in 1933,"
22-24. The American Navy to be reduced to 10,000 tons in 1933,
that they would give notice to Japan, which was the result of the
Treaty before January 11, 1934.

decided that the American naval expansion program meant that Roosevelt had lost faith in the New Deal domestic program and contemplated forcing United States manufactures on foreign countries even though the other nations all had controlled economies which ruined possibilities of profit.⁵⁸

After examining, historically, the rationalizations of the United States economy in The Idea of National Interest, Beard stated his proposals to attack the twin devils which darkened the American sky, war and depression, in The Open Door at Home. Beard insisted that the United States should give up the imperialism implicit in the Chinese Open Door policy, and concentrate on getting the most efficient use out of national resources in a quest for security and a high standard of living.⁵⁹ A policy of international collaboration would fail to guarantee national security because the United States had no economic interest parallel to other countries. The Philippine Islands should be given up because it cost far more to defend them than the United States gained from them through trade or investments. Keeping the door open in China

⁵⁸Beard and Smith, The Open Door at Home, op. cit., pp. 237-38; Charles A. Beard, "Our Foreign and Domestic Policies," Current History, XLI (February, 1935), 586, 592.

⁵⁹Beard and Smith, The Open Door at Home, op. cit., Preface vii.

only enriched special interests, and it would result in a war with Japan.

Running parallel with Beard's outlook on foreign policy was his old Ruskinian emphasis diluted with Hobsonianism on the necessity of domestic reforms.⁶⁰ Beard had declared himself a soldier in the war on poverty in 1908, and, by 1934 he had, so it seemed, promoted himself to the rank of Field Marshal in that crusade.⁶¹ In The Open Door at Home, Beard described, similar to the fashion he had used in The Industrial Revolution, the contrast between mass ugliness and misery in the United States and conditions that could be brought about by careful planning and wise development of natural resources. In pursuing the interest of the commonweal, coercion would be used, but only in accordance with the Constitution and legislative changes.⁶² Beard established the old term, "Standard of Life," coined by John Hobson in his book Imperialism, in 1902, to combat the British expansion in Africa, as a measurement which would determine the exact amount of imports and

⁶⁰Beard, The Industrial Revolution (1901), loc. cit.; Hobson, Imperialism, loc. cit.; "America and Internationalism," loc. cit.

⁶¹Beard and Robinson, The Development of Modern Europe, II, op. cit., p. 338.

⁶²Beard and Smith, The Open Door at Home, op. cit., pp. 310-20.

exports, agricultural and industrial production, which would be necessary for national well-being. Aesthetic pursuits and interests, as well as unproductive industries, would be planned and encouraged by the government.⁶³

⁶³Ibid., pp. 325-50. This was another Hobsonian plan of rationalization of national life. For a scholarly review of The Open Door at Home, see Herbert Feis, "The Open Door at Home," Foreign Affairs, IV (July, 1935), pp. 611-14. Mr. Feis and the Council of Foreign Relations considered Beard's "hill born generalizations" to be "prepossessions composed in recoil of the past. . . . Beard denied the opinion of all reputable economists." Also note the similarities of Beard's ideas with those of Bellamy in Looking Backward. Beard's Continentalism and Bellamy's Nationalism were both based on cooperation and stressed maximum use of the industrial system. While both were plans for industrial utopias, Bellamy's hazy romance also had connotations of coercion of the individual, such as his scheme for the "industrial army." Beard's Continentalist theory sprang from a revulsion against imperialism, while Bellamy's plan had its roots in his hatred of the extreme differences in individual incomes. Bellamy did influence Beard as a stimulating force, however. For a Beardsian statement on Bellamy, see The Rise, II, op. cit., p. 443: "Accepting the machine system at face value Edward Bellamy wrote a frank novel of Socialism, Looking Backward--the first American utopia of the industrial age, glorifying science and invention as the savior of mankind from the curse of nameless and unhonored drudgery. With an extraordinary swiftness it caught the imagination of the whole country, led to the formation of a short-lived Nationalist Party, and gave to the hard Marxism of the German Socialists a deep tinge of American sentiment. If Bellamy's furor soon died away in the storm of the generality, his influence on social thinking was never lost."

CHAPTER V

THE WHITE HOUSE ROAD TO WAR

Charles Beard long had been convinced that economic pressures forced the United States into the First World War, when, in 1934, Fortune Magazine published a sensational article entitled, "Arms and Men," that provided more fuel for Beard's educational campaign. Senator Gerald P. Nye had the story reprinted in the Congressional Record.¹ The account described, with many lurid details, the sordid story of the brisk competitive methods, including bribery of military officials and attempts to incite wars, employed by European and American munitions manufacturers in their search for profits. The Democratic majority of the Senate appointed Nye, a Republican, to the chairmanship of a special Senate Committee to investigate the activities of munition makers and dealers.² Concerning Nye's appointment, Secretary of State Cordell Hull remarked,

Had I dreamed that an isolationist Republican would be appointed I promptly would have opposed it. . . . The appointment of Nye was a fatal mistake because the committee. . . . proceeded to enlarge the scope of its inquiry into an attempt to prove that the United States had

¹"Arms and Men," Fortune Magazine, IX (March, 1934), 52-57, 113-26; Congressional Record, 73 Cong., 2nd Session, 2192, 6688, 7154.

²Cordell Hull, Memoirs, I (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948), 398.

General Eisenhower

President Truman

Dear Mr. President:

I am very pleased to hear from you.

The above information is being furnished to you for your information.

Very truly yours,

General Eisenhower

Enclosure

Very truly yours,

General Eisenhower

Enclosure

Very truly yours,

General Eisenhower

Enclosure

Very truly yours,

General Eisenhower

Enclosure

Very truly yours,

General Eisenhower

Enclosure

Very truly yours,

General Eisenhower

been drawn in the First World War by bankers and munition makers.³

Charles Beard had become so convinced of the ominous nature of increased military preparations around the world that he forsook the serenity of the green fields of Connecticut and filled a post as commentator on contemporary history, for Current History, at Washington.⁴ The revelations of cupidity deplored by Mr. Hull did not surprise Beard because:

. . . to citizens even slightly acquainted with the history of munitions industry since the invention of gunpowder, nothing new in the ways of tactics and practice was revealed, but many additional illustrations of sinister enterprise were presented to the gaping public.⁵

Those illustrations of fiscal immorality which Mr. Hull considered best left undisclosed, included army and navy procurement officers permitting arms manufacturers to copy designs of weapons perfected in government laboratories, an international arms cartel which freely exchanged "secret" patents, and United States "wheat loans" to Argentina diverted into the pockets of munition makers.⁶ Although the

³Loc. cit.

⁴Charles A. Beard, "Emerging Issues in America," Current History, XLI (November, 1934), 29.

⁵Loc. cit.; Morison, loc. cit. Morison maintained that Beard "swallowed the Nye Report wholesale."

⁶Hearings Before the Senate Committee on the Investigation of the Munitions Industry, 73 Cong., 2nd. Session,

been drawn in the first half of the century and the second half.

Charles Ford had been an assistant in the office.

History of increased military expenditure has shown the world that he has been the beneficiary of the United States of America and filled a post as a member of the United States of America. The United States of America, at the present time, is the only country in the world which has a population of over 100 million people.

Source:

A review of the history of the United States of America shows that the United States of America has been a country of great power and influence. The United States of America has been a country of great power and influence. The United States of America has been a country of great power and influence.

These illustrations of the United States of America show that the United States of America has been a country of great power and influence. The United States of America has been a country of great power and influence. The United States of America has been a country of great power and influence.

History of the United States of America shows that the United States of America has been a country of great power and influence. The United States of America has been a country of great power and influence. The United States of America has been a country of great power and influence.

History of the United States of America shows that the United States of America has been a country of great power and influence. The United States of America has been a country of great power and influence. The United States of America has been a country of great power and influence.

History of the United States of America shows that the United States of America has been a country of great power and influence. The United States of America has been a country of great power and influence. The United States of America has been a country of great power and influence.

See also:

History of the United States of America shows that the United States of America has been a country of great power and influence. The United States of America has been a country of great power and influence. The United States of America has been a country of great power and influence.

History of the United States of America shows that the United States of America has been a country of great power and influence. The United States of America has been a country of great power and influence. The United States of America has been a country of great power and influence.

History of the United States of America shows that the United States of America has been a country of great power and influence. The United States of America has been a country of great power and influence. The United States of America has been a country of great power and influence.

ambitions of the munitioneers did not surprise Beard, he saw a wonderful opportunity to shock his fellow citizens into a mood where they might embrace his Continentalist theory of national self-sufficiency and non-involvement in international quarrels. Beard declared that, "The definition and clarification of foreign policy is immediately imperative, unless the people of the United States are to be lashed into the next war by powerful domestic interests."⁷ In The Devil Theory of War, the Beardian report on the Nye inquiry, he clarified the shortcomings of foreign policy of World War I in a way that was to be widely imitated in the years ahead, when foreign tensions increased and many citizens hesitated to glow with the moral enthusiasm that had so illuminated the American scene in 1917.⁸ Basically, Beard argued in The Devil Theory of War, America went to war in 1917, apart from the uproar of propagandists, sentimentalists, and the intelligentsia, because businessmen had leaped to supply the Allies with goods, and when the Allies no longer could pay for the goods, bankers

pts. 1-17. See also, William T. Stone, "The Munitions Industry," Foreign Policy Association Reports, No. 20, 1935.

⁷Beard, "Emerging Issues," op. cit., pp. 29-31.

⁸For example, see Charles Tansill, America Goes to War (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1938); Frank Jerome, Save America First (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1938).

stepped in to provide the funds, which meant that an Allied victory was necessary to bail out the money. The road to war led down the primrose path to debt cancellation and international economic chaos because the Wilsonian administration changed its policy from economic neutrality to economic intervention in aid of the Allies.⁹

Beard instructed his readers not to be puppets dangling from the strings held by bankers, the Navy League, and other interested groups, but to honor the Neutrality Acts and to reform capitalism at home even if capitalism, as practiced historically would be altered drastically to provide better opportunities for tilling the home economic garden.¹⁰ The light with which to commence the tilling of the home gardens grew much dimmer in Beard's eye on the day of October 5, 1937, when President Roosevelt, after much sidestepping on the question of isolationism and internationalism in the past, finally disclosed to what proved to be an outraged public what he really thought America's true role in the world of nations

⁹Charles A. Beard, The Devil Theory of War (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1936), pp. 27, 32, 40, 55, 89. For a scholarly study of events that culminated in the world war, see Tansill, op. cit., pp. 440-60. Tansill argued that Secretary Lansing's inability to interpret international law correctly was an important factor in American involvement in World War I.

¹⁰Beard, The Devil Theory of War, op. cit., pp. 118-121.

unhappy in its results. The fact that the
theory was necessary in part to explain the
behavior of the system was not a sufficient
reason for its acceptance. The fact that the
theory was necessary in part to explain the
behavior of the system was not a sufficient
reason for its acceptance.

Based on the above, the following conclusions
may be drawn. The system is a complex one,
and its behavior is not easily explained by
any single theory. The fact that the system
is complex and its behavior is not easily
explained by any single theory is not a
sufficient reason for its acceptance. The
fact that the system is complex and its
behavior is not easily explained by any
single theory is not a sufficient reason
for its acceptance. The fact that the
system is complex and its behavior is not
easily explained by any single theory is
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It is clear that the system is a complex one,
and its behavior is not easily explained by
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system is complex and its behavior is not
easily explained by any single theory is
not a sufficient reason for its acceptance.

should be. President Roosevelt, although plagued by a sharp recession on the home economic front,¹¹ focused his sights on the distant lands of Japan and Germany, and declared that these ambitious nations were not similar to the ninety per cent majority of the nations, in that they were not "peace loving."¹² To overcome their reluctance to refrain from disturbing the peace of the world, Roosevelt suggested they be placed in "quarantine" by the "peace loving" nations.¹³ In brief,

. . . the peace loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of human instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality.¹⁴

Although Roosevelt seemed to place his emphasis on economic

¹¹Charles A. Beard, American Foreign Policy in the Making 1937-1940 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946), pp. 365-67. Economic distress was the most severe the country had experienced in so short a period.

¹²New York Times, October 6, 1937. See also, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt (New York: Random House, 1936), V, 289, the Address at Chautauqua, New York: "Many causes produce war . . . there are ancient hatreds . . . and new born fanaticisms, convictions on the part of certain people that they are the unique depositories of truth and light."

¹³New York Times, October 6, 1937.

¹⁴New York Times, October 6, 1937. See also, Harold Lavine and James Wechsler, War Propaganda and the United States (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 55, for an Institute of Propaganda analysis of Roosevelt's quarantine speech.

sanctions, basically it appeared to skeptical critics to be the old Wilsonian dictum of war to end wars. To a reporter at his press conference the next day, Mr. Roosevelt's prescriptions appeared to run counter to the neutrality law, and when the reporter ventured to question Roosevelt about this seeming discrepancy, he received this puzzling reply from the man who, under law, was the executor of neutrality legislation: "No, not for a minute. It may be an expansion."¹⁵

The followers of the Wilsonian moral dispensation, who had been hanging in the shadows during the dark days of neutrality legislation, now leaped exuberantly to print. Oswald Garrison Villard, internationalist-enthusiast, and editor of the Nation, said, "The time has come when Roosevelt should reassume the moral leadership of the world which Woodrow Wilson abandoned when he surrendered to the 'peace makers' at Paris."¹⁶

The renewed enthusiasm for another great Wilsonian crusade for democracy led by Roosevelt did not stir Beard,

¹⁵Press Conference, October 6, 1937; Roosevelt, Public Papers, VI, 1941, op. cit., p. 423. See also, Hull, Memoirs, I, op. cit., pp. 545-46. Public opinion was practically unanimous against Roosevelt's speech. The American Federation of Labor resolved, "American labor does not wish to be involved in European or Asiatic wars."

¹⁶Oswald Garrison Villard, in New York Times, October 12, 1937. See also, for the favorable comment of the interventionist head of the Foreign Policy Association of New York City, Raymond L. Buell, in New York Times, October 17, 1937. See also note 20.

...the old ...
...at his ...
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who unkindly suggested that the President was bewildered enough by the army of ten million unemployed at home to suggest a great excursion abroad to distract the minds of the jobless.¹⁷ Beard added that in spite of the fact that England and France appeared satisfied with their gains made at Versailles, and Roosevelt approved the status quo, territorial distribution would continue.¹⁸

Charles Beard, anxiously viewing events in Washington, and Ambassador Grew in Japan, struggling to improve Japanese-American relations, experienced similar distrusts toward the "large policy" espoused by their President at Chicago. "I have no right," Grew wrote in his diary after the President's speech,

. . . as a representative of the government, to criticize the government's policies and actions, but that doesn't make me feel any less sorry about the way things have turned. Our country came to a fork in the road and, paradoxical as it may seem to a peace loving nation, chose the road which leads not to peace but potentially to war.

. . . Moral suasion is ineffective; economic or financial sanctions have been shown to be ineffective and worthless to boot. . . . Why, or why, do we disregard the experience and facts of history which stare us in the face?¹⁹

¹⁷Charles A. Beard, "Collective Security," op. cit., pp. 356-59.

¹⁸Loc. cit.

¹⁹The Grew Diary prefacing the section dated September 26-October 10, 1937, quoted in Joseph C. Grew, The Turbulent Era, II, Walter Johnson, ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952), pp. 1162, 1167-68. The Japanese foreign office

the military... enough to... cost a great... justice... and these... allies... distribution... and... international relations... "large policy"... have no... special...

...the... have... political... the... local... the... the... the... the...

...the... the... the... the... the... the... the... the... the... the...

While Grew, a player in the diplomatic games for thirty-three years deprecated Roosevelt's Chicago thesis, his coach of four years, Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, also regretted the speech, but for a different reason:

. . . As I saw it, the reaction against the quarantine idea had the effect of setting back for at least six months our constant educational campaign intended to strengthen public opinion toward international cooperation.²⁰

Hull's lack of appreciation for Roosevelt's abilities as an American educator was not shared by a propaganda analyst who appreciated the simplicity and earnestness of the lessons in internationalism taught by the genial President. The analyst noted that Mr. Roosevelt resumed his ideological offensive against "non-peace loving" nations after public reaction over the Chicago lecture had simmered down:

. . . White House pronouncements became clearer, more personal. Even less open to conflicting interpretations was the picture he (Roosevelt) drew: democracy was struggling against totalitarianism, freedom against

replied to Roosevelt: "Japan has doubled her population the past fifty years; all honest and industrious people have a right to live anywhere in the pursuit of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; the American-Japanese Exclusion Law passed in 1924 is against the natural law of mankind."

²⁰Hull, op. cit., pp. 545-46. For other reactions to the Quarantine Speech see, Charles Tansill, Back Door to War (Chicago: The Henry Regnery Company, 1952) pp. 345-46, especially good for newspaper reaction; Herbert Feis, The Road to Pearl Harbor (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 12, good for Roosevelt's temporary abstinence from internationalistic pronouncements.

tyranny, and in that clash the United States was deeply involved. Mr. Roosevelt was for "democracy." He was against "dictatorship." He was for "international law," against "treaty breakers." He had indexed the world into two categories of black and white. His critics charged that like most portraits it was art, not history. It overlooked the role which England and France, and the United States as well, had played in creating dividends for aggression. It spared the recollection of Sir John Simon defending Japan's invasion of China so ably that the Japanese Ambassador confessed he could not have done so well himself. It omitted any reference to the Hoar-Laval transaction which would have endowed Mussolini with so generous a share of Ethiopia at no cost.

... Perhaps more important, Mr. Roosevelt's rhetoric tended to simplify the tortuous map of Europe, and the ancient and modern sources of the Continent's discontent.²¹

Those critics who maintain that Beard, unlike Roosevelt, was blind to foreign threats by his zeal for domestic reform, simply have not read their man.²² Beard early forecast war, but he believed that foreign policy was but an aspect of domestic policy, and that because of America's unique industrial civilization (combined with natural resources, including sufficient agricultural products), it would be unnecessary for America to insist upon commercial spheres of influence in

²¹Lavine and Wechsler, op. cit., pp. 57-58. See also, Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy, On Active Service in Peace and War (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1947), p. 376. The war-time Secretary of the Army was not convinced that Franklin D. Roosevelt "could successfully preach war to the people until April, 1941," when at that time, the President's progress toward intervention reassured Mr. Stimson.

²²Most prominent among these critics with this thesis: American Historical Review, LIV (January, 1949), 466-82; Max Lerner, "Civilization and the Devils," The New Republic, CXIX (November, 1948), 21-24; Morison, loc. cit.

war producing areas.²³ Nevertheless, Beard speculated that war appeared inevitable and that America would take part in the war. By 1936, not only was Roosevelt's naval development policy entering a similar channel sailed upon by Wilson in the great sea of 1917, but,

. . . turned in upon themselves, nourishing deep resentments, and lashed to a fury by a militant system of education, the German people are conditioned for that day when Hitler, his technicians, and the army are ready and reasonably sure of the prospects of success in a sudden and devastating attack, East or West. To cherish any other conception of German education is to cherish a delusion.²⁴

In April, 1936, Beard predicted that the dramatic personae of a future war were cueing up for the final act: Japanese militarists assassinated moderate political leaders; France ratified a mutual assistance pact with Russia; and Great Britain prepared for war within four years.²⁵ Coupled with these ominous European and Asiatic portents the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Key Pittman,

²³Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, America in Midpassage (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939). Chapters IX, pp. 381-433, "Exploring Domestic Sources of Foreign Policies," and X, pp. 434-500, "The Shadows and Shapes of Foreign Policy," explain his conclusions concerning pre-war foreign policy.

²⁴Charles A. Beard, "Education Under the Nazis," Foreign Affairs, XIV (April, 1936), 452.

²⁵Charles A. Beard, "In Defence of Civil Liberties," Current History, XLIV (April, 1936), 66-68.

asserted the old Mahan sea doctrine formula and declared that the government was bound to protect Americans engaged in profit making activities anywhere in the world, a doctrine implemented by the highest military and naval appropriations in peace-time history.²⁶ In 1938, the House of Representatives committee on Naval Affairs requested Beard to give his views on the super-navy bill "where he argued against building warships, maintaining that they were frankly aggressive--not pacific."²⁷

Those who were surprised when Beard drew attention to some of the discrepancies of Roosevelt's foreign policy after the Second World War, would have been well equipped to withstand that shock if they had read the pre-war Beard, when he not only demonstrated the administration's drive toward war

²⁶Jones and Meyers, "Message of President to Congress," Documents on American Foreign Relations, I, op. cit., pp. 448-49, for the naval bill; Congressional Record, 74 Cong., 2nd Session, Vol. 80, pt. 2, op. cit., p. 1705. Pittman said, "Well there is no Open Door in Manchuria--to us! American bankers, importers, and businessmen have been run out of Manchuria and replaced by Japanese."

²⁷Letter from Mary R. Beard to the author, April 12, 1953. See also, New York Times, February 10, 1938. For Beard's version of the bill, see: Midpassage, op. cit., p. 492. Beard's attitude toward naval expansion corresponds to that of former President Herbert Hoover's in a special message to the Senate, July 7, 1930; Herbert Hoover, The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover (1923-1933) (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951), II, 349-52. To Hoover, large navies were aggressive devices.

but also predicted America's entry and the eventual upshot of that involvement. Beard's war entry views included these details: the "super-navy" appropriations of 1938 were not designed for home defense, but for quarantine, or aggressive, action;²⁸ the neutrality bill of 1937²⁹ gave Roosevelt the power to lead the United States into war; the peril of a Latin American union with fascist states of Europe was not substantial, but was being propagandized as a reality by the administration; the American immigration act of 1924 caused the original Japanese imperialism; the Open Door cleared the way for imperialism.³⁰ On the domestic front, among the people at large in the United States, there existed an urge toward violence

²⁸Beards, Midpassage, op. cit., pp. 381-400. See also, Charles A. Beard, "Big Navy Boys," The New Republic, LXIX (January 20, 1932), 258-62.

²⁹United States Statutes at Large, Vol. L, Part 1, pp. 121-128 (1937). The Neutrality Act provided for prohibition of export of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to belligerent countries; prohibition of transportation of arms, ammunition and implements of war by vessels of the United States for use of belligerent states; for registration and licensing of persons engaged in business of manufacturing, exporting or importing arms, ammunition, or implements of war; and restriction of travel by American citizens on belligerent ships during war. These embargo provisions were to be applied to foreign nations when the President found a state of war existing.

³⁰Beards, Midpassage, op. cit., pp. 550-660; Herbert Hoover, III, op. cit., p. 388: In connection with Beard's criticism of Roosevelt's "defense" policies, Hoover makes a considerable blunder: "Beard. . . . a New Dealer . . . eulogized the New Deal . . . without a single remark on the extraordinary divergence between appearance and reality."

as attested by lynchings and riots, and the administration, inadvertantly perhaps, encouraged these traces of barbarism because the moving picture industry willingly aided government propagandists producing pictures designed to goad the public into a militant attitude.³¹ Beard described to students of government what lay in the future for the United States:

The President has large discretion in moving forces in time of peace.

..... he may order troops, battleships, and various war craft to ports in any corner of the globe as did President Roosevelt in 1907 . . .

..... the exercise of such personal authority is fraught with significance, whether it is a matter of preparing for eventualities, demonstrating foreign policy, or precipitating hostilities.³²

By 1939, Beard practically resigned himself to a European war and eventual American involvement, but he resolutely advanced his proposals for an ideal American foreign policy. It was essentially the same program he hinted at in Williamstown, Massachusetts, in 1927, and presented historically, as a practical plan, with two hundred pages of

³¹Beards, Midpassage, op. cit., pp. 550-598. Beard believed that the only force stopping Franklin D. Roosevelt from advocating more substantial intervention was public opinion. Midpassage, p. 499: "A major war in Europe would doubtless clear the way for another great crusade."

³²Beard, American Government and Politics, 1938 ed., op. cit., p. 289.

as suggested by the fact that the
industrial revolution was not
accompanied by a corresponding
increase in the number of
people who were employed in
the service of the state.
The fact that the number of
people employed in the service
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supporting bibliography,³³ in The Open Door at Home in 1934. Continentalism brought up to date in 1939 not only included proposals but described its antecedents:

During the turmoil of events that rendered older theories of foreign policy at least somewhat obsolete, a fourth school gradually emerged, without a neatly fitting name. Like the older systems of ideology and utopia, it had roots in the past, but its conception of American interest and genius were both divergent and critical. At the center of its philosophy was the idea that through domestic measures, adopted by the democratic process, vast improvements could be and should be effected in American civilization, where at least one-third of the nation was ill-housed, ill-clothed, ill-nourished, and ill-educated; moreover, that this civilization could be defended in its continental home under prudent policies by small but appropriate military establishments. Associated with the vision was the conviction that American democracy should not carry the Atlas load of the White Man's burden in the form of imperialism all over the earth, or assume that it had the capacity, even with the best of good will, to settle the difficult problems of European nations encrusted in the heritage of their long and sanguinary history. Its theories and sentiments were enclosed in such phrases as these: let us keep out of the next world war; mind our own business; till our own garden; create the wealth; substitute abundance for scarcity; establish a sound and efficient domestic economy; make America a work of art. . . .

Perhaps the name "continental" or "American civilization" was the most appropriate to characterize this school of foreign policy.

The central economic thesis of this school came from the writings of the British economist, John A. Hobson. The primary force in the rivalry of nations for market outlets, he said, is the inefficient distribution of wealth at home--in other words, the enormous accumulation

³³Beard and Smith, The Open Door at Home, op. cit., Preface viii. Beard omitted his notes and bibliography because the book "was directed to the general reader."

of capital that cannot find high profits in domestic expansion and must go abroad or burst. Associated with fierce international rivalry was domestic exploitation and ill-being; and the solution for the problem of attaining well being or "prosperity" he argued, lies not in the world "market" but in domestic economy--in the wider and expanding buying power among the people.³⁴

As tensions mounted in Europe, Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull constantly reminded the American public that an impending conflict between the forces of evil and the forces of virtue lay in the near future.³⁵ The official thesis concentrated especially on these two points: the peace of the world is threatened; therefore "America actively engages in the pursuit of peace."³⁶ Among the activities espoused in the search for peace were frequent moral talks aimed at Germany, Japan, and Italy, which were incidentally helpful in educating the American people,³⁷ and various lectures to

³⁴Beards, Midpassage, op. cit., pp. 452-53. Beard failed to credit Hobson's importance to his thinking in The Open Door at Home, but he amply did so in Midpassage. The reader should observe that Beard's "continentalist" program for America was the same theory advocated by Hobson for England in 1902 in his Imperialism, A Study.

³⁵A convenient listing of the official statements can be found in Jones and Meyers, Documents on American Foreign Relations 1938-1939, II op. cit., pp. 3, 6, 19, 23, 26, 151, 153, 164, 194, 219, 237, 286, 297.

³⁶Jones and Meyers, 1937 I, op. cit., p. 153, "Roosevelt Quarantine Speech, October 5, 1937."

³⁷"Speech by Secretary Hull to the National Press Club," January 3, 1938, Department of State Publication No. 1146, cited in Jones and Meyers II, loc. cit.

Hitler and Mussolini which confirmed the President's opinion that the Versailles treaty did not give Hitler an honest grievance.³⁸

Roosevelt's methods and effectiveness in foreign relations were best illustrated by his message to Mussolini and Hitler on April 15, 1939, in which he requested the European expansionists to pledge that they would not attack, for ten years, thirty-one nations listed by the American President.³⁹ Roosevelt's statements, no doubt, impressed the American audience, but Mussolini at first refused to read the message, then he defined it to his foreign minister, Count Ciano, as a "result of progressive paralysis."⁴⁰

Beard's reactions to Roosevelt's verbal interventionism reflected the historian's appraisal of the unsettled condition of the American public mind, as well as his somewhat

³⁸Ibid., Sec. 3, under Transfer of Czechoslovakia to Germany, pp. 277-325. See especially, Appeal of President to the German Chacellor. (Hitler), September 27, 1938, Department of State, Press Releases, XIX, p. 224.

³⁹"Communication of the President to Chancellor Hitler and Premier Mussolini," United States Department of State, Press Releases, No. 489, April 15, 1939 (Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1939), 291-332.

⁴⁰Hugh Gibson, editor, The Ciano Diaries (1939-1943) (New York: Doubleday and Doran, Inc., 1946), p. 66. Mussolini's opinion of Roosevelt's effectiveness strangely correlates to that of Neville Chamberlain at the time of Roosevelt's "Quarantine" speech of 1937; Keith Feiling, The Life of Neville Chamberlain (London: The Macmillan Company, 1947), p. 325.

pessimistic convictions concerning the true nature of European governments. Beard described the European political scene in this light: the fascist nations primarily desired some of the loot carried off by England and France as "trusts" after Versailles, and, while England and France had the power to stop the dictators from menacing the peace of Europe, the English Tories desired Germany to destroy Russia.⁴¹ The central thesis of Roosevelt's description of an impending conflict between democracies and totalitarianism erred, according to Beard, because powerful domestic forces pushed America in the direction of war, and these interests not only included Roosevelt's desire to escape the woes of the depression which plagued America since 1929, but also the foreign groups, estimated at forty million foreign born or children of foreign born, who constantly muddled United States diplomacy because of their non-American allegiances. Beard threw down the gauntlet to the immigrants with these words, "if this be immorality, the foreigners and the home grown missionaries now boarding in our midst can make the most of it."⁴²

Beard feared that the net result of the next American intervention would find not only a persecution mania and the

⁴¹Charles A. Beard, "We're Blundering into War," American Mercury, XLVI (April, 1939), pp. 388-99.

⁴²Loc. cit.

reduction of civil liberties at home, but also communistic control in sections of Europe and Asia. He also countered the theory of German barbarity with illustrations which included not only lynchings and racial discrimination in the United States, but wartime hunger blockades, sponsored by England, resulting in mass starvation of civilians, and also numerous wars for territory promoted by both England and America. "The fascists have done nothing America hasn't done."⁴³ In view of the fact that Roosevelt failed to propose fundamental economic adjustments necessary to the peace of the world at the close of the general crusade, the President apparently desired Beard declared;

The Americans who refuse to plunge blindly into maelstroms of European and Asiatic politics are not defeatist or neurotics. . . . but give evidence of adult thinking as distinguished from infantilism. . . . They do not propose to withdraw from the world but to look at it as it actually is and not as Romanticists picture it.⁴⁴

As the tensions plaguing Europe approached the explosion point, Beard became more caustic and even less

⁴³Loc. cit. See also, Albert B. Hart, "The Experiences of the United States in Foreign Military Expeditions," The Atlantic Monthly, XCVII (June, 1898), 619-28. At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Historian Hart answered those people who thought it was strange that the United States should be "subverting long established colonial governments and distributing dynamite shells among malcontents," with the fact that "an examination of military and diplomatic records shows more than sixty instances of authorized use of force, outside of our national jurisdiction."

⁴⁴Charles A. Beard, "Giddy Minds and Foreign Quarrels," Harper's Magazine, CLXXIX (September, 1939), 337-51.

dispassionate in his advocacy of independent political action, but he was still voicing an opinion, according to the public opinion polls, held by the majority of writers and other citizens.⁴⁵ Article after article appeared in popular periodicals, warning that America must never again enter into foreign military excursions.

When England and France saw what had happened to Czechoslovakia after Munich when Hitler annexed his first non-German piece of territory, Slavic Prague, these democracies called a halt to appeasement. They backed up their promises to Poland with a war declaration in September, 1939, after Hitler had invaded the latter country.⁴⁶ With an actual war going on in Europe, the United States soon divided into two camps, with one side favoring aid to the democracies and the other faction demanding genuine neutrality. A small minority immediately called for intervention because they were convinced that Germany was striving for world domination and that it would be easier to aid England and France at once rather than later to fight Germany in the Western hemisphere.⁴⁷

⁴⁵"Fortune Poll of October, 1939," Public Opinion Quarterly, IV (October, 1939), 109. Ninety per cent of the American people polled distrusted Hitler and favored the democracies, but only 3.3 per cent favored declaring war.

⁴⁶Giano Diary, op. cit., p. 582. An act of aggression which infuriated Italy because Italy found out about it after the plans for the invasion of Poland were completed.

⁴⁷Max Lerner, "Midpassage Toward What?"; Ideas for

Those favoring intervention composed a motley unity. Some were anglophiles who loved English culture and traditions. The professional militarists and super patriots clamored for the test of blood and glory.⁴⁸ A few capitalists who doted on the Bank of England or who saw possibilities of huge war profits were not opposed to war.⁴⁹ The old school of Wilsonian liberals saw another chance to storm the barricades and retrieve the collective brave new world of old League of Nations' dreams.⁵⁰ Many other persons became convinced that the dignity of the individual and the ideal of democratic government were at stake.⁵¹

the Ice Age (New York: The Viking Press, 1939).

⁴⁸Hanson W. Baldwin, "Wanted: A Plan for Defense," Harper's Magazine, CLXXXI (August, 1940), 225, 283. Mr. Baldwin, a distinguished commentator on military affairs, described the same divisions in public opinion as did Mr. White and Mr. Lerner. He also said the White House officials misled the public on possibilities of a German invasion of the United States.

⁴⁹Walter Johnson, William Allen White's America (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947), pp. 518-364. White feared that the reactionary industrialists aided fascist agitators in this country.

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 542-565. White, the liberal Kansan editor and head of the material interventionist Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, placed many of the eastern branches of the Committee, who called themselves the Century Club, into this category. White eventually resigned from the Committee because of the extreme interventionist slant it was taking.

⁵¹Lerner. loc. cit.

FILE
BOLD

Men of all types and walks of life were on the side of anti-intervention in the great debate over foreign policy in 1940. On the extreme right were a few industrialists and capitalists who saw only evil in Roosevelt's domestic program.⁵² Traditional non-interventionists wanted nothing to do with foreign entanglements, and the Continentalists, like Beard, preferred to cultivate their own economic garden and trust that Hitler would turn ascetic if he captured Europe.⁵³ The socialists and liberals wanted to solve the country's economic and social problems before facing the totalitarian forces.⁵⁴ The communists in the United States fluctuated in their attitude toward intervention with the twists in Soviet policy.⁵⁵ The anti-communists hoped Germany and Russia would

⁵²Walter Johnson, op. cit., p. 554. White said this group of industrialist extremists would attempt to take the country over after the war, spearheaded by Charles A. Lindbergh, Joseph M. Patterson, Marvin K. Hart, and Robert R. McCormick. It seems quite probable that the bitter editorial battles White fought with these "isolationists" went to his head.

⁵³Beard, A Foreign Policy for America (1940), loc. cit. This anti-interventionist polemic of Beard's brings out his attitude at its clearest. Beard did not think that the Nazis menaced American shores, and what menace did exist, was actually a curious figment in the interventionist imagination.

⁵⁴Lerner, loc. cit. Lerner was one of the liberals who wanted domestic reform at home more than he desired excursions abroad.

⁵⁵Beard, "Collective Security," loc. cit. Beard debated with Earl Browder in this article and the curious fluctuations of the communist line was well documented.

go to war and exhaust each other.⁵⁶

Beard, true to his estimate of a historian's duty to attempt to influence the future, at once entered the controversy on the side of the anti-interventionists. He distilled and sharpened all of his former warnings into A Foreign Policy for America.⁵⁷ This slender little volume, liberally sprinkled with bombast, sarcasm, implications, facts, and conclusions, not documented, was obviously designed for a large reading public. In a sense, Beard was the American historian, perhaps the most widely read of all contemporary historians.⁵⁸ In his book his deflationary attitude toward the Mahan-T. R. Roosevelt, Wilson, and F. D. Roosevelt administration of foreign policy could not be confused by even the most obtuse. Mahan, for example, Beard described as having

. . . patched up old works as suited his preconceived purposes, tore passages out of context, and pieced his

⁵⁶Walter Johnson, op. cit., p. 553. William Allen White, the gallant Kansan, convicted himself, if Mr. Johnson has not made errors in selecting excerpts, of having a rather shallow perception of affairs. He misjudged Wilson, The Paris Peace Conference, Harding, Coolidge, F. D. Roosevelt, and most of all, the logical intentions toward physical war of the group, the Committee to Defend America, which he headed.

⁵⁷Beard, A Foreign Policy for America (1940), op. cit., p. 152.

⁵⁸Time, XLIV, August 21, 1944, p. 98; Johnson, op. cit., p. 498. Midpassage was selected as The Book of the Month.

notes together in such a fashion as to represent his own image of life, greed and economy, sea power, and war. American scholars . . . who had long neglected armies and navies and were ill prepared to examine his methods . . . eventually elected him President of the American Historical Association.⁵⁹

It is ironical that Beard's description of Mahan's methods and purposes seem to fit his own enthusiastic demands for "written history as an act of faith."

Beard sought to persuade his readers that the path of true wisdom, as proclaimed by Hamilton, Madison, Washington, Monroe, Paine, and Clay was the same as his theory of Continental Americanism.⁶⁰ These "Continentalists" carried on diplomatic relations with despots and Republics alike, were circumspect in observing the diplomatic proprieties, and studiously avoided name calling. Above all, they did not attempt to "force" commercial relations with other countries, which is not surprising, considering the small amount of industrial production in the eighty-six years before the Civil War. Beard discounted the idea that the United States of the 1899's had changed--from a weak little Republic to a powerful creditor nation.

The natural enemies of "true" American foreign policy, Beard contended, were the imperialists, such as Mahan and

⁵⁹Beard, A Foreign Policy for America (1940), op. cit., p. 44.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 1-50.

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Theodore Roosevelt, and the dreamers of perpetual world peace, the Wilsonites. At each crisis in foreign affairs various factions had fought for control of foreign policy, but eventually the country had always returned to Continentalism, where its true interests were.⁶¹

Beard, who believed a good teacher always exaggerates, oversimplified the position of the United States in the world. Would the policy that had proved successful during an earlier century answer all the problems of America in 1940, considering the rapid changes in communication, transportation, and political propaganda techniques?

One of the major planks of Beard's proposals for foreign policy, the theory that trade did not improve the chances for prosperity in the United States, contradicted an earlier view expressed by the historian in less turbulent times.⁶² Again there was hardly proof that the First World War caused the economic collapse of 1929,⁶³ or that the United States could not act as a powerful influence in

⁶¹Ibid., p. 164.

⁶²Charles A. Beard, Cross Currents in Europe Today (Boston: Marshall Jones and Company, 1922), p. 242.

⁶³Beard, A Foreign Policy for America, loc. cit.; Herbert Hoover, The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover, 1929-1941 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952), III, preface vi, and Chapter I, "The Origins of the Great Depression," pp. 2-20. Hoover agreed, in part, with Beard's thesis on war involvement in that he thought the World War was its underlying cause.

stabilizing the peace of Europe.

Beard's reasoning seemed forced when he described the United States as "always eager to return to its continental center of gravity," after each apparent movement toward imperialism and international cooperation because of what Beard considered temporary insanity, brought on by America's being deluded by politicians. He stated that McKinley failed to receive a mandate in the election of 1900 for his expansionist policy of 1898 because Bryan's radicalism was the determining issue of the election. According to Beard, however, Wilson's program of internationalism was repudiated by the voters in 1920.⁶⁴

At the time of the publication of A Foreign Policy for America (1940), Beard's viewpoints on foreign policy appeared to many to be wisdom incarnate. The explosive force of Nazidom had not been demonstrated yet by the blitzkrieg of May, 1940, through France. It seemed quite possible that England could maintain the balance of power in Europe and enable America to pursue Beard's continentalist convictions. Many neutralists could reasonably say that it would be foolish for the United States to rush to Europe to preserve the status quo of Versailles. Roosevelt was described by a former adviser as having a foreign policy that consisted of "sticking

⁶⁴Beard, A Foreign Policy for America, op. cit., p. 137.

considering the fact that the
United States is a free country
and that the people of this
country are entitled to know
the truth about the activities
of the United States in
foreign lands. It is the
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Government to keep the people
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The United States Government
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tongues out at aggressors, and a burning desire to co-operate with England."⁶⁵

In spite of the seeming disillusionment with World War I and the "lessons" learned by the United States, it would be incorrect to describe the country as solidly lined up on the side of non-intervention. Since the advent of Hitler in 1933, United States foreign policy had become less and less neutral in the European tension. The President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, became convinced of the genuine danger of totalitarian aggression to the world as early as 1935, and would have taken the lead in stopping Hitler.⁶⁶ In line with the policy of Roosevelt to aid the anti-totalitarian forces was the administration's embargo on trade to Italy in 1935, during the attack on Ethiopia. By April, 1941, many people had modified their convictions about the "useless" war of 1918.⁶⁷

⁶⁵Raymond Moley, After Seven Years (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1939), 315-95. Moley was Assistant Secretary of State, and did not appreciate Secretary of State Hull's internationalism. He feared Roosevelt's foreign policy would breed international discontent, and that the President would neglect the domestic problems of America.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 376.

⁶⁷"American Institute of Public Opinion Survey," Public Opinion Quarterly, IV, October, 1939, pp. 598-99, and V, October, 1941, pp. 158-59. On April 5, 1941, 39 per cent of those polled said United States entry into War I was a mistake; 64 percent had said so in April, 1937!

The fall of France in June of 1940, according to interventionist theory, undermined most of Beard's previous assumptions concerning the invulnerability of the American continentalist position. It was possible, so interventionists said, for Germany to get control of the remaining French fleet, neutralize or capture the English fleet, and build enough more battleships to menace American shores.⁶⁸ The balance of power that had been the good fortune of America no longer existed. Alarmed observers in America, especially those charged with the responsibility of defending the country, were much concerned over the fate of Britain and determined

⁶⁸Jones and Meyers, III, "Address by the President (Roosevelt), May 27, 1940," loc. cit., "It is stupid to. . . wait for a probable enemy to attack you." "Address by the President (Roosevelt), December 29, 1940," op. cit., pp. 26-27. Ciano Diaries, op. cit., pp. 123, 213, 240, 242, 255, 265-95, 351, 414, 425, 437. American opinion and administration views did not correspond to the realities of the strategy possibilities of the Germans and their allies. The American fear of quick future invasion was not justified in view of the German lack of a navy and certain raw materials, nor did a chance of South American union with Germany exist according to Axis strategy possibilities. Hitler never seriously believed he could successfully invade England, let alone America. The Axis powers hated each other more than they hated the Allies, and especially did Germany and Italy dislike the "yellow race" of Japanese. See also, Chester Wilmut, The Struggle for Europe (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1952), pp. 22-25, 28, 42-78. Hitler never gained the air supremacy over England necessary for invasion. Wilmut queried all the German military and civilian officials surviving after the War and had access to all diplomatic and military records available including The Fuhrer (Hitler) Naval and Military Conferences.

to help that beleaguered island in every way possible.⁶⁹

Events were moving too swiftly for the non-interventionists but Beard fought American entrance into the war with all of his prestige and writing power. The reaction of Beard in his waning years to America's entry into World War II was to provide a view of him working feverishly at all his old time pugnacious skill. Beard's high standards of public duty answered a request to address the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on the subject of Lend Lease when the Senate debated that program in 1941. Reading aloud on the Senate floor the official title of the Lend Lease bill, "An Act to promote the defense of the United States," Beard declared:

. . . it should read: all provisions of law and the Constitution to the contrary notwithstanding, an Act to place all the wealth and all the men and women of the United States at the free disposal of the President. . . . to authorize him to wage undeclared wars for anybody, anywhere in the world, until the affairs of the world are ordered to suit his policies, and for any other purposes he may have in mind now or at any time in the future, which may be remotely related to the contingencies contemplated in the title of this Act.⁷⁰

⁶⁹Jones and Meyers, III, "Address by the President," loc. cit.

⁷⁰United States Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, 77th Cong., 1st Session: Hearings . . . (on) a bill to further promote the defense of the United States (1941), p. 309. Letter from Mary Beard to the author, April 12, 1953. For interventionist and administration attitudes on Lend Lease see, William C. Bullitt, "How We Won the War and Lost the Peace," Life Magazine, XXV (August 30, 1948), 88, and "Mr. Flynn Speaks for Himself," The New Republic, CIV (February 3, 1941), 150; Stimson, On Active Service, op. cit., pp. 358-63.

Charles Beard had been convinced for many years that the material intervention of American dollars in the fate of the Allies in 1916 had eventually precipitated the United States into the First World War. He had seen the United States rescued from a depression by a resumption of war industries and allied manufactures in 1938. Events seemed to be assuming the same configuration that had previously resulted in hostilities. Beard did not regard American intervention as advisable because the amount of post-war economic and political problems that would arise after the war would reduce any possible chances of a meaningful "victory." Beard regarded Roosevelt, whom he respected, as a chief instigator of pro-war sentiment and acts.⁷¹

⁷¹Beard's attitude concerning Roosevelt's frequent cries about a possible German invasion found echoes in Baldwin, loc. cit., "Even if Germany wins in Europe, which is probable, she will . . . face exhaustion . . . lack of ships because England will sink hers before delivering them to Hitler. . . . Germany will reap mistrust and fear by Russia and Italy." See also, A. Whitney Griswold, "Our Policy In the Far East," Harper's Magazine, CLXXXI (August, 1940), 259-267. Mr. Griswold, a widely recognized authority on diplomatic history, agreed with Beard on the net effectiveness of President Roosevelt's diplomacy: "And while thus extending our political interests over the face of the earth we have officially condemned Japan, Italy, Germany, and Soviet Russia, the most formidable array of military power in history. Without having the strength essential to our own security, much less to enforce the admonitions which we meted out to these nations, we have incited them all, simultaneously, to alliance and revenge."

CHAPTER VI

TWO WORLDS, OR ONE?

By 1940, Charles Beard had completely repudiated his world view of 1914, when he had demanded American intervention to secure a favorable balance of power and to obtain peace for an economically interdependent world.¹ His theme of a unique American civilization, ever-expanding and ever-enriching internally, became such a fixation that he began to deny the reality of any substantial American dependence on foreign nations for raw materials, markets for manufactured goods, or upon allies.² The historian ventured into the political arena, on behalf of Continentalism, and declared Britain and France possessed only "vestiges" of democracy.³ He pictured American intervention in the Caribbean region and the Far East in extremely dark colors; usually he played up incidents of American barbarity and denied the existence of the essential causes for American involvement in non-continental regions.⁴ In essence, the American world that Beard pictured, separated

¹See Chapter III.

²Loc. cit.

³Especially in Beard, "Giddy Minds and Foreign Quarrels," (1939), loc. cit.

⁴See Chapter II. cf., Bemis, loc. cit.

THE WORLD VIEW OF 1914

In 1914, the world was a very different place from what it is today. The world view of 1914 was one of a world of empires and nations, each with its own interests and ambitions. The world was divided into spheres of influence, and the great powers were engaged in a struggle for supremacy. The world view of 1914 was one of a world of conflict and competition, and it was this view that led to the outbreak of the First World War.

The world view of 1914 was also one of a world of progress and modernization. The great powers were engaged in a race to the sea, each trying to outdo the other in the development of new technologies and the expansion of their empires. The world view of 1914 was one of a world of opportunity and possibility, and it was this view that led to the great achievements of the early 20th century.

The world view of 1914 was also one of a world of inequality and injustice. The great powers were engaged in a struggle for supremacy, and the weaker nations were often the victims of their ambition. The world view of 1914 was one of a world of exploitation and oppression, and it was this view that led to the rise of the labor movement and the demand for social reform.

The world view of 1914 was also one of a world of nationalism and patriotism. The great powers were engaged in a struggle for supremacy, and each nation was proud of its own achievements and its own traditions. The world view of 1914 was one of a world of pride and honor, and it was this view that led to the outbreak of the First World War.

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from foreign influences and an empire in itself, actually existed only as a figment of idealism in Beard's mind, and generally represented a recoil from instances of reputedly barbaric forms of international association.

Much of this obsession with American Continentalism, indicated Beard's deep desire for peace, as he held war responsible for most of the evils which blighted his ideal America: the suppression of civil liberties, drives for conformity, economic dislocations, and, especially, the cessation of domestic reforms. War never produced any beneficial results in the Beardian scheme of things. Had not he argued that America had been tricked or gulled into several wars by wicked bankers, rattle-brained citizens, and presidents who desired to escape financial crises?⁵ Beard had decided that the First World War produced an unfair peace which not only caused economic chaos, but sowed the seeds for a new war. Out of the First World War came a vague international organization which had failed; logically, Beard reasoned, any fuzzy

⁵Especially, Beard, The Devil Theory of War, Contemporary American History (1870-1913), and The Rise of American Civilization, loc. cit. For Roosevelt's genuine concern over the rise of dictatorships, see his letters to Colonel Edward House, Ambassador Jesse L. Straus, and Ambassador William Dodd, in Franklin D. Roosevelt, F. D. R., His Personal Letters, 1928-1945, ed. Elliott Roosevelt (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1950), II, 472, 543, 555.

world collectivism would collapse.⁶ Beard's post-war scholarly works all repudiated the essential validity of the Wilsonian-Franklin Roosevelt theory of international collectivism for American security.⁷ His vested interest in Continentalism drove him to express his most controversial judgment on any episode in American history,⁸ in a long career that included many extremely controversial theses.

Beard's writings on foreign policy after 1945 represented the last critical analysis of a determined historian who had agitated against American entrance into war for ten years. As he finished his last heavily documented attack on the Roosevelt administration's foreign affairs record, post-war disillusionment solidified quickly, as it had after Versailles. Beard determined to present the truth of the causes of American war involvement, at least the Continentalist version of it, in an effort to discredit the trend toward international collectivism as promoted by the United Nations

⁶Charles A. Beard, editor, The Enduring Federalist (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1948), Preface i-xv. In these pages are found Beard's best refutation of the new collectivism (United Nations) of the post Global War world.

⁷Charles A. Beard, President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War (1941) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948); American Foreign Policy in the Making (1937-1940) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946); The Republic (New York: The Viking Press, 1943); The American Spirit (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948).

⁸On the American involvement in the Global War.

Organization, and to help prevent American entry into a future war. Beard's extreme resentment of Roosevelt's foreign policy resulted mainly from the almost complete lack of support given by the administration of Beard's own autarkic domestic foreign policy hypothesis publicized in The Open Door at Home.

During the war, between verbal scourgings administered to young historians of the internationalist persuasion who came to visit the aging Continentalist at his New Milford "Open Door,"⁹ Beard pondered on the trend of governmental centralization of power and came to an expected, if pessimistic conclusion. Beard wrote a war-time essay on Brooks Adams, and accepted the Adams theory that societies move toward a state of high concentration of power from a previous state of wide dispersion.¹⁰ This idea appeared tailor-made for Beard's description of what had happened to the United States economic system. Not only had the war destroyed his ideal Continentalism, but it appeared capable of thwarting social and economic democracy. The fact that the war administration had been anti-monopolistic gave a flavor of irony to domestic affairs. "Are we," asked Beard, "in the midst of the last great centralization, with all its overtones and undertones, with all

⁹Goldman, Rendezvous with Destiny, op. cit., Preface xi.

¹⁰Charles A. Beard, "Historian at Work," The Atlantic Monthly, CLXXI (April, 1943), 87-93. For the theory, see Brooks Adams, The Law of Civilization and Decay (New York): The Macmillan Company, 1896).

its implications as a pattern of culture enclosing politics, education, ethics, and esthetics?"¹¹ He had long publicized the idea that wars caused concentration of wealth and negated social progress of representative governments.

Beard hinted strongly in The Basic History (1943) at the future direction his disillusion with Roosevelt would take, and his glaring lack of enthusiasm for the war-time leader was perhaps the best illustration that Beard's fears of dictatorship and ruthless suppression of freedom were groundless. The ex-eulogizer of the President's domestic policy now accused the Commander-in-Chief of misrepresenting defense measures, such as Lend Lease, to insure their passage through Congress, regardless of the fact that they challenged Hitler to declare war.¹² Beard held that President Roosevelt actually misrepresented foreign policy to his constituents during the 1940 Presidential campaign, when he stated that his foreign policy sought peace.¹³ Apparently the President should have unreservedly declared the stark necessity of war involvement, in line with his fears of the Axis Powers, long

¹¹Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, The Basic History of the United States (New York: The New Home Library, 1944), 485-88.

¹²Ibid., p. 467

¹³Ibid., pp. 465-68.

before America was industrially, militarily, and psychologically prepared to assert itself in the balance of power,¹⁴ so that non-interventionists like Beard could escape their later "moral" overstrains.¹⁵ Not only, according to Beard, did the administration fail to honor its "solemn covenants" to keep the country out of war, but Roosevelt and his advisors intrigued in the direction of the Pearl Harbor disaster, which was but an episode in a master plot designed to lure the United States away from historic Continentalism, into the burning pit of internationalism, as previously blueprinted by the President in the "Quarantine" speech of 1937.¹⁶

Beard's new analysis of social forces represented his subdued pessimism toward post-war America, in which the self seeking factions became but doomed prisoners of the inexorable centralizing tendencies of huge war production.¹⁷ The

¹⁴"Radio Address to the Peoples of the Western Hemisphere by the President (Roosevelt), October 12, 1940," Jones and Meyers, Documents, III, op. cit., pp. 4, 9. Roosevelt feared for American security in an Axis dominated world.

¹⁵A good example of Beard's later overstrain was immortalized in President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, loc. cit. See also, John Flynn, The Roosevelt Myth (New York: Devin-Adair Company, 1948). For Roosevelt's dilemma, see, Stimson, On Active Service, op. cit., pp. 360-70.

¹⁶Beards, The Basic History, op. cit., pp. 495-500. For another discussion of this period, from a different point of view, see, Langer and Gleason, op. cit., pp. 1-50; Rauch, op. cit., pp. 1-500.

¹⁷Beards, The Basic History, op. cit., pp. 464-67.

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restless masses no longer fretted under restrictions placed upon them by the predatory Captains of Industry who had dominated the industrial scenes in The Rise of American Civilization. Beard failed to include in his critical agenda the 3,752 strikes of 1943 which invoked the loss of 13,500,529 man days of labor which indicated that initiative could be grasped by the "down-trodden" hands of labor.¹⁸ The Beard, who in 1934 desired all economic activities directed by syndicates, to aid neutrality, changed by 1943 into an historian ready to label economic centralization as an anti-American trend, largely because of his fears of internationalism.¹⁹ After the First World War Beard waited four years before he wrote his revisionist history of war guilt,²⁰ but he discredited the Roosevelt administration of the Global War long before that war ended, apparently in an effort to deflate the enthusiasts who desired an international pacification society.

Beard shifted his emphasis from the social scene to a critique on constitutional government in The Republic,²¹ and

¹⁸Oscar T. Barck, Jr. and N. M. Blake, Since 1900 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), p. 688.

¹⁹Beard, "Jefferson and the New Freedom" (1914), loc. cit. In 1914 Beard accepted economic centralization as inevitable.

²⁰Beard, Cross Currents (1922), loc. cit.

²¹Beard, The Republic, (1943), loc. cit.

hinted strongly that his future revisionism would lean heavily upon the emphasis of the limitations of power theory. He praised Lincoln and Washington for their restraint exercised during wars,²² but prophetically failed to include President Roosevelt's predecessor in internationalism, Woodrow Wilson, in his eulogy of war-time Presidents. Beard also hoped to prove internationalism impossible by his illustration of the great difficulties encountered by free-trade policies, lack of national enthusiasm for unlimited immigration, and the obstacles in the way of a cooperative international organization for group interests.²³ Beard, the individualist, could not conceive of nations accepting limitations on their sovereignty necessary for effective world organization.

By 1941, the historian, concluding that Roosevelt endangered constitutional government, paved the way for his later anti-Roosevelt thesis on American involvement in the Global War:

The establishment of a huge conscript army, with its immense administrative bureaucracy, the rapid expansion of armament industries, and the enactment of new espionage and sedition legislation, all conspire to place in the hands of an executive more power over the life of its multitudes. With a political machine, a judicial machine, an industrial machine, and a military machine under his

²²Loc cit.

²³Loc. cit. See also, Beard, The Enduring Federalist, op. cit., Preface.

control, a President of dictatorial propensities could find ready instruments at hand for extending his authority.²⁴

Beard later rejected the Roosevelt administration and all its works, primarily the President's use of executive power in the conduct of foreign relations, because it was apparent the historian sympathized with the domestic policy objectives of the New Deal,²⁵ even if he was not entranced by some of the details. Beard chose to describe what he considered the divergencies inherent in the appearances of the Roosevelt foreign policy, or the verbal "commitments," with the desire for collective security, which actually motivated foreign affairs as conducted by the administration.²⁶ The author of American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1940, used one volume to set up his clay pigeon, Roosevelt, and another volume, President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941, to knock his sitting bird down. The first major Beardian-designated sin that infected Roosevelt was the President's

²⁴Charles A. Beard and G. H. Smith, The Old Deal and the New (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941), pp. 280-81. Beard emphasized these ideas again in the The Republic, especially the dangers to constitutional governments involved in standing national armies. See also, Francis Perkins, The Roosevelt I Knew (New York: The Viking Press, 1947). Perkins stated that Roosevelt was antithetical to dictators in temperament, and hated concentrated authority.

²⁵Beards, Midpassage, op. cit., pp. 947-49.

²⁶Beard, American Foreign Policy, loc. cit. This book contains good newspaper comment on foreign policy developments between 1928-1948.

association with the Woodrow Wilson administration as assistant secretary of the Navy, followed by his later endorsement of the League of Nations as vice-presidential nominee in 1920.²⁷

Roosevelt neglected Wilsonian internationalism when he grappled with a program of economic nationalism against the domestic problems arising out of the depression,²⁸ but when the New Deal fell short of his expectations, Beard stated, Roosevelt turned to stress on foreign affairs to direct the attention of the jobless from their misfortunes.²⁹

Beard believed that Roosevelt used the rise of the European totalitarian governments as convenient pretexts to keep the reigns of authority.³⁰ As early as 1936, the President was "obsessed" with the foreign dangers confronting the

²⁷Ibid., pp. 55-58; Freidel, op. cit., pp. 200-300. Freidel covered Roosevelt's naval career very thoroughly and also touched on the future President's association with Wilson.

²⁸Beard, American Foreign Policy, op. cit., pp. 125, 130-45, 154, 170; Moley, loc. cit. Moley is the best secondary source of information on Roosevelt's shift to economic internationalism from economic nationalism, but he must be used with caution on foreign policy developments. Interestingly enough, Moley, the economic nationalist, was one of Beard's students at Columbia.

²⁹Beard, "Giddy Minds and Foreign Quarrels," loc. cit.; American Foreign Policy, op. cit., pp. 177-78. Beard completed his circuit of war involvement of the last three wars of the United States: President McKinley, Wilson, and Roosevelt all diverted "giddy minds with foreign quarrels." For Wilson, see, Beard, The Rise, loc. cit.; for McKinley, see Beard, Contemporary American History, loc. cit.

³⁰This idea was best expressed in Beard, "We're

United States, tormented by fears of fascist encirclement which would result from the destruction of the European balance of power.³¹ Roosevelt never failed, after the fall of France, to stress his opinion, shared by his military advisors, that the Axis powers were capable of expediting munitions and warship production in Europe to the point where they could menace American shores. The President conceived that anti-axis strategy demanded an awakened public opinion and sounded the alarm that called for the protection of American security in ringing tones of "sea power":

If Great Britain goes down the Axis powers will control the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and the high sea--and they will be in a position to bring enormous military and naval resources against this hemisphere. . . . America would face a gun loaded with explosive bullets, economic and military. . . . Our national policy is not directed toward war. . . . Its sole purpose is to keep war away from our country and our people.³²

Beard's "world view" included only America at this time, and his strong fixation on peace apparently forced him

blundering into War" (1940), loc. cit., and "Collective Security" (1938), loc. cit.

³¹Sumner Welles, Where Are We Heading (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946), p. 3

³²"Address on National Security by the President (Roosevelt), December 29, 1940," Jones and Meyers, Documents, III, op. cit., pp. 17-26. For another notable Roosevelt "alarm" message, see "Radio Address to the Peoples of the Western Hemisphere by the President (Roosevelt), October 12, 1940," Ibid., pp. 4-9.

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to discount possibilities of foreign invasion, even though he heard many tales of totalitarian horrors from the many European refugees whom he befriended and gave money.³³ He also tried to convert many younger historians and publicists, who visited him at New Milford, to the cause of Continentalism, even while the blitz raged over the London bastion of American security.³⁴ The events leading up to the American entry into the war fitted his thesis of economic interpretation too well to be cast aside in the late years of his long, partisan life.³⁵ America or at least the administration, had linked its fate to that of England with a chain of munitions, goods, and dollars, and material intervention necessitated sacrifices by American soldiers to retrieve America's vested interests in the fate of Britain and Russia. Beard snapped back at interventionist minded Eric Goldman,

Well, so now its all morals and no economics, and we all rally behind the leader. And just which Roosevelt do we rally around--the Roosevelt who is going to keep us out of war by Lend-Lease or the Roosevelt who knows damn well Lend-Lease is the sure path to war?³⁶

³³Josephson, loc. cit.

³⁴Loc. cit.; Goldman, Rendezvous with Destiny, op. cit., pp. 235-36, 200, 383-85.

³⁵Beard, The Devil Theory, loc. cit. This is the best exposition of Beard's economic determinism of war.

³⁶Goldman, Rendezvous with Destiny, op. cit., p. 384.

Beard's criticism of the oblique path followed by the administration which drew the country closer to hostilities was by no means an orphan cry,³⁷ but the non-interventionists fought the President tooth and nail right down to the Pearl Harbor finish line on the matter of physical intervention.³⁸ The President had the herculean task of transforming public opinion which largely had accepted the economic-minded revisionists' version of American entrance into the World War,³⁹ from a state of negativism toward events in Europe to a highly partisan anti-axis climate of opinion which would sponsor all aid to England short of war.⁴⁰ Roosevelt,

³⁷The best criticisms of Roosevelt's lack of candor relative to administration foreign policy are to be found in Stimson, On Active Service, op. cit., p. 376; Eric Sevareid, Not So Wild A Dream (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1946), pp. 193-94; Herbert Agar, "Should We Aid Britain Even if it Means War?" Indiana Woman, XX (February, 1941), 40-41, and "War is Worth Fighting," American Mercury, LI (December, 1941), 401-407. All of these men were interventionists.

³⁸Sherwood, op. cit., pp. 127-28. Only 2½ per cent of the American people, according to Sherwood, desired physical intervention in 1941. Langer and Gleason, op. cit., pp. 1-700, has information on the tactics, sentiments, and numbers of the anti-interventionists and the interventionists. See also, Basil Rauch, Roosevelt: From Munich to Pearl Harbor (New York: Creative Age Press, 1950).

³⁹Such as Beard's Devil Theory of War, loc. cit.

⁴⁰The transformation of public opinion is best presented in Stimson, On Active Service, loc. cit.; Sherwood, loc. cit.; and Hull, II, loc. cit.; while Charles C. Tansill in The Back Door to War (Chicago: Henry Regerny Company, 1952), gives information in a bitter style.

burdened with the tremendous responsibility of national defense under the Constitution, could afford to accept neither Beard's word, nor those arguments offered by the America First Committee,⁴¹ that the Axis war machine was incapable of world domination. In a world of powerful, highly nationalistic anti-democratic states, Roosevelt had no other choice but to vigorously alert the Republic to the danger of potential conquerors, and to propagandize the value of Britain as an instrumentality of American defense.⁴²

Beard, a physically strong man who had scythed brush when he was well into his seventies,⁴³ wore himself out, and probably shortened his life,⁴⁴ by the effort involved in his final heavily-documented attack upon his long-time enemy, collective militaristic internationalism, a foe he considered

⁴¹Langer and Gleason, op. cit., p. 757.

⁴²Ciano, loc. cit. According to Ciano, the United States did not figure in Axis plans of conquest, but even so, considering Axis possibilities, it would have been practically treasonous for Roosevelt not to take the pessimistic outlook on possibilities of invasion. See also, Wilmot, loc. cit. Wilmot gives much of the substance of Hitler's attitude toward America. Many of the Hitler staff meetings-records were destroyed, but according to records available Hitler never mentioned America as a possible suburb of Lebensraum.

⁴³Josephson, loc. cit.

⁴⁴Letter from Mary R. Beard to the author, March 26, 1953.

to be merely a satiated state's substitute for imperialism.⁴⁵ Beard, and others, had long argued that, logically, the development of American sea and military power was designed to be used on foreign shores and battlefields.⁴⁶ The huge mass army the United States government created in 1940 did not fit American defense requirements, military affairs writers argued, because a small highly mechanized army, aided by the Navy, could have protected continental shores.⁴⁷ Beard's passionate hatred of war and desire for national collectivism, along with his impatience with the political progress of foreign nations, led him into his most extreme position, certainly the most controversial crusade he had ever sponsored. In the ordinary course of events, Beard probably would have waited for a post-war depression to strengthen the conclusions which he predicted would eventuate,⁴⁸ but the sands of time were running out. Tough minded "Uncle Charlie" had to give America his last bit of advice, to smash its latest

⁴⁵Beard's association of imperialism with internationalism was best demonstrated in The Idea of National Interest and A Foreign Policy for America.

⁴⁶Beard, The Navy: Defense or Portent? (1932), loc. cit.

⁴⁷Frank C. Hanighen, "The United States Army," Harpers Magazine, CLXXXII (August, 1940), 608, 13; Hanson W. Baldwin, "Wanted: A Plan for Defense," Harpers Magazine, CLXXXI (July, 1940, 225-38.

⁴⁸Beard, "We're Blundering Into War," loc. cit.

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illusion, before the time arrived when he no longer could scourge what he considered to be the myths of man.

The earlier, urbane, witty, Beard writing style failed to enliven the pages of President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941. In indicting Roosevelt for war guilt, subversion of the Constitution, and abandonment of American interests, Beard approached the defendant with the stern air of a Calvinist out to prosecute the heretics with unimpeachable factual evidence of duplicity and fraud. The younger Beard named the Judge he now assumed to replace, and exonerated the earlier defendant:

The Right and the Left know the answer why the United States went to war the last time, but I, an old fashioned liberal; do not imagine myself to be God. There is no exact truth as to the reason why America entered the war, unless it is the perennial folly of man.⁴⁹

In the Global War "man" became singular, at least as the arbiter of events. Beard wrote:

As soon as I heard, in the afternoon of December 7, 1941, the news of the American catastrophe at Pearl Harbor, I was convinced that here was no mere accident or incident of war, but a culmination of more than a hundred years of diplomatic negotiations and activities in the Far East, and the opening of a new and dangerous age for the Republic. . . . I then began my collection of materials relative to Pearl Harbor.⁵⁰

⁴⁹Charles A. Beard, "Why did We Go to War?" The New Republic XC (March 10, 1937), 127-29.

⁵⁰Beard, President Roosevelt, op. cit., p. 27.

The old Continentalist led up to his final denunciation of Roosevelt by trying to prove that people voted for him in his campaigns because he passed himself off as a non-interventionist,⁵¹ and also that the American "isolationists" were falsely accused of thwarting Wilson's dream of a peace society.⁵² The historian absolved the "evil" senators who voted against the ratification of the Versailles Treaty from future war-responsibility, because Wilson could have compromised and secured American entrance into the League.⁵³ Beard stated that Roosevelt pursued an "isolationistic" policy until it was too late to force the dictators to forego aggression.

Intimates and officers of the administration⁵⁴ have described in favorable terms Roosevelt's attempts to educate the American people out of their negative isolationism as fast as the hard core of non-interventionists, reported to comprise thirty per cent of the population,⁵⁵ would allow him, without

⁵¹Beard, American Foreign Policy, loc. cit.

⁵²Ibid., pp. 1-10

⁵³Ibid., pp. 10-15.

⁵⁴Moley, op. cit., pp. 200-350; Stimson, On Active Service, op. cit., pp. 360-90; Hull, II, op. cit., pp. 530-590; Langer and Gleason, op. cit., pp. 500-750; Sherwood, op. cit., pp. 50-170; Samuel I. Rosenman, Working with Roosevelt (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952), pp. 260-90.

⁵⁵Sherwood, op. cit., pp. 274-325; Stimson, On Active Service, op. cit., p. 364.

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committing political suicide. Beard disregarded the actual conditions of power politics which forced Roosevelt into interventionist policies when he arbitrarily pictured Roosevelt as reverting to isolationism after the irate public opinion sensed that the President had given a battle cry in the Chicago, October 5, 1937, Quarantine Speech.⁵⁶ He then pointed out the discrepancies between the President's honeyed words of peace and his deeds which led to war.

The aging historian hinted that all of Roosevelt's "peace" measures, including the Navy Bill of 1938, the munitions embargo of 1938, and the Lend Lease Act, which had an internationalist flavor, were actually signs that the President thirsted for action by American armies on the fields of Europe.⁵⁷ The war-hating historian emphasized Roosevelt's verbal commitment to the American people of October 30, 1940, "I give you the assurance . . . again, again, and again, that your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars. The purpose of our defense is defense."⁵⁸ The ghost writer of those embarrassing words, Robert Sherwood, recorded afterward that he burned inwardly when he thought of the redundancy and positiveness of "again and again and again," but since Wendell Wilkie threatened Roosevelt's popularity in the

⁵⁶Beard, American Foreign Policy, op. cit., pp. 18, 208-209, 215-17, 219, 223, 225, 287.

⁵⁷Ibid., pp. 218, 294.

⁵⁸Roosevelt, Public Papers, 1940, op. cit., p. 517.

election, the playwright advised Roosevelt to go all out in "giving assurances to worried mothers and fathers."⁵⁹ By 1940 the people of the United States, in the administration's opinion, favored aid to England, but no further intervention.⁶⁰ Beard could hint, but could not possibly prove, that Roosevelt was not sincerely convinced that American aid to Britain could prevent the necessity of total war. Any action that differed radically from the Neutrality Act of 1935 appeared to the Continentalist as an improper act, against the best interests of the country, regardless of saber rattling by dictators abroad.

The sage of New Milford never cited phrases of Roosevelt's that hinted at the need of more positive measures such as in his address of May 27, 1941, ". . . World Domination by Hitler is possible. . . . we have to make the world safe for American ships. . . . it is stupid to wait until a probable enemy has gained a foothold with which to attack."⁶¹ The veiled words of action would have spoiled Beard's portrayal of a peace-committed President. The central argument of

⁵⁹Sherwood, op. cit., p. 201

⁶⁰Loc. cit.; Stimson, On Active Service, op. cit., pp. 325-50; Rosenman, op. cit., p. 284.

⁶¹"Address by the President (Roosevelt), May 27, 1941," Jones and Meyers, Documents, III, op. cit., p. 52.

Beard's war revisionism was that the administration believers in collective security forced America to go to war, regardless of loss of national sovereignty and the wishes of the electorate. The President had numerous opportunities to use examples of Allied disintegration abroad to incite public opinion at home in favor of more drastic steps of interventionism.⁶²

The administration's biggest temptation to enter into power politics, with the consent of Congress, emerged in the hectic days preceding the fall of France. In June, 1940, Roosevelt sent a telegram to Premier Reynaud of France that promised all material aid possible, and entreated France to continue the struggle even if the French government should flee to Africa.⁶³ Churchill also received a copy of the message, and decided that this meant the United States would become a belligerent in fact, and forwarded this conclusion to Reynaud.⁶⁴ The next day Roosevelt sent a telegram to Churchill which denied an American commitment and said only Congress could declare war.⁶⁵ In spite of the possible catastrophic

⁶²Rosenman, op. cit., p. 284.

⁶³Full text of these messages is in Churchill, Their Finest Hour, II, op. cit., pp. 24-27, 184.

⁶⁴Loc. cit.

⁶⁵Loc. cit.

loss of France, Roosevelt stubbornly refused to use the possible fall of France to gain American physical intervention.

The New Milford controversialist omitted and suppressed evidence when it tended to weaken his thesis of a pacifistic Roosevelt who hewed to a non-interventionist line until after the 1940 elections. Beard failed to include the rearmament program, the moral embargo of airplane sales to Japan, the Kingston (Canada) speech promising to defend Canada against attack, and the provision of aid to China, the victim of Japan's "China Affair."⁶⁶ According to the administration, all of these activities and pronouncements were unneutral acts designed to strengthen the powers who resisted domination by totalitarian governments. Beard also described the Lend Lease Bill as an act of war contrary to Roosevelt's campaign pledges,⁶⁷ which was true in that it was a hostile act, but passed by a Congress, fully warned by its own members that the bill probably would lead to hostilities.⁶⁸

⁶⁶Rauch, op. cit., p. 100. Rauch includes many of Beard's omissions in the Roosevelt intervention program.

⁶⁷Beard, President Roosevelt, op. cit., p. 68.

⁶⁸Senators David Walsh, Arthur Vandenburg, Burton K. Wheeler, Bennett Clark, C. Wayland Brooks, Robert M. LaFollette, and Robert A. Taft all declared that passage of Lend Lease meant war. See, The Congressional Record, 77th Congress, First Session, Vol. 87, Part I, Senate, pp. 1100, 1268, 1597, 1628, 1103, 1250, 1300, 1588.

Beard also accused Roosevelt of trying to goad Hitler into declaring war on the United States by having the United States Navy patrol the sea-ways to England, and later convoy shipping through the sub-infested waters.⁶⁹ A better explanation than labeling convoying as an act of war inducement was that it protected the delivery of munitions vital for the defense of England. As has been proved by post-war German testimony, it was not an act that alone would have influenced Hitler to declare war on the United States, and it was a maneuver that aided a power which resisted Nazi domination of the Continent.⁷⁰

At the same time that non-interventionists called Roosevelt a war monger, the interventionists pleaded for direct action against the powerful Axis.⁷¹ The complexities and split sentiment of the American legislature necessitated step-by-step action on Roosevelt's road toward greater American pressure against the Axis;⁷² a narrow path that remained

⁶⁹Beard, President Roosevelt, op. cit., p. 69; Wilmot, op. cit., pp. 70-71, for details on Hitler's orders to the German Navy to avoid hostile acts toward American ships; Ernest J. King, and Walter Muir Whitehill, Fleet Admiral King (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1952), Chapter 28, "The Undeclared Atlantic War," pp. 338-346.

⁷⁰For Hitler's reaction, see, Fuhrer Naval Conferences, June 21, September 17, 1941, cited in Wilmot, op. cit., pp. 90-91; Stimson, On Active Service, op. cit., pp. 368-73.

⁷¹Langer and Gleason, op. cit., pp. 700-60.

⁷²Stimson, On Active Service, op. cit., pp. 300-90, is

confined by the Democratic 1940 platform plank of no war "except in case of attack."⁷³

The old Continentalist next sought to prove that the administration forced Japan to attack the United States at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.⁷⁴ In buttressing his conclusions he used the highly partisan Republican minority

good background for the events leading up to the war; King and Whitehill, *op. cit.*, pp. 310, 346. Admiral King treated the pre-war period as but a ripple in a long and busy life and also states and restates his words of caution about activities which might incite Japan. King wanted to concentrate on Germany.

⁷³Beard, American Foreign Policy, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-391, contains the Democratic Foreign Policy Convention Plank of 1940.

⁷⁴The best sources of information on the events leading up to Pearl Harbor are: Pearl Harbor Attack, Hearings before the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack, 79th Congress, Second Session, Senate Document, No. 224, July 20, 1946 (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1946); Foreign Relations of the United States: Japan, 1931-1941, I, II, *loc. cit.*; Beard, President Roosevelt, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-569; Feis, *loc. cit.*; Grew, The Turbulent Era, II, *loc. cit.* Grew's testimony is especially valuable but has to be weighed against Hull, Stimson, and King, *loc. cit.* Rosenman, *loc. cit.*, is interesting, giving the viewpoint of a man close to Roosevelt; Perkins, *loc. cit.*, is perceptive but not detailed on foreign policy; Rauch, *loc. cit.* is intensely partisan and designed to refute Beard's contentions, but he, like Beard, suffered from lack of the memoirs listed above; Ciano, *loc. cit.*, is indispensable for the Axis viewpoint on American intervention; Wilmot, *loc. cit.*, gives the European, especially the British, viewpoint, although he is an Australian; Tansill, Back Door, *loc. cit.*, is a deeply researched and bitter volume, negative to the administration's necessary war theory.

report of the Joint Committee of Congress which investigated Pearl Harbor.⁷⁵ The investigating committee had ten members, and only two Republican Senators, Owen Brewster and Homer Ferguson, signed the minority report.⁷⁶ Part of Beard's conclusions on war responsibility rested on the evidence that the Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, sent Japan an "ultimatum" on November 26, 1941, which specified that Japan must remove her military forces from China as basis for further negotiations between the United States and Japan.⁷⁷ The United States ambassador to Japan, Mr. Joseph Grew, in testimony before the Pearl Harbor Investigating Committee, denied that the note was an ultimatum, in tone or substance.⁷⁸ However, the Japanese people and the majority of the government leaders, who took their cue from the military clique in power, all characterized the Hull memorandum as an ultimatum,⁷⁹ but probably this was only because they wished the acid test of

⁷⁵Beard, President Roosevelt, loc. cit., "The Minority Report," pp. 350-74.

⁷⁶Loc. cit.

⁷⁷Ibid., pp. 248-49.

⁷⁸"Grew Testimony," Pearl Harbor Attack, pursuant to S. Cong., Res. 7, pt. 2, pp. 575, 777.

⁷⁹Grew, The Turbulent Era, II, op. cit., pp. 1247-49. For a treatment of the "ultimatum" from different points of view, see Feis, op. cit., pp. 326, 341; Rauch, op. cit., pp. 475-77; Hull, II, op. cit., pp. 1091-92.

Report of the Joint Committee on the Administration of the Government, 1901-1902, Vol. 1, Part 1, Chapter 1, Section 1, Paragraph 1.

The first section of the report deals with the general principles of the administration of the government. It states that the government is a body of men acting together for the common good, and that its power is derived from the people. It also states that the government is responsible to the people for its actions, and that it must act in accordance with the principles of justice and equity.

The second section of the report deals with the organization of the government. It states that the government is organized into three branches: the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. Each branch has its own functions, and they all work together to govern the country.

The third section of the report deals with the powers of the government. It states that the government has the power to make laws, to execute laws, and to interpret laws. It also states that the government has the power to raise and spend money, and to manage the country's affairs.

The fourth section of the report deals with the duties of the government. It states that the government has the duty to protect the rights of the people, to promote the general welfare, and to maintain the peace and order of the country.

The fifth section of the report deals with the principles of good government. It states that good government is based on the principles of justice, equity, and efficiency. It also states that good government is based on the principles of transparency and accountability.

Report, "The Administration of the Government, 1901-1902, Vol. 1, Part 1, Chapter 1, Section 1, Paragraph 1." The report is a detailed study of the government's administration, and it provides a comprehensive overview of the government's structure, powers, and duties. It is a valuable resource for anyone interested in the government's operations.

The report is organized into five sections, each dealing with a different aspect of the government's administration. The first section deals with the general principles of the administration, the second with the organization of the government, the third with the powers of the government, the fourth with the duties of the government, and the fifth with the principles of good government.

The report is written in a clear and concise style, and it is easy to read. It is a valuable resource for anyone interested in the government's operations, and it provides a comprehensive overview of the government's structure, powers, and duties.

arms. Hull's ten point draft included these points:

The negotiation of a multilateral non-aggression pact; the conclusion of an agreement to respect the territorial integrity of and the equality of economic opportunity in Indochina; the withdrawal of Japanese armed forces from China and Indochina; the agreement of both countries to support the national government of China; the renunciation of all extraterritorial rights in China; the negotiation of a trade agreement; the removal of freezing restrictions; adoption of a plan for stabilizing the dollar-yen rate; the decision to interpret no prior treaty or commitment in a way which conflicted with the purpose of establishing and maintaining peace in the Pacific.⁸⁰

Preceding Hull's note of November 26, Japan sent a note which demanded that the United States remove economic sanctions against Japan and cooperate in aiding a peaceful settlement with China.⁸¹ According to high government officials,⁸² compliance with Japan's note would have meant that the United States would have been required to be a silent partner in Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity program, and since the Japanese fleet was on its way by indirect route to Pearl Harbor by November 25, it was Japan, in fact, who had issued an indirect ultimatum.⁸³ Of course, the Japanese fleet could

⁸⁰Foreign Relations: Japan, 1931-1941, II, op. cit., pp. 768; 770. See this for the full text.

⁸¹"Japanese Note of November 20, 1941," United States Department of State, Bulletin, No. 130, December 20, 1941 p. 540.

⁸²Pearl Harbor Attack, op. cit., pp. 57-195.

⁸³Stimson, On Active Service, op. cit., p. 389; Hull, II, op. cit., pp. 1084-85.

have been diverted from its attack at any time before the catastrophe of December 7, 1941.

Beard's best and most suggestive work in his indictment of the administration was his criticism of the diplomacy used by the government before Pearl Harbor, which indicated the historian had good Japanese sources of information, or perhaps he was informed by disgruntled employees of the State Department. All of the official memoirs and apologetics declared that the avowed purpose of the administration was to concentrate on the defeat of Hitler, through aid to Britain, and that war with Japan would complicate that strategy and was to be avoided.⁸⁴ Beard stated that Roosevelt merited responsibility for entrance into the war because the Chief Executive refused to meet Premier Konoze at Juneau, Alaska, in the late summer and early fall of 1941.⁸⁵ This was, of course, an extreme position, which illustrated Beard's anti-Roosevelt prejudice. The reasons why that "peace" conference was not held must be explored against the background of the administration's attitude toward the entire Far East. The official State Department thesis stated that Japan never

⁸⁴For example: Stimson, On Active Service, op. cit., pp. 383, 390; Hull, II, op. cit., pp. 1080-92; Grew, The Turbulent Era, II, op. cit., pp. 1352-54; Rosenman, op. cit., pp. 300-04; Perkins, op. cit., pp. 370-80.

⁸⁵Beard, President Roosevelt, op. cit., pp. 496-516.

offered any satisfactory proposals on which a meeting between Konoye and Roosevelt could be arranged.⁸⁶ According to the official viewpoint, Japan was controlled by militarists bent on complete subjugation of all of East Asia, a program which would menace vital sources of American raw materials and partially destroy the strength of the United States' declared ally, Britain,⁸⁷ and that all Japanese diplomacy would be mere trickery.⁸⁸ According to Ambassador Grew, Hull's suspicions were not entirely justified, because Premier Konoye, for the first time in twenty years, had assumed a position of dominance over the influential Japanese militarists and could have negotiated a settlement with Roosevelt which would have satisfied both the United States and Japan.⁸⁹ The United States had earlier declared an economic war on Japan, which had partially paralyzed Dai Nippon internally, and had made the Japanese eager, Grew believed, to forego the doubtful pleasures of wandering over the vast plains of China, in

⁸⁶Hull, II, op. cit., pp. 1060-95; Rauch, op. cit., pp. 446, 450; Joseph W. Ballantine, "Mukden to Pearl Harbor," Foreign Affairs, XXVII (July, 1949), 659-60. Ballantine was an officer of the State Department in the Far Eastern Section.

⁸⁷Accounts of this attitude can be found in Hull, Stimson, Rauch, and Ballantine, loc. cit., but the best discussion is in Feis, op. cit., pp. 251-341.

⁸⁸Hull, II, op. cit., pp. 1070-92. Hull brings out his suspicions of Japanese diplomacy very well in his memoirs.

⁸⁹Grew, The Turbulent Era, II, op. cit., Chapter XXXIV, "Pearl Harbor from the Perspective of Ten Years," pp. 1244-1375.

exchange for trade opportunities with the United States.⁹⁰ In retrospect, Hull's doubts of the reality of Konoye's ability to reverse the tide of Japanese imperialism was well founded, in light of the numerous murders of moderate statesmen by the rabid Japanese nationalists, and the urge to enjoy the delights of acquisition available to Japan by a southward expansion in the rich East Indies.⁹¹ United States diplomats drew a line athwart the Japanese road of expansion and dared Japan to cross it--a position which would have resulted in war after the moderate Konoye cabinet fell, regardless of Pearl Harbor.⁹² It was a case of conflicting national interests, with Japan determined to take advantage of the United States preoccupation with Germany.⁹³ The German pressure on its Axis partner, Japan, tended to drive the Oriental kingdom in the direction of expansion.⁹⁴ Later, Hitler deprecated

⁹⁰Feis, op. cit., Chapter XXIX, pp. 227-250, has the best discussion of the economic war on Japan. Feis was an economist on international relations for the State Department.

⁹¹Grew, The Turbulent Era, II, op. cit., pp. 927, 1070.

⁹²Stimson, On Active Service, op. cit., pp. 385, 390; Feis, op. cit., pp. 298-341.

⁹³Premier Tojo's call for war speech to the Imperial Rule Conference and the Dai Nippon East Asia League, Foreign Relations: Japan, 1931-1941, II, op. cit., pp. 148-59.

⁹⁴Ciano, op. cit., pp. 293-95, 350, 374, 398.

the initial Japanese successes of the war, because his racial phobia relegated all non-Aryan races to the position of servants.⁹⁵ English diplomacy worked against hostilities with Japan,⁹⁶ while the Chinese exerted terrific pressure designed to avoid a diplomatic settlement between Japan and America.⁹⁷ The entire course of American diplomacy strove to keep American fingers in the Chinese pie,⁹⁸ while, according to the "old China hand," Herbert Hoover,

Japan was a late-comer among nations that seized parts of China. Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Portugal, all had taken territory from her. Japan's delay was no doubt due to the fact that she was much later than the others in securing modern arms and understanding the principles of imperialism. In any event, Japan was a faithful follower of the European powers in the dividing of China. The distinction between her morals and those of older empires was one of timing. The old empires had held the titles longer and thus were more sacrosanct. I

⁹⁵Ibid., pp. 414, 453, 459; Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression, VII, cited in Sanborn, op. cit., pp. 572, 754: "Let us think of ourselves as masters and consider these people (Japanese) at best as lacquered half-monkeys, who need to feel the knout."

⁹⁶Churchill, The Grand Alliance, op. cit., pp. 600-08; Grew, The Turbulent Era, II, op. cit., pp. 103-05, 138 n. 4, 1019, 1170, 1195, 1273-74, 1299, 1347, 1413.

⁹⁷Tansill, Back Door, op. cit., pp. 456, 473, 616, 652. Tansill used unpublished material from the State Department archives on Chinese and Russian diplomatic pressure to involve the United States in the war.

⁹⁸Tyler Dennett, Americans in Eastern Asia (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922), pp. 648-52. Mr. Dennett is one of the most erudite Far Eastern affairs scholars; Tansill, Back Door, loc. cit.; Hull, II, loc. cit.

have often thought that perhaps the Kellogg Pact of 1929 marked a sort of datum point of imperial morals, and titles secured after that date were considered less moral.⁹⁹

The administration's foreign policy displayed no intentions of allowing Japan to convert the Far Eastern Pacific into a Nipponese lake.¹⁰⁰ Not only was the American industrial power much greater, but the United States had thirty-two battleships at sea or on the production line, compared with eighteen Japanese battleships on the ocean and under construction.¹⁰¹ Tiny but mighty Japan, on the basis of strength, did not deserve hegemony over the Orient, and many of her own statesmen were well aware of future tribulations involved in defying the American colossus.¹⁰²

Roosevelt's "peace" policies, so devastatingly scourged by Beard, received somewhat similar appraisals, not only from Axis statesmen, but even from his own administration.

⁹⁹Hoover, II, op. cit., pp. 362-63.

¹⁰⁰Roosevelt's speeches of January 16, 1941, and December 29, 1940, in Jones and Meyers, Documents, III, op. cit., pp. 17-33; "Address by the Secretary of the Navy (Knox), April 24, 1941," Ibid., pp. 43-47; Stimson, On Active Service, op. cit., pp. 360, 390.

¹⁰¹"Combatant Ships, built and building for the Seven Principal Naval Powers, February, 1941," (from the Office of Public Relations, Navy Department), Jones and Meyers, Documents, III, op. cit., pp. 694-95.

¹⁰²Grew, The Turbulent Era, II, op. cit., pp. 1246, 1285-86, 1301-05, 1308-34, 1340-47, 1350-75.

Secretary Stimson stated that Mr. Roosevelt deliberately omitted any suggestion that war was imminent in his speeches of the summer of 1941, because he believed the "defense" thesis was more palatable to the American people.¹⁰³ Count Ciano, the Machiavellian realist of Italian diplomacy, agreed with Mr. Stimson¹⁰⁴ on the forces behind American involvement in the war when he first heard that the Japanese attack was forthcoming: "Now that Mr. Roosevelt has succeeded in his maneuver, not being able to enter the war directly, he has succeeded by an indirect route--forcing the Japanese to attack him."¹⁰⁵

That "day that will live in infamy"¹⁰⁶ thesis of the President's was somewhat vitiated by the fact that the cabinet had decided on November 26, 1941, that the President should ask Congress for a declaration of war if Japanese

¹⁰³Stimson, On Active Service, op. cit., p. 373. Stimson was "more of a warrior than a diplomat," even when he was Hoover's Secretary of State. See, Hoover, op. cit., p. 366. For Mr. Stimson's frustrated passion for belligerency, see, Stimson, On Active Service, op. cit., pp. 359-90.

¹⁰⁴Henry L. Stimson's Diary, November 25, 1941, Pearl Harbor Attack, Part II, p. 5433. Mr. Stimson wrote that the main question before the War Department was "how we should maneuver them into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves." Compare with Ciano's reaction to the start of the American involvement.

¹⁰⁵Ciano, op. cit., "December 3, 1941 Entry," pp. 414.

¹⁰⁶Roosevelt's expression used in explaining the nature of the Japanese attack on December 8, 1941. See, Rosenman,

troops moved southward into Thailand.¹⁰⁷ Beard also used, as part of his attack on Roosevelt, the fact that the administration held various strategy conferences with British officials on the direction of the war in the event of American intervention.¹⁰⁸ Beard treated the "conversations" as if they were genuine commitments, when actually they were operable only in the event of actual hostilities.¹⁰⁹ The historian again erred when he concluded that Roosevelt merited full responsibility for American involvement in the war when he declared:

Was it within the legal and moral competence of President Roosevelt in 1941 so to conduct and maneuver a foreign country into firing the shot that brought on the was--indeed, to make a war on his own authority?¹¹⁰

Actually, the Congress had given tacit consent to all of the Presidential use of the executive power in foreign relations which Beard indicted as an executive betrayal of a trust.

loc. cit. for the inside story on who actually coined "Roosevelt's phrases."

¹⁰⁷Pearl Harbor Attack, op. cit., p. 447; Perkins, op. cit., pp. 379-80.

¹⁰⁸Beard, President Roosevelt, op. cit., Chapter XIV, "Secret Decisions and War Plans," pp. 407, 451. For verification of Beard's suspicions, see, King, op. cit., pp. 327-46.

¹⁰⁹King, loc. cit.

¹¹⁰Beard, President Roosevelt, op. cit., p. 455.

The Congress passed the "defense" bills such as Lend Lease; they could have impeached the President had they so desired; and they had the power to refuse to appropriate money to implement foreign policy. Roosevelt's Atlantic naval policy correlated naturally with the English aid program which was approved by the Congress. However, the President's "shooting war" with Germany could be justly criticized as a pragmatic maneuver which would have incited Hitler to revenge, had he proved successful in his bid for European domination. The Congress never passed legislation which sanctioned the "shooting war" in the Atlantic.

Beard's characterization of President Roosevelt as a war monger, failed to do justice either to the Chief Executive or to Beard. Roosevelt had to exaggerate¹¹¹ to awaken the American public out of their slough of apathy toward international leaders like Hitler, but Beard, an invincible democrat to the end, refused to concede that the survival of democracy as a way of government was threatened by totalitarianism abroad. Roosevelt proved himself not only a master philosopher of the "sea power"¹¹² doctrine of security, but he deeply

¹¹¹Rosenman, op. cit., pp. 295-96: Roosevelt produced and publicized a "propaganda" map which indicated that Hitler had South America divided into spheres of influence. Roosevelt also said Hitler planned to abolish all existing religions. (Which he didn't do even in Germany.)

¹¹²"Address on National Security by the President

understood the necessity of the "active search for peace,"¹¹³ and rejected the counter-fallacy, apparently believed in by Beard, that nations could be cured of their evil egoisms by the masterly inactivity of American moral influence. Roosevelt could more justly be accused of falling victim to the limitations of a pragmatic foreign policy, short-sighted in the case of allying Stalin on the side of God and democracy,¹¹⁴ because the Axis nightmare penetrated his subconscious to the point where it demanded the doubtful therapeutic of "unconditional" victory over Germany, the potential balance of European power.¹¹⁵

As American trade and investments in Japan were six times greater than that with China,¹¹⁶ the war between Japan

(Roosevelt), December 29, 1940," Jones and Meyers, Documents, III, op. cit., pp. 17-26.

¹¹³Roosevelt's phrase.

¹¹⁴New York Times, October 18, 20, 28, 29, 1941. Mr. Roosevelt's Russian diplomacy was best treated in Edward Stettinus, Roosevelt and the Russians (New York: Doubleday Press, 1949).

¹¹⁵Churchill, The Grand Alliance, loc. cit. Churchill stated that the theory of unconditional surrender was Roosevelt's idea; Sherwood, op. cit., pp. 696-97; Wilmot, loc. cit., discussed the unfortunate effects it had in stiffening German resistance from 1943-1945. His data came from captured German documents and interrogations of the Nazi military and civilian chiefs after the close of the war.

¹¹⁶Tansill, Back Door, op. cit., pp. 498, 500; A. Whitney Griswold, The Far Eastern Policy of the United States (New York: Harcourt & Brace, 1938), pp. 468-69.

and America was a classic refutation of Beard's enduring thesis of economic determinism. Beard's thesis of the wisdom of political independent action was repudiated by the Churchill-Roosevelt-Stalin combine and the organization of the United Nations. The historian's fears of war-caused social and political disintegration, as well as his hatred of business oligopoly,¹¹⁷ appeared adequately demonstrated to him by the American home scene during wartime. The new America, with its enthusiasm for doing good to those who sat without refrigerators,¹¹⁸ and its loss of fear over a huge military establishment,¹¹⁹ and its jump into the wild blue yonder of power politics,¹²⁰ Beard decided, needed a jolt--hence his limited executive power thesis of President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War.¹²¹ Beard concluded that post-war

¹¹⁷Beards, The Basic History, op. cit., pp. 472-79. 485-89.

¹¹⁸Ibid., pp. 482, 486-87.

¹¹⁹Beard, President Roosevelt, op. cit., Chapter XVII, "Interpretations Tested by Consequences," pp. 574-98. Beard's blast at pre-war war-time and post-war America covered all the important points cited in notes 116-118, 120.

¹²⁰Beard, President Roosevelt, loc. cit. It appears evident in these pages that Beard genuinely feared an American dictator. Beard never trusted Presidents who appeared to him to be too willing to assume great power in war-time. See also, Beards, The Rise, loc. cit.

¹²¹Beard, President Roosevelt, op. cit., pp. 573-598.

events in America and in the world validated and sanctified his extreme harshness in dealing with President Roosevelt, a man whom he had deeply admired, before the President began playing power politics with Churchill.¹²²

Another avenue of Beardian interpretation wends its way back to that earlier period of American history, the days of the neutrality policies sponsored by Washington and others, which Beard idealized beyond measure.¹²³ A man who read the Federalist papers every year for fifty years¹²⁴ was bound to be influenced by the serene contempt the Founding Fathers allegedly felt for militarism.¹²⁵

Perhaps the greatest intellectual flaw of the later Beard was the desertion of his emphasis on materialistic determinism on foreign affairs. When he tried to confine materialistic progress to America, which was essentially what he

¹²²Beards, Midpassage (1939), op. cit., p. 948. Beard's description of Roosevelt's influence in these pages represented the high water mark of the Beard-Roosevelt romance.

¹²³The idealization of the Founding Fathers was characteristic of the older Beard, and present in all his later books, but most apparent in The Republic, and The Enduring Federalist, loc. cit.

¹²⁴Beard, The Enduring Federalist, loc. cit.

¹²⁵Beard, The Rise, Midpassage, The Republic, The American Spirit. The last few pages in all these books contain warnings on militarism.

did in his Continentalist philosophy, he actually rejected his former dynamic concept which held that the cessation of the movement of power generated by material intercourse was impossible. While Beard imprisoned his mind within the Continentalist theory he repudiated his wise words of an earlier year:

. . . . The protection of those very commercial interests, however, has drawn us into intimate connections with other foreign powers, and may at any time lead us into the necessity of cooperating with them in military expeditions.

. . . . Moreover no political doctrines (such as isolation) with regard to our independence from the rest of the world are strong enough to overcome those material and moral forces which are linking our destinies to those of the world at large.¹²⁶

For all his shortcomings and orphan diversions down Continentalist paths to Nirvana, the image of the old courageous, ruggedly independent, steel-willed Charles Beard will long be one for historians to conjecture with. The freedom-loving historian had the fiery courage, in 1935, to describe, before an audience of five thousand educators, William Randolph Hearst as, "one of these animals I wouldn't touch with a ten-foot pole,"¹²⁷ when he became riled at the publisher's

¹²⁶Beard, American Government and Politics (1914), op. cit., pp. 332-33.

¹²⁷New York Times, February 25, 1935.

It is a common knowledge that the
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obsession with the purity of thought in the schools.¹²⁸ Beard displayed throughout his long life, both in theory and practice, a truly great devotion to the fundamental American principle of the inviolate personality of the individual. Even his Continentalism had the welfare of the individual as its central thesis, and again emphasized Beard's correlation of human welfare with his stress on economic determinism. The old historian's war on poverty never ceased:

Now what is my vision of America? It is a worker's Republic--a republic in which industry is carried on in ways conducive to virtue and the fruits thereof are distributed in ways calculated to favor the good life of all--that is without the degradation of poverty.

...and degradation of luxury. Wrath cannot bring bread for the table, clothing for nakedness and shelter for shivering.¹²⁹

While Charles Beard, and Charles Beard's conception of America, had the internal strength and wisdom to be independent--America had not, because in a power mad world she needed friends. The theory of a man often tells a great deal more about the man than the world he lived in.

¹²⁸"The Nation's Honor Roll," The Nation, CXL (January 1, 1936), 9. Beard appeared on The Nation's "honor roll" for his definitive and crushing characterization of William Randolph Hearst as one who had "pandered to depraved tastes and has been the enemy of everything that is noblest and best in American traditions."

¹²⁹Charles A. Beard, "World as I Want It," Forum, XCI (June, 1934), 332-34.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Charles A. Beard, a cosmopolitan intellectual, had an all inclusive world view that was not solely dependent upon erudition, as he had spent long periods of time in England, Japan, and on the Continent. Beard passed his early years in Southern Indiana, where he attended a Quaker Academy, and later published a country newspaper for four years. At the age of twenty-one the rural Republican entered De Pauw College where he came under the direction of a great liberal teacher, Colonel James Riley Weaver. Beard next studied at Oxford University in England, lectured to workers' cooperative societies, and founded a labour college. He returned to the United States in 1902, and after two years received a Ph.D. from Columbia where he spent the next thirteen years teaching. Beard headed his department by 1917, but resigned over the issue of academic freedom, and, in spite of almost unanimous attempts by the faculty and student body to induce him to reconsider, he refused to return to Columbia. The University apparently vindicated his stand on faculty rights when they presented him with an honorary degree in 1941. The historian's later work included a remarkable variety of enterprises; he planned a greater Tokyo, contributed to educational theory, analyzed the Yugoslavian government, served as

unofficial advisor to the New Deal kitchen cabinet, and wrote brilliant surveys of American history. Beard passionately loved America, but intellectual strands also tied him to England, the home of his great ideological benefactors, John Hobson and John Ruskin, and Japan, a nation which practiced Beard's precepts of hard work.

Charles Beard's early foreign policy views were derived mainly from the ideas of John Hobson, the controversial economist, and John Ruskin, the great art critic who spent the last phase of his career in social reform agitation. Hobson held that imperialism resulted from unhealthy economic distribution in industrial countries and his humanitarian remedy called for a greater equalization of income. Ruskin's ideas called for an end to the social waste generated by the industrial revolution, and for heroic attempts to make the English lives and landscape a "work of art." His program demanded the achievement of "the good, the true, and the beautiful," not only in the reconstruction of cities, but also in the enrichment of men's lives.

Under the intellectual influence of Hobson and Ruskin, Beard's early foreign policy views championed the advance of trade and intellectual and social intercourse between nations which he held were conducive to the attainment of individual betterment and international peace. The peace loving historian stressed arbitration as a method of settling

unofficially... brilliant surveys of... novel matter, but... England, the loss of the... Hobson and John... Board's progress of...

Charles... rived mainly from the... economic, and John... the last phase of his...

Hobson held that... distribution in... remedy called for... these called for...

industrial revolution... English lives and... degraded the... beautiful, "not only...

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which he held... betterment and... began after...

international conflict and deprecated the increases in national budgets which indicated the growth of armed forces. Beard preferred a militant expedition only in the great "war on poverty." The young historian also flailed America's Pacific adventures of 1898 in the approved Hobsonian fashion, stressing the idea that the acquisition of the Philippines was motivated by the economic solicitude of the "Captains of Industry."

Beard's early global view was not only anti-imperialistic, but also stressed the concept that the world was an economic unit, which if it were to function properly, must be kept in precarious balance to prevent any one nation from achieving military and economic hegemony over the remaining nations. By 1914, the year of the First World War, Beard believed in the one-world of trade so implicitly that he temporarily shelved his anti-war thesis and vocally demanded that the United States enter the war in order that German militarism (which necessitated world militarism) be beaten down, for the beneficial results of expanded world trade to do its work of amelioration.

In the years that followed Versailles, Beard expressed his disappointment over the "peace" treaty, and rested his adverse criticisms mainly on an economic basis. He held that tariff walls mounted all over Europe, that nationalities were distributed unfairly, that the treaty caused many more

international economic and political relations. The
national bodies with which we are concerned are the
Board of Governors of the International Monetary Fund
on poverty. The Board is also concerned with the
Pacific Development of Asia in the Pacific Basin
addressing the issue that the development of the Pacific
was motivated by the economic value of the Pacific
Industry."

Board's early efforts were not without success. It
also, but also aimed at the economic development of the
economic unit, which is at the heart of the Pacific Basin
Board in cooperation with the economic and political
developing nations and economic development. The Pacific
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early stages of the Pacific Basin Development Board
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In the Pacific Basin Development Board, the
his disappointment over the Pacific Basin Development
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distributed in the Pacific Basin Development Board.

injustices than it cured, and above all, that the German colonies appropriated by England and France as "trusts," combined with the reparations clauses, sowed the seeds of future hostilities and economic chaos. Beard also ardently crusaded against war-time and post-war coercion by national governments which limited individual liberty.

The historian's later views on foreign policy were dominated by his hatred of the evils which resulted from the First World War, and, especially after the Nye investigations, he believed American involvement occurred because of the economic interest held by financial groups of the United States in the fate of the Allies. Beard's bitterness over the social and political aftermath of the war in the United States led him to repudiate his former concept of the economic interdependence of the world, and to assume an extreme position which insisted that America could, and should, abstain from developing an economic interest in Europe that would lead to another intervention in the advent of war.

In the early Thirties, Beard watched with great concern many of the European powers embark on programs of economic self-sufficiency; he began to formulate an economic plan for America which would carry this European tendency to its logical conclusion. The historian noted that the Allies failed to break Germany economically, or even to destroy Prussian militarism; hence any future war would probably be as

fruitless. He was one of the first American scholars to warn of the menace of Hitlerism,¹ long before President Franklin D. Roosevelt sounded his varied blasts at totalitarianism. As early as 1922, Beard's world view held that America would have to radically alter its economic way of life, if it were to escape the corrosive effects of future wars, in which the regimentation of the individual by highly centralized governments would be a predominant feature.² In 1927, he formulated his concept of paramount national interest, a kind of autarchy, which he called Continentalism, and which clearly demonstrated the enduring influence of the anti-imperialistic economic doctrine of John A. Hobson. Hobson's central thesis was that states expanded and engaged in wars because of unequal distribution of income among classes within countries, which caused surplus savings to accumulate in the hands of the owning classes, and, when they sought to invest their capital abroad, unwittingly dragged their countries into imperialistic wars. This concept differs from the Marxian theory in that it is humanitarian, not limited by the dogma

¹Charles A. Beard, "Germany up to Her Old Tricks," The New Republic, LXXX (October 24, 1934), 299-300; "Spooks Made in Germany," The New Republic, CXXVII (December 6, 1933), 97-98.

²Beard, Gross Currents (1922), loc. cit.; John A. Hobson, "The People and the Diplomats," The New Republic, CXV (July 29, 1922), 75. Hobson had similar fears for democratic government.

of inevitability. Hobson was a "bourgeois" economist who clarified this idea. Marx never had a clear-cut theory on imperialism, and Lenin followed Hobson. Followers of Hobson, like Beard, fought to increase income taxes to decrease the tendencies toward oversavings, a position which, as he was a self-made wealthy man, demonstrated Beard's sincerity. The historian's Continentalist philosophy caused him to verbally flail all concepts of internationalism, such as free trade, political entanglements, collective security movements, and the devices which instrumented the internationalism of American politics: the navy, trade agreements, and expansion of the army beyond the limits required by continental defense.

Whereas Beard's early foreign policy views had been dominated by their approval of growing peaceful internationalism through the medium of increased international trade, his later writings were all expansions of the over-arching conception of Continentalism, which called for withdrawal from the affairs of other nations. In 1938 Beard's ideological mentor, John Hobson, from his vantage point in England, called upon Americans to place their country in the balance of power to stave off the threats of absolutism by totalitarian states which threatened to dominate the few remaining democratic governments, but this time Beard refused to heed the English economist, and held to his Continentalist theory until his death. The only change in ideology was one of

terminology; Beard accepted the gauntlet thrown down by President Harry Truman³ and certain American scholars,⁴ who maintained that "isolationists" were responsible for the political and diplomatic troubles of the world. Beard took the term "isolationism" as a synonym of his own Continentalism, which now had the connotation of an epithet, and he challenged the new and old internationalists in his President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941 (1948), The Republic (1943), and The American Spirit (1942), even going to the extent of calling himself an "isolationist."

Beard foundered with his Continentalist theory because it repudiated his enduring dogma of the pervasive influence of economic relationships, which logically meant that if trade and stock market quotations on Wall Street and La Salle Street were not figments of speculator's imaginations, apart from moral and political interrelationships, American military intervention in the Global war would be inevitable. Beard, as a pre-Global war non-interventionist, also

³Senate Document, No. 244, op. cit., p. 570; New York Times, August 30, 1945.

⁴Especially oversimplified by Thomas A. Bailey, Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945). See also, Forrest Davis and Ernest K. Lindley, How War Came: An American White Paper (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1942).

repudiated a correlative theory to his economic internationalism, that of the American role in the balance of European power.

Beard's theory of the community of interest created by trade apparently dominated his thinking when he formulated his criticism of America's war with Japan. Thus his general theory of Continentalism often was cast aside in favor of the realities of the moment, and Japanese trade with America, six times greater than the American-Chinese trade, was one of those realities, which, added to his hatred of the social and political waste involved in wars, led up to his denunciation of the diplomacy of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Beard charged that the President, imbued with the world pacification theories of Woodrow Wilson, deliberately sought American intervention in the Global war on the side of England because he was convinced that American military might, and his own political cunning, could realize the Wilsonian vision. The historian stated that Roosevelt, denied American intervention by German apathy toward committing overt acts in the Atlantic, succeeded in his world political maneuvers by goading the Japanese to war in the Pacific, through a power squeeze play, abetted by a pre-military economic war on Dai Nippon. While much criticism can be levelled at the manner in which Beard prosecuted his indictment, it is much too early to deny the validity of his thesis, especially since little information

has been garnered by historians from the British and Soviet archives.

It appears quite possible that Beard will eventually be judged, as an historical figure, to be greater as a man, than as a visionary theorist. His entire life, caught up by the maelstrom of American politics and hopes, presents an image of mind ceaselessly working, an invincible democrat who, in actuality, would probably have been the first one to reject the practical coercive results of his Continentalist theory. The Sage of New Milford perhaps tried to do too much; his final view from the Connecticut Olympus penetrated the human jungle too deeply; and while he hated the vision of a military state, he should have been the first one to realize the validity of its economic base.

THE FUTURE OF THE NATION

has been a long and arduous task, and it is one that will require the continued effort and sacrifice of all who are concerned with the future of the nation. The first step in this process is to identify the problems that are facing the nation and to determine the causes of these problems. Once the causes have been identified, the next step is to develop a plan of action to address these problems. This plan should be based on sound principles and should be designed to achieve the best possible results for the nation. The final step in this process is to implement the plan and to monitor its progress. This is a task that will require the cooperation and support of all who are concerned with the future of the nation.

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I, HENRY HARRIS, of the County of New York, do hereby certify that the following is a true and correct copy of the original as the same appears in the files of the New York State Department of Education:

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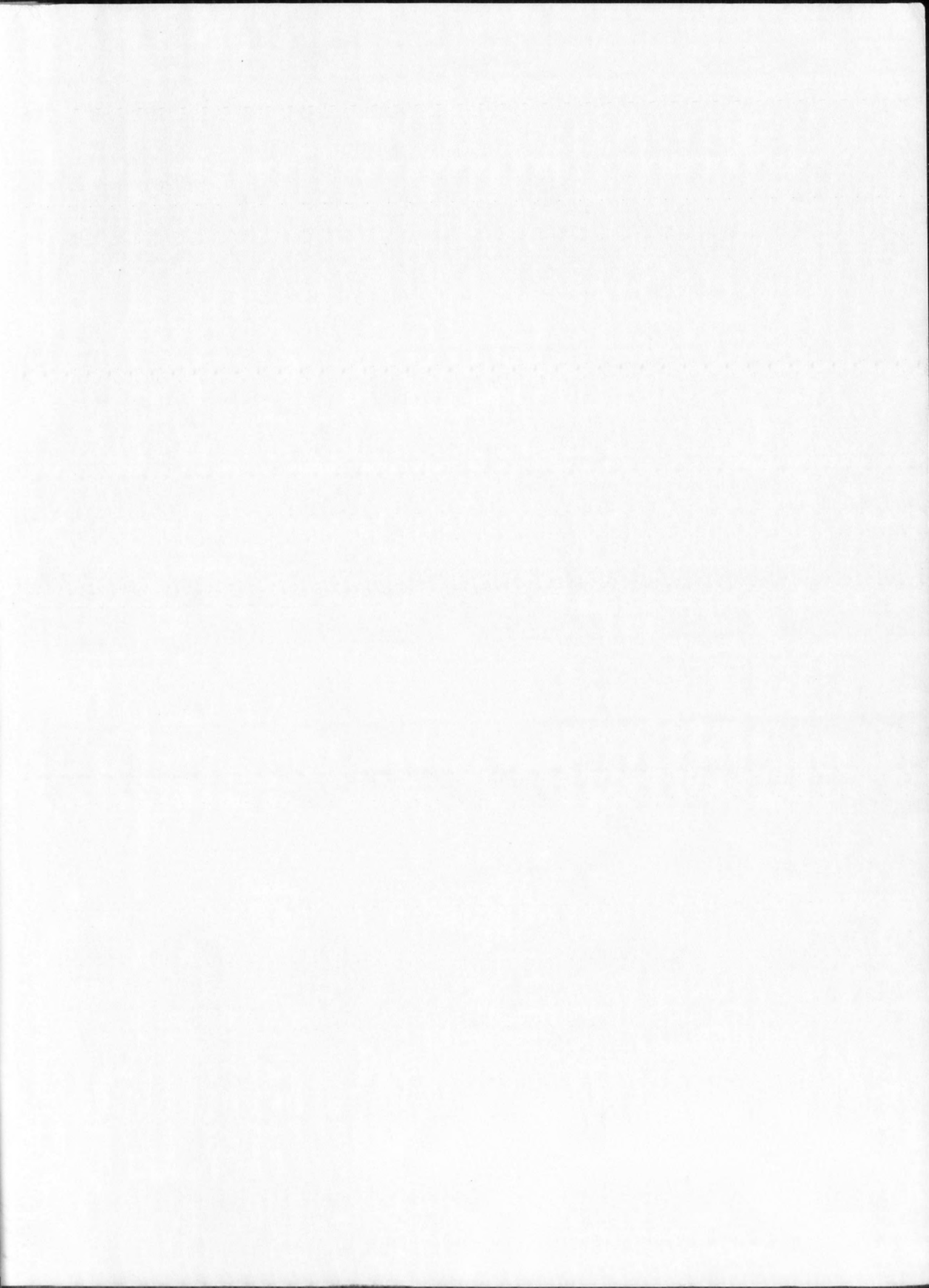
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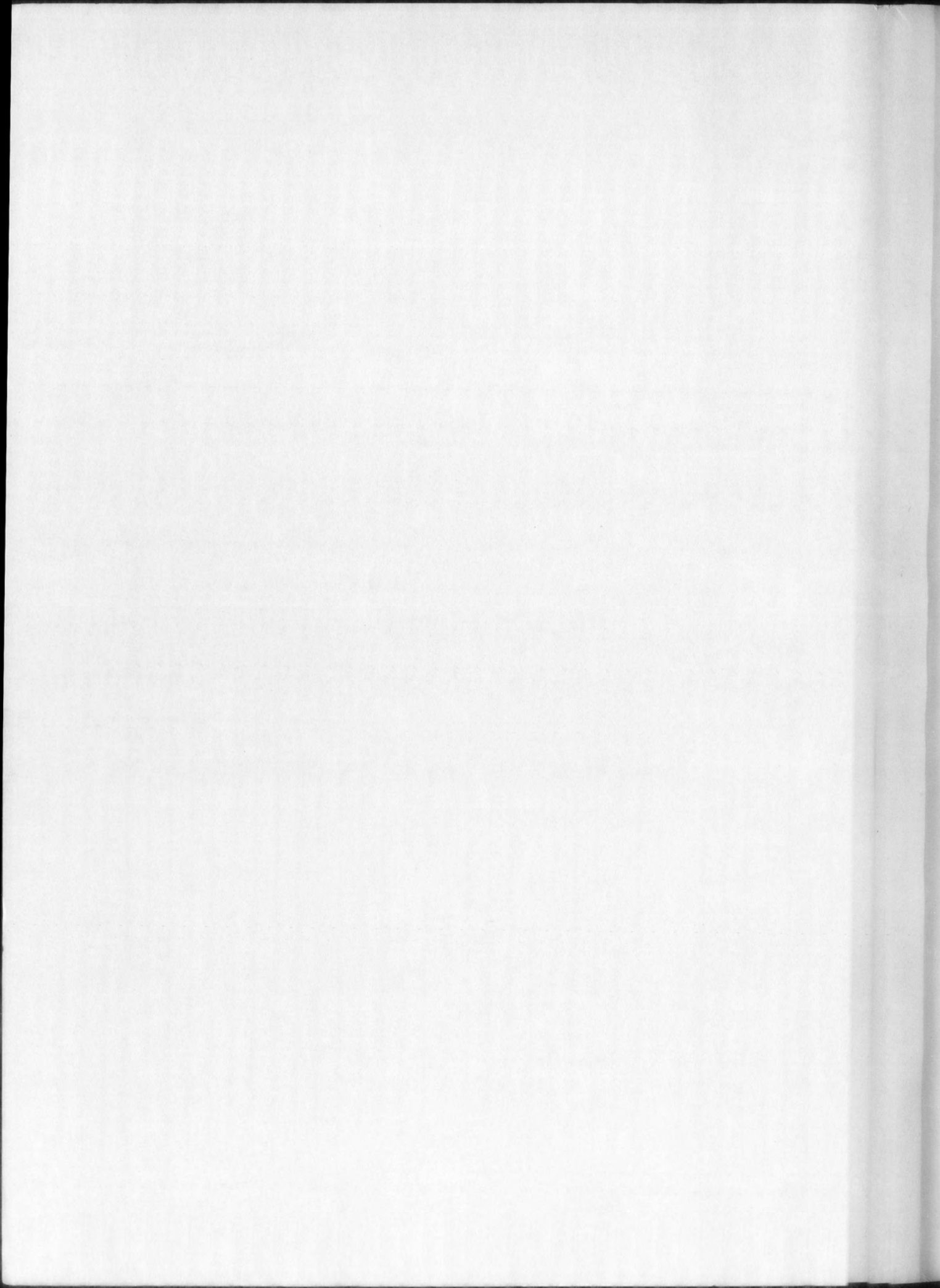
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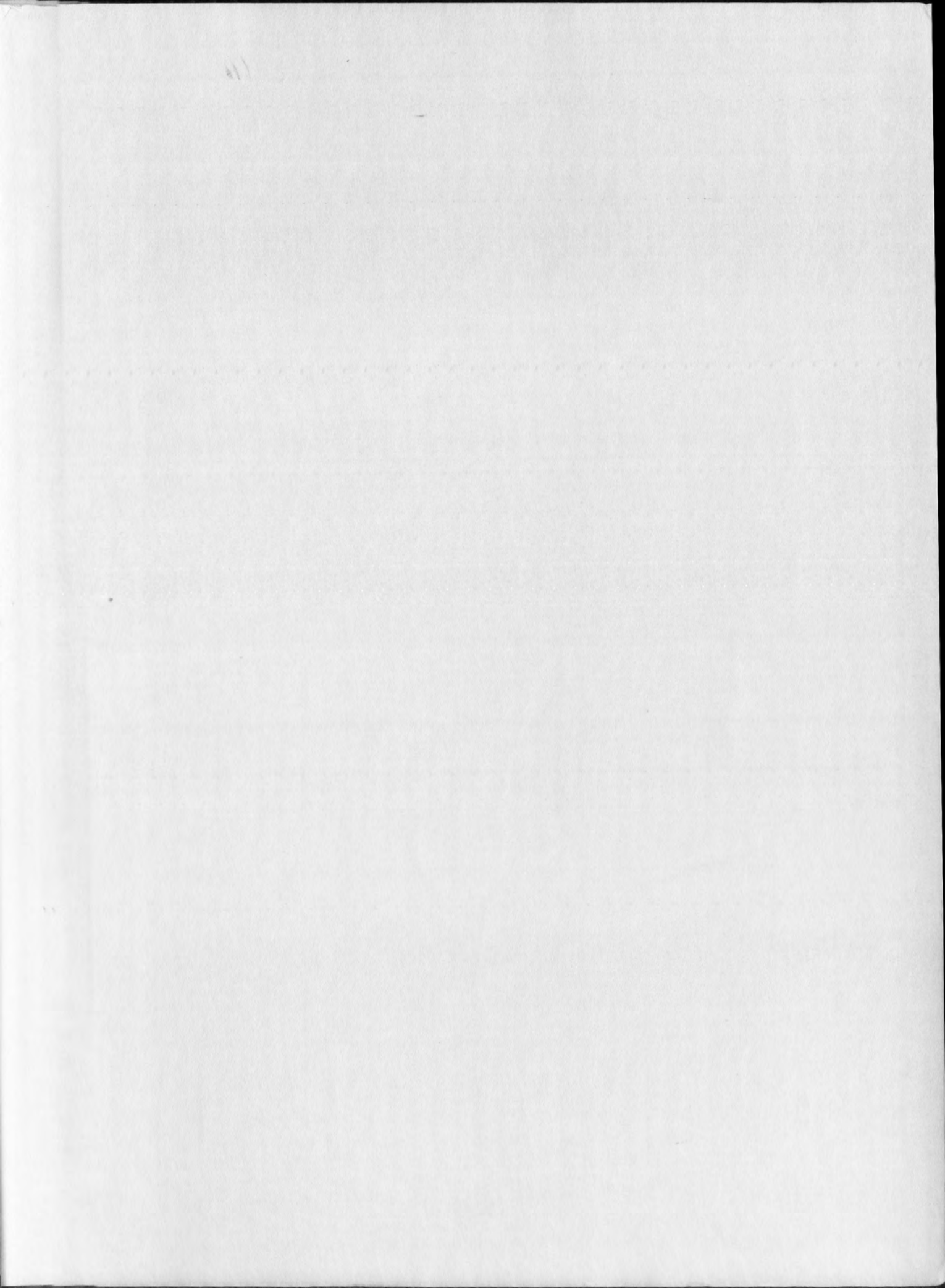
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