

**THE ROAD TO EMPIRE:
THE UNITED STATES FROM INDEPENDENCE TO WORLD WAR II**

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Fall 2016
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What is American foreign policy? How has it evolved over time?

This course analyzes US foreign policy from independence to Pearl Harbor. What is striking about these first 170 years of US diplomacy is how relevant many of its debates and crises are to US policy today. Central to the Founding Fathers was the question of the uniqueness, or exceptionalism, of US diplomacy. The tension between Jeffersonian idealism and Hamiltonian realism remains the fundamental divide in US foreign policy debates. The intersection between the idea of Manifest Destiny and the institution of slavery opens a window on the powerful influence of racism on the formulation of US policy. The study of US relations with Native Americans and Latin Americans reveals patterns that persist in US relations with weaker states. In the late nineteenth century, the US clash with European imperialism and the opening toward China and Japan lay the foundations for the US global role in the 20th and 21st centuries. Wilsonian idealism continues to inform the present debate, and myths about American “isolationism” between the wars still distort our understanding of the past.

The grade for this course will be based on an optional midterm and a required final exam. The two hour optional midterm will be given on October 21 from 12:00 to 1:30 pm and will consist of two essay questions based on the readings and the class discussion. You must answer one of these questions. You may opt to take an oral midterm instead. For those who take it, the midterm will count 1/3 of the grade. The three hour final exam will consist of three essay questions based on the readings and the class discussion. You must answer two of these questions. You may opt to take an oral exam based on the readings and class discussions.

Constructive participation in class discussion will be taken into account for the final grade. (Students who prefer to remain silent will not be penalized, but they forego this opportunity to enhance their final grade.)

I. Independence

Walter LaFeber, *The American Age*, Norton, 1989, pp. 5-27.

Felix Gilbert, *To the Farewell Address*, Princeton University Press, 1961, pp. 44-75.

James Hutson, *John Adams and the Diplomacy of the American Revolution*, University Press of Kentucky, 1980, pp. 1-32.

Jonathan Dull, *A Diplomatic History of the American Revolution*, Yale University Press, 1985, pp. 75-103.

Henry Commager, ed., *Documents of American History*, Prentice-Hall, 1973, vol. 1, nos. 69 (“Treaty of Alliance with France”) and 74 (“Treaty of Peace with Great Britain”).

II. The Federalist Era

LaFeber, *American Age*, pp. 27-51.

Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, *The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic, 1788-1800*, Oxford University Press, 1993, pp. 375-449.

Ralph Ketcham, *Presidents Above Party*, University of North Carolina Press, 1984, pp. 89-99.

David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, Cornell University Press, 1965, pp. 169-84.

Selected newspaper articles:

- Harold Wefald, "Don't Knock Off Thomas Jefferson," *Washington Post*, Oct. 24, 1992, A19.
- Joel Achenbach, "Thomas Jefferson: Tarnished Icon?" *Washington Post*, Oct. 17, 1992, D1.
- *Aurora* (Philadelphia), July 4, 1795, p. 2.
- Atticus, “To the Freemen of the United States,” *Aurora*, July 17, 1795, p. 2.
- Valerius, “To the President of the United States,” *Aurora*, Aug. 22, 1795, p. 3.
- Portius, *Aurora*, Oct. 11, 1796, p. 2.
- A Friend to Merit, *Aurora*, Oct. 11, 1796, p. 3.
- P. A. Adet, *Aurora*, Oct. 31, 1796, p. 3.

Commager, *Documents of American History*, vol.1, nos. 98 (“The Jay Treaty”) and 100 (“Washington’s Farewell Address”).

III. Jefferson and Madison

LaFeber, *American Age*, pp. 51-65.

Garry Wills, *Negro President: Jefferson and Slave Power*, Houghton Mifflin, 2003, pp. 33-46.

Francis Cogliano, *Emperor of Liberty: Thomas Jefferson's Foreign Policy*, Yale University Press, 2014, pp. 144-71, 204-46.

Piero Gleijeses, "Napoleon, Jefferson, and the Louisiana Purchase," forthcoming, *International History Review*.

J.C.A. Stagg, *Mr. Madison's War*, Princeton University Press, 1983, pp. 501-17.

IV. Securing the Neighborhood

LaFeber, *American Age*, pp. 91-97.

A. The United States and the Independence of Latin America

Lars Schoultz, *Beneath the United States: A History of U.S. Policy Toward Latin America*, Harvard University Press, 1998, pp. 1-13.

Piero Gleijeses, "The Limits of Sympathy: The United States and the Independence of Spanish America," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Oct. 1992, pp. 481-505.

David Bushnell, "Simon Bolívar and the United States: A Study in Ambivalence," *Air Force University Review*, July/Aug. 1986, pp. 106-12.

B. Indian Policy and Cherokee Removal

Robert Remini, *The Legacy of Andrew Jackson: Essays on Democracy, Indian Removal, and Slavery*, Louisiana State University Press, 1988, pp. 45-82.

Ronald Satz, "The Cherokee Trail of Tears," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, Fall 1989, pp. 431-66.

"New Echota," *Cherokee Phoenix* (New Echota), Feb. 24, 1830, p. 2.

"Indian Emigration," *Cherokee Phoenix*, Apr. 24, 1830, p. 3.

V. Westward Movement and Manifest Destiny

LaFeber, *American Age*, pp. 97-121.

Schoultz, *Beneath the United States*, pp. 14-38.

Piero Gleijeses, "A Brush with Mexico," *Diplomatic History*, April 2005, pp. 223-54.

Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, Harvard University Press, 1981, pp. 189-207, 229-71.

Selected newspaper articles:

- "The Texas Question," *National Intelligencer* (Washington DC), March 16, 1844, p. 3.
- "The Leg Treasurers and Fugitives from Justice in Texas," *Journal* (Louisville, Ky), Aug. 18, 1845, p. 2.
- "Oregon and War," *Morning News* (New York), Nov. 15, 1845, p. 2 (ed.).
- "California," *American Review* (New York), Jan. 1846, pp. 82-99.

Henry Clay to John Crittenden, Dec. 5, 1843, in Robert Seager II, ed., *The Papers of Henry Clay*, University Press of Kentucky, 1988, 9: 897-900.

VI. The 1850s and the Civil War: Sectionalism and Foreign Policy

LaFeber, *American Age*, pp. 122-80.

"The Fugitive Slave Case," *The Journal of Commerce* (New York), Sept. 2, 1851, p. 2.

"The Slave Question," *New York Tribune*, March 13, 1854, p. 4.

Alan Taylor, "Golden State Genocide," *The New York Times Book Review*, May 29, 2015, p. 19.

Piero Gleijeses, "Clashing over Cuba: The United States, Spain and Britain, 1853-55," forthcoming, *Journal of Latin American Studies*.

Schoultz, *Beneath the United States*, pp. 59-77.

James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*, Oxford University Press, 1988, pp. 382-91, 546-67, 682-84.

VII. The 1890s

LaFeber, *American Age*, pp. 181-204.

Schoultz, *Beneath the United States*, pp. 125-51.

Piero Gleijeses, "1898: The Opposition to the Spanish-American War," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Nov. 2003, pp. 681-719.

Selected newspaper articles:

- "American Subjects," *Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin* (New York), Dec. 18, 1897, p. 6 (ed.).
- "Our Interests in China," *Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin*, Dec. 28, 1897, p. 6 (ed.).
- *Times-Herald* (Chicago): "Keep Cool and Wait," Feb. 25, 1898, p. 6 (ed.); "War in Cuba Must End," Mar. 4, 1898, p. 6 (ed.); "The Truth," Mar. 7, 1898, p. 6 (ed.).
- *Herald* (Boston), March 14, 1898, p. 6 (ed.).
- "The Navies of the United States and Spain: A Comparison," *Scientific American* (New York), Apr. 2, 1898, pp. 216-18.
- "Analysis of Squadrons of Spain and United States," *Engineer* (London), Apr. 15, 1898, p. 359.
- "The Hour and Its Duties," *Herald* (New York), Apr. 20, 1898, p. 12 (ed.).

Nancy Mitchell, "Remember the Myth," *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), Nov. 1, 1998, G5.

Mayo Hazeltine, "What Shall Be Done About the Philippines?" *North American Review*, Oct. 1898, pp. 385-92.

Stuart Creighton Miller, "*Benevolent Assimilation*": *The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903*, Yale University Press, 1982, pp. 13-30, 57-66.

Judith Papachristou, "American Women and Foreign Policy, 1898-1905," *Diplomatic History*, Fall 1990, pp. 493-509.

VIII. Protective Imperialism

Schoultz, *Beneath the United States*, pp. 176-252.

Nancy Mitchell, *The Danger of Dreams: German and American Imperialism in Latin America*, University of North Carolina Press, 1999, pp. 64-107, 216-28.

Lester Langley, *The United States and the Caribbean in the Twentieth Century*, University of Georgia Press, 1982, pp. 77-88.

Sumner Welles, "Is America Imperialistic?" *Atlantic Monthly*, Sept. 1924, pp. 412-23.

IX. The United States and the Far East

Walter LaFeber, *The Clash: U.S.-Japanese Relations Throughout History*, Norton, 1997, pp. 7-106.

Kogoro Takahira, "Why Japan Resists Russia," *North American Review*, March 1904, pp. 321-27.

C.W. Fulton, "American Schools and Japanese Pupils," *North American Review*, Dec. 21, 1906, pp. 1225-28.

Warren Cohen, *America's Response to China: A History of Sino-American Relations*, 5th rev. ed., Columbia University Press, 2010, pp. 28-59.

James Phelan, "Why the Chinese Should be Excluded," *North American Review*, Nov. 1901, pp. 663-76.

Wong Kai Kah, "A Menace to America's Oriental Trade," *North American Review*, March 1904, pp. 414-24.

X. Woodrow Wilson and a Brave New World

Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914*, Harper, 2012, pp. 47-64.

LaFeber, *American Age*, pp. 253-315.

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, Simon and Schuster, 1994, pp. 218-45.

LaFeber, *The Clash*, pp. 106-46.

Piero Gleijeses, "The Rhetoric and Reality of American Foreign Policy," *SAISPHERE*, 2003, pp. 10-13.

XI. The Foreign Policy of Isolationism?

LaFeber, *American Age*, pp. 316-66.

George Esenwein and Adrian Shubert, *Spain at War: The Spanish Civil War in Context 1931-1939*, Longman, 1995, pp. 188-207.

LaFeber, *The Clash*, pp. 146-85.

Schoultz, *Beneath the United States*, pp. 253-71, 290-315.

XII. The Road to War

LaFeber, *American Age*, pp. 366-86.

LaFeber, *The Clash*, pp. 186-213.

Ian Kershaw, *Fateful Choices: Ten Decisions that Changed the World 1940-1941*, Penguin Books, 2007, pp. 184-242, 298-339.

Ian Buruma, *Year Zero: A History of 1945*, The Penguin Press, 2013, pp. 111-27.