# Dictionary of AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY

John E. Findling

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This work attempts to serve three purposes. First, it provides basic factual information about more than five hundred persons associated with U.S. foreign policy from the Revolution through 1978 as well as descriptions or definitions of more than five hundred non-biographical items connected with American diplomacy, ranging from crises to catchwords. The criteria for the selection of the entries in this volume are explained in some detail in the Introduction. Additional information is contained in the several appendixes following the main body of entries.

Second, wherever appropriate, entries include a statement or comment concerning their historical importance. For biographical entries, I have tried to place the subject in the context of American diplomacy and give a brief estimation of his or her contribution (or lack of one). Diplomatic events, treaties, and other non-biographical entries are related to the broader picture of U.S. foreign policy, with comment as to their impact on that policy. In this way, the reader can derive some notion of the significance of an item without further research.

Third, for those who do wish to probe further, each entry is followed with a bibliographical citation of varying length. These bibliographical notes are meant to be suggestive rather than exhaustive or comprehensive. I have attempted to strike a balance between easily accessible general works, often available in paperback, and the most recent and highly regarded monographs or biographical studies. In some cases, particularly more obscure biographies, I have resorted to other reference works or newspaper sources; often, these are the only sources of information available. The Introduction contains a more detailed accounting of some frequently used reference works.

Research grants and a Summer Faculty Fellowship from Indiana University Southeast have been of great assistance in the completion of this book. The library staffs at the University of Louisville, Indiana University at Bloomington, and, most especially, Indiana University Southeast helped turn up obscure source material, repaired balky microfilm readers, and, in general, have happily shared their expertise with me. Many individuals deserve thanks for their help in this project. Among them are Joseph M. Hawes and Burton I. Kaufman of Kansas State University, who were vital at the inception of the work. Robert A. Divine, Joseph M. Siracusa, and Jon Wakelyn have offered helpful encouragement along the way. My editor at Greenwood Press, James T. Sabin, has been a model of patience

and good sense. My progress has been aided considerably by conversations and suggestions and, occasionally, sympathy, from colleagues at Indiana University Southeast, particularly Tom Wolf, Frank Thackeray, Sam and Marsha Meredith, Andy Trout, and Jerry Haffner. Colleen Sheehan typed much of the manuscript and assisted in the editing and indexing with unflagging cheerfulness, and Roxanne Guernsey joined the project on short notice and typed a considerable portion of the work at a time when it was most needed. A very special note of appreciation goes to my wife, Carol, who did a large share of the typing and was a perceptive and constructive critic throughout, while still managing to build a house, raise our son, Jamey, care for two neurotic cats, teach swimming, and endure all the frustrations inevitably accompanying a project such as this.

Floyds Knobs April 1979 John E. Findling

### INTRODUCTION

Preparing a dictionary of American diplomatic history calls on one to make many decisions. The first and most important of these is winnowing the more than 2,000 U.S. chiefs of mission down to a manageable number of biographical entries and adding a selection of non-diplomatic personnel, businessmen, missionaries, and publicists, including correspondents and broadcasters who had an impact on history. The same process must be undertaken to create the approximately five hundred non-biographical events contained in this book. How does one decide what should be included and what may safely be left out?

The roster of biographical entries for this dictionary was drawn first from a perusal of Richardson Dougall and Mary Patricia Chapman, United States Chiefs of Mission, 1778-1973 (1973), a State Department publication listing all U.S. chiefs of mission both by country and alphabetically. From this exceedingly useful work, it was easy to determine those ministers and ambassadors who served in important missions at significant times. All ministers or ambassadors accredited to Great Britain were included, as were all to the Soviet Union after the restoration of diplomatic relations in 1933. Most chiefs of missions to France, Germany, Japan, and China were included, as well as a large share of representatives to nations such as Mexico, Italy, and Spain. Ambassadors to South Vietnam during the U.S. war there, to Chile and Peru during the war of the Pacific, and to Central America and the Caribbean during various periods of U.S. intervention typify the manner in which significant times dictated that a diplomat warranted an entry. Career diplomats, such as Ellis O. Briggs or A. J. D. Biddle, Jr., who held a number of ambassadorships over a period of time. were deemed worthy of an entry, as were individuals whose major place in history lay outside diplomacy but who nonetheless headed a legation or embassy. Examples of this latter group include Washington Irving and James Russell Lowell, both well-known literary figures, and William O'Dwyer, better known as Mayor of New York City than Ambassador to Mexico.

The Dictionary of American Biography, which contains biographical information on many of the people mentioned by Dougall and Chapman, provided the names of people outside formal diplomatic channels. In its twenty volumes and five supplements, the DAB presents a wealth of biographical material on thousands of prominent Americans; it is, on the whole, more useful for the facts of a subject's life outside his or her diplo-

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matic career. Although the biographic sketches in the *DAB* are contributed by different authors and therefore vary in emphasis and quality, there is a tendency to overlook a subject's diplomatic contribution if he or she made contributions in another field such as business or politics. Students should note, too, that the first twenty volumes of the *DAB* were written in the 1930s; many of the articles are outdated and should be supplemented with more recently published books or articles.

Another biographical reference work frequently used in this dictionary was the National Cyclopedia of American Biography, in over fifty volumes and a multivolume supplement (in which the volumes are indicated by letters) of contemporary biographies. The quality of the biographical entries in the NCAB is not very high in the early volumes; numerous errors of fact may be found, and readers should corroborate facts found in the first thirty volumes with other reference sources. Happily, the more recent volumes of the NCAB are more thorough and reliable.

For scholars dealing in collective biography, the obituary page in the New York *Times* should not be overlooked. Most of the subjects included in this dictionary merited a *Times* obituary, and although some were perfunctory and useless, others, particularly on more prominent and more recent subjects, provided information not found elsewhere. The *New York Times Obituary Index*, 1858-1968, is a very convenient research aid.

The editors of Who's Who in America (WWA) and Who Was Who in America (WWWA) have taken the word "terse" as their hallmark. Still, these works contain a greater number of entries than any other biographical reference work and often provide basic factual information not otherwise available

Certain classes of individuals were peremptorily eliminated from consideration as entries in this volume. Presidents of the United States were not included unless they had a significant diplomatic career as Secretary of State and/or as a chief of mission. Thus John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Martin Van Buren, and James Buchanan are included, whereas Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Richard Nixon are not. This is not to deny that Roosevelt, Wilson, and Nixon contributed significantly to American diplomatic history, but to concede that much has been written and is easily accessible about these (and all other) Presidents and that anything included herein would be superfluous and superficial. A measure of the diplomatic contribution of any President may be made by consulting the index.

Another class of individuals excluded from consideration is foreign diplomats and statesmen. Admittedly, foreign-born individuals as diverse as Winston Churchill and the Empress Dowager T'zu Hsi of China have played a part in U.S. foreign policy, but the problem is one of limits. Where

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does one draw the line? In the final analysis, it seemed best to draw the line as closely as possible around Fortress America and allow no foreigners in unless, like Albert Gallatin or Henry Kissinger, they had become naturalized citizens.

Many of the same problems of selection and limitation apply to the five hundred or so non-biographical entries. Entries to be included came from items noted during several years of teaching, from reading the indexes of countless textbooks and monographs, and from sources used to prepare biographical entries. No attempt has been made to present a complete history of most of these non-biographical entries, many of which are the subject of full-length monographs or more. What has been attempted is the presentation of basic background information on these items, with some commentary as to their significance and bibliographical aids to help the student pursue further research.

As with Presidents among the biographies, wars proved too much to include as non-biographical entries in this book. Each American war has been carefully indexed, however, and the researcher can complete the puzzle of wartime diplomacy by judicious use of the index. Another area excluded from this volume is the post-World War II Department of Defense, its secretaries, and its military activities abroad. Although a number of military conferences with diplomatic overtones and nuclear weapons treaties have been included, much was left out on the grounds that the major portion of defense concerns is not with diplomacy.

### The Changing Role of the Chief of Mission

Any student of American diplomatic history will know that the nature of American foreign relations has changed substantially in the two hundred years of independent nationhood. The United States occupies a much different place among the nations of the world now than in the past. Its national interests likewise are different, as are the nations with which it has its most intensive diplomatic relationships.

One indicator of this change in American diplomacy is the altered role of U.S. chiefs of mission. As a scrutiny of the biographical entries in this volume will show, American diplomats in the nineteenth century operated with much more independence and authority than do present-day diplomats. Thus Benjamin Bidlack negotiated the treaty named for him with New Granada in 1846; James Gadsden, on his own, arranged for the Gadsden Purchase from Mexico in 1853; and an assortment of ministers to Turkey tried, usually without success, to win privileges and favors for Americans in that country. Biographical accounts of U.S. ministers are replete with accounts of substantial and concrete achievements of this nature.

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This process of individual diplomacy appears to have undergone a change in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The successful laying of telegraph cables across the Atlantic brought Washington into much closer contact with European capitals, and more and more frequently, major international conferences were called to work out the world's problems. There was simply less opportunity for diplomats to make their own diplomatic mark. Nonetheless, some did stand out. George von L. Meyer was, by all accounts, an influential friend of Kaiser Wilhelm; Charles Denby made his presence felt in China during his long tenure there; and Henry Lane Wilson, by aiding Victoriano Huerta at a crucial time, changed the course of Mexican history. But, more frequently, the sources reveal the frustrations of increasing numbers of chiefs of mission. Horace Porter, Ambassador to France, located, and exhumed, and shipped back to the United States the body of John Paul Jones as his most notable achievement. In Central America, isthmian canal enthusiast William L. Merry was bitterly disappointed to have been shunted aside while negotiations for the canal were conducted in Washington.

This tendency for ambassadors to become highly anonymous diplomatic officials has accelerated since World War II. One can read account after account of Cold War diplomacy and seldom come upon the name of an ambassador, unless the account is the ambassador's own memoirs. Airplanes and the advent of summit diplomacy have made the difference. Secretaries of State from James F. Byrnes to Cyrus Vance have spent an inordinate amount of time in foreign travel to consult with foreign counterparts, with the result that ambassadors and their staffs are reduced to the roles of political reporters, facilitators of tourists' problems, and social impresarios. Thus could Walworth Barbour serve twelve years as Ambassador to Israel and draw only a handful of notices in the New York Times and just fleeting mention in the autobiography of Abba Eban, former Israeli United Nations Ambassador and Foreign Minister. Walter Stoessel, Jr., was sent to Moscow as Ambassador to the Soviet Union; he made news only when he became ill, allegedly from microwave radiation beamed into the U.S. embassy. Ambassadors to Great Britain and France need have no diplomatic experience, but wealth, and a great deal of it, is absolutely essential in order to maintain the social obligations of the embassy. From Charles Francis Adams and Thomas F. Bayard at the Court of St. James in the nineteenth century, the United States now requires representatives such as Walter F. Annenberg and Anne Armstrong. This is not to demean Annenberg and Armstrong, who were popular diplomats and served the nation well, but it does illustrate the changing nature of the American ambassador's role.

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### The Changing Nature of American Diplomatic Events

In the nineteenth century, American diplomacy had the great virtue of simplicity. Secretaries of State as ministers negotiated and signed specific treaties or conventions, which often emerged in history, bearing their names as, for example, the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819. Crises likewise were clearcut, bilateral, and usually easily resolved. Slogans and catchwords from that era can be easily described or defined.

In the late nineteenth century, there was a trend for U.S. diplomacy away from bilateral treaties and toward more complex international conferences and agreements. The diplomacy of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842 gave way to the Berlin Conference on the Congo of 1884-1885 or the Tripartite Treaty of 1889 concerning Samoa. Increasing colonial and commercial rivalry accounted for much of this, as did the rise of Germany and the United States to prominence in world affairs. This international conference phase reached its apogee in the Paris Peace Conference, in 1919, called to draft the Treaty of Versailles ending World War I, and continued on into the 1920s with an assortment of major conferences, mainly concerned with disarmament, a major element of interwar foreign policy for the United States.

Beginning with World War II, summit diplomacy, carried on by heads of state, has been added to the repertoire of U.S. diplomacy. From Teheran in 1943 to the last Moscow Summit in 1974 these events have dominated headlines when they have occurred and stand as milestones along the path of diplomatic history, with many other events relating to one summit or another.

Another feature of post-World War II diplomacy that stands as a contrast to earlier times is what might be called, for lack of a better term, its fuzziness. The Cold War and its indefinite political and strategic objectives, the complexity of a post-Cold War multipolar world, the technology of atomic warfare, and the growth of multinational corporations, often engaging in covert foreign activities, all conspire to confound the author of a dictionary or encyclopedia of diplomatic history, who depends on discrete, easily definable items to form his body of entries. Entries such as SALT, NATO, and the International Monetary Fund proved considerably more difficult to describe adequately in the limited space of an entry in this volume, and the problem is amplified by the lack of sound historical studies on the most recent entries. A similar dilemma exists with the movers and shakers of American foreign policy during this post-World War II era. How can one deal adequately with John Foster Dulles or Henry Kissinger in three or four hundred words? One cannot, obviously; one can only hint at career highlights and suggest where the most important contributions lie.

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The role of multinational corporations is even more difficult to handle. This volume contains a number of entries of U.S. business enterprises connected with diplomacy in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is not too difficult to describe the activities of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, the Alaska Commercial Company, or United Fruit. But ITT? The major oil companies? The internationally connected banks? Their role abroad is clearly profound economically, and, quite possibly, politically as well. But the nature of their activities defies easy description and the decision has been made to exclude them from this volume with the hope that at a future time when historians understand more fully their function and impact, they may find a place in volumes such as this.

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# LIST OF STANDARD ABBREVIATIONS

CB Current Biography

DAB Dictionary of American Biography

FR Foreign Relations of the United States

NCAB National Cyclopedia of American Biography

WWA Who's Who in America

WWWA Who Was Who in America

\* - a cross-referencing device indicating that an individual, issue, or term merits an entry of its own.

ABBOTT, WILLIS JOHN (1863-1934). A journalist and publicist of American foreign policy, Willis J. Abbott is best known for his best-selling work, Panama and the Canal in Picture and Prose (1913). He was born on March 16, 1863, in New Haven, Connecticut, and graduated from the University of Michigan Law School in 1884. However, he chose to follow a career in journalism rather than law, and went to work for the New York Times-Democrat (1884) and the New York Tribune (1886), writing juvenile histories on the side. He married Marie Mack in 1887 and in the same year became co-owner of the Kansas City Evening News; when that paper failed in 1889, he moved to Chicago as an editorial writer for the Evening Mail (1889-1892) and managing editor of the Times (1892-1893). William Randolph Hearst hired Abbott in 1893 to edit the editorial page of the New York Journal: at this time he also became involved in Democratic party politics. In 1903, Marie Mack Abbott died; two years later Abbott married Verona Maples. After years of writing and editing for the Journal and other papers, Abbott capped his career by becoming editor of the Christian Science Monitor (1922-1927), fittingly so, since he had some years before become a devout Christian Scientist. During the 1920s, he was well known as a peace advocate, a supporter of the League of Nations,\* and a member of the Foreign Policy Association and the Council on Foreign Relations.\* In 1933, he published his memoirs, Watching the World Go By, and on May 19, 1934, he died in Brookline, Massachusetts. DAB, Supp. 1:1; New York Times, May 20, 1934.

ABC MEDIATION (1914). The ABC nations were Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, the most influential nations in South America. In 1914, these powers offered to mediate the dispute between the United States and Mexico that had resulted in the U.S. occupation of Veracruz. After both disputants agreed, delegates from the United States, Mexico, and the ABC powers, as Argentina, Brazil, and Chile became popularly known, met in May 1914 at Niagara Falls. Because of the U.S. insistence that Mexican president Victoriano Huerta resign, nothing concrete was accomplished at the conference, but Rippy notes that it enhanced Pan-American friendship. FR (1914):488ff; Mecham, J. Lloyd, A Survey of United States-Latin American Relations (1965); Rippy, J. Fred, The United States and Mexico (1931).

ABC—1 STAFF AGREEMENT (1941). A result of Anglo-American military staff discussions (Joint Staff Conference) held between January and March 1941, this agreement stipulated that if the United States became

involved in war with Germany and Japan, the main theater would be Europe. Large numbers of U.S. forces in Europe would allow British Commonwealth troops to fight in the Far East, where the United States Navy would defend Hawaii, the Philippines, Guam, and Wake Island, and where Pacific operations would be coordinated but not jointly commanded. The "Europe first" war strategy had been central to U.S. military thinking since the 1920s and was partly due to lingering suspicions of the political motives behind British military strategy. Some Americans were concerned about British designs to maintain preeminence in European affairs; others disapproved of British efforts to cling to as much of her empire as long as possible. President Franklin D. Roosevelt was known to favor this agreement although he never gave any formal notice of his assent. Feis, Herbert, The Road to Pearl Harbor (1950); McNeill, William H., America, Britain, and Russia (1953); Offner, Arnold A., The Origins of the Second World War (1975).

ACCESSORY TRANSIT COMPANY, isthmian transportation company. Due to increased trans-isthmian traffic as a result of the discovery of gold in California, the American Atlantic and Pacific Ship-Canal Company received a Nicaraguan charter granting it the exclusive right to transport passengers and cargo across the country. Under this charter, the company operated as the Accessory Transit Company. Disagreements between Transit Company officials and the American minister, Solon Borland,\* and authorities of the Nicaraguan town of Greytown (San Juan del Norte) led to the destruction of the town by the U.S.S. Cyane on July 13, 1854. When the filibuster William Walker\* attempted to gain control of the transit business in 1856, company officials, led by Cornelius Vanderbilt,\* allied with opposition factions and forced Walker out of Nicaragua. Parker, Franklin D., The Central American Republics (1964); Williams, Mary W., Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy, 1815-1915 (1916).

### ACCORD. See INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT.

ACHESON, DEAN GOODERHAM (1893-1971). The influential and controversial Secretary of State during the height of Cold War\* tensions, Dean Acheson was born in Middletown, Connecticut, on April 11, 1893, and graduated from Yale (1915) and Harvard Law School (1918). After World War I service in the navy, he was secretary to Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis from 1918 to 1920, was admitted to the bar in 1921, and became a practicing lawyer. In 1933, he became Undersecretary of the Treasury and, in 1941, an Assistant Secretary in the State Department, where he specialized in international economic matters, helping to develop Lend-Lease\* and planning various postwar organizations such as UNRRA,\* IMF,\* and the World Bank.\* As Assistant Secretary of State for Congres-

sional Relations, he played a major role in winning Senate approval of the Uffited Nations Charter. In 1945, Acheson became Undersecretary of State; having developed an early distrust of Soviet Russia, he worked for the adoption of the Truman Doctrine\* and the Marshal! Plan\* in 1947. In 1949, he succeeded George C. Marshall\* as Secretary of State. A stalwart anti-Communist, he completed Marshall's European containment\* policies with the establishment of NATO\* but still ran into trouble in domestic political circles because of the "loss" of China to the Communists in 1949. From 1950 to 1953, Acheson secured military aid for the French fight against Ho Chi Minh in Indochina, worked on the development of a home government and NATO membership for West Germany, and dealt with the controversies surrounding the conduct of the Korean War. Leaving the State Department in 1953, Acheson remained a public figure, criticizing the "massive retaliation" policy of his successor, John Foster Dulles,\* and serving as an adviser to Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon. Married to Alice Stanley in 1917, Acheson wrote several important books on foreign affairs, including his memoirs, *Present at the Creation* (1969). He died at his Sandy Spring. Maryland, farm on October 12, 1971. Graebner, Norman, "Dean G. Acheson," in Graebner, N. (ed.), An Uncertain Tradition (1961); Kolko, Joyce, and Gabriel Kolko, The Limits of Power (1972); McLellan, David S., Dean Acheson: The State Department Years (1976); Rose, Lisle A., Roots of Tragedy (1976); New York Times, October 13, 1971.

ACHESON-LILIENTHAL REPORT (1946). This report, sometimes referred to as the Acheson-Lilienthal Plan, dealt with atomic energy control and outlined stages by which that control could be internationalized. According to the plan, the United States would remain in control of its atomic capability during the transition period, since it possessed the world's only atomic bombs, and other nations would have to agree to inspection by an international agency connected with the United Nations. The Acheson-Lilienthal Report was distrusted by Bernard Baruch,\* the U.S. delegate to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, and was scrapped in favor of a plan devised by Baruch that was unacceptable to the Russians. The major point of contention with the Baruch Plan was the use of the Security Council veto on atomic energy issues. Baruch thought that major powers should not be able to use the veto on such issues (which would have required a change in the United Nations Charter); opponents said this insistence would ruin the chance for Soviet acceptance of the plan, which it did. However, Gaddis concludes that the Soviets would only accept a plan that would have given them full access to technical information about atomic energy and full freedom to use it. The Acheson-Lilienthal Plan was made public in May 1946, and named for Dean Acheson,\* then Undersecretary of State, and David E. Lilienthal, head of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. Gaddis, John L., The United States and the Origins of the Cold War (1973); LaFeber, Walter, America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-1975 (1976).

6 ADAMS, BROOKS

ADAMS, BROOKS (1848-1927), historian, philosopher, writer. Born June 24, 1848, Brooks Adams was the son of diplomat Charles Francis Adams\* and the grandson of President John Quincy Adams.\* He graduated from Harvard in 1870, served as his father's secretary in the Alabama\* claims negotiations, 1871-1872, and was admitted to the bar in 1873. He sought to establish a cyclical theory of history—"The Law of Civilization of Decay"—in which nations would pass through phases alternating between barbarism and civilization. Around 1900, he theorized, the United States and other Western nations would enter a period of decay unless these nations could adapt with flexibility to the changing environment. Among the ways which the United States could avoid entering this new phase would be to gain control of Asia, where there was great potential energy. Consequently, Adams supported an active Asian policy until 1906. He also favored an Anglo-Saxon alliance to fend off dangerous Russia. Later in life, he became a cynic, convinced that the United States had missed its opportunity. He died in Boston, February 13, 1927. Among Adams's writings are America's Economic Supremacy (1900) and The New Empire (1902). DAB, 1:38; LaFeber, Walter, The New Empire (1963); New York Times, February 14, 1927.

ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS (1807-1886). United States Minister to Great Britain during the Civil War, Charles Francis Adams was the son of President John Quincy Adams.\* Born in Boston on August 18, 1807, he graduated from Harvard in 1825, read law under Daniel Webster,\* and was admitted to the bar in 1829, the same year he married Abigail Brooks. During the 1830s, he wrote for the North American Review, administered family matters, and edited and published the letters of his grandmother, Abigail Adams. As a Whig, he was elected to the Massachusetts legislature in 1841; as a Free-Soil partisan, he was a vice-presidential candidate in 1848; and as a Republican, he served in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1858-1861. President Abraham Lincoln named Adams Minister to Great Britain in 1861, and he proved a cool and effective diplomatic representative during the seven years of his mission. He enjoyed good relations with Foreign Secretary Lord John Russell but not with the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston. As advocate for the Union cause during the Civil War, Adams protested the British recognition of Confederate belligerency, succeeded in halting further talks between Russell and Confederate commissioners, eased the widespread distrust in Britain of Secretary of State William H. Seward,\* and worked to block the sailing of the Laird rams\* from Scotland in 1863. He failed to work out an Anglo-American accord on the Declaration of Paris (1856),\* and was unable to stop the sailing of the highly destructive Confederate raider, Alabama,\* although he did initiate the claims process that ultimately resulted in the Treaty of Washington (1871)\* and the subsequent arbitral award to the United States. In general, his tact and correct-