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"The State of Theodore Roosevelt Studies"

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Essay by Serge Ricard, Sorbonne Nouvelle (University of Paris III)

ewis L. Gould is quite right, "Theodore Roosevelt is enjoying a busy twenty-first century,"1 even in the media with Ken Burns's 2014 documentary television series *The Roosevelts: An Intimate History* on PBS. Actually, the lion's share goes to Gould, whose expertise scintillates in Four Hats in the Ring, The William Howard Taft *Presidency, The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt, Bull Moose on the Stump, and Theodore* Roosevelt.<sup>2</sup> Next, Edmund Morris occupies a special place with his impressive trilogy, The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt, Theodore Rex, and Colonel Roosevelt.<sup>3</sup>

Although great classics still dominate the field, like Henry F. Pringle's *Theodore* Roosevelt, John M. Blum's The Republican Roosevelt, Edward Wagenknecht's The Seven Worlds of Theodore Roosevelt, or William H. Harbaugh's Power and Responsibility: The *Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*, a one-volume biography that has not really been surpassed, the historiography of Theodore Roosevelt these days is characterized by a steady flow of publications, some by established scholars, some by non-academic researchers, and others by authors of juvenile literature that will find no place in this essay. 4 Quite obviously, there is a market for new, if sometimes repetitive, books about

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lewis L. Gould, *Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), ix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gould, Four Hats in the Ring (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008), The William Howard Taft Presidency (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2009), The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt, 2nd ed., rev. and expanded (1991; Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011), Bull Moose on the Stump (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012), and Theodore Roosevelt (Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Edmund Morris, The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt (New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1979), Theodore Rex (New York: Random House, 2001), and Colonel Roosevelt (New York: Random House, 2010).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Harcourt, 1931), John M. Blum, *The Republican* Roosevelt (1954; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), Edward Wagenknecht, The Seven Worlds of Theodore Roosevelt, Introd. Edmund Morris (1958; Guilford, Conn.: Lyons Press, 2009), William H. Harbaugh,

the first Roosevelt. The publishing landscape calls for a second remark: gone seem to be the days of bulky, comprehensive one-volume biographies like Nathan Miller's Theodore Roosevelt: A Life, H. W. Brands's, T.R.: The Last Romantic, or Kathleen M. Dalton's popular *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life.* The latest trend points to the fragmentation of his life and/or a concentration on specific aspects of his personality, possibly in imitation of Carleton Putnam's Theodore Roosevelt: The Formative Years. 1858-18866 and David McCullough's Mornings on Horseback, two essential books on his early life, or Paul R. Cutright's *Theodore Roosevelt the Naturalist* and *Theodore Roosevelt: The Making of a Conservationist.*<sup>7</sup> Because so much has already been written on the twenty-sixth president, the end result is often an impression of déjà vu, especially when a new book borrows from or duplicates previous publications and does not actually contribute new research and insights, as is the case with Edward J. Renehan, Ir.'s The Lion's Pride: Theodore Roosevelt and his Family in Peace and War, Louis Auchincloss's *Theodore Roosevelt*, Richard D. White's *Roosevelt the Reformer*: Theodore Roosevelt as Civil Service Commissioner, 1889-1895, Aida D. Donald's Lion in the White House: A Life of Theodore Roosevelt, or Roger L. Di Silvestro's Theodore Roosevelt in the Badlands: A Young Politician's Quest for Recovery in the American West with the possible exception of Paul Grondahl's I Rose like a Rocket: The Political Education of Theodore Roosevelt that has interesting things to say.8

And then there have been what great-grandson Tweed Roosevelt humorously calls "the really, really bad books." Sarah Watts's *Rough Rider in the White House: Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Desire* exaggeratingly lumps Roosevelt together with the

*Power and Responsibility: The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt* (1961, 1963, 1975; Newtown, Conn.: American Political Biography Press, 1997).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Nathan Miller, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Life* (New York: William Morrow-Quill, 1992), H. W. Brands, *T.R.: The Last Romantic* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), Kathleen M. Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The first volume of an unfinished biography.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Formative Years, 1858-1886* (New York: Scribner's, 1958), David McCullough, *Mornings on Horseback* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981), Paul R. Cutright, *Theodore Roosevelt the Naturalist* (New York: Harper, 1956), and *Theodore Roosevelt: The Making of a Conservationist* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Edward J. Renehan, Jr., *The Lion's Pride: Theodore Roosevelt and his Family in Peace and War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), Louis Auchincloss, *Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Times Books-Henry Holt, 2001), Richard D. White, *Roosevelt the Reformer: Theodore Roosevelt as Civil Service Commissioner, 1889-1895* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), Aida D. Donald, *Lion in the White House: A Life of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Basic Books, 2007), or Roger L. Di Silvestro, *Theodore Roosevelt in the Badlands: A Young Politician's Quest for Recovery in the American West* (New York: Walker, 2011), Paul Grondahl, *I Rose like a Rocket: The Political Education of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Free Press, 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Tweed Roosevelt, "Really, Really Bad Books. Forgotten Fragments #8." *Theodore Roosevelt Association Journal* 31.3 (2010): 10-15.

Victorian white males and their hang-ups at the turn of the nineteenth century. Jim Powell's *Bully Boy: The Truth about Theodore Roosevelt's Legacy* is an unconvincing and biased attempt at debunking Roosevelt's record. James Bradley's *The Imperial Cruise: A Secret History of Empire and War* is an angry, unscholarly denigration of one of America's greatest presidents. Thomas Evan's *The War Lovers: Roosevelt, Lodge, Hearst, and the Rush to Empire, 1898*<sup>10</sup> has nothing to offer but a string of clichés about Roosevelt in its gallery of portraits.<sup>11</sup>

In the last decade and a half several works, however, have added significantly to Rooseveltian scholarship. James Chace's 1912: Wilson, Roosevelt, Taft & Debs—the *Election That Changed the Country* revisits the 1912 campaign while David H. Burton's Taft, Roosevelt, and the Limits of Friendship reexamines their friendship and its split. Candice Millard's The River of Doubt: Theodore Roosevelt's Darkest Journey follows in the footsteps of Joseph R. Ornig's My Last Chance to Be a Boy: Theodore Roosevelt's South *American Expedition of 1913-1914* and offers another gripping account of the former president's Brazilian adventure. Leroy G. Dorsey's We Are All Americans, Pure and *Simple: Theodore Roosevelt and the Myth of Americanism* surveys Roosevelt's public rhetoric on and tactical approach to race, ethnicity, and national identity. Joshua D. Hawley's *Theodore Roosevelt: Preacher of Righteousness* provides an illuminating analysis of Roosevelt's thinking, while Paul M. Rego's American Ideal: Theodore Roosevelt's Search for American Individualism focuses on the dialectics of individualism and collective power in his political thought. Peri E. Arnold's Remaking the Presidency: Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson, 1901-1916 and Will Morrisey's The Dilemma of Progressivism: How Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson Reshaped the American Regime of Self-Government throw new light on how Roosevelt and his immediate successors adapted to and coped with the challenges of the progressive era. Sidney M. Milkis's *Theodore* Roosevelt, the Progressive Party, and the Transformation of American Democracy deals with the 1912 Bull Moose campaign and undertakes a brilliant reinterpretation of progressivism and its legacy in American politics. The prolific Douglas Brinkley has put himself on the record with an extensively researched volume short by only forty pages of the thousand-page mark, *The Wilderness Warrior: Theodore Roosevelt and the* Crusade for America, a book on the president as conservationist that looks at the influence the natural world played on him. Doris Kearns Goodwin's *The Bully Pulpit:* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> For an excellent antithesis see John L. Offner, *An Unwanted War: The Diplomacy of the United States and Spain over Cuba, 1895-1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992). A good, succinct contextualization of the Spanish-American War can be found in Thomas Schoonover, *Uncle Sam's War of 1898 and the Origins of Globalization*, Foreword by Walter LaFeber (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Sarah Watts, *Rough Rider in the White House: Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Desire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), Jim Powell, *Bully Boy: The Truth about Theodore Roosevelt's Legacy* (New York: Crown Forum, 2006), James Bradley, *The Imperial Cruise: A Secret History of Empire and War* (New York: Little, Brown and Co., 2009), Thomas Evan, *The War Lovers: Roosevelt, Lodge, Hearst, and the Rush to Empire, 1898* (New York: Little, Brown and Co., 2010).

Theodore Roosevelt and the Golden Age of Journalism<sup>12</sup> recaptures the man, his progressivism, and his relations with the press while at the same time looking into his friendship and partnership with William H. Taft and devoting a couple of chapters to their respective spouses. Published in the wake of his Hot Time in the Old Town: The Great Heat Wave of 1896 and the Making of Theodore Roosevelt, Edward P. Kohn's Heir to the Empire City: New York and the Making of Theodore Roosevelt offers a new view of the future president's early career that is critical of previous biographers but regrettably unsupported by footnotes—a flaw no doubt due to the publisher's choice.<sup>13</sup>

The relative scarcity of publications on Roosevelt's post-presidential years has come to an end, especially regarding his reaction to the Great War and his attacks on Woodrow Wilson. In addition to older volumes, <sup>14</sup> and the new ones mentioned above on the break with Taft and the 1912 campaign, several notable works now cover the last ten years of Roosevelt's life. Patricia O'Toole's engaging *When Trumpets Call: Theodore Roosevelt after the White House* and Edmund Morris's last volume of his monumental, yet unequal, trilogy, *Colonel Roosevelt* (cf. *supra*) <sup>15</sup> take the reader from the African safari to the death of the 'old lion.' J. Lee. Thompson's *Theodore Roosevelt Abroad: Nature, Empire,* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> First Published in the United States as *The Bully Pulpit: Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft,* and the Golden Age of Journalism (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> James Chace, 1912: Wilson, Roosevelt, Taft & Debs—the Election That Changed the Country (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), David H. Burton, Taft, Roosevelt, and the Limits of Friendship (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2005), Candice Millard, The River of Doubt: Theodore Roosevelt's Darkest Journey (New York: Doubleday, 2005), Joseph R. Ornig, My Last Chance to Be a Boy: Theodore Roosevelt's South American Expedition of 1913-1914, Foreword by Tweed Roosevelt (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), Leroy G. Dorsey, We Are All Americans, Pure and Simple: Theodore Roosevelt and the Myth of Americanism (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2007), Joshua D. Hawley, Theodore Roosevelt: Preacher of Righteousness (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2008), Paul M. Rego, American Ideal: Theodore Roosevelt's Search for American Individualism (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2008), Peri E. Arnold, Remaking the Presidency: Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson, 1901-1916 (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2009), Will Morrisey, The Dilemma of Progressivism: How Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson Reshaped the American Regime of Self-Government (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009), Sidney M. Milkis, Theodore Roosevelt, the Progressive Party, and the Transformation of American Democracy (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2009), Douglas Brinkley, The Wilderness Warrior: Theodore Roosevelt and the Crusade for America (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), Doris Kearns Goodwin, The Bully Pulpit: Theodore Roosevelt and the Golden Age of Journalism (London: Viking, 2013), Edward P. Kohn, Hot Time in the Old Town: The Great Heat Wave of 1896 and the Making of Theodore Roosevelt (New York: Basic Books, 2010), and Heir to the Empire City: New York and the Making of Theodore Roosevelt (New York: Basic Books, 2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> George E. Mowry, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement* (1946; New York: Hill and Wang, 1960), William Manners, *T.R. and Will: A Friendship that Split the Republican Party* (New York: Harcourt, 1960), Joseph L. Gardner, *Departing Glory: Theodore Roosevelt as Ex-President* (New York: Scribner's, 1973), John A. Gable, *The Bull Moose Years: Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Party* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1978), John M. Cooper, Jr., *The Warrior and the Priest: Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press-Belknap, 1983).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The *Theodore Rex* volume on the presidency does not quite meet the criteria of excellence that the other two legitimately deserve.

and the Journey of an American President offers the entertaining and fascinating tale of 'Colonel' Roosevelt's African experience and European tour in 1909-1910. Interestingly, Roosevelt the citizen received a hero's welcome and was granted royal treatment wherever he went, thus giving the measure of his and America's popularity in the Old World. J. Lee Thompson's second book, Never Call Retreat: Theodore Roosevelt and the Great War, covers his political activity from 1914 to his death on January 6, 1919, and magnifies his anti-Wilson campaigns, his preparedness crusade, and his commitment to intervention in the Great War, despite obvious contradictions and shortcomings, like his initial refusal to take sides in the conflict and his virulent denunciations of "the hyphen." 16

The twenty-sixth president's foreign policies have possibly inspired more books than his domestic policies. They have often been studied separately and the interest in them has never abated. A number of studies have tried to emulate Howard K. Beale's remarkable *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of America to World Power*. Frederick W. Marks III, with *Velvet on Iron: The Diplomacy of Theodore Roosevelt,* is the only one to have attempted an overview. <sup>17</sup> Other major studies have singled out only certain episodes. <sup>18</sup>

Raymond A. Esthus's *Theodore Roosevelt and the International Rivalries* leaves out the Caribbean that Richard H Collin examines in great detail but uncritically, and even approvingly, in *Theodore Roosevelt's Caribbean: The Panama Canal, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Latin American Context*. William C. Widenor has a remarkable chapter on *Theodorus Pacificus* in his *Henry Cabot Lodge and the Search for an American Foreign Policy*. <sup>19</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Patricia O'Toole, When Trumpets Call: Theodore Roosevelt after the White House (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), J. Lee. Thompson, Theodore Roosevelt Abroad: Nature, Empire, and the Journey of an American President (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), and Never Call Retreat: Theodore Roosevelt and the Great War (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Efforts at an overall approach by two foreign scholars, one French, one German, resulted in the publication of Serge Ricard, *Théodore Roosevelt: principes et pratique d'une politique étrangère* (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1991), and Raimund Lammersdorf, *Anfänge einer Weltmacht: Theodore Roosevelt un die transatlantischen Beziehungen der USA 1901–1909* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1994), which have had a limited readership in the United States.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Howard K. Beale, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of America to World Power* (1956; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press Paperbacks, 1984), Frederick W. Marks III, *Velvet on Iron: The Diplomacy of Theodore Roosevelt* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Raymond A. Esthus, *Theodore Roosevelt and the International Rivalries* (1970; Claremont, Calif.: Regina Books, 1982), Richard H Collin, *Theodore Roosevelt's Caribbean: The Panama Canal, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Latin American Context* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), William C. Widenor, *Henry Cabot Lodge and the Search for an American Foreign Policy* (1980; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

Theodore Roosevelt's naval policy has been the object of a number of still useful assessments: Harold and Margaret Sprout's *The Rise of American Naval Power, 1776-1918,* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., William R. Braisted's *The United States Navy in the Pacific, 1897-1909,* Gordon C. O'Gara's *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of the Modern Navy,* and James R. Reckner's *Teddy Roosevelt's Great White Fleet.* Richard W. Turk's *The Ambiguous Relationship: Theodore Roosevelt and Alfred Thayer Mahan* clarifies the sometimes tense relationship between the two men and demonstrates that Roosevelt had developed his own naval theorizing independently but skillfully used Mahan's influence to promote his naval program.<sup>20</sup>

Regarding the Caribbean, the seizure of Panama remains a highly controversial episode that historians by and large have dealt with critically. The best studies remain Dwight C. Miner's, *The Fight for the Panama Route: The Story of the Spooner Act and the Hay-Herrán Treaty*, Gerstle Mack's *The Land Divided: A History of the Panama Canal and Other Isthmian Canal Projects*, and David McCullough's, *The Path between the Seas: The Creation of the Panama Canal, 1870-1914*. Roosevelt's intervention in Santo Domingo is viewed severely in Melvin M. Knight's *The Americans in Santo Domingo*. So is the second occupation of Cuba in Louis A. Pérez, Jr.'s *Cuba under the Platt Amendment, 1902-1934* after receiving a more favorable treatment in Allan R. Millett's *The Politics of Intervention: The Second Occupation of Cuba, 1906-1909.*<sup>21</sup>

With the exception perhaps of Oscar M. Alfonso's *Theodore Roosevelt and the Philippines*, 1897-1909, scholarly treatment of the Philippines naturally includes Theodore Roosevelt but generally within works that deal with the conquest of the archipelago and the United States' Philippine policy. Most of them are severely critical of the U.S. and its twenty-sixth president: Moorfield Storey and M. P. Lichauco's *The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States*, 1898-1925; William J. Pomeroy's *American Neo-Colonialism: Its Emergence in the Philippines and Asia*; Norman G. Owen's edited collection, *Compadre Colonialism: Studies on the Philippines under American Rule*; Stuart C. Miller's "Benevolent Assimilation": The American Conquest of the Philippines,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Harold and Margaret Sprout, *The Rise of American Naval Power, 1776-1918,* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (1939; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967), William R. Braisted, *The United States Navy in the Pacific, 1897-1909* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958), Gordon C. O'Gara, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of the Modern Navy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1943), James R. Reckner, *Teddy Roosevelt's Great White Fleet* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1988), Richard W. Turk, *The Ambiguous Relationship: Theodore Roosevelt and Alfred Thayer Mahan* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1987).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Dwight C. Miner, *The Fight for the Panama Route: The Story of the Spooner Act and the Hay-Herrán Treaty* (1940; New York: Octagon Books, 1966), Gerstle Mack, *The Land Divided: A History of the Panama Canal and Other Isthmian Canal Projects* (1944; New York: Octagon Books, 1974), David McCullough, *The Path between the Seas: The Creation of the Panama Canal, 1870-1914* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1977), Melvin M. Knight, *The Americans in Santo Domingo* (1928; New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1970), Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba under the Platt Amendment, 1902-1934* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986), Allan R. Millett, *The Politics of Intervention: The Second Occupation of Cuba, 1906-1909* (Columbus: Ohio University Press, 1968).

1899-1903; and Richard E. Welch, Jr.'s Response to Imperialism: The United States and the Philippine-American War, 1899-1902.<sup>22</sup>

Research on Theodore Roosevelt and the Far East has yielded a great many important works laudatory on the whole for the Portsmouth peace maker and his dealings with Japan but critical of his Chinese policy: Thomas A. Bailey's *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crises: An Account of the International Complications Arising from the Race Problem on the Pacific Coast*; Roger Daniels's *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion*; Raymond A. Esthus's *Theodore Roosevelt and Japan*; Charles E. Neu's *An Uncertain Friendship: Theodore Roosevelt and Japan, 1906-1909*; Eugene P. Trani's *The Treaty of Portsmouth: An Adventure in American Diplomacy*; Akira Iriye's *Pacific Estrangement: Japanese and American Expansion, 1897-1911*; and Delber L. McKee's *Chinese Exclusion versus the Open Door Policy, 1900-1906: Clashes over China Policy in the Roosevelt Era.*<sup>23</sup>

The European arena, in which the main players were the great powers of the day, is where Theodore Roosevelt attained his world-leader status. Monographs abound on transatlantic relations: Eugene N. Anderson's *The First Moroccan Crisis, 1904-1906*, which does not use the French archives; Alfred Vagts's *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik,* 2 vols., an *opus magnum* never translated into English but nonetheless cited all the time; Lionel M. Gelber's still useful *The Rise of Anglo-American Friendship: A Study in World Politics, 1898-1906*; Charles C. Tansill's *Canadian-American Relations, 1875-1911*, which is extremely detailed and views the Alaska boundary dispute from the Canadian vantage point; the British historian Alexander E. Campbell's *Great Britain and the United States, 1895-1903*; Bradford Perkins's *The Great Rapprochement: England and the United States, 1895-1914*, a classic study of Anglo-American relations from the first Venezuela Crisis to the Great War; Stuart Anderson's *Race and Rapprochement: Anglo-Saxonism and Anglo-American Relations, 1895-1904*, on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Oscar M. Alfonso, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Philippines, 1897-1909* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1970), Moorfield Storey and M. P. Lichauco, *The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States, 1898-1925* (New York: Scribner's, 1926), William J. Pomeroy, *American Neo-Colonialism: Its Emergence in the Philippines and Asia* (New York: International Publishers, 1970), Norman G. Owen, ed., *Compadre Colonialism: Studies on the Philippines under American Rule* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1971), Stuart C. Miller, *"Benevolent Assimilation": The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982), Richard E. Welch, Jr., *Response to Imperialism: The United States and the Philippine-American War, 1899-1902* (1979; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Thomas A. Bailey, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crises: An Account of the International Complications Arising from the Race Problem on the Pacific Coast* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1934), Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), Raymond A. Esthus, *Theodore Roosevelt and Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), Charles E. Neu, *An Uncertain Friendship: Theodore Roosevelt and Japan, 1906-1909* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), Eugene P. Trani, *The Treaty of Portsmouth: An Adventure in American Diplomacy* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1969), Akira Iriye, *Pacific Estrangement: Japanese and American Expansion, 1897-1911* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), Delber L. McKee, *Chinese Exclusion versus the Open Door Policy, 1900-1906: Clashes over China Policy in the Roosevelt Era* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1977).

diplomacy and ethno-cultural solidarity; Peter Larsen's "Theodore Roosevelt and the Moroccan Crisis, 1904-1906," an exhaustive study of the First Moroccan Crisis using German, French, British, and American archives; and Nancy Mitchell's *The Danger of Dreams: German and American Imperialism in Latin America*, which claims that the German peril was imaginary.<sup>24</sup>

The most striking evolution in the twenty-first century historiography of Theodore Roosevelt is the switch from a partial arraignment of the imperialist to a quasiunanimous celebration of the master diplomatist, as illustrated by several important studies that reveal a persistent interest in his foreign policies. William N. Tilchin, with his Theodore Roosevelt and the British Empire: A Study in Presidential Statecraft, is the first to have underlined cogently Roosevelt's exceptional statesmanship in the construction of the nascent twentieth-century 'special relationship'; he furthers the demonstration with William N. Tilchin and Charles E. Neu, eds., Artists of Power: Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Their Enduring Impact on U.S. Foreign Policy. James R. Holmes makes an interesting contribution to the study of Rooseveltian diplomacy, Theodore Roosevelt and World Order: Police Power in International Relations, but fails to produce an all-encompassing volume. The "Legacies of Theodore Roosevelt" are explored in a special issue of *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 19.4 (2008).<sup>25</sup> Two major works address anew Roosevelt's naval expertise, Lisle A. Rose's *Power at Sea*, 3 vols., <sup>26</sup> and Henry J. Hendrix's Theodore Roosevelt's Naval Diplomacy: The U.S. Navy and the Birth of the American Century. More recently, a multi-author volume throws light on Theodore Roosevelt and transatlantic relations in Hans Krabbendam and John M. Thompson, eds., *America's Transatlantic Turn: Theodore Roosevelt and the "Discovery" of* Europe.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Eugene N. Anderson, *The First Moroccan Crisis, 1904-1906* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), Alfred Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik,* 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1935), Lionel M. Gelber, *The Rise of Anglo-American Friendship: A Study in World Politics, 1898-1906* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), Charles C. Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations, 1875-1911* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1943), Alexander E. Campbell, *Great Britain and the United States, 1895-1903* (London: Longmans, 1960), Bradford Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement: England and the United States, 1895-1914* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), Stuart Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement: Anglo-Saxonism and Anglo-American Relations, 1895-1904* (Rutherford, N.J.: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981), Peter Larsen, "Theodore Roosevelt and the Moroccan Crisis, 1904-1906," diss. Princeton University, 1984, Nancy Mitchell, *The Danger of Dreams: German and American Imperialism in Latin America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> On the legacy see also the proceedings of a 2011 conference celebrating Theodore Roosevelt's visit to the Sorbonne and the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences in 1910, Claire Delahaye and Serge Ricard, eds., *L'héritage de Théodore Roosevelt: impérialisme et progressisme (1912-2012)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012), with essays in either French or English by Claire Delahaye and Serge Ricard, Sidney M. Milkis, Douglas Eden, Michael Patrick Cullinane, Élise Marienstras, André Béziat, William N. Tilchin, Michael Kort, William Keylor, Andrew M. Johnston, Maud Quessard, Marie Gayte, Maya Kandel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> See volume one, *The Age of Navalism*, 1890-1918.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> William N. Tilchin, *Theodore Roosevelt and the British Empire: A Study in Presidential Statecraft* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), William N. Tilchin and Charles E. Neu, eds., *Artists of Power: Theodore* 

The twenty-sixth president's reputation as a brilliant diplomatist and realpolitician has undeniably reached new heights in the twenty-first century as we doubtlessly prepare to go through half a decade of World War One-related centennial celebrations of all kinds; yet, his Philippine policy still prompts criticism. Three magisterial narratives reexamine the United States' inglorious conquest and pacification of the archipelago, America's first experiment in 'nation-building': Paul A. Kramer's *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines,* Gregg R. Jones's *Honor in the Dust: Theodore Roosevelt, War in the Philippines, and the Rise and Fall of America's Imperial Dream,* and Michael Patrick Cullinane's *Liberty and American Anti-Imperialism,* 1898-1909.<sup>28</sup>

There had been no comprehensive multi-author volume since that of Nathalie Naylor, Douglas Brinkley, and John A. Gable, eds.: *Theodore Roosevelt: Many-Sided American*, prepared under the auspices of Hofstra University. *A Companion to Theodore Roosevelt*, edited by Serge Ricard, has recently bridged a nineteen-year old gap and revealed on both sides of the Atlantic a new generation of Roosevelt scholars alongside well known senior specialists: Michael Patrick Cullinane, Adam D. Burns, Claire Delahaye, Edward P. Kohn, Andrew M. Johnston, Stephen L. Levine, Gary Murphy, J. Simon Rofe, John M. Thompson. The *Companion* provides background, new material, and interpretive reading for both scholars and the general public, and achieves a multi-faceted portrait of the first modern chief executive, an innovative shaper of American foreign relations who launched the rising United States on the world stage.<sup>29</sup>

Of course, anyone seeking extensive in-depth knowledge of the twenty-sixth president will have to turn to three indispensable sets of resources: the Theodore Roosevelt Papers in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (also available at Harvard in the Houghton Library's Theodore Roosevelt Collection and in

Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Their Enduring Impact on U.S. Foreign Policy, Foreword by William R. Keylor (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Security International, 2006), James R. Holmes, Theodore Roosevelt and World Order: Police Power in International Relations (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2006), The "Legacies of Theodore Roosevelt," ed. Giles Scott-Smith, Diplomacy & Statecraft 19.4 (2008): 635-786, Lisle A. Rose, Power at Sea, 3 vols. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2007), Henry J. Hendrix, Theodore Roosevelt's Naval Diplomacy: The U.S. Navy and the Birth of the American Century (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2009), Hans Krabbendam and John M. Thompson, eds., America's Transatlantic Turn: Theodore Roosevelt and the "Discovery" of Europe (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), Gregg R. Jones, *Honor in the Dust: Theodore Roosevelt, War in the Philippines, and the Rise and Fall of America's Imperial Dream* (New York: New American Library, 2012), Michael Patrick Cullinane, *Liberty and American Anti-Imperialism, 1898-1909* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Nathalie Naylor, Douglas Brinkley, and John A. Gable, eds., *Theodore Roosevelt: Many-Sided American*, prepared under the auspices of Hofstra University (Interlaken, N.Y.: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1992), *A Companion to Theodore Roosevelt*, ed. Serge Ricard (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011).

Europe at the Roosevelt Study Center in Middelburg, The Netherlands); the twenty-four volumes of the Memorial Edition of *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, edited by Hermann Hagedorn, the most complete collection of Roosevelt's books, essays, state papers and other writings; 30 and the eight volumes of his correspondence, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, edited by Elting E. Morison, John M. Blum, and Alfred D. Chandler, Jr. The new edition of the *Theodore Roosevelt Cyclopedia*, edited by Albert B. Hart and Herbert R. Ferleger, is a handier tool for the specialized scholar, less time-consuming and unwieldy for primary material. It can be supplemented by a selection of Theodore Roosevelt's letters available in print, like those in Louis Auchincloss, ed., *Theodore Roosevelt: Letters and Speeches*, and H. W. Brands, ed., *The Selected Letters of Theodore Roosevelt.* 31

Online material is available in particular on the websites of Harvard's Theodore Roosevelt Collection, the Theodore Roosevelt Center at Dickinson State University, the Almanac of Theodore Roosevelt, the American Presidency Project, and the Theodore Roosevelt Association:

http://www.hcl.harvard.edu/libraries/houghton/collections/roosevelt.html

http://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Research/Digital-Library.aspx

http://www.theodore-roosevelt.com/

http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/theodore roosevelt.php

http://www.theodoreroosevelt.org/

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> The National Edition of *The Works*, however, comprising 20 volumes, also edited by Hermann Hagedorn (New York: Scribner's, 1926) as a condensed version of the Memorial Edition, is more readily available and is generally used by most researchers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> The Works of Theodore Roosevelt, ed. Hermann Hagedorn (New York: Scribner's, 1923-1926), The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt, ed. Elting E. Morison, John M. Blum, and Alfred D. Chandler, Jr. (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951-1954), Theodore Roosevelt Cyclopedia, ed. Albert B. Hart and Herbert R. Ferleger, Foreword by William Allen White, rev. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., with new introd., bibliogr., chron., hist. of the Theodore Roosevelt Association by John A. Gable (1941; Westport, Conn.: Theodore Roosevelt Association and Meckler, 1989), Louis Auchincloss, ed., Theodore Roosevelt: Letters and Speeches (New York: Library of America, 2004), H. W. Brands, ed., The Selected Letters of Theodore Roosevelt (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).