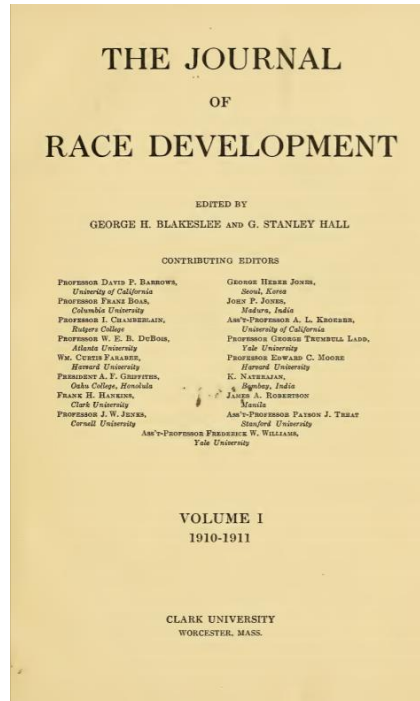


Pioneers of racial development or proponents of subjugation? A biographical analysis of the Journal of Race Development



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Abstract

This thesis attempts to analyse *The Journal of Race Development 1910-1919* and the views of its authors. This has been achieved by quantitatively analysing the number of times an author contributed, what regions were most discussed and what topics were most prevalent. To do this, the journal has been divided into two periods: 1910-1914 (early) and 1915-1919 (late). Once the authors for consideration have been identified with this method, the analysis will look at the implications of article titles, the content of the article itself and briefly at other publications by the authors. This approach has made it clear that there is some consistency in how the journal perceived colonial situations, as well as members of other races. Despite this, there are differences in the period, such as the geographic regions in discussion, which can be attributed to the outbreak of WW1. This analysis is by no means exhaustive and due to the constraints related to the size of the thesis, certain information or documents have had to remain absent.

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Cover image: *The Journal of Race Development*, 1 (1910-1911), courtesy of archive.org

1. Introduction

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the USA entered a period of unprecedented economic, political and military power. The defining event in this period was the Spanish-American War of 1898-1902. Whilst this will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, it is of utmost relevance to the introduction and *Journal of Race Development* (hereafter referred to as JRD when necessary). In order to understand the JRD and the period of its writing, there are several key debates within the US that need to be highlighted.

Firstly, the conclusion of the Spanish-American War resulted in the US gaining possession of several overseas territories for the first time. This was particularly problematic for the US, as it had itself shed the colonial yoke some years prior. This conflict was an issue that became a focal point in US politics. Some, such as President McKinley, his successor, Theodore Roosevelt and Senators Henry Cabot Lodge, as well as John Hay, supported US overseas expansion. The justification for such an empire varied widely. McKinley was outspoken in his beliefs that the US should retain the strategically important Philippines and other island territories.¹ Others espoused the belief that the US must safeguard its economic and political interests and that the only way to do so was to create an economic sphere of influence maintained by an empire. In this period, the European powers and Japan were carving up Africa, as well as Asia and it was believed that the US would lose significant economic opportunities, markets and prestige should she be the last to attend the table or to not even participate. More broadly, the tenets of Manifest Destiny were invoked by pro-empire lobbyists, justifying US imperialism as an obligation of the enlightened US to bring the light of civilisation to the backwards races. The pro-empire group possessed widespread support in the US Senate. Senator Knute Nelson supported US possession of the Philippines, invoking the idea of the US as a provider of enlightenment, referring to the country as 'ministering angels, not despots'.² Lodge, on the other hand, appealed to the sentiment of US power,

¹ S.A. Brewer, 'Selling Empire: American Propaganda and War in the Philippines', *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, 11:40 (2013), 4

² S. Kinzer, *The True Flag: Theodore Roosevelt, Mark Twain, and the Birth of American Empire* (New York, 2017), 113

describing how the US would forever be branded as a country incapable of standing as a great power.³

However, despite the pro-empire voices emerging dominant, there was still a significant and organised opposition to their approach. This anti-empire perspective is best personified by the Anti-Imperialist League, which believed that US expansionism was incompatible with American republican and democratic values.⁴ Prominent members of this group included Mark Twain, Grover Cleveland and business magnate, Andrew Carnegie. As with the pro-imperial party, the Anti-Imperialist League possessed some senatorial support. Both Senators Hoar and Vest were outspoken critics of the seizure of the Philippines, stating that it would reduce the US to a 'vulgar and commonplace empire' and that the US would reduce others to vassal states and subjugated people.⁵ Despite this disagreement, the pro-imperialists emerged victorious, with the territories remaining under US control. However, the debate regarding US imperialism did not cease here; it has continued to grow and evolve to the present day. The status of territories such as Puerto Rico are still contested and contemporary US actions have been described as imperial. According to some, the US possesses a large scale informal empire. It dwarfs other countries in terms of military and economic power, possessing military bases in well over 100 countries and approximately 25% of world GDP (as of 2015).⁶ Despite this, it has been branded as an 'empire in denial', unwilling to recognise its status and act accordingly.⁷ The contrasting argument is that the US is not an empire, only a great power. It has acted as great powers often do, projecting its military power primarily to its vital trading associates to secure its economic interests and protect its partners.⁸

The debate surrounding territories continued after 1900, with attention now focused on whether they could become part of the US and how best to govern them. The US was very cautious to avoid associations with Old World colonialism, so the means in which the territories were incorporated differed. The Philippines and Puerto Rico were

³ B. Bowden, *The Empire of Civilization: The Evolution of an Imperial Idea* (Chicago, 2009), 151

⁴ D.H. Dyal, B.B. Carpenter and M.A. Thomas, *Historical Dictionary of the Spanish American War* (Westport, 1996), 17

⁵ Bowden, *The Empire of Civilisation*, 227

⁶ Anonymous, 'GDP Ranking', *The World Bank*, www.worldbank.org (accessed 24/06/2017)

⁷ M. Cox, 'Empire by Denial: The Strange Case of the United States', *International Affairs*, 81:1 (2005), 20

⁸ Z. Mazurak, 'America is not an Empire', *American Thinker*, www.americanthinker.com (accessed 24/06/2017)

formally annexed to the US, without the prospect of becoming an American state, something the example of Puerto Rico clearly indicates, as it has still not attained statehood. Cuba escaped with only a temporary denial of independence, ranging from 1899-1902 and thereafter Cuba was deemed independent. This difference was due to the Teller Amendment of 1898, which prevented the US from formally annexing Cuba. Seizing these territories for the US drew widespread criticism across the political spectrum for a multitude of reasons. Philosopher William James described the US as willingly surrendering its entire political heritage in a matter of months.⁹ Andrew Carnegie, of the previously mentioned Anti-Imperialist League, believed that taking on these territories was nothing more than a financial burden and it has been claimed that he offered to buy their freedom himself.¹⁰ Yet, the cases against annexation were not always so altruistic or pragmatic; “Pitchfork Ben” Tillman from South Carolina ardently objected to the addition of a foreign people to the US, believing that an injection of non-white genes would damage the genetic purity of the US.¹¹

Once the matter of incorporating the territory had been decided, the following debate was on how to administer these new regions. The US was keen to distance itself from colonial perceptions and to solidify the moral superiority of the New World. McKinley referred to US administration of the Philippines as ‘benevolent assimilation’ in order to placate the continued resistance of anti-imperialists.¹² This ran concomitantly with a policy of ‘pacification’ whereby the US began to improve infrastructure, schools and other public services.¹³ The US relied heavily on the ‘white man’s burden’ argument to differentiate itself from European powers and portray its intervention as tutelage, rather than European style exploitation. To that end, the Philippine insular government was framed as preparing the Philippines for eventual independence via the guidance of the US, rather than an indefinite period of colonial rule. The US administration in the Philippines, headed by Taft, described the local populace as ‘their little brown brothers’, showing US paternalism and how they perceived it as their duty to assist these lesser

⁹ R.D. Richardson, *William James: In the Maelstrom of American Modernism: A Biography* (New York, 2006), 383-384

¹⁰ D. Nasaw, *Andrew Carnegie* (London, 2007), 559

¹¹ G.C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: US Foreign Relations Since 1776* (New York, 2008), 323

¹² P. Ablett, ‘Colonialism in Denial: US Propaganda in the Philippine-American War’, *Social Alternative* 23:3 (2004), 23-24

¹³ Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 327

people.¹⁴ For Cuba, the US implemented military rule, preventing Cuba from signing foreign treaties and providing provisions for the US to interfere in domestic affairs. This was cut short by the Teller Amendment, which as mentioned, prevented US annexation.

However, the discussion regarding how to administer these newly acquired territories and their associated population spread beyond the political sphere. Academia and in particular academic journals became a forum for those with a scholarly background to voice their opinions and provide a diagnosis. The JRD was no exception to this, providing an in-depth analysis of colonial administration, the situation of 'lesser races' and how to 'uplift' these races.¹⁵ Yet, the JRD itself is a subject of debate. The origin of International Relations studies (IR) has been hotly contested both in the present era and the previous century. Naturally, examples of IR can be said to have existed throughout history, as simply the interactions between sovereign states, the founding of the study of IR is more open to interpretation. The conventional argument stipulates that IR only came into existence with the formal establishment of an IR chair at Aberystwyth, in 1919.¹⁶ Prior to this, IR simply did not exist. This date is also selected as a starting point in an alternative argument, namely that IR came into existence at the conclusion of WW1.¹⁷ However, this has not formed a consensus amongst scholars, with alternative theories being proposed; the main alternative proposes that IR was in gestation prior to WW1. The primary belief here is that the themes of the late nineteenth century, such as colonial crisis, administration, uncertainty and the concept of race provided nascent examples of IR and an impetus for it to be developed further.¹⁸

The JRD presents evidence akin to the latter example, with the mentioned concepts being recurring themes within the journal. It is possible that the JRD represents a key step in the development of IR, but this is something that requires more extensive investigation. Whilst existing before the formalised creation of the discipline, the JRD may potentially represent a precursory period in the discipline's history, embodying the same qualities as the formalised version of IR, merely without the trappings of

¹⁴ P. Kriesberg, 'The Accidental Colony', *New York Times*, www.nytimes.com (accessed 24/06/2017)

¹⁵ G.H. Blakeslee, 'Introduction', *The Journal of Race Development*, 1:1 (July 1910), 1

¹⁶ T.J. Biersteker, 'The Parochialism of Hegemony: Challenges for "American" International Relations', in A.B. Tickner and O. Wæver (eds.), *International Relations Scholarship Around the World* (Abingdon, 2009), 308

¹⁷ L. Ashworth, 'The Origin of International Relations', *British International Studies Association*, www.bisa.ac.uk (accessed 24/06/2017)

¹⁸ B.C. Schmidt, *The Political Discourse of Anarchy* (New York, 1998), 124-125

university endorsement. This would ostensibly be a looser version of institutionalised IR, sharing many common traits with the discipline. For instance, by virtue of discussing how to elevate 'lesser' races and bring them to their ideal state, the JRD presents some normative values. Indeed, the birth of formal IR has said to have been permeated with a discussion on how best to govern territories annexed by the US, something that the JRD once again discusses in great depth, providing more evidence of the JRD as a precursor to IR. The JRD also mirrored the multi-disciplinary nature of IR, including disciplines such as international law, sociology, anthropology, history and psychology.

This is not to say that the JRD would be identical to formal IR, as there are still some key differences. The JRD lacks the clear defined theories of IR and whilst alluding to these concepts, they only came to exist after the journal. What is clear though is that the JRD and the topics discussed within it provided a stimulus and a template for a distinct discipline of IR.

1.1 Historiography

A discussion about the JRD entails analysis not only about the journal itself but also about the history of IR. The accepted starting period for the discipline contains a great deal of variance and affects the historical position of the JRD. Authors such as Torbjørn Knutsen cite the establishment of the *Round Table Journal* in 1910 as presenting what he believes as the first English-speaking journal of IR.¹⁹ A similar view has been suggested by Robert Vitalis when he makes it abundantly clear that he views the JRD (1910) as the first journal of IR in the US.²⁰ This in itself is interesting, because Vitalis' theory is far more racially charged and he refers to a more overtly racial journal as evidence.

The conventional story on the origin of IR can be referred to as the '1919' narrative. This has been founded on two principle beliefs: firstly, that IR as a discipline did not exist until the formal establishment of an IR chair in Aberystwyth in 1919; secondly, that IR came into existence after the close of WW1.²¹ Both of these definitions would exclude the JRD from the field of IR. Indeed, E.H. Carr's *The Twenty Years' Crisis*

¹⁹ T.L. Knutsen, 'A Lost Generation? IR Scholarship before World War 1', *International Politics*, 45:6 (2008), 664

²⁰ R. Vitalis, 'Birth of a Discipline' in D. Long and B.C. Schmidt (eds.) *Imperialism and Internationalism in the Discipline of International Relations* (New York, 2005), 161

²¹ Biersteker, 'The Parochialism of Hegemony', 308

represents the epitome of this '1919' scholarship, with much early work excluded from the field for being 'infantile' or 'utopian'.²² However, this narrative has come under increasing scrutiny by scholarship in recent years. Schmidt and Knutsen both refer to Carr's work in negative terms, noting how his emphasis on a false dichotomy between realism and idealism has led to him overlooking key literature on the origin of IR.²³ Knutsen believes that whilst WW1 was a key moment for IR, it does not form the starting point. Instead, he believes that the events of the late nineteenth century, such as colonial crisis, management and the ensuing uncertainty, provided the impetus for the development of IR.²⁴ This would imply the inclusion of the JRD, but interestingly, little to no reference is made to the issue of race and the JRD is not even mentioned by him. The reasons for this are not immediately clear, but this does put him at odds with others, such as Pedersen, who refer more directly to race; she states that the emergence of US IR was enveloped with a discussion about how to rule new territories without the US losing its Republican soul.²⁵ In contrast, Vitalis is a notable critic of the fallacious nature of a 'race-blind' IR, but others such as Anievas and Henderson have come to the same conclusion, noting that the focus on colonialism in early IR presupposes racial bias and influence, with Henderson damningly referring to IR as more akin to 'interracial relations'.²⁶ Henderson discusses the permeation of American IR with racial undertones, referring to racially infused constructs, such as social Darwinism and white supremacy.²⁷

Whilst these examples were not necessarily institutionalised IR (as proposed by Carr), it is said that they served as the precursor to it and to exclude it from consideration serves to undermine historiographical debate. Further, the relevance of this debate has resonated through to the modern era. Numerous authors have highlighted how the racial bias in American IR and political science is still prevalent

²² E.H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*, (London, 1946), 5

²³ B.C. Schmidt, 'On the History and Historiography of International Relations' in W. Carlsnaes, T. Risse and B.A. Simmons (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations* (London, 2002), 17; Knutsen, 'A Lost Generation? IR Scholarship before World War 1', 651

²⁴ Knutsen, 'A Lost Generation? IR Scholarship before World War 1', 652

²⁵ S. Pedersen, 'Destined to Disappear', *London Review of Books*, 38:20 (2016), 23

²⁶ A. Anievas, 'Confronting the Global Colour Line: An Introduction' in A. Anievas, N. Manchanda and R. Shillam, (eds.), *Race and Racism in International Relations* (Abingdon, 2015), 2; R. Vitalis, 'The Noble American Science of Imperial Relations and its Laws of Race Development', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 52:4 (2010), 910-911; E.A. Henderson, 'Hidden in Plain Sight: racism in international relations theory', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 26:1 (2013), 72

²⁷ Henderson, 'Hidden in Plain Sight', 72

today and how concerns with colonialism (typically the legacies of it in the modern era) and Marxist critique also remain prevalent in today's world.²⁸

Two of the most prominent authors in relation to the discussion of the JRD are Jessica Blatt and the already mentioned Robert Vitalis. They both believe that the JRD saw it as America's duty to uplift the 'backward' races, citing actions in colonies like the Philippines and sovereign states such as China and Liberia as proof of the US belief in their duty to uplift 'lesser' races, but this goal has also been described as vague and race development as poorly defined.²⁹ Whilst Blatt and Vitalis have discussed the JRD's goals of promoting uplift, they also discuss their compatibility with US policy. Blatt highlights how in fact the journal's views on colonialism opposed those of conventional US policy makers, with policy makers fixated on colonial ventures as a means to expand markets and the journal being focused more on the colonies as a pioneering means to spread development, in which trade would be a secondary factor.³⁰ Blatt's assessment indicates that the journal and its authors were overtly critical of European colonialism, castigating it for its exploitative nature.³¹ Blatt subsequently draws attention to the issue of terminology in the journal's era, with race prejudice being equated to a failure to appreciate race differences. Rather than seeing 'whites' and 'blacks' as people of equal mental faculties and with only superficial differences, the journal advocates appreciation of the unique traits of blacks, thus eliminating racial prejudice and the retarded development of lesser races.³² Vitalis appears to contradict this view, using the JRD as a benchmark for racial othering.³³ This idea of portraying blacks as inherently different to Caucasian races is unsurprising, especially with the prominence of social

²⁸ Anievas, 'Confronting the Global Colour Line', 2; Pedersen, 'Destined to Disappear', 23-24; Q. J. Swan, 'Review of Vitalis, Robert, *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations*' *Humanities and Social Sciences Online*, www.h-net.org (accessed 29/12/2016); J. Blatt, 'To bring out the best that is in their blood': Race, reform and civilization in the journal of race development (1910-1919)', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27:5 (2007), 707

²⁹ Blatt, 'To bring out the best that is in their blood', 693; 699; R. Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics* (New York, 2015), 45; Vitalis, 'The Noble American Science of Imperial Relations and its Laws of Race Development', 921-922; J.E. Lowndes, J. Novkov and D.T. Warren, 'Race and Political Development' in J.E. Lowndes, J. Novkov and D.T. Warren (eds.), *Race and American Political Development* (New York, 2008), 11

³⁰ Blatt, 'To bring out the best that is in their blood', 697

³¹ *Ibid.*, 697-698

³² *Ibid.*, 698

³³ Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics*, 152

Darwinism in the period.³⁴ What is unusual is it being harnessed by white academics in a slightly more positive manner.

Blatt does believe the JRD achieved some success, stating that the journal generally reaffirms the belief of Anglo-Saxon superiority, but moved to reject the more repugnant views expressed by white supremacists of the era.³⁵ In contrast, Vitalis believes that the JRD and indeed IR as a whole were used to reinforce white supremacy.³⁶ Indeed, Blatt does note that the journal (inconsistently) observed that the mental and physical attributes of the different races were not so great.³⁷ This is quite a startling announcement; even as late as the 1950s many 'experts', such as Coon and Jensen were arguing for the intrinsic differences between the races and to see this opinion challenged by a racial journal written primarily by white educators as early as the 1910s is surprising.³⁸ Blatt reconciles this progressive lurch with examples of paternalistic colonialism in the journal, such as the justification of US rule over the Philippines on grounds of Filipino barbarism.³⁹ Vitalis' coverage unearths a similar paternalistic tone permeating the journal, with him citing Huntington's (a member of the JRD's editorial board) opinion that other races could not acclimatise to new regions.⁴⁰

Given this mix of different and sometimes contradictory messages, Blatt comes to the conclusion that the journal was a complex and hard to decipher collection, affixed to common understandings of race throughout history, but it was progressive in its views, however, she does not explicitly state that the JRD is an example of IR.⁴¹ Vitalis, on the other hand, recognises the JRD as a 'node' in an ongoing debate on the uplift of other races and simultaneously positions the JRD as a definite example of early IR, but he does not temper his views with a recognition of more progressive elements within

³⁴ R.M. Dennis, 'Social Darwinism, Scientific Racism, and the Metaphysics of Race', *The Journal of Negro Education*, 64:3 (1995), 247

³⁵ Blatt, 'To bring out the best that is in their blood', 694

³⁶ Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics*, 2

³⁷ Blatt, 'To bring out the best that is in their blood', 694

³⁸ M. Dyreson, 'American Ideas about Race and Olympic Races from the 1890s to the 1950s: Shattering Myths or Reinforcing Scientific Racism?', *Journal of Sport History*, 28:2 (2001), 200-201; H. Cravens, 'Scientific Racism in Modern America, 1870s - 1990s', *Prospects*, 21 (1996), 486

³⁹ Blatt, 'To bring out the best that is in their blood', 695; Wm. S. Washburn, 'A Worthy Example of the Influence of a Strong Man upon the Development of Racial Character', *The Journal of Race Development*, 1:3 (1991), 372-373

⁴⁰ Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics*, 47-48

⁴¹ Blatt, 'To bring out the best that is in their blood', 696; 697

the journal, implying a sense of consistently advocated racism, something that Blatt believes was not always the case.⁴²

1.2 Research questions

The direction of the thesis will be fundamentally shaped by the research questions and sub-questions posed. First and foremost, an investigation into the origins of the JRD must take place. This involves ascertaining what the intentions behind the JRD's founding were; more simply, why was it founded? Along with this broad research question, several sub-questions will be fielded in order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of its founding. What was the reason for 1910 being the formative year? What caused the JRD to be founded in Clark University and not a different institution? Finally, what was the motivation to found this journal? These questions will be answered in the first chapter.

The subsequent question to be addressed links to the second and third chapters. This entails investigating who published within the JRD. How this will be performed will be addressed in the section on methodology, but in order to highlight who contributed to the JRD, more in-depth research will be undertaken, which necessitates more comprehensive sub-questions. In order to create a complete picture of the authors, their background outside of the JRD will need to be researched. Within the JRD, it will need to be determined what subjects they wrote about. This links to the question of how the US should administer its newly claimed territories. Then finally, what, if any, was the difference between the two periods of 1910-1914 and 1915-1919.

The final set of questions is related more to the conclusion and tying the findings to a conclusive end. Nominally, this refers to the matter raised in the introduction: is the JRD an example or precursor of IR studies? Also, linking to the debates discussed, was IR permeated by race from its inception? If so, why is it so overlooked in the modern era; is it inadvertent, or intentional?

⁴² Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics*, 45; Vitalis, 'The Noble American Science of Imperial Relations and its Laws of Race Development', 928-929

1.3 Theoretical concepts

Race

A discussion of race is of pivotal importance to the thesis, owing to the fact that many have speculated that US history and indeed the discipline of IR are pervaded by its influence. Yet, despite this wide-ranging acknowledgement of racial influence in literature, there is one common failing: they are found to be deficient when defining exactly what race is construed as. Undeniably, the meaning and usage of such terminology varies over time.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the scientific evidence supporting the supposed differences between races began to collapse. As a result, increasingly abstract definitions of race were invoked to preserve the differentiation of different racial groups.⁴³ As early as 1942, the concept of race was described as a 'contemporary myth.'⁴⁴ The excessive usage of the term 'race' is attributed to its interchangeability with others terms, such as 'ethnicity' and 'culture' and its arbitrary nature rendering it extremely flexible.⁴⁵ Whilst the dubious nature of race in the mid-twentieth century onwards is not in dispute, what is relevant are the perceptions regarding race in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this period, the theory of biological realism was the prevalent view, articulating that race was a biologically objective category, existing outside of human classification.⁴⁶ Regardless of race's biological accuracy, it is nonetheless a social construct and influences how people did and still do perceive physical difference.

Empire

Due to the historical and ongoing debate regarding the US' position as an empire, the concept of empire is of paramount importance. What exactly constitutes an empire is in itself a controversial subject, with the characteristics and requirements varying between scholars. Some, such as Burbank and Cooper, portray empires as large, expansionist powers, often coercively adding new regions and people to its body politic,

⁴³ K. Malik, *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society* (New York, 1996), 120

⁴⁴ S.C. Cameron and S.M. Wycoff, 'The Destructive Nature of the Term *Race*: Growing Beyond a False Paradigm', *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 76 (1998), 277

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 278; 283

⁴⁶ R.O. Andreasen, 'Race: Biological Reality or Social Construct?', *Philosophy of Science*, 67 (2000), S653-S654

with a clearly delineated hierarchical structure, leading to different modes of governance for a diverse polity.⁴⁷ This is in contrast to nation-states, which are described as a homogenous unit, including those within its territorial boundaries and excluding those outside.⁴⁸ Kumar seeks to more explicitly challenge this clear separation of the two units, believing the lines between them are far more blurred. He refers to empires as 'nations writ large' and nations as simply empires under another name.⁴⁹ He includes examples of the intersection of these units in nation-states such as Spain and the UK. The countries are comprised of smaller sub-sections and when these are subsumed into a larger state, they could be described as empires. Further serving to obfuscate the definition of empire, Kumar refers to the difference in meaning across time, with the Roman version inferring supreme authority and the more modern usage, which entails rule over a multitude of peoples.⁵⁰ Münkler quite astutely notes the contested nature of the term 'empire', noting that there are numerous historical accounts of what constitutes an empire and that social sciences have failed to demarcate what empire is.⁵¹

Development

A recurring theme throughout the JRD is that of uplift, or as the title of the journal clearly states, 'racial development'. Principally, this entailed a discussion on how to elevate perceived 'lesser races' to Western standards of civilisation. This idea was fundamentally based upon and intrinsically linked to ideas such as the white man's burden or *mission civilisatrice*, which postulated that it was the moral obligation of the US and European powers to impart their values and advancements upon those they deemed less developed. This was said to be achieved through economic, cultural, social and religious guidance. This benevolent form of imperialism was often invoked to legitimise colonial or imperial rule, as in the case of the Philippines for the US and India or Indochina for European powers. Yet the means by which this 'elevation' was to be

⁴⁷ J. Burbank and F. Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, 2010), 8

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 8; H. Münkler, *Empires* (Cambridge, 2007), 5

⁴⁹ K. Kumar, 'Nation-states as empires, empires as nation-states: two principles, one practice?', *Theory and Society*, 39:2 (2010), 124

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 124

⁵¹ Münkler, *Empires*, 4

obtained has been criticised as being vague or poorly defined and colonialism as more exploitative than developmental.

1.4 Method and sources

The project has incorporated a diverse array of methodologies in order to allow for both a scholarly and structured analysis. The lifespan of the journal (1910-1919) has been subdivided into two equal sub-sections: 1910-1914 and 1915-1919. By utilising a comparative analysis in this manner, both segments examine an equal number of years. Also, it allows us to separate the periods before and during the First World War and see if the war impacted coverage. By following this approach, evolution across time can be tracked more easily, allowing us to identify trends and continuity between the two periods, but also to note if there is any disparity between authors, periods and topics.

With the two periods defined, the subsequent process necessitates selecting a sample that is unbiased and representative of the journal. If authors or articles were to be selected at random, or by the researcher, this would run the risk of the researcher's bias or influence artificially changing the sample and undermining the findings. In order to avoid corrupting the thesis from the outset with deficient samples, a quantitative and case study approach was employed. Ostensibly, they entailed collation of all the contributions to the JRD 1910-1919 into an easily accessible format. These findings were then ranked by number of contributions per author within each period. With these results gathered, the top four contributors in each period were selected as case studies. The purpose of this was to allow for a sufficiently detailed analysis, whilst avoiding a superficial examination that would result from selecting an excessive sample.

Utilising the articles that the selected authors contributed, a qualitative analysis was used to assess the contributions of an author. This was achieved by first creating an introduction to the author in which their early life, education, achievements and other pertinent facts were woven together to create a small 'life-story.' This provided an understanding of an author's influences and areas of expertise and allowed for a deeper understanding and analysis of their contributions to the JRD. The author's contributions to the JRD were then themselves analysed. This segment sought to pinpoint what the author's opinions were within the journal and in doing so, understand if they conformed to a general opinion or dissented with their fellow authors.

The JRD was originally published in physical format during its period of production. Fortunately, the entirety of the journal has been digitised and is readily available online via JSTOR. Each issue is arranged chronologically by issue and they are also subdivided into the articles comprising each publication. The electronic format has the added benefit of being able to search for keywords or to filter by author. Due to the biographical nature and emphasis on the JRD, these articles are the prime source for the thesis. The digitised archive also contains copies of the JRD's successor publications, *The Journal of International Relations* and *Foreign Affairs*, which have been used in a limited fashion to buttress the information gathered.

Other material has been utilised when necessary to assist with the analysis. This was primarily necessary when creating the introductory section for each author. Newspaper columns and obituaries were beneficial for establishing key dates, such as birth and death and newspaper clippings contained valuable biographical data. An array of articles were consulted in a similar fashion, which were varied in nature. Many were published in memoriam of an author upon their death and provided useful material pertaining to the author's early life, education and sometimes even a comprehensive biography of their relevant works. This often led to the inclusion of monographic works by the authors, as these helped to formulate a more conclusive picture of an author and understand if their contributions to the JRD were the norm or an anomaly. Secondary material pertaining to the JRD and its authors was used to help understand the historiographical setting of the thesis and more general material was involved in the understanding of the concepts discussed within.

1.5. Innovative aspects and potential problems

The pre-existing analysis of the JRD is limited at best, with only Blatt and Vitalis having covered it in detail. Whilst the research performed will not provide an exhaustive analysis of the JRD in its entirety, it will nonetheless contribute to the scholarly debate. On a basic level, simply by writing on a more obscure and less covered topic such as the JRD will help to alleviate the drought of material on the subject and add to the pre-existing discourse and research on the journal. The existing material on the JRD is far broader than this investigation. Blatt's analysis attempts to summarise the entirety of the JRD from 1910-1919. She attempts to identify repeated trends and themes arising throughout the life of the journal, rather than attempting a narrower approach, leading

to a more cursory view of the authors themselves. Vitalis' overview is similar; he attempts an analysis of a multitude of colonial focused journals and draws a wider conclusion based upon these. The JRD simply comprises a singular source amongst these and is not afforded more prominence than any other material he consults.

By taking an entirely different approach to these scholars, the thesis treads new ground. Rather than follow the general approach others have taken, this examination has instead used a narrower method. To allow for a more developed discourse, the choice was made to perform a biographical study. This entailed selecting four cases in two periods, for eight in total, meaning that rather than refer to disparate and unconnected examples, a consistent point of reference was employed. Approaching the JRD in such a manner facilitated conclusions similar to those of Blatt and Vitalis; it was possible to draw conclusions about themes and trends within the journal. This approach had the additional benefits of allowing for a comparison of content across the early and later periods of the JRD, but also shone light not only on the JRD but also the authors themselves, who had limited discussion in the context of their JRD contributions.

Yet, this innovative approach was not without its own issues. A significant barrier was found when attempting to create these biographical portraits. There was a distinct disparity when attempting to obtain background information to create these biographies. Some authors, such as George Hubbard Blakeslee, had an abundance of information and portraits available, owing to their more prominent nature. Others, such as George Washington Ellis, were far more obscure, meaning that biographical information and imagery were notably lacking. This made it difficult to ensure the biographies were equal in content and not more detailed in the case of those with more information.

Equally, attempting to summarise ten years' worth of articles into a small piece of written work proved challenging. There was a consistent risk of butchering an author's argument by over concision, removing the nuances and subtleties of their opinion. Again, some authors' works were far longer in length, rendering it even more difficult to ensure that coverage was balanced and not skewed in favour of those who had written more prolifically.

Structure

The research questions posed will be answered throughout the different chapters. The first chapter will present a brief historical backdrop of the time period, but also present the background of the JRD. This will address the questions surrounding the foundation of the JRD, such as why it was founded and why this time period. It will also identify those responsible for its founding, as well their motivation for doing so.

Chapters two and three will detail those authors that have contributed to the JRD and explain their background and contributions. This relates to the debates posed in the introduction, discussing how best to administer or rule the new territories. Owing to the periodisation of the thesis, differences between the two periods will be identified, noting the commonalities or discrepancies between the 1910-1914 and 1915-1919 periods.

The conclusion will, of course, tie the findings to a definitive close, but based on the evidence gathered, will address questions pertaining to IR. Primarily, this is defining whether or not the JRD is an example of IR and if so, why has race and/or colonialism been neglected from the study of IR.

2. The Journal of Race Development

2.1 History of the Journal

The *Journal of Race Development* possesses a long academic heritage from the beginning of its publication. It was founded in 1910 by Granville Stanley Hall and George Hubbard Blakeslee, from Clark University, both of whom contributed to and edited the journal. The creators clearly explained their motivation for creating such a journal. Set alongside the ongoing imperial and colonial debate, the journal is defined as a forum to discuss the situation of backwards races and states, as perceived by the more developed nations, such as the United States and their European counterparts.⁵² Whilst this does clearly delineate the impetus for such a journal, it also highlights its decidedly Western-centric perspective.⁵³

From the outset, the journal is keen to present a clear statement of what could be perceived as impartiality; it firmly demarcates that it does not adhere to a single particular doctrine or school of thought.⁵⁴ Instead, it claims to present ‘important facts’ from those with the authority to present them and also distances itself from responsibility for the opinions contained within.⁵⁵ This is potentially problematic, as such a definition is vague and unexplained, with questions arising over what exactly constitutes important facts or who is qualified to present with authority. Yet, despite this multi-disciplinary nature, the JRD does establish what are to be the most common topics of discussion. These include studies of the character of colonial administration used by nations, the methods used to ‘develop’ races, such as schools, civil service and infrastructure, but also the role of Christian missionaries in evangelising and enlightening peoples. They refer to different ‘schools’ of administration, with the English and the Dutch as experienced colonisers, advocating economic improvement as a path to development and the roles of newcomers, such as the US, to the imperial scene. More controversially, they do outline that eugenics will be a topic of discussion, as a strong genetic stock is said to be essential to ensuring a race’s continued longevity and survival.⁵⁶

⁵² Blakeslee, ‘Introduction’, 1

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 4

The journal itself notes the contested nature of its discussion, referring to the diametrically opposed views of pro-colonialists and those who wish to leave others to their own independent development.⁵⁷ Yet despite this, they still believe that all of the contributors to the journal have the interests of the 'native' at heart.⁵⁸ They unequivocally state that this is why Clark University founded the journal: to provide a forum for discussion, regardless of the stance on race development. Nevertheless, the journal includes contributors who are renowned in the period of their writing, such as W.E.B. Du Bois, a famous African-American sociologist and historian. The inclusion of such an individual could be interpreted as falling within previously established criteria of seeking contributions of those who can speak with 'authority'. Du Bois' work in the field of sociology was spurned by many in the early twentieth century, due to his ethnicity and widespread institutionalised racism. His work was recognised to be particularly informative and of a high standard and its inclusion indicates that the creators are willing to consider contributions from different individuals.⁵⁹

In addition to this, the journal moves to further elucidate its impartial and multi-disciplinary approach, including contributions from different academic, educational and theological backgrounds. If the contributors are briefly considered, we can see contributions from the aforementioned sociologist, Du Bois, psychologist G. Stanley Hall and theologian J. P. Jones, amongst many others.⁶⁰ Yet, despite its US origin and analysis through a Western lens, the journal did not focus solely on US issues. Instead, it clearly defined its scope as laying primarily outside the US, on the global race situation and how to elevate the 'lesser races', rather than exploit them, utilising areas such as British India and the Far East as examples.⁶¹ In a similar vein, the founders expressed hope that the journal they had created would lead to a more educated public and that it would lead to other civilisations being treated with more justice, wisdom and sympathy.⁶² The founders clearly saw their goals as being altruistically motivated and the journal as a means to achieve these objectives.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 2

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 2-3

⁵⁹ T. McCarthy, *Race, Empire, and the Idea of Human Development* (Cambridge, 2009), 83

⁶⁰ G.S. Hall, 'The Point of View toward Primitive Races', *The Journal of Race Development*, 1:1 (July 1910); J.P. Jones, 'Conditions in India during the Past Year', *The Journal of Race Development*, 2:2 (October 1911); W.E.B. Du Bois, 'Of the Culture of White Folk', *The Journal of Race Development*, 7:4 (April 1917)

⁶¹ Blakeslee, 'Introduction', 3

⁶² *Ibid.*, 4

It should also be noted that the journal was only named the *Journal of Race Development* for a relatively short period (1910-1919). In 1919, the JRD became the *Journal of International Relations*. Despite the change in name, the journal remained relatively consistent with the JRD. Both Hall and Blakeslee remained as editors and many of the contributors, such as Ellsworth Huntington, Payson J. Treat and George Washington Ellis, also reappeared.⁶³ Speculation has ensued as to why the journal was renamed, with the conclusion being that such a racial title was not in keeping with recent Wilsonian beliefs.⁶⁴ This second iteration possessed an even shorter lifespan, ceasing to exist in 1922 when it was purchased by the Council on Foreign Relations. Upon this purchase, it was re-branded *Foreign Affairs*, a renowned publication that is still in existence. Intriguingly, this background story is notably absent from the 'History' section of *Foreign Affairs*, perhaps due to a desire to avoid controversy arising from previous iterations.⁶⁵

2.2 Historical setting

The United States experienced rapid industrial and economic development during the nineteenth century and US industrialisation and the expansion of the western frontier are intrinsically linked. In the 1700-1800s, The US remained primarily agrarian in nature, with limited industrial capability. In the 1790s, the birth of industry began, with small-scale mechanisation, the division of labour and by 1815, power-loom weaving was implemented.⁶⁶ Yet, as US agriculture grew, so did the demand for US goods abroad. Such demand necessitated more efficient transport linkages and production methods. Due to the US' sparsely populated nature, canals and railways became vital arteries for the transport of US goods. This demand for transportation only increased as the US pushed west, discovering areas rich in resources and commodities. If the US was to integrate these western provinces and fully capitalise on their newfound wealth, an efficient, reliable means of transportation for goods, labourers and men to police the frontier would be necessary.⁶⁷ This need was realised upon the completion of the

⁶³ 'Volume Information', *The Journal of International Relations*, 10:1 (July 1919), I

⁶⁴ Pedersen, 'Destined to Disappear', 23

⁶⁵ 'History', *Foreign Affairs*, www.foreignaffairs.com (accessed 03/07/2017)

⁶⁶ D.R. Meyer, 'The Roots of American Industrialisation', *Economic History* (March 2008), www.eh.net (accessed 31/05/2017)

⁶⁷ S.E. Ambrose, *Nothing Like It in the World: The Men Who Built the Transcontinental Railroad, 1863-1869* (New York, 2000), 345

Transcontinental Railway in 1869, an ambitious feat for such a young country and the first trans-continental railway in the world, ahead of the Canadian Dominion by 20 years and Russia by 32.⁶⁸ As the nineteenth century progressed, the industrialisation of the US continued at breakneck pace. By 1900, the US had attained a per capita industrialisation level of 69, above France and Germany and second only to the UK. This was a 31-point increase to just 20 years prior exceeding the increases of all major European powers in the same period.⁶⁹

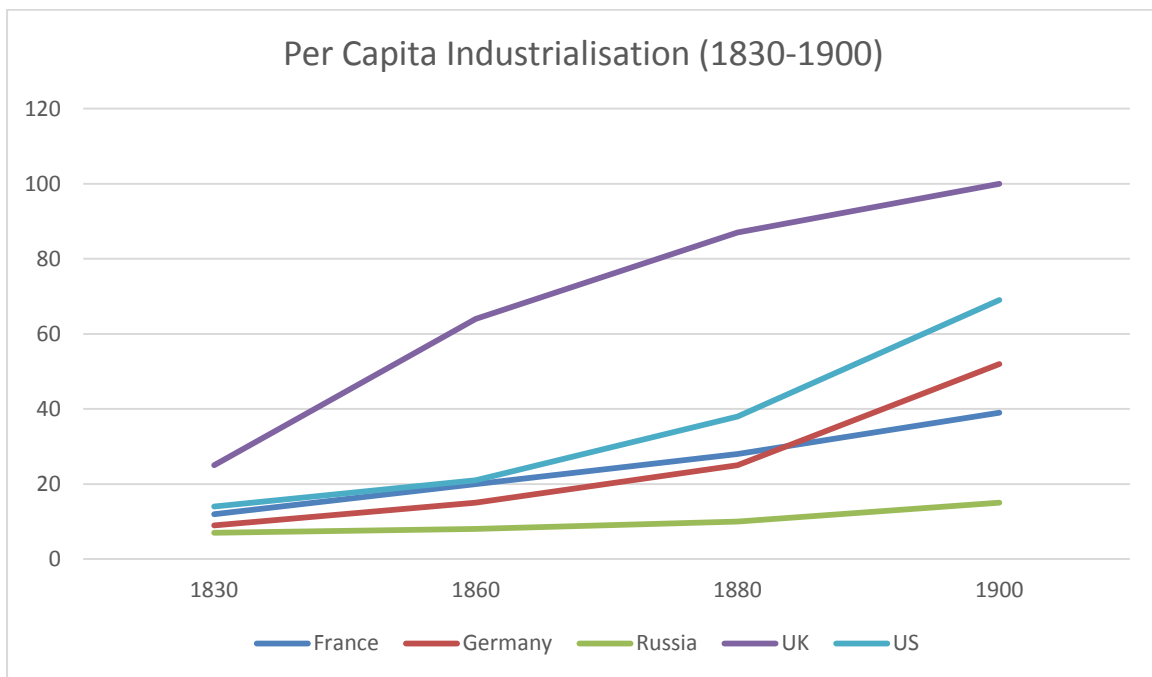


Figure 1: Data from P. Bairoch, 'Industrialization Levels from 1750 to 1980', *Journal of European Economic History*, 11 (1982), 294

Equally, the spread west was motivated not only by economic gain but also ideological. Many in the US believed in their god given right and indeed duty to extend American civilising influence across the continental US. America was god's chosen nation; they were compelled to spread God, technology and American values from ocean to ocean. Others struck a more practical tone, stating that although the US was currently sparsely populated, it was nevertheless growing at an increasing pace. These new citizens would require land, homes and an increasing food supply, meaning that the incorporation of western land was nothing short of a necessity. Indeed, as settlers began to move outside

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 17-18

⁶⁹ P. Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (London, 1988), 200

of the US territorial borders, many invoked an urgent need to guarantee the rights and safety of these settlers and the only way to do so was via the incorporation of this territory. President James Buchanan astutely summarised Manifest Destiny in his following statement: 'prevent the American people from crossing the Rocky Mountains? You might as well command Niagara not to flow. We must fulfil our destiny.'⁷⁰

As this newfound industrialisation increased US wealth, prestige and power, it also resulted in the closing of the frontier and the apparent end of Manifest Destiny within the US. Paradoxically, however, this end of expansion within the contiguous US led to a new outlet for US expansion, namely abroad. US incorporation of Hawaii is a prime example of this expansion. Whilst many have dubbed this as a form of Manifest Destiny, Merk believes this is not the case. Instead, proponents of this belief pose that US absorption of Hawaii personifies the antithesis of Manifest Destiny, being blatant imperialism.⁷¹

The US involvement in nearby Cuba and the resulting war with Spain was a pivotal moment in the nation's history, defining its course for years to come. As a result of the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 and as some have speculated, Manifest Destiny, the US laid claim to South America as its 'back yard' – a claim that was tantamount to establishing a sphere of influence. As a result of this declaration, the US proclaimed it would no longer tolerate European meddling in what it saw as its affairs but would recognise pre-existing colonial control in areas such as Spanish-controlled Cuba. This approach came under strain when Spanish-controlled Cuba was stricken by a serious revolt between the years 1868-1878. The US was a primary trading partner to Cuba, receiving 90 per cent of its exports by the 1880s, outstripping Spain, its colonial ruler.⁷² As a result of the US' vested interests, it believed it was well justified to defend its stake in Cuba. After the war concluded in the US' favour, it began to intervene in external territories on an unprecedented scale.

The debate surrounding US intervention against Spain and interference in their former holdings became particularly polarised. Some advocated beliefs that the Cuban rebels were inexperienced and incompetent, incapable of running a functioning state,

⁷⁰ 'James Buchanan', *Biography.com* (November 2014), www.biography.com (accessed 31/05/2017)

⁷¹ F. Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (Cambridge, 1995)

⁷² J. Smith, *The Spanish-American War: Conflict in the Caribbean and the Pacific 1895-1902* (New York, 1994) 29-30

necessitating American tutelage for at least a transitional period.⁷³ As a result, the US government did not recognise the Cuban rebellion as a legitimate government, nor did it afford them belligerent status. This sort of paternalistic outlook personifies colonial attitudes in the period and was certainly not unique to the US. Many within America saw this refusal to recognise the Cuban government and the branding of them as inept as justification for colonising Cuba. The Democrats, in particular, pushed for an enforceable agreement not to annex Cuba, due to recent precedents such as the Venezuelan border crisis and the annexation of Hawaii; many saw clear parallels between the erosion of Hawaiian stability and the present Cuba situation. As a result, the McKinley administration published the Teller Amendments that outlined the US commitment to an independent Cuba, with McKinley referring to any attempts to annex the island as criminal. Nevertheless, McKinley acknowledged that the war with Spain had given the US certain obligations, as noted in his statement: “The war has put upon the nation grave responsibilities. Their extent was not anticipated, and could not have been well foreseen. We cannot escape the obligations of victory ... Accepting war for humanity’s sake, we must accept all obligations which the war in duty and honor[sic] imposed on us.”⁷⁴

Many people saw this as a veiled attempt to justify US colonialism and indeed, the US continued to interfere in Cuban affairs, an act that they justified by reinvigorating the previously cited property concerns. Due to the Cuban-American Treaty of Relations of 1903 and the Platt Amendment of the same year, Secretary Taft declared himself provisional governor of Cuba, an act that was referred to as the ‘Cuban Pacification’ and was later ratified by President Roosevelt in 1906. Following the election of Jose Gomez in 1908, the US declared Cuba stable enough to run its own affairs and began the withdrawal process, which was completed by 1909. Many Cubans resented this occupation and whilst the US had not established permanent control over the territory, it controlled Cuban affairs for a considerable time. Many Americans had invoked the image of the Revolutionary War to justify Cuban liberation, but this came increasingly hard to reconcile with US interference and control.

This tendency towards colonialism was witnessed even more intensely on other former Spanish territories. Whilst the US had been bound by the Teller Amendment and

⁷³ J.L. Offner, ‘McKinley and the Spanish-American War’, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 34:1 (2004), 52

⁷⁴ R.P. Saldin, *War, the American State, and Politics since 1898* (New York, 2011), 45

was unable to permanently occupy Cuba, this did not restrict them from more exerting direct colonial control in the Philippines. The Philippines had been ceded to the US as a result of the Spanish-American War and US payment for the territory. Yet, to many Filipinos, this loss of sovereignty to the US was unacceptable as it simply meant exchanging one colonial ruler for another.⁷⁵ Arguments similar to those used in Cuba resurfaced. Many Americans espoused beliefs that Filipinos were incapable of governing themselves and needed to be guided to responsible governance by the tutelage of the US.⁷⁶ Immediately after the 'liberation' of the Philippines from Spain, McKinley referred to the overwhelming gratitude of the citizens in liberating them from tyrannical Spain, showing a blatant disregard for the independence sentiment pervading society.⁷⁷ The sense of US duty became a founding argument in the retention of the Philippines, with the US arguing that it was simply not viable to return the territory to Spain; they were incompetent and the inhabitants needed US guidance and education.⁷⁸ Responding to claims of oppression, the current administration responded by claiming it was not possible for the US to oppress the Filipinos, as they had liberated them from Spain.⁷⁹ As far as McKinley was concerned, these were two mutually exclusive concepts. Indeed, the hard-line proponent of US imperial ambitions, Senator Beveridge, made the following statement in regard to US actions in the Philippines: "We do not deny them liberty; we instruct them in liberty. Liberty is not a phrase; it is a reality. Savages left to themselves do not know liberty. Liberty manifests itself in just institutions. Equal laws are liberty, we have given them to the Filipinos. Impartial courts are liberty; we have given them to the Filipinos. Free education is liberty; we are giving it to the Filipinos."⁸⁰

In Beveridge's eyes, 'educating' the Filipinos on how to govern was not a denial of liberty, but rather a means to impart liberty on the populace and prepare them for the future. McKinley's tenure as President came to an end in 1901, as he was replaced by President Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt inherited the situation in the Philippines and presided over a brutal campaign to pacify the region, with strategies including the very

⁷⁵ 'The Philippine-American War, 1899-1902', *Office of the Historian*, www.history.state.gov (accessed 04/04/20017)

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ F. Hilfrich, *Debating American Exceptionalism: Empire and Democracy in the Wake of the Spanish-American War* (London, 2012), 17

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 21

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 18; L.E. Kaplan, *The Making of the American Dream, Vol. 2: The Beginning of the End of the Republic* (New York, 2009), 201

⁸⁰ Hilfrich, *Debating American Exceptionalism*, 21-22

same re-concentration that the US had castigated Spain for previously.⁸¹ This backdrop and the debate were mirrored in the JRD, with the US's role in the world and actions as a colonial power coming under scrutiny by contributors. An event as upheaving as World War One would undeniably be the main influence on authors in the 1915-1919 period. They would be either writing during the conflict, or in the immediate aftermath. Whilst the US did not readily become entangled in what they primarily saw as a European war, they did nevertheless trade heavily with allied powers such as Britain both prior to and during the war. Once war erupted in Europe, President Woodrow Wilson clearly announced US neutrality to the world, a position that was favoured by most Americans. However, this stance came under strain by the German attempt to isolate the British Isles via unrestricted submarine warfare.

The UK was one of the US' largest trading partners and German attempts to prevent the influx of raw materials and foodstuffs inevitably damaged US shipping. Several incidents occurred, such as the sinking of the *William P. Frye*, a US merchant ship transporting grain to the UK. The US protested its destruction and Germany accepted liability, calling the occurrence 'an unfortunate incident.'⁸² These incidents continued unabated. The British passenger liner, *Lusitania*, was sunk by German U-boats at the cost of 128 American lives. Germany justified the attack due to the cargo of war materials that the *Lusitania* carried. Nevertheless, Wilson once again protested to Germany and received an apology and a promise to end unrestricted warfare. The Zimmerman Telegram in which Germany called for Mexico to enter the war against the US fostered further anti-German sentiment and increasing hostility. At this point, public opinion had started to sway from neutrality towards war against Germany. This clamour for intervention only mounted when Germany continued to sink US ships.

On April 2nd, Wilson presented a call for war to the US Congress. The House of Representatives voted 373 to 50 to enter the war and the Senate 82 to 6 and the US formally entered the war against Germany.⁸³ The call for war was by no means unanimous, with Irish-Americans reacting with hostility to any acts that would support the British, due to the Irish Easter Rising of 1916. Indeed, many German-Americans

⁸¹ M.C.N. Halili, *Philippine History* (Manila, 2004), 181

⁸² Editorial Comment, 'The William P. Frye Case', *The American Journal of International Law*, 9:2 (1915), 498

⁸³ 'The House Declaration of War Against Germany in 1917', *History, Art, & Archives: United States House of Representatives*, www.history.house.gov (accessed 18/07/2017)

called for the maintaining of neutrality and religious groups advocated peaceful resolutions. Despite the reticence of these groups, swathes of US citizens clamoured to enlist and as a result, 2,800,000 citizens were drafted into service, with over 2,000,000 serving in Europe. On June 26th, 1917, the first US troops landed in France. Thereafter, the troops continued to arrive at the rate of 10,000 per day. The beleaguered French and British troops, weary and exhausted, welcomed the arrival of fresh and well-equipped troops. Whilst these troops may have arrived late in the war, they nonetheless contributed to numerous successful actions. Examples of these include the Battle of Cantigny, where the Americans successfully captured Cantigny and repulsed a German counter-attack; the halting of the German offensive at Belleau Wood and perhaps most iconic of all, their involvement in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive.

After the collapse of the Central Powers, the US quickly withdrew its troops, leaving only a sole unit on European soil. After the war concluded, Wilson published his fourteen points, in which he identified and sought to rectify what he saw as the root causes of global instability and conflict. These included but were not limited to freedom of the seas, the reduction of armaments and equality of trade.⁸⁴ Wilson would find it hard to impose such ideas on the victorious Entente, especially a triumphant France that sought to eviscerate German military power. It would be the Paris Peace Conference that spelt the death of Wilson's fourteen points. Wilson's fears were confirmed and France led the calls for an all but destroyed German military. The European powers began to decline Wilson's proposals one by one; Germany was to pay extensive reparations and acknowledge war guilt; precious territory was stripped and granted to Eastern Europe; its overseas colonies were absorbed by France, Britain and Japan and Wilson's provisions for arms reduction and free seas were declined. Wilson's only success was in the organisation of the League of Nations. This was to be a hollow victory, as the US failed to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and join the League of Nations. Enmity between the Republican Henry Cabot Lodge and Wilson played its part, but many Americans saw the League as a potential precursor for supranational governance and the erosion of US sovereignty. Others referred to past US avoidance of entangling alliances. The treaty was defeated 39-55 by the Senate and the US made peace with

⁸⁴ 'President Wilson's Fourteen Points', *Yale Law School*, www.yale.edu (accessed 31/05/2017)

Germany and Austria-Hungary in separate resolutions. The League of Nations was now deprived of a powerful member and as a result, many believed it was doomed to fail.

Nevertheless, at the end of the war, the US emerged as the foremost industrial power, overtaking Britain. Unlike Europe, the US had remained safe from the ravages of war, with fewer casualties and no damage to its homeland. America experienced a huge increase in wealth due to its wartime trade and this set the conditions for the roaring twenties. Yet, debate continued over the US' role in the world and despite a limited presence in world affairs, calls remained for the US to retreat inwards, avoiding costly foreign entanglements. Despite this call for a more insular US, it continued to control Haiti, which it had invaded in 1915 and the US rule of the Philippines persisted, despite increasing demands for independence.

3. The Early JRD (1910-1914)

3.1 Introduction to the findings

Within the 1910-1914 period, there were a total of 149 contributions from 127 authors.⁸⁵ The pattern that this information reveals is that authors tended to contribute only once, rather than multiple times. Of the total contributions, 114 came from authors who contributed once and the remaining 35 contributions came from 13 authors.

Year	Number of Contributions
1910	21
1911	33
1912	32
1913	27
1914	36

Source: own computations based on JRD

The selection of Jones and Ellis as cases was based primarily on the number of their contributions, five and four respectively. As a result, they were the two most prolific authors in this period, meaning that they were selected for analysis, however, this process was fallible. When choosing the final two authors for assessment, there were three authors all possessing the same contribution count. Masujiro Honda's contributions appeared to be somewhat less detailed than those of the remaining two and were sometimes up to 75% smaller. Equally, one of his contributions was part of a compilation of rebuttals to George Stanley Hall, reducing the number of original publications to two. As a result, Ellsworth Huntington and Alexander Francis Chamberlain were selected.

East Asia was the most popular geographic focus in this period, but the authors' contributions do not always mirror that. Jones' work correlates with these findings, focusing on Korea and Japan. However, the subsequent author, Ellis, contradicts this trend, instead focusing on Liberia. Africa ranks only 3rd in number of contributions. Chamberlain predominantly focuses on East Asia, with two out of three of his articles

⁸⁵ See appendix one

discussing East Asia and the 3rd discussing the ‘Negro’ race. Huntington is somewhat anomalous when juxtaposed with the other authors, as he does not focus on one geographic region.

Region	Number of times discussed
East Asia	55
Central and Latin America	28
North America and the Caribbean	16
South and South-East Asia	15
Middle East	8
West Africa	7
North Africa	6
Central and South Africa	6
Europe	4
Oceania	1

Source: own computations based on JRD

3.2 Alexander Francis Chamberlain

Introduction to the author

Chamberlain was born in Norfolk, England on the 12th of January 1865.⁸⁶ When he was a child, his parents relocated to Ontario.⁸⁷ This relocation influenced his education and also topics for research. He attended the Union School and the Collegiate Institute, where he attained a scholarship to further his education at the University of Toronto, where he graduated in 1886 with a BA in modern languages and ethnology.⁸⁸ He subsequently continued his studies in Toronto, working as a fellow there whilst studying towards his master’s degree, which was awarded in 1889.⁸⁹ He then relocated

⁸⁶ A.N. Gilbertson, ‘In Memoriam: Alexander Francis Chamberlain’, *American Anthropologist*, 16:2 (1914), 337; see illustration 1.1

⁸⁷ Gilbertson, ‘In Memoriam’, 337

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 337, J.M. Berkman, ‘Alexander F. Chamberlain: a life’s work’, *Integrated Physiological and Behavioural Science*, 40:4 (2005), 206; F. Boas, ‘Alexander Francis Chamberlain’, *The Journal of American Folklore*, 27:105 (1914), 326

⁸⁹ Berkman, ‘Alexander F. Chamberlain’, 206

to Clark University to study under the renowned Franz Boas. This was fortuitous for Chamberlain, as Clark was the first university to recognise anthropology as a discipline.⁹⁰ In 1892, his work and research were rewarded with the first PhD in anthropology in the US.⁹¹

Chamberlain's career and research interests were intrinsically linked to his education. His ethnological approach was applied to Native American and Canadian tribes and during his fellowship at Toronto, he investigated the Mississaguas of Scurog, an Algonquian tribe.⁹² His master's work entailed researching Kootenay Indians under the auspices of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS).⁹³ This emphasis on tribal ethnology and anthropology would continue unabated for the entirety of his career and he became recognised as a foremost expert on indigenous American linguistics and culture.⁹⁴

Due to the recognition of his expertise, Chamberlain contributed to and edited many journals and encyclopaedias pertaining to his field of study. He contributed to encyclopaedias, such as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and *Encyclopaedia Americana*.⁹⁵ From 1900-1908, he edited the *Journal of American Folklore* and until the day of his death, he was a department editor for *American Anthropologist* and *American Journal of Archaeology*.⁹⁶ An article by one of Chamberlain's few doctoral students highlights a 'select' bibliography, of no less than 186 contributions to his discipline, underscoring the career of a highly prolific writer.⁹⁷ It is interesting to note that not only did Chamberlain gain his PhD and work at Clark University, but he also collaborated with one of Clark's foremost professors: Granville Stanley Hall, editing a religious journal alongside a founding contributor of the JRD.⁹⁸ Many of Chamberlain's publications are focused on native Canadians, but he also wrote on child studies and even an anthology of poems.⁹⁹ The work from his master's studies and tenure at Toronto on native linguistics was published and also discussed the disposition of natives. His work for the

⁹⁰ Gilbertson, 'In Memoriam', 338

⁹¹ Berkman, 'Alexander F. Chamberlain', 206

⁹² Gilbertson, 'In Memoriam', 338

⁹³ *Ibid.*; Boas, 'Alexander Francis Chamberlain', 326

⁹⁴ Gilbertson, 'In Memoriam', 338, Boas, 'Alexander Francis Chamberlain', 326

⁹⁵ Gilbertson, 'In Memoriam', 339

⁹⁶ Gilbertson, 'In Memoriam', 339; A.F. Chamberlain, *Poems* (Boston, 1904), 1

⁹⁷ Gilbertson, 'In Memoriam', 343-348

⁹⁸ Berkman, 'Alexander F. Chamberlain', 210

⁹⁹ Chamberlain, *Poems*, 7; 25; 33; 41; 53; 65

BAAS was also available, once again reflecting on language, but he also passes judgement on the physical traits of the Kootenay Indians, describing them as physically frail.

Secondary accounts appear to position Chamberlain's views on race and gender as ahead of their time, with him being described as a 'progressive and would-be feminist.'¹⁰⁰ He wrote frequently about the oppressive nature of white colonialism and was particularly vocal after the colonisation of the Philippines by the US.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, his views regarding the evils of oppression were not restricted to solely race. He was said to champion equality of employment and education for women, as well as for all races.¹⁰² He espoused the belief that the domination of the strong by the weak was repugnant in all forms, be it the oppression of the colonised by the coloniser, or the subjugation of women by men.¹⁰³ Colonial education and its attempts to eradicate indigenous culture by instilling Western values and norms on the 'primitives' was equated to 'killing children', due to its responsibility for killing a culture in its infancy.¹⁰⁴ However, Chamberlain did not believe that interaction between races was inevitably destructive, but rather, it could leave to a mutually beneficial exchange. He was keen to express that instead of exploitative tendencies, colonising nations should focus on the bi-directional transfer between coloniser and colonised, particularly of language.¹⁰⁵ Chamberlain provided several examples of 'loan words' that were previously lacking in the English language, showing not only that the culture of the colonised was not eradicated, but could also influence the coloniser.¹⁰⁶

Chamberlain was not immune to criticism. He was criticised for his tendency to collect information in his documents, rather than describe it scientifically, as would be expected for someone in his field.¹⁰⁷ His tendency to rely on the work of others has been attributed to his modesty as a writer. His proclivity to refer to a great number of other authors when discussing a topic was due to the fact that he considered their work to be

¹⁰⁰ J. Valsiner, 'The Fate of the Forgotten: Chamberlain's Work Reconsidered', *Integrative Physiological and Behavioural Science*, 40:4 (2005), 239

¹⁰¹ Berkman, 'Alexander F. Chamberlain', 209

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 211

¹⁰³ Valsiner, 'The Fate of the Forgotten', 231

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 228; Berkman, 'Alexander F. Chamberlain', 212

¹⁰⁵ Berkman, 'Alexander F. Chamberlain', 209

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*; Valsiner, 'The Fate of the Forgotten', 229

¹⁰⁷ Berkman, 'Alexander F. Chamberlain', 211-212; Valsiner, 'The Fate of the Forgotten', 238

'pre-eminent' in that area and he simultaneously noted in his text that his contribution represented a small part in a vast body of scholarship.¹⁰⁸

Contributions to the JRD

As has been outlined, Chamberlain's expertise lay in the areas of Canadian 'Indians' and ethnology. Yet despite this, his contributions did not reflect this, setting him apart from other contributors. Whilst he did still discuss ethnology, he deviated from his focus on tribes such as the Kootenay, instead veering towards 'negroes', as well as East Asia. His final article, 'The Japanese Race', exhibits many of the characteristics for which he has been criticised. The article is permeated with references to a number of other authors, with their views simply listed with little to no analysis.¹⁰⁹ However, it is possible to glean information as to Chamberlain's standing on the Japanese race. Whilst noting that many authors doubt the longevity of the Japanese race and its ability to withstand the strain of Occidental civilisation and refer to their recent successes in the world as merely 'ephemeral', it does become clear that he doubts the veracity of this belief.¹¹⁰ When addressing the ancestors of the Japanese (the Ainu), he notes the considerable discord surrounding the supposed influence of these ancestors on the Japanese race. It is when the Ainu are portrayed as 'Aryan' and 'Caucasoid' and thus responsible for Japanese development that he passionately rejects this argument. Those that support this view are described as 'Aryophiles' and 'Aryomaniacs' that refuse to believe a race can be prosperous without being 'white' and preferably 'Aryan.'¹¹¹ This article attempts to chart the genealogical history of Japan and the influence of various races in its development. The influence of various races, including the aforementioned Ainu, Mongolian, Negrito and even Eskimo elements are debated. Chamberlain's verdict entails primarily the Ainu and Mongolian races. According to him, Japan began with the land in possession of the Ainu, but successive waves of Mongolian tribes gradually combined the Ainu into an amalgamation of the two races. Due to what he sees as physical, cultural and linguistic evidence, he describes the Japanese as 'modified Mongolians' and includes them in the group of 'great races'.¹¹² Chamberlain directly

¹⁰⁸ Berkman, 'Alexander F. Chamberlain' 214-215

¹⁰⁹ A.F. Chamberlain, 'The Japanese Race', *The Journal of Race Development*, 3:2 (October 1912), 176-179

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 177

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 182

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 186

confronts one of his listed authors, Munro and his opinion that the Japanese are not a race; Chamberlain states the opposite, as well as his belief that they are a race that the white race can 'happily contract a lasting physical and intellectual union.'¹¹³

Continuing his progressive trend and tendency to refute arguments that disparage other races, he shifts his attention towards the 'Negro.' Once again, Chamberlain decries an 'acute Anglosaxonism[sic]', this time due to the predisposition of Americans towards 'negrophobia' and a belief that the world must be white.¹¹⁴ He condemns the myopic views of society that discard the teachings of evolution, with him confirming that a race millenniums old and numbering more than 150,000,000 clearly exerted influence on history.¹¹⁵ As a result, he intends to present evidence that proves the positive contribution of the 'Negro' to humanity's current situation. He defines the criteria for measuring a race's contributions or progress as 1) their appearance amidst other cultures; 2) their contribution to arts and industry and 3) the achievements of 'negroes' that were raised outside of their motherland.¹¹⁶

Throughout his articles, he cites various examples of the influence 'Negroes' and their culture have had across time, including Ancient Egyptian female rulers and their achievements, such as military conquests and the construction of temples.¹¹⁷ He invokes contemporary examples in Europe, such as French-educated military officers and a mulatto artist.¹¹⁸ With regards to culture, Chamberlain presents African cities such as Engornu and Timbuktu, each possessing 30,000-50,000 inhabitants, which are induced to prove that 'negroes' are capable of large-scale governance and organisation.¹¹⁹ Equally, the ability of the negro to domesticate animals and create a dairy trade is presented as evidence of Africa's ability to develop independent of Western influence.¹²⁰ Subsequently, he addresses what he describes as the achievements of race 'en masse'. He notes that Europeans have benefitted from a welcoming environment, whereas Africans have endured far worse, ensuring that whites have an inherent advantage.¹²¹

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 187

¹¹⁴ A.F. Chamberlain, 'The Contribution of the Negro to Human Civilization', *The Journal of Race Development*, 1:4 (April 1911), 482

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 483

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 483;484

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 485-486

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 489-490

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 491; 492

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 486

This geographical disparity is apportioned responsibility for many of the divergences between white and black. Chamberlain posits that the isolation of the 'Negro' has caused the stunted development of their culture, including the institutions of slavery, polygamy and witchcraft.¹²² However, Chamberlain is quick to note that despite not possessing this disadvantage, Occidental culture has only recently freed itself from slavery, meaning any claims to moral superiority are weak at best.¹²³

Chamberlain's tendency to systematically dispel racial rumours continues unabated with China. He refers to negative caricatures in the US, with the 'Chinee' next to the US Indian in terms of perceived inferiority.¹²⁴ The Chinese are portrayed as weak and heathenistic, whilst the frailties of the white race are overlooked. Chamberlain is quick to dismiss this labelling of the Chinese as heathens, noting that these traits are also exhibited by white, Christian Americans and that the acts of US companies can be considered evil, severely weakening this argument.¹²⁵ As Chamberlain has previously done, he utilises historical arguments to further buttress his claims. Several great 'western' civilisations are referred to: the Roman Empire, Greece, Babylon and Egypt. Yet, despite the idealisation of the Romans and the Greeks, China has outlasted all of these 'great' civilisations. The same 'yellow race' that the US has branded inferior is dubbed responsible for the survival of China and the 'genius of the yellow race' will ensure China's survival, with China portrayed as eternal, not a failure as some have stated.¹²⁶

Chamberlain also uses physical examples of the races to support his claims. Addressing a physical critique of the 'Oriental', Chamberlain refers to the US penchant to portray races as child-like mentally and physically. Chamberlain exhibits his tendency to rely on other authors, rather than to formulate his own arguments by referring to other scholars' views on the Chinese, concluding that Mongolian races exhibit many of the desired characteristics and that the white race is simply a modification of the Mongolian type.¹²⁷ Indeed, Chamberlain refers to the widespread

¹²² *Ibid.*, 487

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ A.F. Chamberlain, 'China and her Role in Human History', *The Journal of Race Development*, 2:3 (January 1912), 323

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 324

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 326

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 327

transmission of the yellow race in fields as far as Scandinavia as proof of its capability and longevity.¹²⁸

Following a similar approach to his previous article, Chamberlain lists Chinese achievements. China is accredited with innovation in the textile industry, the creation of printing prior to Europe, gunpowder and fine porcelain which has become synonymous with China.¹²⁹ Their achievements are not restricted to the field of craft, but also of social development. China is described as exponentially more tolerant than Europe; China is said to have never burned a witch in the name of God.¹³⁰ Chamberlain's only critique of Chinese society stems from his advocacy of women's rights. He believes that China places women in an inferior position and that China would be greatly improved should it overcome this obstacle.¹³¹

3.3 Ellsworth Huntington

Introduction to the author

Ellsworth Huntington was born on the 16th of September 1876 in Galesburg, Illinois, being educated in Maine and Massachusetts, with his college years in Wisconsin, where he graduated from Beloit in 1897.¹³² After his education was complete, he was employed at a small Turkish college for a few years.¹³³ It was during his time in Turkey that he met Raphael Pumpelly, an American geologist and explorer. Under the auspices of Yale University, Ellsworth travelled with Pumpelly across Asia, Palestine and finally into Latin America, arriving in Yucatan in 1912.¹³⁴ It is believed that his extensive travels influenced his beliefs, spurring him on from his geographical background, towards an emphasis on climate and its links to human physiology. His publication *Civilization and Climate* of 1915 is said to epitomise this adoption of a belief in climate as the key factor in historical development, as it correlates the temperate nature of the

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 333

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 330-331

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 334

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 336

¹³² S.S. Visher, 'Memoir to Ellsworth Huntington, 1876-1947', *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 38:1 (March 1948), 39; See illustration 1.2

¹³³ 'Huntington, Ellsworth', *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, www.encyclopedia.com (accessed 03/05/2017); 'Ellsworth Huntington's Fantastic Stories of Racial Superiority and Relative Humidity', *Textbook History*, www.textbookhistory.com (accessed 05/05/2017)

¹³⁴ 'Huntington, Ellsworth', *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*; H. Kreutzmann, 'Ellsworth Huntington and his perspectives on Central Asia. Great Game experiences and their influence on development thought', *GeoJournal*, 59:1 (2004), 27

Northern Hemisphere with its high level of development. Yet, from the outset, Huntington's work was met with criticism and dismissal. He failed to obtain his PhD at Harvard, with the examination committee exclaiming that he lacked knowledge in climatology and was weak in geography, a damning indictment for someone whose entire academic career rested on these two concepts. Whilst he did eventually obtain a PhD at Yale and a position as an assistant professor, he was unable to establish a school of geography, instead teaching an amalgamation of geology, geography and anthropology.

The criticism of his work was not restricted to the educational sphere. During its contemporary period, Huntington's works were met with widespread scepticism both during his life and after his death. He was castigated for having an overheated imagination and for allegedly forcing the evidence to meet preconceived conclusions.¹³⁵ Even works that intended to compliment his achievements were critical of his approach, describing his intellectual failing and an insatiable curiosity as causing him to overgeneralise, ignore cons and leap into undefendable positions.¹³⁶ Others described him as an intellectual pioneer, advancing his field and noting that his work received much popular acclaim, being easy to read due to its clear and concise style, as well as being disseminated around the world and translated into multiple languages.¹³⁷ Again, this positive portrayal is mitigated by a judgement that he did often express conclusions beyond what the evidence provided. Yet, this did not dissuade him from his path and he wrote extensively throughout his career, authoring 25 books, contributing a chapter to a further 20 and writing over 130 articles.¹³⁸ Apparently, as his career began to wane in the 1920s, Huntington came to embrace eugenics further; his geographic argumentation giving way to calls for direct eugenic intervention. By 1934 this turn became fully pronounced, with him accepting the presidency of the American Eugenics Association. Yet after WWII, Ellsworth reverted back to his original subject matter, as the salience of eugenics diminished and the discipline fell out of favour due to the occurrences of WWII.

¹³⁵ 'Ellsworth Huntington's Fantastic Stories of Racial Superiority and Relative Humidity', *Textbook History*

¹³⁶ O.H.K. Spate, 'Review: Ellsworth Huntington: A Geographical Giant', *The Geographical Journal*, 140:1 (1974), 118

¹³⁷ Visher, 'Memoir to Ellsworth Huntington', 39;43

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 44-50; S.S. Visher, 'Ellsworth Huntington: 1876-1947', *Science*, 106:2765 (1947), 633

Huntington's final publication, *Mainsprings of Civilisation*, published in 1945, shows marked differences to his JRD contributions. His perception of racial superiority has shifted somewhat, with him acknowledging it as subjective. He notes examples that show that all races consider themselves superior to others. Nevertheless, this does not stop him attempting to catalogue the differences between races. He is less overt with his descriptions, noting that Americans and Europeans are 'superior' in height, weight and posture, but that Japanese possess a larger lung capacity and vitality.¹³⁹ The potential reason for this moderation is presented subsequently, with Huntington noting that ranking races has fallen out of favour due to WW2 and widespread anti-Semitism.

It would appear that through the years ensuing his publications in the JRD, Huntington was forced to soften his views on race. His views on 'hybridisation' have been revised, with him noting that almost all races are in some manner mixed. His views on the linkage between race and intellect have also mellowed significantly. Whilst not admitting that he was wrong, Huntington simply takes the view that intellect and race may not necessarily be linked, but it is difficult to either prove or disprove at the present point in time. Previously, Huntington's measurement for 'level of civilisation' was incredibly arbitrary, undermining any semblance credibility his theories may have possessed. Now, however, more concrete measurements are used, such as education, healthcare and occupancy of housing. Whilst still far from perfect, Huntington's approach now seems to at least utilise some form of evidence, rather than simply conjecture.

Contributions to the JRD

Huntington's opinion clearly skews against indigenous inhabitants of regions such as Latin America and the Far East. His publications within the JRD are littered with references to why other races are inferior. Beginning with Turkey, he castigates the ruling society as barbaric and the peasantry as inclined to do the least amount of work necessary to subsist in a meagre fashion. He describes the Ottoman Empire as a diseased body that has made superficial changes and that it is not possible for such a debauched country to recover in a small period of two years.¹⁴⁰ The list of negative

¹³⁹ E. Huntington, *Mainsprings of Civilization* (New York, 1945), 40

¹⁴⁰ E. Huntington, 'Physical Environment as a Factor in the Present Condition of Turkey', *The Journal of Race Development* 1:4 (April 1911), 460; 471-472

Turkish qualities includes their tendency for fratricide, incompetency and many others. He describes their selfish behaviour in detail, noting that Turks will destroy art if it blocks a pipe or demolish a temple if they are in need of stones, regardless of the damage it would inflict upon inhabitants.¹⁴¹ This portrayal is extended to the governing elite of Turkish society, with Huntington portraying them as corrupt and prone to mismanagement. Interestingly, Huntington relegates religion as a secondary factor in Turkey's perceived troubles, placing geographical factors and the semi-nomadic nature of Turkey's inhabitants as important factors. Huntington is unequivocal in his belief that Turkey is no longer a fully nomadic country, but he notes what can be described as cultural hangovers from that period in the region's history. This nomadic nature has imparted the Turk with an immoral mind, as the transient nature of their culture is said to make a person more inclined to act immorally, as they will have gone before the consequences of their actions are apparent.¹⁴²

Huntington's primary argument is that climate and geography are the most influential factors in determining physical and mental racial qualities. The physical environment is apportioned causal blame for Turkey's state, noting that occupations other than agriculture or military service are 'distasteful' to Ottomans.¹⁴³ The environment and inhospitable climate are said to have led the Turks towards their nomadic nature.¹⁴⁴ The 'hopelessness' of Turkish physical conditions is said to prevent them from assimilating higher ideals such as Christianity and they thus remain un-elevated. In Huntington's view, only foreign intervention will allow them to overcome the issues that they are now faced with. He claims that the Turks are able to reach a certain level of technical adroitness, whereby they will stagnate without foreign knowledge.¹⁴⁵ The foreigner must teach the Turk 'how to find food where there is no food' and prevent hunger and violence.¹⁴⁶ If this is achieved, Huntington believes this will go a long way in securing Turkish borders and preventing raids by Arabs, Kurds and other members of the empire.

When Huntington brings his analysis to Japan, the conclusions are more positive in nature. Japan is described as a world power, comparable to Europe, a flattering if

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 463; 471-472

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 463;465

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 467

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 469; 473

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 466

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 471

somewhat Euro-centric view.¹⁴⁷ Huntington attempts to pinpoint the causes of Japanese success, curious as to what sets it apart from other Asian states. He has limited the scope of analysis to what he defined as the three adequate theories: spontaneous variation, racial 'intermixture' and the selective action of the environment.¹⁴⁸

Huntington considers the merits of each theory, beginning with spontaneous variation. He exhibits views akin to Darwinism, but also the sort of Lamarckian influence that authors such as Jessica Blatt described as pervading the JRD.¹⁴⁹ Invoking examples of natural selection, but also Lamarckian transmission, he dismisses the first theory, believing variation not to be extemporaneous.¹⁵⁰ Huntington's discussion relating to 'interbreeding' is more explicit than other examples in the JRD. He expresses beliefs that 'interbreeding' between two distinct races creates offspring that can vary wildly, exhibiting increased intelligence, but also many more 'feeble minded' individuals. Citing no evidence, Huntington espouses the belief that those born of hybridisation will be sterile, as well as physically and morally weak.¹⁵¹ He recites a list of 'mixed' races, including Chinese, Turkish and Koreans, describing all of them as lagging in civilisation.

Since the previous two lines of argument have been dismissed, we come to the final theory and the one that Huntington believes is most valid: geography. In a list, Western and Northern European nations are ranked highly based upon their more temperate climates and the ensuing need for proactivity and forethought in planning and organisation.¹⁵² This argument is advanced further using a vague and indistinct diagram that is later revealed to show storm patterns in the Northern Hemisphere.

¹⁴⁷ E. Huntington, 'Geographical Environment and Japanese Character' *The Journal of Race Development* 2:3 (January 1912), 256

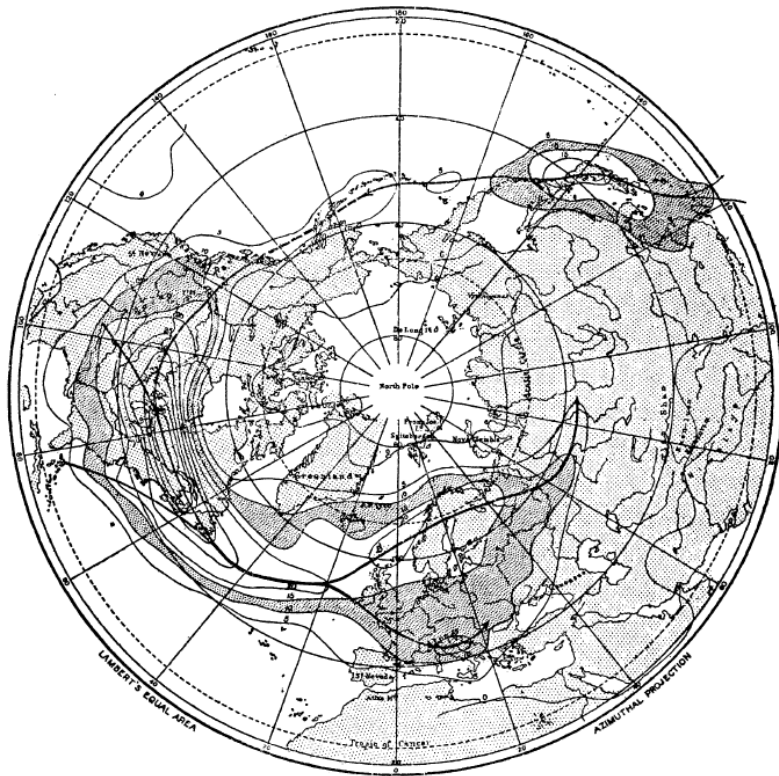
¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 256

¹⁴⁹ Blatt, 'To bring out the best that is in their blood', 692

¹⁵⁰ Huntington, 'Geographical Environment and Japanese Character', 259; 263

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 259

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 274; 275



Storm Patterns Map (E. Huntington, 'Geographic Environment and Japanese Character'
The Journal of Race Development, 2:3 (January 1912), 276)

Utilising this diagram, Huntington links the number of storms occurring in a nation with its level of civilisation. In order to reconcile this supposed correlation with the high level of development attained by the Greeks and other civilisations thousands of years ago, Huntington merely speculates that there must have been more numerous storms in this period.¹⁵³ In a similar vein, Huntington believes barometric pressure correlates with intelligence and physical strength, but he presents no evidence to support this claim, other than that the correlation is 'probably' the same as with plants.

Huntington discusses the ability of white westerners to survive in foreign lands. Unlike his portrayal of other races, he is notably more positive, believing that white westerners are well positioned to overcome the geographical barrier through medical and technical innovation. Whilst the title of the article implies discussion should be primarily about the 'white man', he reverts to other races. It can clearly be seen how negative Huntington's opinion of these races are when he lists what he describes as the most 'advanced' races in Latin America. Despite labelling them as above their

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 278

compatriots, the Mexicans are paternalistically described as 'happy-go-lucky', the Guatemalans as unwilling to work and Ecuadorians and Peruvians as illiterate.¹⁵⁴ Indeed, he describes the natives of South America as 'dull of mind and slow to adopt new ideas.'¹⁵⁵ Nevertheless, he proposes the idea that the indigenous population are not backwards out of choice and would seek advancement were it possible, whilst simultaneously portraying them as complacent.¹⁵⁶ Climate is once again blamed for the situation in Latin America, causing lack of industry, temper, drunkenness and sexual promiscuity.¹⁵⁷

Nevertheless, it falls to the white man to innovate and create methods that will facilitate the success of agriculture in South America. The pattern of white intervention seen in previous work is continued here, with Huntington noting that improvements will only be made by races from Northern ancestry.¹⁵⁸ Further to this, he refers to the situation of the American 'negro' as evidence of the native backwardness and necessity for white tutelage. The American 'negro' is portrayed as one of the US' biggest problems and he even goes as far as expressing the belief that should they all be 'eliminated' from the American South, their future would be exponentially brighter than it currently is.¹⁵⁹ This is particularly worrisome, as he has described the 'negro' as being more advanced than his Latin American counterpart, due to influence from white society.¹⁶⁰

3.4 George Heber Jones

Introduction to the author

Jones was born in 1867, spending his formative years and education in Utica, New York until the age of 20.¹⁶¹ Despite his young age, Jones travelled to Korea under the sponsorship of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1888.¹⁶² He is said to have continued

¹⁵⁴ E. Huntington, 'The Adaptability of the White Man to Tropical America', *The Journal of Race Development*, 5:2 (October 1914), 186-187

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 192

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 187

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 199; 200; 201; 203

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 192

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 193

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ R.E. Davies, 'Jones, George Heber', in G.H. Anderson (ed.) *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (Cambridge, 1999), 340; 'The Rev. Dr. George Heber Jones', *The New York Times* (May 13, 1919)

¹⁶² Davies, 'Jones, George Heber', 340-341

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 341; C-S. Kim, 'Early Western Studies of Korean Religions', in D-S. Suh (ed.) *Korean Studies: New Pacific Currents* (Honolulu, 1994), 148; 'The Rev. Dr. George Heber Jones', *The New York Times*

to study for his B.A. during his first five years, via correspondence with the American University at Harriman.¹⁶³ His purported commitment to academia is underscored not only by his education, but by his application of academic methods to his missionary work. Jones is said to have taken a pioneering approach to religion in Korea, namely by applying an academic method to increasing his understanding of them.¹⁶⁴ Further evidence of Jones' academic standing can be witnessed in the fact that he created three journals whilst in Korea; *The Korean Repository*, *The Korea Review* and *Shinhak Wolbo* (Theology Monthly).¹⁶⁵ Jones spent a large amount of his time engaging with the local Korean populace, establishing all of the 44 churches in his district and baptising all of the 2,800 Christians residing therein.¹⁶⁶ Thus it can be seen that Jones possessed an inherent interest in both the history and applications of Korean spirituality, but also of its evolution. Jones noted that despite recent religious decline, religion still permeated Korean day-to-day life, with a pluralistic approach being maintained.¹⁶⁷ As a result of this pervasive religious influence, (according to Jones) Koreans shared many values with that of Christians, such as the recognition of a supreme being, a belief in spirits and an effort to separate the soul from suffering.¹⁶⁸ This resulted in Koreans being well placed to receive the word of god from missionaries, 'uplifting them' and converting them to Christianity. Jones' interest in his congregation and Korea was not solely confined to religion, but also to welfare and prosperity. Towards the start of the twentieth century, the HSPA (Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association) was searching for a cost-effective and abundant source of labour, to which Koreans were well suited. Despite the Koreans experiencing widespread famine, political instability, social disorganisation and economic uncertainty, the HSPA was unable to requisition an adequate number of workers and their attempts ended in failure.¹⁶⁹ It would take the work of missionaries such as Jones to muster the necessary labour-force and with their encouragement, a more widespread migration took place.

¹⁶³ Davies, 'Jones, George Heber', 341

¹⁶⁴ C-S. Kim, 'Early Western Studies', 148

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ Davies, 'Jones, George Heber', 341

¹⁶⁷ C-S. Kim, 'Early Western Studies', 149

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ Y.S.K. Harvey and S-H. Chung, 'The Koreans', in J.F. Mc Dermott, W-S. Teng and T.W. Marezki (eds.), *People and Cultures of Hawaii: A psycho-cultural profile* (Honolulu, 1998), 136

Despite this, Jones' interactions with the Korean populace were not always positive. In July of 1907, an attempt was made upon Jones' life. In an article in the *New York Times*, George Trumbull Ladd (also a contributor to the *JRD*) discusses the incident, albeit in (not surprisingly) favourable terms for his colleague.¹⁷⁰ Jones had written in overwhelmingly favourable terms on Japan, contrasting the 'moderation' of Japanese gendarmes and police with the 'brutality' of murderous mutinous Korean soldiers, which then incited a mob to violence. Jones' unrepentant favour for Japan and Japanese colonialism in Korea would appear to border upon Japanophilia, consistently portraying Japanese actions as justified, warranted and indeed necessary, much to the chagrin of the indigenous population.

Contributions to the JRD

Jones' experience in Korea influenced his contributions to the *JRD* and indeed, the primacy of religion within his life led to many of his publications within the *JRD* emphasising religion within Asia. All five of his articles discuss Asia in at least some manner and at least three discuss religion, with a consistent emphasis on the role of Japan in uplifting Asia. Jones contributed to an article in which several authors critique Granville Stanley Hall. More relevantly, information can be gleaned on his views regarding religion. Within his comments, Jones makes reference to the overarching goal of a world mission of Christianity, emphasising his missionary heritage.¹⁷¹ Despite the article being a rebuttal to Hall's publication, Jones' contribution veers off to espouse his own religious and mission beliefs. As would be anticipated with a Christian missionary, Jones believes in the supremacy of Christianity over other religions and offers a history and critique of other religions, reaffirming Western religious superiority. When Jones critically analyses Buddhism, he comes to the conclusion that it is superior to 'national cults' and notes the appeal of it to those who were in the midst of suffering, making it seem a religion of desperation, enticing those who are in a position of dependency.¹⁷²

His criticism of Asian religions is seen elsewhere. Previously, Jones published an article in relation to non-Christian religions and the Edinburgh Mission Conference of 1910. The Edinburgh Mission Conference was one in a series of conferences, with others

¹⁷⁰ G.T. Ladd, 'Koreans a Bloody Race', *The New York Times* (26th of March 1908)

¹⁷¹ E.C. Moore, Wm.I. Chamberlain, G.H. Jones, J.L. Barton and M. Honda, 'Comments upon President G. Stanley Hall's Paper, Mission Pedagogy', *The Journal of Race Development*, 1:4 (April 1911), 507

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 508

occurring in 1860, 1878 and 1888.¹⁷³ Within this conference, a collection of missionaries from the UK, US and Europe (such as France) convened and discussed how best to spread Christianity to the rest of the world, inferring that Christianity is superior and its dissemination desirable. He cites statements from the conference condemning Chinese religion as rooted in tradition, with followers simply performing rituals out of habit and for material deliverance.¹⁷⁴ Yet, whilst he does underscore the negative aspects of these beliefs, Jones also notes positive aspects of these religions, albeit in a back-handed manner. Confucianism is referred to as a 'gate of entrance for Christianity', due to points of contact between the two; the shared belief in monotheism creates an overlap that allows the transmission of Christianity.¹⁷⁵ It is clear from Jones' analysis that indigenous religion is only to be commended for its potential as a transitional means towards Christianity. What is interesting to note is that despite the innumerable similarities between Japanese religion and Chinese religion, Japan is portrayed in a far more positive manner. Japan's key religions (as outlined by Jones) are: Shintoism, Confucianism and Buddhism.¹⁷⁶ In 1912, Japan is said to have issued a summons for a religious conference, shocking the world.¹⁷⁷ Jones believes that there is a sense of anxiety within Japan, due to perceived failings in the existing religions and this conference by Japan is an attempt to address that.¹⁷⁸ Jones reverts once more to extolling the superiority of Christianity. It is noted that many dismissed the conference as 'absurd' and 'chimerical', due to its inclusion of three radically different religions, but the Christians are said to have dismissed this criticism, responding, 'heartily and courageously.'¹⁷⁹

Jones moves from religion to recite the different external influences on Korea throughout its history, such as Russia, China and finally Japan. Beginning with the 1876-1884 phase, Jones offers an indictment of Korean independence, citing infighting between rival factions and the inability of the monarchs to enforce anything more than

¹⁷³ 'The 1910 World Missionary Conference, which was held in Edinburgh', *Musée Virtuel de Protestantisme*, www.museeprotestant.org (accessed 14/02/2017)

¹⁷⁴ G.H. Jones 'The Edinburgh Conference and the Missionary Message in Its Relation to Non-Christian Religions', *The Journal of Race Development*, 1:2 (October 1910), 150

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 151

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 150; 152-153

¹⁷⁷ G.H. Jones, 'An Official Conference on Religion in Japan', *The Journal of Race Development*, 3:2 (October 1912), 225

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*; Jones, 'The Edinburgh Conference', 153

¹⁷⁹ Jones, 'An Official Conference on Religion', 226-227

token reforms in Korea.¹⁸⁰ The internal instability is then said to have led to an attempted coup d'état, but this was unsuccessful, leading to the radical party's expulsion and the beginning of Chinese dominance in Korea.¹⁸¹ It is interesting to note that in Jones' account, any periods of progress or modernisation in Korea are the result of external influence, rather than that of the Koreans themselves, making it appear that Korea is incapable of self-rule and must be guided by an external influence. For instance, numerous accomplishments are attributed to Chinese actions; the opening of treaty ports, several new schools and the entrance of Christian missionaries into Korea.¹⁸² Interestingly, the delegation of the Korean customs service to China is also listed in the same results category, a reflection of Jones' pro-colonialism stance.¹⁸³

In discussing what he refers to as the 'First Japanese Period' of 1894-1896, he evidences beliefs emulating those of the West and of the white man's burden.¹⁸⁴ He talks of reform in Korea, but under the supervision and guidance of Japanese ministers, akin to a form of tutelage.¹⁸⁵ Jones refers to the establishment of a protectorate as 'introducing Japan as the responsible guide and power in Korea.'¹⁸⁶ Jones' sentiment here clearly resembles that of the paternalistic coloniser, providing a beneficent overseer to guide Korea's development, as they are seen as unable to elevate themselves. As if to condone this belief, Jones and the Japanese newspaper *Mail* call attention to the fact that the powers to be granted to Japan are not in perpetuity, but cease to be ceded to Japan when Korea renders its justice and prison systems 'complete.'¹⁸⁷ Even Jones notes the arbitrary and vague nature of this end date, with Japan being the sole judge in this assessment of 'completeness', it leaves Japan as the colonial master of Korea for potentially as long as it desires. Jones attempts to reconcile this by stating that Japan has made no efforts to conceal this, being completely transparent, then stating that whatever route Japan takes to ensure Korean 'prosperity' is Japan's duty to undertake.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁰ G.H. Jones, 'Some Aspects of Reform in Korea', *The Journal of Race Development*, 1:1 (July 1910), 21

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 22

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 33

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 34

Jones' disdain for the Koreans as a race is well evidenced. He describes them in an extremely condescending manner, referring to them as 'tractable' and 'docile', terms that would be more applicable to livestock, rather than people, once again exhibiting beliefs of white superiority.¹⁸⁹ Despite this, he seeks to emphasise his view of the Koreans as 'friends', whilst noting their potential to become a great nation, a view that resonates with many European colonial powers.¹⁹⁰ Further, Jones posits four factors as explaining why reform has previously failed in Korea, all of which point the blame firmly at Korea itself. These include lack of preparation, incompetence, inferior governance and a selfish ruling class. Korean governance is described as incompatible with that of a more modern and efficient form of rule and as a result, a complete reconstruction of Korea's political fabric has been necessary.¹⁹¹

In his final article, Jones seeks to dispel the rumours surrounding US and Japanese relations and reaffirm the supposed strength between Japan and the US.¹⁹² Addressing those who are critical of Japan, he dubs them 'Japano-phobists', acting like 'proverbial canines with tin cans attached.'¹⁹³ The tone of Jones' article defends Japan's actions. For instance, he lists the numerous examples of 'supposed' impingements of Chinese sovereignty in the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese war, such as the lease of Port Arthur and rights relating to the control of railways.¹⁹⁴ Jones notes that all of these concessions are temporary in nature, a similar argument that he used when defending Japanese interferences in Korea and also notes that Japan was acting well within the limits of freedom conferred on her as a result of the war, but since China had little voice in these affairs, it could be said to resemble something akin to the imposed treaties of other colonial powers. The defence of Japan then increases to martyrdom, with Jones describing how Japan acted altruistically in defence of China, losing lives, materiel and money in her defence.¹⁹⁵ As a result, Jones believes it is only fair that Japan can operate within China to recoup some of its crippling losses.¹⁹⁶

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 23

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 26

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 25

¹⁹² G.H. Jones, 'American Japanese Relations—A Review', *The Journal of Race Development*, 3:1 (July 1912), 55

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 56

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 57

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 59

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

3.5 George Washington Ellis

Introduction to the author

George Washington Ellis has a vastly different origin to the authors discussed this far. It is crucial to note that Ellis is of African-American descent, as this became a determining factor in his career and life.¹⁹⁷ Ellis was born in 1875 in Missouri, to George Ellis and Amanda Jane Trace, where he spent his early years. He received his education, BA and later made the state bar in Kansas.¹⁹⁸ In 1897, Ellis relocated to New York in order to attend the Gunton institute of Economics and Sociology, culminating with him passing the US Census Board examination in 1899.¹⁹⁹ Due to his exceptional scores on federal testing and involvement with the Republican Party, Ellis was appointed to the Census Division of the Department of the Interior and during this time, he enrolled in courses in psychology and philosophy at Howard University, characterised as part of the Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU).²⁰⁰ It was during his work at the Census Board that Ellis is said to have somehow caught the attention of President Theodore Roosevelt, a surprising development that culminated in his appointment as Secretary of the United States Legation in the Republic of Liberia.²⁰¹ Whilst superficially, this would appear as a monumental achievement for an African-American at the time, the position was referred to as 'sinecure', entailing little true representative work.²⁰²

However, it was this facile position that allowed Ellis to pursue an investigation and analysis of West African tribes and even allowed him to learn the Vai language.²⁰³ During his term there, he was in frequent contact with W.E.B. Du Bois and Franz Boas regarding his research and attempts to have it published.²⁰⁴ Indeed, during his eight year tenure in Liberia, Ellis is said to have consistently requested either a promotion or a transfer to a position that entailed more responsibility and usage of his skills.²⁰⁵ In an

¹⁹⁷ B.R. Roberts, *Artistic Ambassadors: Literary and International Representation of the New Negro Era* (Charlottesville, 2013), 4

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 72; V.J. Williams Jr., 'A Gifted Amateur: The Case of George Washington Ellis', *American Anthropologist*, 104:2 (2002), 544; 'Ellis, George Washington' *West's Encyclopedia of American Law*, www.encyclopedia.com (accessed 16/02/2017)

¹⁹⁹ Roberts, *Artistic Ambassadors*, 72

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*; Williams Jr., 'A Gifted Amateur', 545

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² Roberts, *Artistic Ambassadors*, 72

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 72-73;

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 545-546

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 72

unsurprising fashion, his requests were treated with incredulity, due to his ethnic background. In correspondence discussing the proposal of relocating Ellis, A Mr. Dean and Mr. Carr debate whether he would be 'better than some coon', before referring to him as one of their 'coloured brethren'.²⁰⁶ They discuss the practicalities of relocating him, considering placement in the consular service, but also noting the complications that they would have to bridge when considering what positions are open to a man of his race.²⁰⁷ By 1910, Ellis is said to have completed his research in Liberia and 'made good' on his threat to resign, setting up a law practice to help rectify wrongs such as those he had been subjected to.²⁰⁸

It was after this stint in Liberia that Ellis published a series of books and also contributed to the JRD. In several of these works, he sought to dispel rumours surrounding Africa and the ensuing scholarly misrepresentation.²⁰⁹ Despite it being noted that in the modern era, Ellis' work has been neglected, it was well received at the time by authorities such as Du Bois, who dubbed his work integral to every 'colored[sic] American's library'²¹⁰ However, Ellis' work (particularly photography) was not regarded as highly by white critics. His own publisher saw Ellis' photos as refuting his own argument for African progression, stating they portrayed them as barbarians and potentially cannibals.²¹¹ It was partly this commentary that led Ellis to publish a novel, entitled *The Leopard's Claw*, in which he discussed the portrayal of African culture and history.²¹²

Contributions to the JRD

Ellis' experience led to him focusing almost exclusively Liberia and his personal observations there. Indeed, all four of his publications in this period included Liberia in one form or another.²¹³ In two of Ellis' articles, he simply lists observations on West

²⁰⁶ A. Blakeley, 'Richard T. Greener and the "Talented Tenth's" Dilemma', *The Journal of Negro History* 59:4 (1974), 314-315

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 315

²⁰⁸ Roberts, *Artistic Ambassadors*, 73-74

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 74

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*; Williams Jr., 'A Gifted Amateur', 544

²¹¹ Roberts, *Artistic Ambassadors*, 74

²¹² See illustration 1.4

²¹³ G.W. Ellis, 'Islam as a Factor in West African Culture', *The Journal of Race Development*, 2:2 (October 1911); G.W. Ellis, 'Dynamic Factors in the Liberian Situation', *The Journal of Race Development*, 1:3 (January 1911); G.W. Ellis, 'Negro Social Institutions in West Africa', *The Journal of Race Development*, 4:2 (October 1913); G.W. Ellis, 'Political Importance of the International Loan in Liberia', *The Journal of Race Development*, 3:1 (July 1912)

African culture and geography. Despite what may be perceived as attempts to prevent a Western-centric analysis, Ellis often falls into a trap reminiscent of the European trope of Orientalism, describing hairstyles as 'peculiar' and their religions as encompassing 'strange superstitions'.²¹⁴ Typically, when Ellis does make statements that are based primarily on his own opinions, he seems to prefer to make this clear, prefacing them with statements such as 'It has been the observation/opinion of the writer', rather than merging his opinion with his findings.²¹⁵ At certain junctures, his writing appears to be almost defensive, expecting and pre-emptively refuting criticism. For example, he notes that courtship and marriage amongst the Vai may appear externally simple, with observers deeming them devoid of love, but he instantly repudiates this, using analogies such as Romeo and Juliet to show that the Vai are indeed capable of love, but in terms that would resonate with a Western audience and disprove racial rumours.²¹⁶

In a similar vein, Ellis seeks to dispel the rumours that surround African and Vai culture. The Vai women are described as 'very loving' and Ellis notes that Liberia has made significant progress over tribal practices that could lead to a child's death for disobedience.²¹⁷ Ellis does accept that progress is still to be made in some areas – children are still traded in certain regions and the strength of marriage bonds varies across the country. As has been noted, he does offer some soft criticism of the Vai and their superstitious practices, but this is reconciled with both acceptance and comparison to the Western world. Ellis even notes that all great nations at one point practiced witchcraft and provides the examples of Greeks, Romans and most importantly of all, 'the modern nations of Europe'.²¹⁸

Rather than criticising Africans for their lack of development, Ellis instead focuses his attack firmly on the European powers, placing the blame for many of Liberia's problems squarely at their feet. The Liberian state is portrayed as in a perilous position, subject to the power plays of nearby European colonial states. Liberia's position as sandwiched between French and British holdings has led to grave questions for the future of Liberia.²¹⁹ Ellis views European actions as repugnant and consistently condemns them for slowly annexing valuable portions of Liberian territory, something

²¹⁴ Ellis, 'Negro Social Institutions', 177; 181; 186

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 172

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 178

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 180

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 181

²¹⁹ Ellis, 'Dynamic Factors in the Liberian Situation', 255; 257; See illustration 1.5

that has led to the humiliation of the young republic.²²⁰ Ellis notes the example of the British colonial administration intervening to reclaim a merchant ship that had been impounded for non-payment of dues. Despite this being a matter between the respective merchant and the Liberian government, the colonial government of Sierra Leone seized the vessels by force, emphasising his previous point regarding the perils of an adjacent colonial power.²²¹

Ellis is keen to make apparent that it Britain is not the sole actor responsible for infringements of Liberian sovereignty. France is said to have acted in a similarly aggressive manner, extending its holdings inwards, despite successive treaties demarcating French holdings and seeking to prevent further loss of land.²²² In a similar manner to Britain, France is accused of extracting titles to land by duress, rather than by diplomatic negotiations.²²³ France is further accused of manipulating treaties to extend their application to entire tribes, rather than simply one region, such as the treaty of 1907.²²⁴ Ellis also notes that Britain and France often acted in tandem, playing one another's demands against Liberia as a means for extracting further concessions. As a result of France securing lands outside of the 1892 treaty, Britain is said to have threatened to encroach further onto Liberian territory.²²⁵ At the conclusion of Ellis' indictment of the colonial powers, he makes the observation that neither will be happy until the entirety of Liberian has been subsumed and there is nothing left to claim.²²⁶

Yet, despite this clear aggressive colonial behaviour, Ellis provides other causes of the resulting colonial influence in Liberia. US weakness has led to a subservient position for Liberia, lest it lose its financial support. Whilst commending the American 'negro' for spreading US values such as democracy to the 'African Black Belt', his castigation of US society is abundantly clear. Ellis refers to American timidity when confronting Britain over its encroachment on Liberia and also portrays the US negatively by describing Liberia as an opportunity to escape the cruelties of American bondage.²²⁷ Nevertheless, he elsewhere contradicts this stance, referring to America as

²²⁰ Ellis, 'Dynamic Factors in the Liberian Situation', 257

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 260

²²² *Ibid.*, 265

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 266

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 265; 271

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 266

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 258; 259

guiding Liberia through a period of national crisis and assisting Liberia on entering a new era.²²⁸ Despite Ellis' African-American origins, he refers to the US in similar terms to many academics of the time, describing US actions in Porto[sic] Rico and the Philippines as helping to elevate them and guide them down the correct path, trumpeting the oft repeated trope of the US as a benevolent coloniser and living up to the title: *The Journal of Race Development*.²²⁹

Ellis' final topic interest is that of religion. It is interesting to note that despite his belief that Christianity is the superior religion, his views on Islam (the dominant Liberian religion) are positive. Reflecting on his own experiences in Liberia, he comes out against those that attempt to denigrate Islam, due to their lack of empirical evidence.²³⁰ He notes that many authors are blinded by their zealous desire to champion Christianity or discredit Islam at any cost, rather than to discover the truth.²³¹ He himself does state that Christianity would provide a greater amount of uplift, but Islam is a marked improvement upon the paganism prevalent in Africa.²³² Ellis thus makes his stance regarding Islam and paganism abundantly clear, delineating the positive contributions Islam has made to African culture as a whole, whilst decrying the natural state of paganism. Ellis notes a marked intellectual inferiority in those tribes that have remained pagan.²³³ Islam, in contrast, is portrayed as responsible for intellectual culture in Africa, creating writers on law, music, history and theology, with Ellis noting that these Africans rivalled their Arabic masters.²³⁴

Once more, he refers back to the Vai as his favoured subject of analysis, noting the influence Islam has had on them. He notes with surprise how many Vai doctors are able to undertake complex medical procedures, due to the dissemination of knowledge via Islam, with Vai surgeons extracting bullets, setting bones and removing shattered items.²³⁵ Ellis notes the pragmatism of Islam and attributes its success as a religion to it. He refers to Hall's article 'Mission Pedagogy', noting that Islamic preachers are tactful in their approach, seeking to adapt existing institutions and incorporate some token

²²⁸ Ellis 'Political Importance of the International Loan in Liberia', 109

²²⁹ Ellis, 'Dynamic Factors in the Liberian Situation', 276

²³⁰ Ellis, 'Islam as a Factor in West African Culture', 107; 111

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 107

²³² *Ibid.*, 114

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 111; 114; 117

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 124

paganist practices, rather than to completely supplant them as Europeans did.²³⁶ Africans are seen as on par with Arabs and the history of Islam incorporates many black individuals as key, avoiding the feeling of inferiority that Christianity so often propagates.

Nonetheless, Ellis still notes the flaws inherent to Islam and the superiority of Christianity. First and foremost, Islam has done nothing to correct distasteful native institutions such as slavery; Christianity decries such abuses and advocates 'moral excellence.'²³⁷ Ellis discusses the need for Africa to still be redeemed, with Christianity supplanting Islam and paganism, but only after careful study of local institutions.²³⁸ Whilst noting a few select flaws in Christianity, such as its divisive nature and multiple doctrines, his arguments for Christianity then shift towards a rebuttal of the criticisms, noting that many of the wrongs attributed to Christianity, such as the liquor trade, caste system and racial definitions and the disintegration of the African state.²³⁹ Ellis contends that these are a result of Western society, rather than of Christianity, as it has been the coloniser that invokes these wrongs, with Christianity seeking and according to Ellis, succeeding in righting these wrongs.²⁴⁰

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 113; 119

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 118

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 126

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 127; 129

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 128

4. The Late JRD (1915-1919)

4.1 Introduction to the findings

As with the first chapter, the findings will once again be summarised here, in order to provide informative contextual information. Within the 1915-1919 period, there were a total of 132 contributions from 82 authors.²⁴¹ Once again, authors tended to contribute only once, rather than multiple times. However, the split is far closer than in the first chapter, with 68 of the total contributions coming from authors who contributed once and the remaining 64 contributions coming from 20 other authors.

Year	Number of contributions
1915	29
1916	29
1917	25
1918	34
1919	15

Source: own computations based on JRD

The results mentioned above were once again influencing factors when deciding upon what authors to include. The selection of authors was once more based on the number of contributions. This led to the selection of Reid, with fourteen contributions, Ellis with seven and Blakeslee and Treat, both with four. As a result, of this methodology, Ellis appears in both chapters, indicating consistency in his level of contributions to the JRD. As before, East Asia is the most common geographic focus in this period, with Europe in second place. Both Reid's and Treat's work corroborates the quantitative findings, primarily discussing topics in the Far East. However, the second author, Blakeslee, bucks this trend, instead focusing on discussions of North and South America. These regions were less widely discussed, with North America ranking two points behind Europe in number of times discussed and South America lagging nine points behind in fourth place. Ellis does show some continuity, discussing the current situation of

²⁴¹ See appendix two

Liberia, but he is more outspoken in his discussions, with US race relations being the topic in 5 of his 7 articles.

Region in Question	Number of times discussed
East Asia	41
Europe	22
North America	20
Central and Latin America	13
South and South-East Asia	12
Middle East	9
West Africa	3
North Africa	0
Central and South Africa	0
Oceania	0

Source: own computations based on JRD

4.2 Payson Jackson Treat

Introduction to the author

Payson Jackson Treat was born on the 12th of November 1879 in New York.²⁴² He gained his Bachelor's degree at Wesleyan University, Connecticut in 1900 and subsequently a master's degree from Columbia University in 1903.²⁴³ Treat was then engaged in research with Professor Max Farrand, head of the department of history at Stanford University. It was during his work at Stanford that he was approached by the president of the university, David Starr, who suggested that Treat should take a year's leave to travel the Far East in preparation for a new course at Stanford. Despite the change in academic focus at an early period, Treat received his PhD from Stanford in 1910.²⁴⁴ Treat's academic career was remarkable in many aspects. His focus on the Far East was pioneering in scholarship from the period; his PhD in the subject of Far Eastern Studies was the first awarded by Stanford and the professorship that preceded it in 1906 was

²⁴² 'Payson J. Treat, 92, Stanford Historian', *New York Times* (June 16, 1972), www.nytimes.com (accessed 10/05/2017); 'Prof. Payson J. Treat, Stanford Historian of Australasia & Japan', *Australian Postal History & Social Philately*, www.auspostalhistory.com (accessed 10/05/2017)

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ L. Cuban, *How Scholars Trumped Teachers: Change Without Reform in University Curriculum, Teaching, and Research, 1890-1990* (New York, 1999), 228; 'Class of 1910', *The Stanford Daily* (23rd May 1910), 7

the first at an American university.²⁴⁵ He also provided the first comprehensive lectures in Australian history. However, Treat likewise published on the subject of American history, with his book on the national land system of the United States being published in 1910, to much critical acclaim for its insight into a poorly covered topic, both then and during its reprint in 1968.²⁴⁶ Treat also contributed to several journals other than the JRD including *The American Historical Review* and *Political Science Quarterly*. His contributions to these appear to mirror his area of employment more than his PhD dissertation, discussing topics such as the Japanese Mikado (the Japanese emperor) and China and Korea between 1885-1894.

Treat travelled extensively during his tenure, visiting the Orient and Australia in 1912, 1921-22 and 1936. Many of his publications understandably reflected this focus on the Orient and he wrote extensively on the diplomatic relations between Japan and the US (something that he also did in a limited fashion in his JRD publications). He spent the majority of his career at Stanford, progressing to the head of the history department and teaching there for 40 years before retiring and becoming professor emeritus.²⁴⁷ Treat lived till June 1972, dying aged 92 in his home on the Stanford campus.²⁴⁸

Contributions to the JRD

It is worth noting that compared to many of the other JRD's authors, Payson J. Treat's are significantly shorter. Whilst many of the already considered authors published articles that ranged from 20-30 pages. However, Treat's articles do still seem to be well thought out and are certainly not bereft of detail. One of the consistent themes within Treat's articles is the tendency to extoll the virtues of the US as a benevolent power, morally superior to its European peers. Across two of his four articles in this period, Treat stresses the return of indemnities as proof of US moral superiority. Treat recounts the Shimonoseki campaign, in which according to the US view, a rogue daimyo of the Chōshū clan fired upon American, French and Dutch ships between June and July 1863.²⁴⁹ Japan was forced to pay vast reparations and Treat speculates that Britain

²⁴⁵ 'Payson J. Treat, 92, Stanford Historian', *New York Times*; 'Prof. Payson J. Treat, Stanford Historian of Australasia & Japan', *Australian Postal History & Social Philately*

²⁴⁶ 'Payson J. Treat, 92, Stanford Historian', *New York Times*

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*; 'Annual Report of the President of Stanford University', *Stanford University Bulletin*, 7:120 (December 1945), 290; 'Prof. Payson J. Treat, Stanford Historian of Australasia & Japan', *Australian Postal History & Social Philately*

²⁴⁸ 'Payson J. Treat, 92, Stanford Historian', *New York Times*

²⁴⁹ P.J. Treat, 'Return of the Shimonoseki Indemnity', *The Journal of Race Development*, 8:1 (July 1917), 3-4

intended to use this sum as leverage for new ports.²⁵⁰ The account of the US is much more favourable, with the House of Representatives being noted for voting to release Japan from further payments in 1872 and in 1883, the original amount of \$785,000 was repaid.²⁵¹ Treat notes the positive outcome of the US' actions, with Japan using the money to build a break-water in Yokohama maintaining a tangible presence of US goodwill towards Japan.²⁵²

Yet, Treat's views of US benevolence are not restricted solely to the payment of indemnities. Treat discusses the 'Old China Trade' period between the US and China, with him noting that American Seamen were described by the Chinese as respectful, observant of laws and seeking no unfair advantage for themselves. However, this statement seems dubious at best since the American traders were well known purveyors of opium, something that China protested against.²⁵³ Treat refers to Japanese seclusion and the subsequent US actions that resulted in its opening to the world. He portrays this occurrence from a decidedly pro-American point of view. According to Treat, America attempted to convince Japan of the errors in their course, but when this failed, Commodore Perry opened Japan via 'wise and sympathetic' negotiations. This at the very least would seem to be a distorted view of events, as it overlooks entirely the aggressive actions of Perry and his usage of heavily armed ships to threaten the Japanese capital, Edo.²⁵⁴ Furthering this view, Treat described American diplomacy in this period as being defined by 'moderation, forbearance, justice and self-determination.'²⁵⁵ He proves this by citing examples of American selflessness, such as when it disavowed its rights to interfere in the domestic affairs of China.²⁵⁶ He then speculates that had this clause been adopted by the European powers, the history of the Far East would be radically different and the Europeans would appear more honourable on the diplomatic stage. It should be stated that this pronouncement is however very narrow and falls short of actually prohibiting US interference in Chinese affairs outright.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 8;9

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 11; P.J. Treat, 'The Foundations of American Policy in the Far East', *The Journal of Race Development*, 9:2 (October 1918), 204

²⁵² Treat, 'Return of the Shimonoseki Indemnity', 12

²⁵³ J.M. Downs, 'American Merchants and the Opium Trade, 1800-1840', *The Business History Review*, 42:4 (1968), 419; The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 'Opium Trade', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, www.britannica.com (accessed 12/05/2017)

²⁵⁴ S. Rabson, 'Perry's Black Ships in Japan and Ryukyu: The Whitewash of History', *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, 14:16 (2016), 3

²⁵⁵ Treat, 'The Foundations of American Policy in the Far East', 200; 209

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 200

On a similar basis, Treat refers to Japan's struggles to overcome extraterritoriality and European treaties. Once more, America is portrayed as the friend of Asia, supporting Japanese claims for revision, but America's slight influence in this period is said to have hindered it.²⁵⁷

The benevolence of the US is also extended to its actions as an occupying power. Treat does accept that the US is among the imperial nations, but that with the proper course of action, the US can maintain its position as a benevolent power. Despite this, he does not condone the occupation of territories such as the Philippines without question; he queries the strategic and commercial motives regarding the occupation of the islands.²⁵⁸ According to Treat, there is some speculation that occupation of the Philippines weakens, rather than strengthens the US position and that the economic importance of the Philippines is relatively minor.²⁵⁹ Despite this, Treat does defend the US occupation, but for benevolent reasons. For Treat, the American people are presented with a duty akin to the white man's burden: they must elevate the Filipinos. According to Treat, should the American people release the Filipinos prematurely, they will be left as 'foundlings, naked and weak.'²⁶⁰ Nevertheless, he believes that the Filipinos should be granted autonomy as they improve their society and reach certain thresholds. For Treat, this point includes three items that he has deemed 'indispensable': education, experience and financial independence.

Treat's hopes for the Philippines are high. He believes that with proper governance, there is no reason why the Philippines shouldn't become the richest regions in the tropics, an ambitious expectation indeed. In order to safeguard this development, Treat believes that the island and its people should be protected from exploitation from their own kin and also by foreigners. Despite these inclinations to protect the indigenous population from abuse, Treat expresses a typically paternalistic and Amero-centric attitude towards the population. Treat believes that the Philippine people would support American administration, if the objectives of it were clearly expressed. More tellingly, his conclusion to the article parrots the typical 'white man's

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 201

²⁵⁸ P.J. Treat, 'Politics or Principles for the Philippines', *The Journal of Race Development*, 6:1 (July 1915), 57

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 58

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 59

burden' attitude towards ruled peoples, noting that the US would receive pride in knowing it had raised a people from 'ignorance and serfdom to national existence.'²⁶¹

Treat's coverage also refers to the colonial situation of India and Great Britain. he begins by pronouncing the US' good governance, observing that the US was the first country to give some semblance of representative democracy to a ruled people in the form of control of municipal government and the creation of a lower house in the Philippines.²⁶² Moving on from this introduction, he discusses the Indian Councils Act of 1909, which offered the Indian people some limited role in governance of their country. Yet, whilst discussing the motives for introducing these small-scale reforms, Treat proposes his own solution to the Indian issue, which he describes as a 'bicameral system' where there is one house representing the government and one the people.²⁶³ Nevertheless, Treat is still positive on the measures imposed by the British colonial government. The anterior council was comprised of 39 members who were recommended by certain special interest groups. Now, the council contains 135 elected members, needing no government appointment. The move away from the previous system is said to be simultaneously progressive as it removed the old class system, but also retrogressive as it reinvigorated religious distinction in legislature. Not only did the act of 1909 increase the size of the councils, but Treat notes in no uncertain terms that it also enhanced their powers.

Regardless of the progress this new council system has made, Treat is still critical of it and other components of Indian society. Firstly, whilst this council system is undeniably a step in the appropriate direction, Treat recognises that proportionately to the millions of Indian citizens, it is an insignificant number and that powers were still limited. As a result, Treat has several proposals that will increase its potential and further enhance democracy in India. Primarily these include increasing the number of representatives and lowering the qualifications needed to be eligible to vote, expanding suffrage. In a similar manner of assessment to the Philippines, he also notes that India is lacking in education, political experience and property, as these items are not instantaneously granted by suffrage alone.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 64

²⁶² P.J. Treat, 'The New Indian Councils', *The Journal of Race Development*, 5:3 (January 1915), 285

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 286-287

4.3 George Hubbard Blakeslee

Introduction to the author

George Hubbard Blakeslee was born on the 27th of August 1871 in New York.²⁶⁴ Blakeslee was the son of Francis Durbin and Augusta Mirenda Blakeslee.²⁶⁵ He gained his A.B. degree from Wesleyan in 1893, his A.M. from Harvard in 1900 and his PhD from Harvard in 1903.²⁶⁶ After the conclusion of his studies, Blakeslee subsequently became an instructor in history at Clark University, where he stayed for the entirety of his academic career (1903-1943).²⁶⁷ Blakeslee's early years are of particular salience to a discussion on the JRD, as he was a founding contributor. Beginning with its first publication in 1910, he edited and contributed to the JRD throughout its life, including when it was rebranded to the *Journal of International Relations* and he also contributed to the JRD's successor publication, *Foreign Affairs*, which subsumed the *Journal of International Relations* in 1922.²⁶⁸ In keeping with his contributions to the JRD, Blakeslee's academic focus emphasised international relations. It was at Blakeslee's request that Clark established a department for history and international relations and it has been speculated that it was the first university to do so.²⁶⁹

However, Blakeslee's IR focus was not restricted to his position at Clark. He chaired the Round Table Institute of Politics at Williamstown from 1922-31, lectured at numerous domestic and foreign institutions including the Naval War College, his alma mater of Wesleyan, as well as universities in Australia and Japan.²⁷⁰ Blakeslee travelled extensively, visiting Russia, China and even Japan, where he was presented to the emperor in 1929.²⁷¹ Recognising him as an authority on the subject of IR and the Far East, the US State Department sought his advice on several occasions throughout his career and after his retirement, ranging from the years 1921 to 1945.²⁷² Blakeslee's advice on issues pertaining to the Far East was so highly regarded that on his 80th

²⁶⁴ A.N. Marquis, *Who's Who in New England* (Chicago, 1915), 126

²⁶⁵ C.S.B., 'Obituary: George Hubbard Blakeslee', *American Antiquarian* (unknown), 222

²⁶⁶ 'The George Hubbard Blakeslee Papers', *Clark University Archive*, www.clark.edu (accessed 16/05/2017), 1

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 2

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1-2; C.S.B., 'Obituary', 222; K. Unoki, *International Relations and the Origins of the Pacific War* (London, 2016), 118

²⁶⁹ C.S.B., 'Obituary', 222

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 223

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 224

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 223

birthday, he was publicly commended by then Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, for his services to US foreign relations.²⁷³ Blakeslee contributed a single time to the JRD's transitional publication, *The Journal of International Relations*. This contribution reaffirmed Blakeslee's supposed focus on the Far East, addressing the topic of Japan and its recently acquired island territories (Marshall, Mariana and Caroline islands). The article exhibits the same tendencies that permeated the JRD and it appears that Blakeslee's opinions have remained unchanged. The indigenous inhabitants are portrayed as savages, lower in development than the natives encountered on Hawaii or Samoa and they are chastised for their lack of clothing.

Blakeslee's contributions to *Foreign Affairs* were more numerous, totalling five. Utilising these publications, it becomes clear that Blakeslee's preoccupation with the Far East continued unabated into the 1930s. Four out of the five publications to *Foreign Affairs* related to the Far East, with the only incongruity being an article relating to racial problems at a Hawaiian air base.²⁷⁴ Whilst the discussion of Japanese residents in Hawaii is not overwhelmingly negative, it is far more fixated on race as a focal point for discussion.

Contributions to the JRD

Democratic values and the role of democracy in Blakeslee's contemporary world make for a consistent focal point in his discussions. His analysis regarding democracy reveals some similarities with international relations theory, primarily the concept of democratic peace. Blakeslee has dedicated the entirety of an article to discrediting beliefs akin to the democratic peace theory. He acknowledges the widespread proliferation of ideas and mindsets that conflate democracy with peace. The US President is quoted as justifying intervention on the grounds of maintaining and promoting democratic values and the public mind is portrayed as believing that democracy is synonymous with peace. He questions whether the installation of democratic governance will assure this much sought-after harmony. The framing of the question raises doubts, referring to both democratic Entente Powers and more

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 223; 'The George Hubbard Blakeslee Papers', *Clark University Archive*, 2

²⁷⁴ G.H. Blakeslee, 'The Mandates of the Pacific', *Foreign Affairs*, 1:1 (September 1922); G.H. Blakeslee, 'The Future of American Samoa', *Foreign Affairs*, 7:1 (October 1928); G.H. Blakeslee, 'The Foreign Stake in China', *Foreign Affairs*, 10:1 (October 1931); G.H. Blakeslee, 'The Japanese Monroe Doctrine', *Foreign Affairs*, 11:4 (July 1933); G.H. Blakeslee, 'Hawaii: Racial Problem and Naval Base', *Foreign Affairs*, 17:1 (October 1938)

authoritarian Central Power states. Once his question has been delineated, Blakeslee then moves to outline his methodological approach. According to him, if democracy were to be a provider of peace and safeguard against war, such a fact would be evident throughout history. Blakeslee provides a chronologically ordered list of argumentations, citing numerous historical examples, ranging from Ancient Greece to colonial France.²⁷⁵ Athens is his first and most striking example. As he himself acknowledges, Athens is often deified as the original democracy. Yet, Athens continually acted in an aggressive manner and this was not solely for self-defence. Athens is listed by Blakeslee as marching to war for commercial interests, gaining of territory and more barbarically simply out of lust or jealousy.²⁷⁶ The more salient example of Great Britain is also presented. Britain, described as the most democratic of all the European Powers, is noted to have fought several wars to support its own interests; it supported Turkey in the Crimean War, fought the Opium War for the protection of trade at China's expense and launched the Boer War to expand its empire.²⁷⁷ Even the US is not immune from criticism. The US is portrayed as particularly belligerent, with an entire page of examples provided. Within these are wars with France in 1798, Britain in 1812, the 'aggressive attack' on Mexico in 1846 and the war with Spain in 1898.²⁷⁸

Blakeslee's conclusion then is that democracy alone is not responsible for peace. He issues a dire prognosis that without significant change, the democratic nations of the world will once more descend into war within the next century, a prediction we now know to be correct. The responsibility for interluding peace is instead apportioned to other factors, but primarily the amalgamation of smaller units into larger ones, such as duchies into kingdoms and kingdoms into countries. The warring British Isles and friction between independent US states are presented as proof. After their respective unification and federalisation, war between the individual units seems like an impossible concept. This pacification by unification concept is expanded further, with Blakeslee theorising that in order to maintain the peace, this process must be continued further by the creation of a greater political union between states.

²⁷⁵ Blakeslee, 'Will Democracy Alone Make the World Safe?', *The Journal of Race Development*, 8:4 (April 1918), 492-497

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 492

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 495

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 498

This fixation on the role of leagues as providers of peace and stability is a regular trend, with Blakeslee also discussing the possible relationship and impact of the League of Nations on the Monroe Doctrine. It should be noted that the Monroe Doctrine makes an appearance in all three of his remaining articles, even if it is not the primary focus of the article. As with democracy, Blakeslee first sets out to refute what he sees as a misinterpreted or even misappropriated Monroe Doctrine. To a casual reader, the doctrine is seen to be vague and all-inclusive and to others, it has been manipulated into something imperialistic, but to Blakeslee it was a clear statement that the US would not allow European powers to conquer newly independent Latin American republics.²⁷⁹ Once these misconceptions have been confronted, Blakeslee then moves to address his question for this article 'is the genuine Monroe Doctrine endangered by the constitution of the League of Nations?'²⁸⁰ Blakeslee's conclusion is an emphatic no. Conversely, he even believes that the League of Nations could enhance the Monroe Doctrine by reinforcing its key tenets and even transposing it into international law.²⁸¹ Referring to article X of the constitution, he concludes that instead of it falling solely to the United States to resist an incursion that seeks to seize land from a Latin American state, the other members of the league would be obliged to respond in the same manner. The league is not only able to prevent the acquisition of Latin American territory via force, but is also said to be able to prevent states from purchasing it. In this scenario, the US would lodge a complaint and it would be heard by the executive council, consisting of nine members (the US, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and four hitherto unknown members) and considering the precedent it would set regarding the members' respective spheres of influence, interference would not be accepted.²⁸²

The final article for analysis perhaps embodies Blakeslee's areas of interest most astutely. In it, he once again discusses Latin America, democracy and the need for the expansion of leagues. The overarching theme within is that of Pan-Americanism. Blakeslee charts an increasing interest in Latin America, even outside of the political sphere, with explosive growth in the teaching of the Spanish language and the expansion of higher education courses in Latin American history, culture and

²⁷⁹ G.H. Blakeslee, 'The Monroe Doctrine and the Proposed Constitution of the League of Nations', *The Journal of Race Development*, 9:4 (April 1919), 420; 422

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 422

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 427

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 425

commerce.²⁸³ The reasons for this are primarily described as economic, but geographical and political changes, such as the opening of the Panama Canal, have also played a role. Yet, whilst accepting these as the key motivating factors, Blakeslee decries their unsustainability, noting that successful Pan-Americanism cannot be based solely on finance, but must incorporate 'common purposes, common ideals, and friendly cooperation among the various republics in achieving and realising them.'²⁸⁴

The current approach is not only problematic in its motivations, but also in its terminology. For Blakeslee, the term 'Latin America' implies a false sense of uniformity by amalgamating the entirety of the region into one body. Blakeslee notes that the racial and ethnic makeup of each state varies radically, with Argentina being almost purely European and Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador being predominantly indigenous in their ethnicity.²⁸⁵ Further divisions are said to be exhibited culturally and economically; some states occupy temperate zones and some tropical and some trade more with Europe than with the US. Blakeslee remains hopeful; if Europe can overcome even more pronounced variances and disagreements, then surely the Americas can do the same.²⁸⁶ Once again alluding to democracy, he notes that all of the South American republics utilise a constitution mimicking the US and that they all share democratic values.²⁸⁷ More broadly, he implies that Americans are proponents of peace and Europeans advocates of aggression. The US has referred cases to arbitration, Brazil has renounced war as a means to gain territory and equally, in a portrayal of Argentine selflessness, he notes that Argentina did not gain any territory after the arbitration of their war with Paraguay.²⁸⁸

In a confusing turn, he refers once again to race, but this time as a unifying factor. He stipulates that the new world does not possess deep-seated race antagonism and hatred that prevail in Europe and that nowhere in this hemisphere are there such pronounced racial distinctions or hatred. This is an odd assertion to make given that he himself highlighted the racial variances across Latin American states and given the

²⁸³ G.H. Blakeslee, 'True Pan-Americanism: A Policy of Cooperation with the Other American Republics', *The Journal of Race Development*, 7:3 (January 1917), 342

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 344

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 346

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 349

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 350-351

discourse surrounding African-Americans that was prevalent in the US at the time, this claim is tenuous at best.

4.4 George Washington Ellis

Contributions to the JRD

The author George Washington Ellis has been introduced and discussed in the previous chapter. As a result, introducing him a second time and duplicating material was deemed redundant.

Ellis' contributions to the JRD were scrutinised in the early JRD chapter of this project and he once again appears in this period. However, in this period, Ellis has contributed a total of seven times, as opposed to three in the earlier period. Ellis' contributions in this period show significant divergence with the earlier chapter. Whilst previously his discussion had alluded to race through inference and discussion of Africa, he is far more overt in his discussion of race relations in this period. Ellis has dedicated no less than four of his seven articles directly to the issue of race within the US. If his race narrative is deconstructed, we can see apportioning of blame, the means employed to continue racial discrimination, its ramifications and how to remedy it.

Ellis' narrative positions the blame for the continued subjugation of those of African descent squarely at the feet of Europeans. For Ellis, the roots of the modern system of racial subjugation evolved from the precursory methods implemented by Europe. This includes the systematic seizure of land across America and the West Indies, which led to a culture of disregard for the indigenous inhabitants. This system was extended to the 'negro' due to economic necessity and labour shortage.²⁸⁹ Ellis portrays the diffusion of slavery as a domino effect, beginning with the seizure of native land, followed by the enslavement of the indigenous and culminating with the enslavement of 'negroes' due to the decline in native population.²⁹⁰

Whilst the institution of slavery may have originated in Europe, Ellis does equally hold the United States responsible for its actions. America is portrayed as a great country, founded upon the utopic New World ideology of inviting all under the banner of freedom and equality. Yet, Ellis postulates that this utopian ideology became

²⁸⁹ G.W. Ellis, 'Psychic Factors in the New American Race Situation', *The Journal of Race Development*, 7:4 (April 1917), 479; 480

²⁹⁰ Ellis, 'Psychic Factors in the New American Race Situation', 480

perversed by slavery and white supremacy.²⁹¹ The eradication of black rights is framed as a gradual process, beginning with the indenturing of African labour and the gradual spread of this system to descendants, culminating with an indefinite length of work instead of a fixed term contract.²⁹² The North is shown to bear some responsibility for the current situation, as they complacently assumed that the slave system would gradually be eroded and supplanted by a free labour system similar to the North. This allowed for a revival of the slave system in the early 1800s and sparked friction that led to the Civil War. Even once this war had concluded in the North's favour, the idea of black inferiority persisted. Ellis attributes multiple factors as causing this. First and foremost is the idea of habitual human nature. The people of the South had seen African-Americans as inferior for 200 years and such an ingrained bias is described as difficult to overcome in a short space of time.²⁹³ Secondly is the issue of scientific racism. Ethnologists perpetuated the myth of the 'false negro' utilising pseudo-scientific methods such as cranial measurements, hair texture and brain weight to reinforce the idea of black inferiority, both physically and mentally.²⁹⁴ The idea of racial inferiority was institutionalised, with media and academia overlooking contributions from African-Americans in academia or other fields typically reserved for the white man; he cites the expulsion of a qualified doctor to this effect.²⁹⁵ African-Americans are simultaneously positioned as criminals, justifying their subservience. Ellis believes that these interpretations exaggerated what differences did exist, ignoring that white races also diverged from the Aryan ideal and thus justified continued subjugation.

In his coverage, racial conflict is described as primarily a Southern issue. His criticism targets primarily the Southern states for their systematic disenfranchisement of African-Americans, with Ellis equating a man without the vote to a 'soldier without arms.'²⁹⁶ Once the African-American has been deprived of his vote and thus his only real means to ameliorate his situation, Southern governments are said to have attempted to entrench this subjugation further, much to the chagrin of Ellis. The African-American

²⁹¹ G.W. Ellis, 'The Psychology of American Race Prejudice', *The Journal of Race Development*, 5:3 (January 1915), 308

²⁹² Ellis, 'Psychic Factors in the New American Race Situation', 481

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 484

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 485; Ellis, 'The Psychology of American Race Prejudice', 301-303

²⁹⁵ Ellis, 'The Psychology of American Race Prejudice', 303; Ellis, 'Psychic Factors in the New American Race Situation', 477

²⁹⁶ Ellis, 'Psychic Factors in the New American Race Situation', 468

citizen in the South is prevented from pursuing a comprehensive education, instead being permitted to obtain a limited schooling so as to best serve their white masters.²⁹⁷ Interestingly, Ellis portrays the North as progressive, citing the example of Chicago as a beacon of black rights, educating and employing African-Americans to a much fuller extent than the South.²⁹⁸ Yet despite this systematic eradication of basic civil liberties in the South, Ellis highlights the rapid progression of the 'negro' and the Southern reaction to this unanticipated turn of events. In order to further entice the black inhabitants of the South to remain 'in their place' the white citizens resorted to terror tactics, such as lynching and racial violence. Despite this concerted effort to reduce 'negroes' to a servile status, the South expresses anxiety when African-Americans attempt to (unsurprisingly) leave. They attempt to coerce their labour source into staying by refusing to allow them to purchase tickets and banning labour agents from recruiting. In Ellis' eyes, this is a logical consequence of Southern actions and entirely self-inflicted.

The steps to rectify the present situation are perhaps unsurprising. Invoking medieval examples, Ellis explains the importance of education in overcoming repression. Education is described as the 'handmaid of democracy', as it prepares people for self-government and informed decisions.²⁹⁹ Ellis' prescription for solving the race issue and 'elevating' African-Americans is to simply provide education. Chicago is again invoked as a specimen as it is said to provide education more freely and as a result, includes far more people in state legislature than other American cities. Again unsurprisingly, the stigma attached to those of African descent must be eradicated before tentative steps forward can be made. Ellis makes no suggestions on exactly how to effect this change, but notes that this stratification by race has harmed both black and white, restraining them from their full potential.³⁰⁰ Finally, using the example of the American Civil War, Ellis notes that by serving one's country, great strides forward can be made. Black troops fought on the side of the Union and in doing so secured their emancipation. Ellis believes that by once more fighting on the side of democracy in WW1, African-Americans can make further gains.³⁰¹

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 469

²⁹⁸ G.W. Ellis, 'The Negro in the New Democracy' *The Journal of Race Development*, 7:1 (July 1916), 76; 77; 78

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 76; G.W. Ellis, 'The Negro and the War for Democracy', *The Journal of Race Development*, 8:4 (April 1918). 441

³⁰⁰ Ellis, 'The Psychology of American Race Prejudice', 306

³⁰¹ Ellis, 'The Negro and the War for Democracy', 451-452

Despite this discussion of race treading new ground, Ellis does maintain coverage on his primary area of expertise: Liberia. In the remaining three articles, Ellis discusses Liberia and the broader topic of colonial governance. As in the previous chapter, a fundamental element of Ellis' discussion emphasises the continued aggression of Great Britain and France towards Liberia. The territorial seizures of 1885 and 1892 by Britain and France respectively are cited as proof of the European intent to incorporate Liberia into their colonial holdings.³⁰² Britain's bordering colony, Sierra Leone, has acted with impunity and continuous hostility towards Liberia, with European incentivisation of territorial acquisition via the granting of titles and status exacerbating the pre-existing problem.³⁰³ This issue is not restricted to the nineteenth century and Ellis notes that France and Britain have continued to infringe Liberian sovereignty into 1909 in order to secure resource rich areas of Liberian territory.³⁰⁴ This aggressive and expansionist doctrine is portrayed as continuing unabated, with WW1 being used as justification for the continued absorption of Liberian territory. Liberia is accused of assisting Germany in the war and as a result, Germany must be deprived of its colonies and Liberia must be obliterated.³⁰⁵

Whilst the two foremost colonial powers may seek to eradicate Liberia, Ellis believes it retains the strong support of one state: the US. Ellis affords the US the highest level of respect regarding its actions in Liberia, crediting it with the state's continued existence. He fervently believes that were it not for the intervention of the US, Liberia would have already been absorbed by its colonial neighbours.³⁰⁶ He refers to plans to overthrow the Liberian government, orchestrated by France and Britain in 1908, utilising the pretence of debt obligations and the administration of the Liberian customs service to legitimise the intervention. The Liberian administration requested the support of the US government, which was duly provided and the territorial integrity of Liberia was preserved. According to Ellis' account, associates of the US extend their defence of Liberia further than simply maintaining the status quo and seek to recover lost Liberian territory. Occurring in 1915 under the auspices of the American

³⁰² G.W. Ellis, 'Sociological Appraisal of Liberian Resources', *The Journal of Race Development*, 5:4 (April 1915), 400

³⁰³ G.W. Ellis, 'Liberia in the New Partition of West Africa', *The Journal of Race Development*, 9:3 (January 1919), 260

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 261

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 263; Ellis, 'Sociological Appraisal of Liberian Resources', 400

³⁰⁶ Ellis, 'Liberia in the New Partition of West Africa', 258-259

Colonization Society, attempts were made to regain the lands taken from Liberia under 'force, fraud or duress.'³⁰⁷ The way in which this was orchestrated was not simply outspoken activism, but invoked an unusual means to recover said land. The American Colonization Society had purchased sizeable holdings of Liberian land, so in seizing this land, European powers were in fact seizing the land of white Americans.³⁰⁸

The continued defence of Liberia is warranted for many reasons according to Ellis. These include moral justifications, such as the fact that Britain and France have no legitimate right to partition Liberia; the fact that the US is responsible for the creation of Liberia and as a result, the continued defence of the country and because Liberia is a guiding light for civilisation and redemption in Africa.³⁰⁹ This last point is referred to on numerous occasions and is also used to explain another factor in the continued aggression of the colonial powers. Liberia is described as 'Little America', acting as a democratic and progressive beacon by providing asylum for former slaves, the opportunity for political freedom and equality for those of African descent, as well as uplifting other peoples of Africa.³¹⁰ The values that Liberia embodies are seen as problematic for colonial states, as they empower natives and African-Americans alike, rather than promoting continued subordination and subjugation, as most colonial governments did. Ellis logically postulates that European colonial governments fear democratic contagion, which would undermine their autocratic rule as the native population demand more rights and representation.³¹¹

This discussion of the Liberian threat runs in tandem with Ellis' unfavourable perception of colonial governance. This stance is unsurprising, as he has consistently criticised colonial powers throughout his contributions to the JRD. Nevertheless, his criticism of colonial governance seems to utilise the same criticisms as of the American South. Colonial governments are lambasted for racial prejudice, deprivation of rights and for ensuring indigenous inhabitants have no meaningful role in colonial administration.³¹² Colonial government is portrayed as despotic, with incompetent

³⁰⁷ Note: The American Colonization Society was a group dedicated to the free emigration of African Americans to Africa; Ellis, 'Liberia in the New Partition of West Africa', 264

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁹ G.W. Ellis, 'Political and Economic Factors in Liberian Development' *The Journal of Race Development*, 6:1 (July 1915), 90

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 88-89; 'Liberia in the New Partition of West Africa', 258

³¹¹ Ellis, 'Liberia in the New Partition of West Africa', 255; 259; Ellis, 'Sociological Appraisal of Liberian Resources', 400

³¹² Ellis, 'Liberia in the New Partition of West Africa', 250

administrators arriving from the metropole, becoming progressively more draconian and punitive in order to secure support at home.³¹³ Ellis ties this argument links with the previously mentioned fear of Liberian governance. Friction is created when colonial subjects become aware of an African state that in theory provides freedom, equality and the ability to be involved in governance, contrasting with their current undemocratic regime. When the native inhabitants did convulse against colonial repression, they were met with disproportionate levels of violence: tribes were destroyed, villages were eradicated and citizens were left displaced, adding yet more indictments to colonialism. Despite this, he does offer some limited praise towards colonial powers for their role in destroying the slave trade and for the provision of education, sanitation and infrastructure.³¹⁴

4.5 Gilbert Reid

Introduction to the author

Reid was born in 1857 to John Reid, a native Scot and Presbyterian minister in New York.³¹⁵ As a result, Reid was raised in a religious household, an influence that is reflected in his later life. Reid's older brother became a physician, but it is said that his father believed young Gilbert the smartest of all his sons and as such devoted special interest to his upbringing.³¹⁶ From an early age, Reid's father had taken measures to guide him down a predetermined path; that of a missionary and specifically, one in China.³¹⁷ This entailed Reid studying what his father dubbed 'Confucian classics' and other Chinese literature to prepare him for a life spreading the gospel in China.³¹⁸ Despite Reid's early life being well documented, it is unknown as to why his father put such an emphasis on China. Reid attended Hamilton College for his study, as well as the Union Theological Seminary and Whitestown Seminary, emphasising religious

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 254

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 253

³¹⁵ 'Gilbert Reid, 1857-1927 (papers)', *Hamilton*, www.hamilton.edu (accessed 01/03/2017); T. Mingeth, 'Christian Missionary as Confucian Intellectual: Gilbert Reid (1857-1927) and the Reform Movement in the late Qing, in D.H. Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Stanford, 1996), 73

³¹⁶ Mingeth, 'Christian Missionary as Confucian Intellectual', 73-74

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 74

education, but also expanding his knowledge of China alongside his university tuition.³¹⁹ Reid completed his studies at the Union Theological Seminary in 1882 as part of the 'great missionary class', so called due to the high proportion of students who subsequently became missionaries, either at home or abroad.³²⁰ He was subsequently deployed as a missionary to Shandong, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Board, being granted his license on the 1st of May 1882. Upon his arrival, he did as so many missionaries had done in the past: focused on the preaching of the gospel and conversion of the local populace.³²¹ However, he witnessed severe flooding along the Yellow River and the local populace he sought to look after suffered greatly. This led him to recognise that preaching the gospel alone was simple not enough; he would lose followers if all he did was continue to espouse the value of Christianity as the locals suffered.³²² According to Mingeth, this experience marked the secularisation of Reid's mission, with ardent Christianity being de-emphasised and a focus on practical solutions taking its place.³²³

Reid's radical and secular approach would bring him into direct conflict with his church. Many of his fellow missionaries were sceptical of his method, repeating the adage that Christianity was engaged primarily with the dissemination of Christianity amongst the poor.³²⁴ Nonetheless, Reid pronounced his new doctrine at the Beijing Missionary Association and at the General Conference of the Protestant Mission in 1890.³²⁵ His church remained sceptical and as a result, he resigned and founded his own mission, the Mission among the Higher Classes in China (MHCC), which would later merge and become the International Institute of China (ICC).³²⁶ Reid's organisation was committed to 'harmony between Christians and non-Christians', emphasising his secular nature and it was officially ordained by the Qing government, due to its noble goals.³²⁷ He spent his remaining time, particularly after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 advocating in favour of Western science and values, but believed that they should

³¹⁹ R.R. Covell, 'Gilbert Reid, 1857-1927', *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity*, www.bdconline.net (accessed 01/03/2017); 'Gilbert Reid, 1857-1927 (papers)', *Hamilton*

³²⁰ Mingeth, 'Christian Missionary as Confucian Intellectual', 74; 'Gilbert Reid, 1857-1927 (papers)', *Hamilton*

³²¹ Mingeth, 'Christian Missionary as Confucian Intellectual', 74-75

³²² *Ibid.*, 75

³²³ *Ibid.*, 75-76

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 80

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 83

³²⁷ *Ibid.*

not subsume the native Chinese culture and beliefs.³²⁸ Reid would spend the remainder of his life in China, dying on the 30th September, 1927 in Shanghai.³²⁹

Despite Reid's prevalence within the JRD, he was also a prolific author outside of the journal. His publications were vast and include titles such as *Glances at China*, *Anti-Foreign Disturbances in China* and *China, Captive or Free*. The titles of these publications further serve to highlight Reid's emphasis on China as a topic. *Glances at China* appears to present a picture of the Chinese culture and way of life, as witnessed by an external observer. His 'glances' include documenting the food eaten by citizens in the region of Cathay, life in the Imperial City of Peking, but more pertinently, missionaries and domestic religion. He describes parts of China as 'heathen lands' and Taoism as 'disgusting to the philosophical mind.'³³⁰

Reid's other key publication, *China, Captive or Free* provides another example of writing outside the JRD, but more in line with the period of analysis, being published in 1921. This publication dictates the need for a 'China first' policy that avoids foreign entanglements and subservience, idealistically focusing instead on the prosperity of China, rather than the appeasement of foreign powers. Reid repeats his JRD view that Japan acted disingenuously towards China, conquering via might, rather than negotiating what was right, leading to its seizure of German holdings in China, a flagrant violation of Chinese sovereignty.³³¹

Contributions to the JRD

As seems to be an emerging trend, Reid's area of discussion is focused on East Asia, primarily China, but also Japan. This is hardly surprising, seeing as previously mentioned, he referred to China as his 'second home.' In keeping with his advocacy in favour of China, many of his articles sought to either remedy China's current situation, or to repudiate its attackers. What is interesting to note, however, is that despite his deeply religious upbringing, Reid's analysis rarely discusses religion as a primary subject, indeed none of his articles feature a religious component in the title. Instead, it sometimes features in other articles with a different topic, such as his article on the President of China 'The Late Yuan Shih-K'ai'.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 84; 85-86

³²⁹ 'Gilbert Reid, 1857-1927 (papers)', *Hamilton*

³³⁰ G. Reid, *Glances at China* (London, 1892), 78; 79

³³¹ G. Reid, *China, Captive or Free* (New York, 1921), 64; 69

Reid's commentary frequently discusses infringements of Chinese sovereignty, particularly by Japan. Japan is portrayed as opportunistic, utilising the ongoing war as leverage to secure concessions from China.³³² For instance, Reid refers to German privileges in Shantung granted by China via 'deed of lease.'³³³ Japan's seizure of their war-time enemy's concessions is portrayed as nothing short of a violation of international law. China treated with Germany, granting the concessions in question to them and only them, with the stipulation in the agreement that 'Germany engages at no time to sublet the territory leased from China to another power.'³³⁴ Using this as the foundation for his argument, Reid then chastises Japan for seeking to nullify an agreement between China and Germany on the basis that they are 'spoils of war.'³³⁵ Further to this, for Germany to consent to the handover of the holdings to Japan unilaterally would also violate the accord, as Reid highlights that neither of these belligerents has the authority to nullify an agreement made with China, without China's inclusion.³³⁶

This is not the sole example that Reid provides for his criticism of Japanese aggression and attempts to dominate China. Japan is also said to have violated Chinese neutrality by acting outside of the defined warzone between Japan and Russia in China, leading to them illegitimately seizing Chinese land. He is equally critical of Japanese attempts to secure hitherto German occupied sections of railway. He notes the fact that Japan expects to secure these concessions free of charge, but also to gain further concessions in I-chowfu, Hsu-Chowfu and Honan.³³⁷ Due to external interference from Japan and Britain, China is said to consistently lose land, prestige or the ability to control immigration, whilst Japan simultaneously makes gains in these areas, representing a huge undermining of Chinese sovereignty.³³⁸ According to Reid's analysis, this is but one part in a Japanese concert of interference in Chinese affairs. At the period of writing, one of Reid's articles makes reference to the ongoing debate in China as to whether a monarchy or a republic was best suited to the

³³² G. Reid, 'Striking Events of the Far East', *The Journal of Race Development*, 7:3 (January 1917), 287

³³³ G. Reid, 'Japan's Occupation of Shantung, China a Question of Right', *The Journal of Race Development*, 7:2 (October 1916), 201

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 202

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 204

³³⁶ *Ibid.*

³³⁷ G. Reid, 'China's Loss and Japan's Gain', *The Journal of Race Development*, 6:2 (October 1915), 146

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 147; 149

nation. Reid notes that the majority of Chinese residents are apathetic to the debate, but nonetheless, China is able to and possesses the right to solve this debate on its own terms, rather than with Western interference.³³⁹ Yet, despite this, Japan uses the ongoing struggle as an excuse to intervene and as per Reid, 'advance her line of attack.'³⁴⁰ Despite this being cited as reason for the interference, Reid believes that were this not the case, Japan would act with perfidy, finding another token reason to intervene.³⁴¹ This is emphasised by Reid's analysis of Japanese diplomacy, whereby he describes the Japanese as masters of diplomacy, but also as deceitful in nature, with their diplomatic stratagem being planned and orchestrated well in advance with the intended goal of Chinese subjugation.³⁴²

Reid's inherently anti-Japan stance is tempered with the polar opposite for China. As has been mentioned, this is an unsurprising turn, due to Reid's infatuation with and long-term residence in China. Reid's stance regarding China can be seen as something akin to a 'China first' policy, whereby China should spurn foreign entanglements and instead seek to defend only its interests, rather than enmeshing itself in a foreign system of conflict. Reid's advocacy entails avoidance of WW1, as such an alignment is not in China's best interests. Whilst Reid remarks that China's presidents (Yuan and Li) have had the foresight to remain neutral in this conflict, this position is in jeopardy, primarily due to pressure from the US and the Entente Powers.³⁴³ America is allegedly seeking to coax China out of its neutral position and instead towards the 'noble example of a sister republic and a former neutral' in breaking with Germany and Austria-Hungary.³⁴⁴

Reid's analysis of the US is far more favourable. Reid attempted to analyse the current situation in the Philippines, with a particular focus on the US administration, a self-expressed desire of his.³⁴⁵ In doing so, his account relies primarily on interaction with Chinese merchants and others who are resident in the Philippines. He begins by assessing the character of the native Filipino, whom he dubs as 'lacking the energy of

³³⁹ G. Reid, 'A Republic or a Monarchy for China', *The Journal of Race Development*, 6:4 (April 1916), 472-473

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 473

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*

³⁴² G. Reid, 'Japanese Diplomatic Tactics: A Resume of Events', *The Journal of Race Development*, 6:3 (January 1916), 270; 276

³⁴³ G. Reid, 'Shall China Enter the War?', *The Journal of Race Development*, 7:4 (April 1917), 499

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 500

³⁴⁵ G. Reid, 'Philippine Observations', *The Journal of Race Development*, 9:3 (January 1919), 283

the Chinese', but he notes that they 'have their own traits of character', employing a typically racial analysis.³⁴⁶ Progression then leads Reid to discuss the tutelage provided to the Philippines by the US. He describes a vastly improved educational system, with the US replacing Spain's entwined system of religion and secularism with its own fully secular system.³⁴⁷ Thus in Reid's eyes, American education and indeed American imperialism are more democratic and egalitarian in nature. Whilst the evidence provided in his article would indicate that he sees the US as a benevolent coloniser, he goes as far as to state it outright.³⁴⁸ He notes that other colonial powers, such as Britain, France and the Netherlands have been slow to provide education and reluctant to grant the indigenous a place in government.³⁴⁹ Using education as further evidence, the relatively new University of the Philippines is trumpeted as proof of US colonial benevolence, with Reid describing it as a 'marvel of American energy and enterprise, vivified by a spirit of generosity also unparalleled in colonizing[sic] undertakings.'³⁵⁰

When addressing the question of Philippine independence, a similar tone is struck. The goal of independence is described as 'laudable' by Reid, with him noting the multiple conflicts fought in order to attempt to secure it.³⁵¹ Despite this portrayal of the independence cause, he surmises that the 'large measure of self-government' that they already possess is 'perhaps just as good as a professed autonomy', something which is seemingly at odds with his professed support for Philippine independence.³⁵² Whilst his views appear to be somewhat complex, Reid portrays the American perspective as far more negative towards Philippine independence. According to Reid, most Americans believe that the US administration has gone too far with its granting of autonomy to the Philippines and were the US influence to be removed, the Philippines would collapse.³⁵³

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 284

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 289

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 294

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 290

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 291

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 294

³⁵² *Ibid.*

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 296

5. Conclusion

5.1 Restatement of research questions and aims

The overarching objective of this project was to analyse the *Journal of Race Development* from the period of 1910-1919. In doing so, it identified the reasoning behind the foundation of the JRD, as well as the reasons for the founders selecting this specific time period and location. The predominant focus of the thesis was to further the understanding of the authors within the JRD. The thesis sought to identify who contributed, but more specifically, what their backgrounds were, what they chose to write about and how to address the issue of 'race development.' In a related manner, the two selected periods (1910-1914 and 1915-1919) were created to identify continuity or disparity between the periods and authors. The final question to be addressed was whether or not the JRD constituted an example of IR and if it did, why has it and the broader topic of race been neglected from the discipline of IR?

5.2 Main findings

The JRD was created to serve as a forum to discuss the means by which 'lesser' races could be elevated, as perceived by Western states. The founders hoped that by allowing discussions on the situations of colonized subjects and ruled territories, it would be possible to arrive at the optimal outcome for these people. Conversations would not be geographically constrained; discussions could pertain to the US, Britain, France, or indeed any other relevant topic. The journal itself did not follow a singular methodology, instead firmly claiming a multidisciplinary approach. Contributions could be provided by historians, sociologists, ethnologists, or indeed anyone who could 'speak with authority'—as the JRD itself delineated. Thus, the founders' believed their intentions to be altruistic in nature; by encouraging the collaboration of differing views and disciplines, they sought to assist these less developed people. Also, they believed that by providing this vehicle for discussion, the public would be better educated in race development, helping to improve the situation for less developed races.

The period of founding was no coincidence. Running parallel to an ongoing discussion of European colonialism and American imperialism, it is clear to see that contemporary events inspired the founders. The Spanish-American War had led to the US acquiring its first overseas territories and European colonialism was still ongoing.

The disputes pertaining to these occurrences had continued unabated and vociferous debate was still commonplace. The founders of the journal were George Hubbard Blakeslee and Granville Stanley Hall. Both of these individuals edited and contributed to the JRD, but with different areas of expertise: Hall was a renowned theologian and authority on pedagogy, whereas Blakeslee was an historian and later, a professor of international relations. The reasoning why the journal originated from Clark University appear to be rather mundane. The goals were also the motivation and the two founders were both employed at this university and as a result, it was published under its auspices.

It should be reiterated that the sampling of authors included herein is by no means exhaustive and simply provides a representative example. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw some clear conclusions regarding the authors and their contributions to the JRD. The sample selected serves to reinforce the founders claims that the journal incorporated contributions from a plethora of different disciplinary backgrounds. In the early period, contributors included: A.F. Chamberlain, with a background in languages and ethnology; E. Huntington, with an emphasis on climatology and geography; G.H. Jones, a missionary and theologian and G.W. Ellis, who had a variety of educational experiences, including sociology, economics and of course, his time as a diplomat. The disciplinary backgrounds of the authors in the later period were largely different to those of the early period: P.J. Treat was an historian; G.H. Blakeslee was an expert in history and international relations; G. Reid was a missionary and theologian and Ellis was a repeat author. The only overlap here was that both periods included contributions from missionaries; they were otherwise unlike.

The topics discussed also showed variances, both between each author and across the two periods of analysis. In the earlier period, the topic of discussion tended to err towards race and ethnicity. Chamberlain discussed this in the context of Asian genetic heritage, hoping to refute what he saw as claims of white influence in the Japanese race, claims that he thought were unfounded and simply a means for 'aryophiles' to justify Asian successes. Huntington, in contrast, takes a more negative outlook. By invoking racial characteristics and a linkage to climate, he sets out the inferiority of Turkish and Asiatic races and in doing so, justifies white intervention into the ruling and uplift of their societies. In contrast, Jones concentrates his efforts on a discussion of religion. In so doing, he follows a similar narrative to Huntington, albeit

through a lens of religion. He clearly stipulates that Christianity is the supreme religion, denouncing principally paganism, but also Buddhism and other Asian religions. Despite this primacy of religion, Jones does refer to the tutelage and uplift of Asian states. He believes that Korea is incapable of ruling itself and some form of guidance is thus necessary.

Within this period, Ellis represents the voice of dissent and presents a similar standpoint to Chamberlain, but far more pronounced. He insists that Africa (primarily Liberia) is not a backwards region but has made rapid advancements and has much to offer in terms of culture and civilisation. Similarly, European states are to blame for the current existential crisis in Liberia, due to their unrelenting desire to acquire Liberian territory. He laments the possibility that Liberia could potentially be subsumed into a colonial system, rather than remaining the democratic beacon of Africa.

The later period instead exhibits a tendency to focus on the imperial states, such as American and those of Europe, rather than the areas that are to be uplifted. Treat seeks to portray the US as an honourable and selfless nation, voluntarily returning indemnities to other nations and conducting itself in a more principled fashion. European states on the other hand, are portrayed as scheming and duplicitous, using indemnities as leverage for better trading arrangements. As a result, Treat comes to the conclusion that the US is justified in its control of the Philippines, but this comes with attached conditions. The US should continue to govern the Philippines with the Filipinos gaining increased autonomy as they reach certain thresholds: education, experience and financial independence. Without this, Treat expresses doubt as to whether Filipino society will progress. Reid presents a similar narrative, describing Europe as less benevolent and more exploitative than the US. However, a key difference exists. Reid castigates Japan for its aggression and repeated infringements of Chinese sovereignty, believing China should be sovereign of its own domestic and foreign affairs. Yet, despite this pronouncement of Chinese sovereignty, Reid repeats a similar assessment of the Philippines to Treat. Firstly, he believes the Filipinos lack the temperament of the Chinese, rendering them less capable of self-progression. Secondly, American imperialism is more egalitarian than the previous ruler of the Philippines, Spain. The US is said to have ruled the territory in a more appropriate manner, providing education and secularisation, as well as inclusive governance.

Blakeslee's discussion is more ideologically based, referring to the need for international cooperation and more specifically, Pan-Americanism. Yet, he does present some arguments referring to the ruling of territory, but they are concealed within his wider debate. He refers to the League of Nations as being entirely compatible with the Monroe Doctrine, even going so far as stating it will empower it. As a result, the US would be further supported in its refusal to accept colonialist interference in Latin America. It appears clear that Blakeslee prefers a system of independent democratic states working in tandem. He highlights the role of democracy as a common feature unifying American nation states and expresses a desire that they would work together for a greater good. Further, he seeks to dismiss what he sees as generalising statements regarding Latin America. In the first place, he sees the term 'Latin America' as apocryphal, implying homogeneity across a huge geographic area, where there is considerable racial and ethnic variation.

Once again, Ellis appears to present the more radical opinion in the sample. In the later period, he continues his defence of Liberia and castigation of European interference in the area. However, his coverage of the US has shifted towards domestic racial issues. Unlike other authors, his portrayal of the US is overwhelmingly negative. The US has perverted its new world message and fundamental ideology by perpetuating the institution of slavery and ingraining racism into the national psyche. African-Americans are denied fundamental civil liberties and a basic education, leading to an unjustifiable oppression of the African-American population. The only mitigation he offers in defence of the US is a continued drive to defend the integrity of the Liberian state.

The differences between the two periods of analysis are thus readily apparent. The early period was more overt in its discussion of racial characteristics and legitimisation of colonial rule. The later period, in contrast, was more preoccupied with an imperial-centric analysis, looking at the ruling states, rather than those who were subjugated. Results pertaining to allegations of progressive or regressive tendencies were more mixed. Certainly, the earlier period contained more extreme opinions on both ends of the spectrum, from both Huntington and Ellis, whereas the later period was lacking opinions as extreme as Huntington's.

5.3 Wider relevance

Based upon the evidence gathered, it is the opinion of the author that the JRD undeniably is an example of early IR. The primary analysis of the JRD is the same as that of contemporaneous IR, namely, states. The context in which this analysis is performed differs to the modern era, but the similarities are notably apparent. The JRD discusses political relationships between states, empires and other political entities. The entire purpose of the JRD is normative in nature, describing how the world should be in an ideal setting, with imperialism justified solely on benevolent grounds, rather than economic and exploitative ones. As the evidence has clearly shown, this would be achieved via the tutelage and elevation of other races.

Equally, the JRD is multidisciplinary in nature, with this forming part of its mission statement and the evidence collected corroborates this declaration. IR is also, by definition, inherently multidisciplinary, drawing on history, sociology, geography and a vast plethora of other disciplines. Yet, if one were to adhere to Vitalis' analysis of IR instead, in which race, not states, is the primary unit of analysis, the JRD emerges as an ever-stronger candidate for an early example of IR.³⁵⁴ Within either theory, the journal's emphasis on colonial administration, governance and the means by which to uplift 'lesser' races all adhere to the established criteria. Equally, individual contributions, by those such as Blakeslee, provide examples eerily similar to institutionalised IR. Blakeslee's preoccupation on democracy and democratic peace is uncannily reminiscent of the democratic peace theory, which received prominence in contemporary IR. Clearly, the exclusion of publications such as the JRD from the category of IR is at best an over simplification, but at worst wilful amnesia. Whilst a chair of IR may not have existed prior to the relatively arbitrary date of 1919, it is abundantly clear that IR did exist prior to this date.

It is readily apparent that not only is the JRD an example of IR, but race as a factor has permeated IR from the outset. Why then has the JRD and more broadly, race, been excluded from IR? Whilst race stopped being as contentious of an issue in IR as it was in the JRD, this should not be taken as proof that race is no longer relevant in IR; the inverse is in fact true. Colonialism and post-colonialism were and still are pertinent

³⁵⁴ Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics*, 1-2

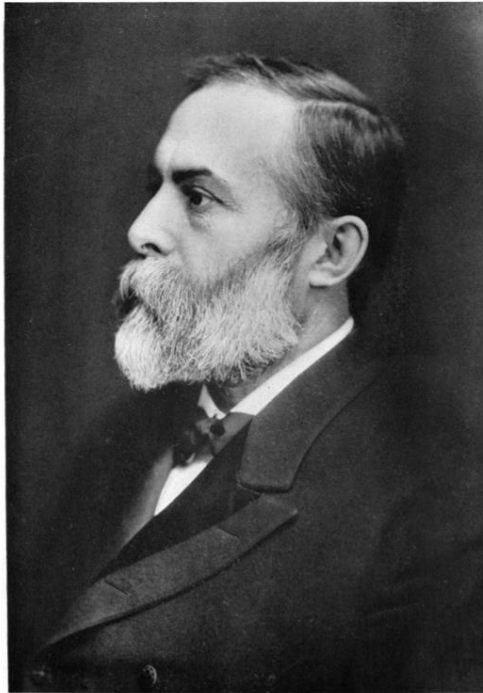
topics.³⁵⁵ As has been briefly presented in the collected evidence, the JRD's successor publication, *Foreign Affairs*, continued to publish articles driven by race, something that authors such as Pedersen have noted.³⁵⁶ She has also astutely noted that the questions were simply reframed and race was walked away from; race still influenced scholars, but their attention was focused elsewhere. The economic crisis of 1930s and the bipolar world that was created at the conclusion of the Second World War occupied IR academics. Equally, experiences with race, eugenics and Nazism in the Second World War made it less viable to overtly discuss race, as the JRD had previously done so. The legacy of these changes is still tangible in the present day. Race remains an acutely influential, yet unincorporated component of IR.

The research performed has successfully shed light upon this neglected subject, yet the area is still ripe for further analysis. Owing to the limited scope of this project, it was not possible to investigate every author that contributed to the JRD; the authors were simply too numerous. Subsequent research should seek to include further examples from the JRD and its successor publications, the *Journal of International Relations* and *Foreign Affairs*. This will provide a more comprehensive analysis and track the history of the JRD, its other iterations and indeed the history of IR. Doing so will hopefully add yet more to the discussions on the origins of IR and the wilful neglect of race.

³⁵⁵ J.M. Beier, 'Beyond hegeomic state(ment)s of nature: indigenous knowledge and non-state possibilities in international relations', in C. Geeta and S. Nair (eds.), *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations* (London, 2002), 87

³⁵⁶ Pedersen, 'Destined to Disappear', 2

List of Illustrations



ALEXANDER FRANCIS CHAMBERLAIN — 1865-1914

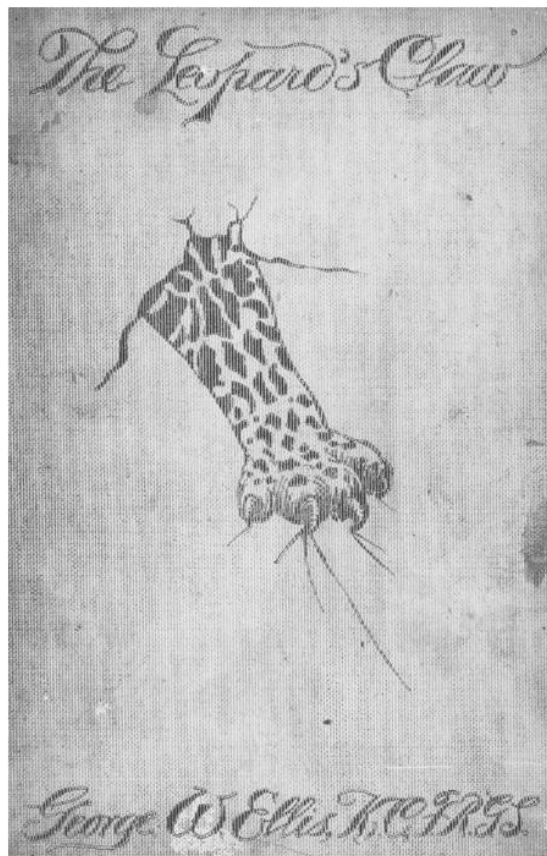
1.1 Alexander Francis Chamberlain (*American Anthropologist*)



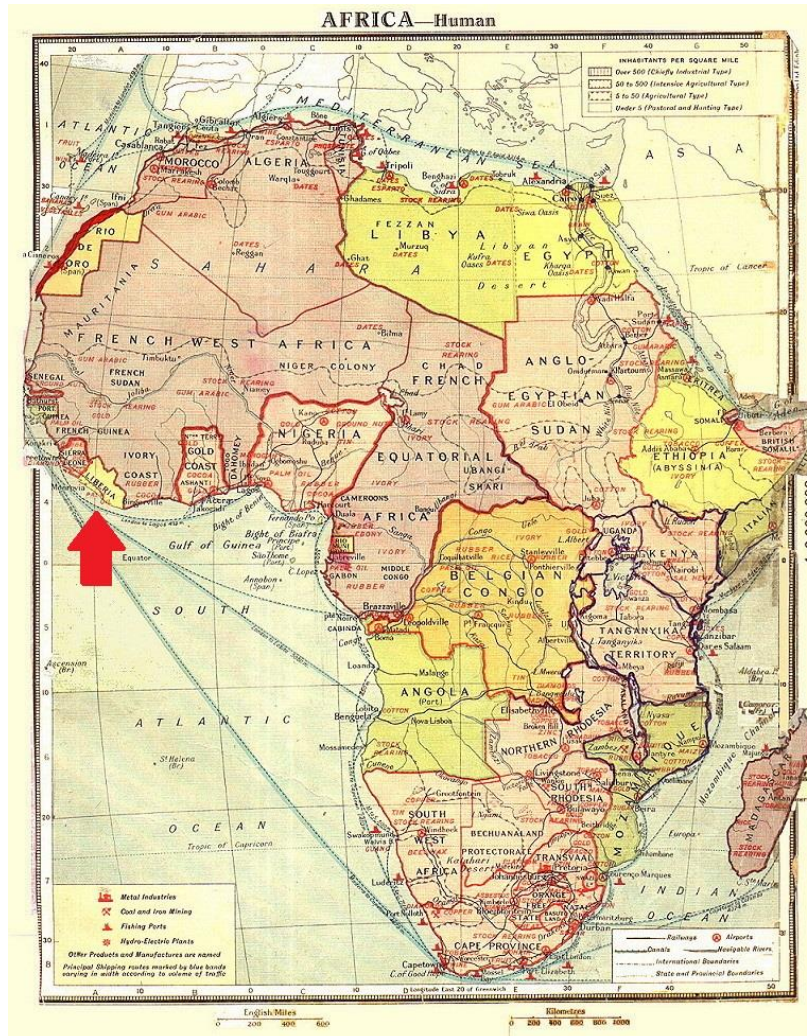
1.2 Image of Ellsworth Huntington (Manuscripts & Archives, *Yale University*)



1.3 George Heber Jones (www.incheonin.com)



1.4 Cover of G.W. Ellis' novel, *The Leopard's Claw* (B.R. Roberts), 77



1.5 Map of Africa post Berlin Conference of 1884 (red arrow added to show Liberia)

Appendix One: Table of Authors (JRD 1910-1914)

This data has been gathered by tallying the number of articles by each author in the selected period. Only articles that were published in the main journal itself; supplementary review pieces that were added to the 'notes' section and are much shorter in length have been excluded in order not to skew the results.

Table showing number of contributions by author

Author	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	Total Contributions
Adams, C.C.		1				1
Alexander, W.D.	1					1
Asakawa, K.			1			1
Barrett, J.					1	1
Barrows, D.P.	1					1
Barton, J.L.		1				1
Beardsley, J.W.	1					1
Berry, J.C.			1			1
Bharmachari, S.	1					1
Bingham, H.					2	2
Blakeslee, G.H.	1					1
Bland, J.O.P.				1		1
Boggs, T.H.			1			1
Boyce, W.D.					1	1
Brandon, E.E.					1	1
Branner, J.C.					1	1
Bridgman, H.L.		1				1
Brown, A.J.			1			1
Brown, J.M.		1				1

Brown, P.		1			1
Brown, P.M.				1	1
Cabrera, L.L.				1	1
Callahan, J.M.				1	1
Capen, E.W.			1		1
Carl, K.A.			1		1
Chadwick, F.E.				1	1
Chamberlain, A.F.		1	2		3
Chamberlain, W.I.	1				1
Chamberlain, W.I.		1			1
Corbin, P.L.			1		1
Davis, W.M.		1			1
Dennis, A.L.P.	1				1
Desmet, F.L.			1		1
Dodge, H.P.				1	1
Drew, E.B.			1		1
Droppers, G.			1		1
Dutton, S.T.		1			1
Edmunds, C.K.			1		1
Eliot, C.W.			1		1
Ellis, G.W.		2	1	1	4
Ferguson, W.L		1			1
Finley, J.P.			1		1
Furlong, C.W.		1			1
Goucher, J.F.			1		1
Grahame, L.				1	1

Griffiths, A.F.	1					1
Griffs, W.E.			1			1
Hall, G.S.	2					2
Hammond, J.H.					1	1
Harding, E.					1	1
Hart, A.B.				1	1	2
Heiser, V.G.			1			1
Hollander, J.H.					1	1
Honda, M.		1	1	1		3
Howland, J.					1	1
Hume, R.A.		1				1
Huntington, E.		1	1		1	3
Ichinomiya, R.			1			1
Iyenaga, T.			2			2
Jenks , J.W.	1					1
Jones, G.H.	2	1	2			5
Jones, J.P.	1	1				2
Jordan, D.S.			1			1
Kuo, P.W.				1		1
Ladd, G.T.	2				1	3
Laufer, B.					1	1
Mackay, G.W.		1				1
MacMillan Brown, J.					1	1
Malmberg, A.		1				1
Martin, S.O.					1	1
Maxey, E.			1			1
McCord, J.B.		1				1

McCormick, F.			1			1
McDowell, E.W.		1				1
McKenzie, F.A.			1			1
Mendenhall, T.C.			1			1
Moneta, J.					1	1
Montt, D.					1	1
Moore, C.E.		1				1
Morales, S.L.M		1				1
Nasmyth, G.W.					1	1
Needham, C.K.				1		1
Nitobe, I.			1			1
Paschke, T.					1	1
Pezet, S.D.F.A					1	1
Redfield, W.C.			1			1
Reynolds, S.W.					1	1
Richards, T.			1			1
Robertson, J.A.				1		1
Robinson, B.A.				1		1
Rooney, C.J.			1			1
Rowland, G.M			1			1

Scott, E.J.		1			1
Seaman, L.L.			1		1
Shepard, F.D.		1			1
Shepard, H.N.			1		1
Sherrill, C.H.				1	1
Shuster, W.M.	1				1
Starr, F.		1			1
Storrs, C.L.			1		1
Straight, W.			1		1
Takamine, J.			1		1
Thomson, J.S.			1		1
Treat, P.J		1			1
Tsao, Y.S.			1		1
Tucker, G.F.				1	1
Turk, M.H.		1			1
Tyler, M.W.		1			1
Veblen, T.			1		1
Voonping Yui, C.			1		1
Wallis, W.D.				1	1
Wang, C-C.			1		1
Warren, C.M.			1		1
Washburn, C.G.	1				1
Washburn, G.		1			1
Washburn, W.S.	1	1			2
Watson, C.R.		1			1
Wells, L.C.				1	1
Williams, F.W.	1		1		2

Williams, T.					1	1
Willis, B					1	1
Wilson, G.G.			1			1
Winter, N.O.					1	1
Woodruff, C.E			1			1
Yanes, F.J.					1	1
Young, C.W.				1		1
Zwemer, A.M.	1					1
						Grand total: 149

Table showing regions discussed

Region in Question	Number of times discussed
East Asia	55
Central and Latin America	28
North America and Caribbean	16
South and South East Asia	15
Middle East	8
West Africa	7
North Africa	6
Central and South Africa	6
Europe	4
Oceania	1

This table collates what the author perceives as the key geographic focus of each article. It is worth noting that some articles overlapped into two or more categories (for example: those that discussed bi-lateral relations) and some were more theoretical, falling into no category.

Appendix Two: Table of Authors (JRD 1915-1919)

This data has been gathered by tallying the number of articles by each author in the selected period. Only articles that were published in the main journal itself; supplementary review pieces that are much shorter in length have been excluded in order not to skew the results.

Table showing number of contribution by author

Author	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	Total Contributions
Anonymous		1			1	2
Barnes, H.E.					1	1
Barrett, J.				1		1
Barton, J.L.		1		1		2
Bishop, C.W.				1		1
Blakeslee, G.H.			2	1	1	4
Bossero, L.G.		1				1
Calderon, S.D.I.				1		1
Cassavety, N.J.				1		1
Cassavety, N.J.					1	1
Chadwick, F.E.			1			1
Chamberlain, W.I.					1	1
Chatterjee, M.N.		1				1
Chekrezi, C.A.			1			1
Clement, E.W.			1			1
Dewey, J.				1		1
Dole, C.F.		1				1
Downey, J.F.			1			1
Du Bois, W.E.B.			1			1
Ellis, G.W.	3	1	1	1	1	7
Finley, J.P.	1	2				3
Goodale, W.W.	1					1
Griffiths, A.F.		1				1

Haggard, F.P.				1		1
Hall, G.S.		1				1
Hankins, F.H.				1		1
Heffner, M.				1		1
Hicks, C.R.				2		2
Hill, L.P.	1					1
Hillman, A.M.				1		1
Hodous, L.				1		1
Honda, M.	1			1		2
Hu, S.			1			1
Hulbert, A.B.		1				1
Hulbert, A.B.		1				1
Huntington, E.	1					1
Ion, P.T.					1	1
Jenks, J.W.				1		1
Jones, J.P.	1					1
Jordan, D.S.				2		2
Kulakowski, B.D.			1			1
Kuno, E.E.		1				1
Kuno, Y.T.	1					1
Ladd, G.T.	1	1		1		3
Lombard, F.A.					1	1
Lopatto, J.S.			1			1
Lyon, C.E.			1			1
MacMillan Brown, J.		1			1	2
Mahdesian, A.			1			1
Mamatey, A.	1					1
Means, P.A.				1		1
Missirian, G.M.		1				1
Montt, D.G.			1			1
Moore, E.C.		1				1
Naon, R.S.		1				1

Naruse, J.	1					1
Nasmyth, G.		1				1
Odum, H.W.	2					2
Quezon, M.L.	1					1
Reid, G.	3	5	3	2	1	14
Roberts, G.E.			1			1
Robertson, J.A.	1	1				2
Rowland, G.M.	1					1
Sarkar, B.K.				1	1	2
Selden, L.	1					1
Shamis, T.				1		1
Shepherd, W.R.					1	1
Singh, S.			1			1
Slade, W.F.			2			2
Smetanka, J.F.			1			1
Spencer, D.S.			1	1		2
Stanoyevich, M.S.				1		1
Starr, F.				1		1
Stoutemyer, J.H.	1					1
Sugareff, V.K.					1	1
Talbot, E.H.					1	1
Thomson, J.S.				1		1
Totah, K.A.	1	1	1			3
Treat, P.J.	2		1	1		4
Treudley, M.		2				2
Tsanoff, R.A.	1			1		2
Tucic, Srgjan				1		1
Usnag Ly, J.				1		1
Veblen, T.	1					1
Vesnich, M.R	1					1
Whitehouse, J.H.		1				1
Williams, F.W.				1		1

Yarrow, E.A.					1	1
						Grand Total: 132

Table showing regions discussed

Region in Question	Number of times discussed
East Asia	41
Europe	22
North America	20
Central and Latin America	13
South and South East Asia	12
Middle East	9
West Africa	3
North Africa	0
Central and South Africa	0
Oceania	0

This table collates what the author perceives as the key geographic focus of each article. It is worth noting that some articles overlapped into two or more categories (for example: those that discussed bi-lateral relations) and some were more theoretical, falling into no category.

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