THE REALITIES OF FOREIGN HUMANITARIANISM

AND THE U.S. MILITARY: NINETEENTH CENTURY ROOTS

by

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ABSTRACT

For nearly two centuries, United States (U.S.) political policy and non-government organizations (NGOs) had delivered foreign humanitarian assistance (FHA) when and where needed. The logistical capability of the professional U.S. military has allowed it to become an enduring delivery method for FHA. Since the 2000s, Congress has actively shaped the Department of Defense's (DoD) role in humanitarian operations through a wide variety of authorities contained in the Armed Services (Title 10 U.S. Code) and Foreign Relations and Intercourse (Title 22 U.S. Code) statutes, and through annual legislation. Each branch of the military has also developed more defined doctrines in response to this increasing role in FHA. The U.S. army has developed the Army's Technique Publication 3-57.20 in order to prepare for an increased humanitarian role.

This thesis will challenge traditional notions of U.S. military FHA that places its origins either at the creation of the United Nations (UN) and the Truman Doctrine in the late 1940s, or at the Spanish-American War of 1898. That year, the American populace created a growing demand to right the wrongs committed by the seemingly inept and corrupt Spanish Empire. When action did finally come, the American people landed an army on the shores of a battered people. Incidentally, the United States did not land its troops on foreign soil in 1898 in the name of humanitarianism for the first time. No, decades of prior experience and custom fell alongside those troops. From aiding in the suppression of the Atlantic slave trade beginning in 1819 to providing order and medical

attention to the people of Alexandria near the end of the century, the United States began

a tradition of using its military for FHA that proves nearly as old as the nation itself.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FA	Foreign Humanitarianism
FHA	Foreign Humanitarian Assistance
ACS	American Colonization Society
NGOS	Non-Government Organizations

INTRODUCTION

While humanitarianism is a simple concept, the act of carrying it out has not been. In its most general form, humanitarianism is merely an act of sympathy and benevolence extended universally to all of mankind. As simple as the concept may be, academic writers and journalists continue to show the complex relationship governments and non-government organizations hold with the complex noun. Since the eighteenth century, the basic notion of humanitarianism began to appear in theological and philosophical texts. Theologians and philosophers such as Ernst Troeltsch, William Wilberforce, and Samuel Romilly gave notice that philanthropic and charitable individuals believed all of mankind could be improved by deliberate social change. According to Troeltsch, "their aim was a new spirit, not a new society."[1] Eventually, this motive lead to involvement from both like-minded NGOs and governments. Questions began to arise, could humanitarianism still exist with government-backed organizations, and if so, how? From the Berlin Airlift in the 1940s to the 2014 airstrikes against ISIS targets in Iraq, governments continue to show the popularity of carrying out military-led humanitarian actions.[2] Although secondary sources are numerous on this topic, especially in regards to the United States military and foreign humanitarian assistance, they are all incomplete. The notion that the government, let alone its military, can improve society by deliberate social change seems

[1] Ernst Troeltsch, *The social teaching of the Christian churches* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1950), p. 135.

[2] Rachel Marsden, "Humanitarianism in the Form of Airstrikes," *Townhall*, October 7, 2014, http://townhall.com/columnists/rachelmarsden/2014/10/07/humanitarianism-in-the-form-of-airstrikes-n1902013.

impossible, especially to dunantist.[3] The United States, with its military, proved capable of achieving this seemingly impossible feat in the nineteenth century. From aiding in the suppression of the Atlantic slave trade beginning in 1819 to providing order and medical attention to the people of Alexandria near the end of the century, the United States began a tradition of using its military for FHA that proves nearly as old as the nation itself.

Before going any further into the paper, it is essential to understand two terms, foreign humanitarianism and abolitionism, and their relationship to the American military. Foreign humanitarianism are a series of consistent programs conducted in order to reduce or relieve the results of manmade or natural disasters or other rampant circumstances such as disease, human pain, hunger, or any hardship that results in excessive damage to or loss of property or presents a serious peril to life. Any foreign humanitarianism assistance (FHA) by U.S. military forces is limited in both duration and scope. All FHA operations are conducted outside of any American possessions and territories. These operations exclude any events that occur within the borders of federal government lands, such as the American Civil War or various skirmishes that occurred between Native Americans and Americans. In 1831, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Cherokee Nation v.* Georgia that "the court ... after mature deliberation ... is of opinion that an Indian tribe or nation within the United States is not a foreign state in the sense of the constitution."[4] They declared that any and all Native American tribes in the country

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[3] Named after Henry Dunant, the man who inspired the creation of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the name refers to a group of humanitarian practitioners who believe in neutrality, impartiality, independence, and humanity. More information can be in the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) Humanitarian Policy Group (HPG) Briefing Paper, "Humanitarian NGOS: Challenges and Trends," http://www.odi.org/publications/272-humanitarian-ngos-challenges-trends.

[4] United States Supreme Court. "Cherokee Nation v. Georgia 30 U.S. 1 (1831)." Justia, https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/30/1/.

were instead "domestic nations," and not afforded the rights of nations.[5] Foreign

humanitarianism is not only intentional but creates a deliberate social change.

Abolitionism is the movement to abolish slavery. In the U.S., this movement

concentrated on the abolishment of African-American, specifically black, slavery.

Although small in size, American abolitionists accomplished their goal with various

levels of aid from federal and state governments. This aid came in numerous forms that

included laws abolishing United States involvement in domestic and international slave

trades, as well as the establishment of free nations supported by time-restricted U.S. Navy

patrols. These patrols also aided, to some degree, in combating the international slave

trade found throughout the waters of West Africa.

The United States and Europe share a connected history and the people and ideas

buried within that antiquity. As such, the eighteenth century Age of Reason found in

Europe saw the objectives of humanitarianism being infused with the Christian faith. One

of the most notable manifestations of this new humanitarianism was the antislavery

movement that had gained significant ground in the domestic politics of England. In

1774, a simple court case saw to the end of slavery within the country. From that point

until 1807, a determined movement saw to the abolition of slavery as a global institution.

Within the British Empire, William Wilberforce and his fellow abolitionists helped to

eliminate Britain's involvement in the traffic at home by 1807. A mere twenty-six years

later, slavery would be abolished throughout the British colonies. This sentiment found

throughout the British Empire did not end there, for a portion of their intellectual and

blood relatives across the Atlantic Ocean in the New World held the same spirit within

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[5] Ibid.

them. A spirit found in the regional and national politics, ideologies, and laws that began with a revolution in 1776.

While many historians have acknowledged that the United States has used the concept of humanitarianism in its international endeavors since 1898, those scholars fail to connect the dots between early American military FHA found in providing emergency services in the nineteenth century and those same actions found in later centuries. Donald Canney, Brownell Everill, Eric Burin, and Henry A. Crosby Forbes are all considered the authorities on their subjects. Their areas of research range from the U.S. African Squadron to the Great Hunger in Ireland. While all of these scholars have written on singular events that fall within the realm of foreign humanitarianism, none gave the topic any particular attention. Canney wrote a book that covers the span of the U.S. African Squadron, and nearly ignores half of its history.[6] Everill allotted for greater space than that in regards to humanitarianism, but even her account fails to take notice of the U.S. military's contributions to that field.[7] Forbes' examination of a dire Ireland provides perhaps the greatest account of a nineteenth century act of humanitarianism by a military but centers his work on the political and social relationships between Ireland and the British.[8] This focus limits American involvement to only a few paragraphs. The depiction of these humanitarian crises despite the critical analysis historians, have brought to individual events, continue to remain relatively the same. While there is clear evidence to show the United States allowed its military to be used to perform deeds of FHA, either at

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[6] Donald L. Canney, *Africa Squadron the U.S. Navy and the Slave Trade, 1842–1861* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2006), p. x.

[7] Bronwen Everill, *Abolition and Empire in Sierra Leone and Liberia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 157.

[8] H. A. Crosby Forbes, *Massachusetts Help to Ireland During the Great Famine* (Milton, Massachusetts: Captain Robert Bennet Forbes House, 1967), pp. 5–6.

the behest of a naval officer or the acting President and Congress, the historians who have either written about the slave trade, blights in Ireland, or on theories of how a nation acts tend to ignore the American military's global contributions and focus more on individuals such as Matthew Perry. Other historians, such as Joseph G. Dawson, argue that the U.S. military's role in the nineteenth century reflects that of its counterpart in a post-World War II era but merely leave it there. An incomplete observation permeates many of the secondary sources on the U.S. military's role in nineteenth century foreign humanitarianism. Certainly causing the pendulum to swing in dunantist's favor meant connecting American imperialism in 1898 with acts of government-led humanitarianism. However, such like the chroniclers during the Spanish-American War in 1898 and later wars, the historians on nineteenth century humanitarianism looked at the politicians and activists rather than the military officers.

The purpose of this thesis is not to give praise to military humanitarianism or endorse an image of the American military as a seemingly altruistic institution. A military acts according to a multitude of economic, political, and social motivations. The purpose is to highlight how, through a continual involvement in providing foreign aid such as foodstuffs, fire containment, and police support, the American military's involvement with foreign humanitarian assistance does not begin at the end of the nineteenth century, but rather the beginning. That is something for which the early American military never receives credit. Research into this topic has made it apparent that the soldiers and officers of that body affected the lives of men and women around the global through deliberate social change. While the United States and its military hold their fair share of congratulatory accounts, they also hold a fair share of detractors, specifically from anti-

imperialist and dunantist or dunantist-like scholars. This paper does not set out to argue whether or not military forces should be used to carry out humanitarian action. It is individuals who make up the American military and bring with them beliefs born from both regional and national political and social beliefs. While officers such as Rear Admiral Reginald F. Nicholson lent use of his ships as temporary hospitals, other officers took vengeance out on native islanders in the Pacific Ocean over perceived affronts to their authority.[9] Nor does this paper make the argument that Southern politicians did not affect the success of the American naval squadron in Africa. Instead, this paper examines the growing domestic and international need to abolish slavery, horrific famines that killed nearly killed nearly one in four people, and a growing socioeconomic and political reach of a young nation that pushed the American military intro providing various forms of foreign humanitarian aid beginning in the early nineteenth century.

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[9] Harry Allanson Ellsworth, *One Hundred Eighty Landing of United States Marines 1800–1934* (Washington, DC: History and Museums Division Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 2013), p. 75.
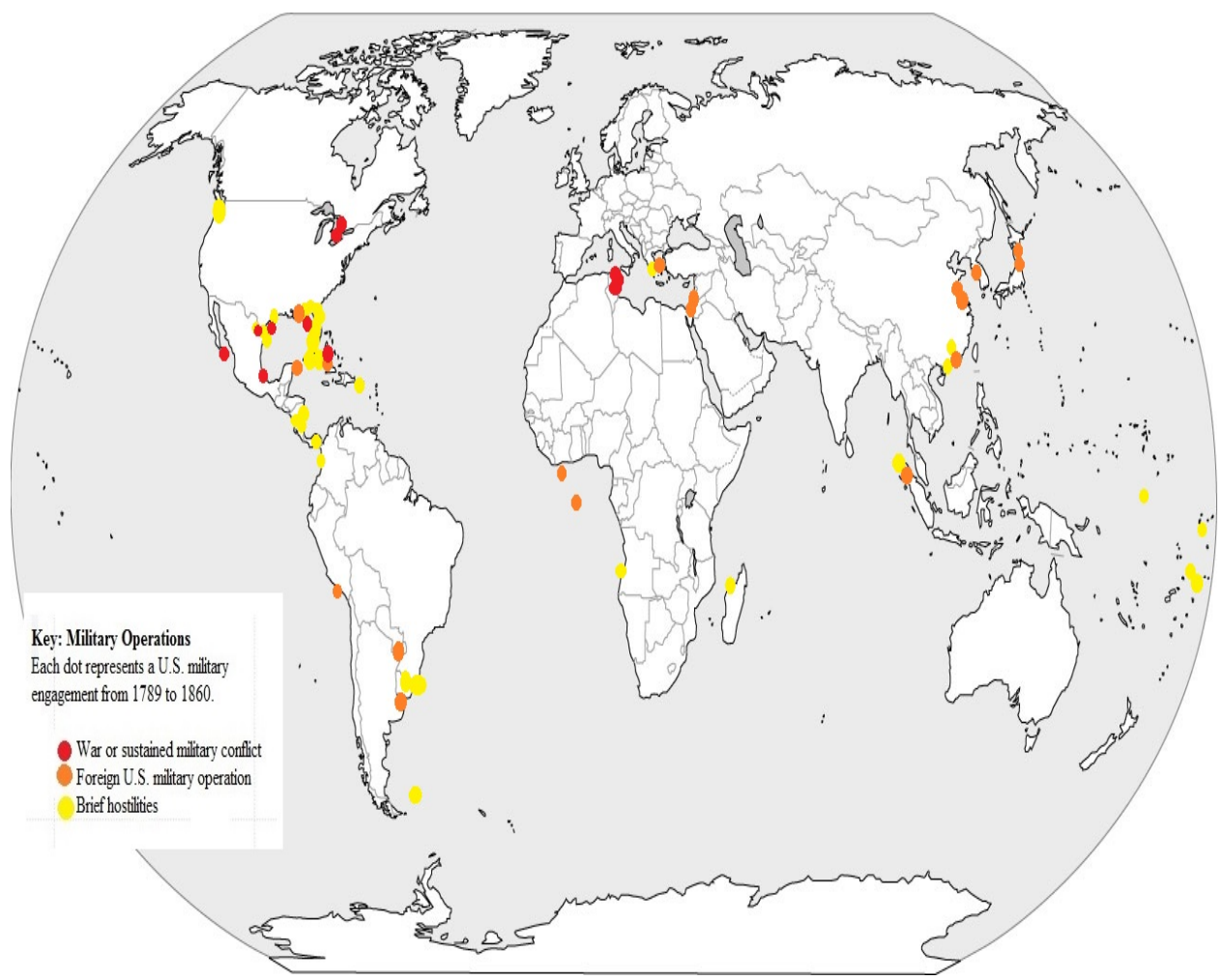
Figure 1. "U.S. Military Engagements Abroad, 1789–1860." Blank map from Maphill.[10]

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[10] This list is representative of U.S. military foreign humanitarian assistance and does not include the entirety of nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first century activities. All dates, locations, and types of activities were gathered from the source materials under *Table A.1* in Appendix.

CHAPTER ONE: AN INCOMPLETE HISTORY

Scholars such as John Ries and Gaines M. Foster have demonstrated a consistent use of military forces by the American government to handle foreign humanitarian crises from 1898 onward. Despite their academic accomplishments, these scholars have yet to connect this method of handling crises with earlier American history. The various pieces of scholarship that spans from the topics of regional versus national politics to singular actions of nineteenth century American humanitarianism are all stepping stones to a larger picture. A historiography captures this representation.[11] It is this study of history that allows the reader to understand where a new thesis belongs amidst others that came before. In addition, by separating a historiography into multiple segments, it allows for a more diverse understanding of the subject at hand.

While no single piece of research will ever be capable of telling the whole story with every actor, thought, and motivation involved, it does not need to accomplish this impossible task. Scholars build off the work of one another and because of this, it will always remain important to hold an understanding of the historiography. Each idea central to a scholar's work is merely a new piece to the puzzle.

Regional and National Politics

It is always easy to view the military as a tool of destruction, manipulated by geopolitical struggles. Images of horrific military massacres, often created at the bidding

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[11] A historiography is merely the history of written history. It is meant to show the reader how scholars have come to treat a particular field of history, such as military or environmental. It serves a multitude of reasons, one of which can be to show where historians have yet to venture.

of civilian leaders, such as the Nanking Massacre, the Holocaust, and the Adana massacre, litter history books. While it is true that militaries can be an instrument used for destruction, on that same token, they are also used for protection. A tool, one which is always influenced by local and national sociopolitical justifications, which the American people have often found a purpose for within the humanitarian world. These ideologically-fuelled political agendas give birth to the American military's basis, and when combined with a stable and secure society led to the creation of new purposes for a military that extends beyond the realm of security.

When discussing the American military and international humanitarianism, images such as the Berlin Airlift or the 2010 Operation Unified Response in Haiti appear quickly. Others, such as providing temporary security in Colombia during political turmoil in the 1860s, appear slowly or not at all. This absence of knowledge leads to a narrative of discontinuity. While many scholars have continued along this path, others, such as Robert Kagan, Howard Zinn, and William Appleman Williams, have uncovered a fuller narrative, one where the United States does not simply leap from a position of isolationism to that of a world power following World War II.

Although not the first to challenge the discontinuity narrative, Kagan's *Dangerous Nations* is a landmark study of an otherwise stagnant history. Kagan's unique experience as a foreign policy advisor[12] and American historian led him to question the accuracy of American foreign policy history. By believing in an old narrative where Americans do not emerge onto the global stage until World War II, or in some instances 1898, myths begin to arise. These folktales paint early American history as relatively

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[12] Kagan has served as a foreign policy advisor to multiple U.S. Republican presidential candidates, as well as to Hilary Clinton while she served as Secretary of State under President Barrack Obama.

non-aggressive and anti-colonial with these traits only emerging in the twentieth century. The sum of these beliefs paints the United States as an isolated state. Kagan challenges this long-held belief and makes the argument that "…this colonial America was characterised not by isolationism and utopianism, not by cities upon hills and covenants with God, but by aggressive expansionism, acquisitive materialism, and an overarching ideology of civilisation that encouraged and justified both."[13] Although aggressive land acquisition and the United States go hand in hand, as its history supports, it must be noted that American foreign policy is defined neither by a singular or cohesive national interest. Rather, it is built, in part, upon shifting regional alliances and compromises.[14] This knowledge that the United States history is one of an expansionist and ideologically-fueled people existing within a complex local political system helps to capture the fundamental relationship between the nation's foreign policy and its nature. The former reflects the national idea, no matter what it may be and how it may change over the course of time.

Although the national plan may change over time, as well as regional alliances and the outcomes they produce for American foreign policy, the United States has rested upon universal principles imbued into American society from its inauguration. Its values are not only relevant to the world, but applicable as well.[15] From early American politicians, abolitionists, freedom-fighters, and capitalists, the United States military would find itself projected onto the global arena. In this ring, the military would become

[13] Robert Kagan, *Dangerous Nation: America's Foreign Policy from Its Earliest Days to the Dawn of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Knopf, 2006), p. 10.

[14] Peter Trubowitz, *Defining the National Interest: Conflict and Change in American Foreign Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 18.

[15] Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World* (New York: Knopf, 2001), pp. 310–311.

destined to not only protect American commercial interests abroad, but the social and humanitarian beliefs of the young republic.

Although imbued with universal principles since its inception, scholars, politicians, and the American population in general have argued with one another about which principles should lead the nation's foreign policy. Walter McDougall, professor of international relations at the University of Pennsylvania, examined the entirety of the history of U.S. foreign policy, using religious terminology[16] to create two distinct periods. At its most basic level, McDougall's thesis argues that there is a fundamental contradiction in U.S. foreign policy, wherein two competing doctrines are each influenced by four separate themes. He contends that upon its founding, the U.S. entered its Old Testament phase (the Promised Land) founded upon four traditions:

Old Testament (Promised Land)
1. Exceptionalism (avoid entangling alliances, focus upon liberty at home)
2. Unilateralism (as opposed to isolationism)
3. The American System (Monroe Doctrine)
4. Expansionism (Manifest Destiny)[17]

Until 1898, the Promised Land formed the foundation for American foreign policy. 1898, and forward, mark the second phase of American foreign policy, the New Testament (Crusader State). Like its predecessor, McDougall argues that four traditions affect the second phase, as well:

New Testament (Crusader State)
1. Progressive Imperialism

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[16] McDougall uses religious terminology based on the notion that early American foreign policy is based on religious reasoning and that all subsequent foreign policies hold some basis in this reasoning.

[17] Walter A. McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World Since 1776* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), p. 10.

2. Liberal Internationalism (Wilsonianism)

3. Containment

4. Global Meliorism (fixing the internal problems of other nations)[18]

Unfortunately, while McDougall shows the universal principles imbued in American society, he still builds his thesis upon some of the myths scholars such as Kagan and Peter Trubowitz have attempted to correct. He uses evidence such as the flow of capital and trade overseas to argue against American isolationism in the nineteenth century; McDougall insists that the American government only began to pursue humanitarianism within its foreign policy in 1898.[19]

McDougall does not stand alone in the presumption that government foreign humanitarianism began in 1898 and not prior. Both Louis Perez and Greg Grandin support the idea that the American government did not begin to use humanitarianism as a tool until the Spanish-American War of 1898.[20] However, both their research supports the claim that the United States did not display isolationist behavior when compared to a nation such as Tokugawa Japan. Unlike Japan, which applied strict restrictions upon international trade during that time in its history, the United States did not apply the same limitations upon its merchants, citizens, or use of military. In a direct comparison to Tokugawa Japan, the United States has never practiced any form of full isolationist policies. While these scholars all come to the same conclusion that the American government never exhibited any isolationist foreign policies, they do not credit the U.S. military with any acts of foreign humanitarianism until 1898. In the case of Perez, he

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[18] Ibid., p. 10.

[19] Ibid., pp. 174–5.

[20] Greg Grandin, *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006), pp. 3–4.

berates the American government and media industry as selling war to the American

people by depicting Cubans as a threat to American liberty and freedom.[21] Despite the

exaggeration of foreign nations and their people, American foreign policy centered on the

achievement of one goal: protecting American liberty.

If the U.S. did not exhibit real isolationist behavior, the importance of civil

society grows tremendously. Kathleen D. McCarthy, a historian, has argued that early

America subscribed to the "American Creed" that linked religious freedom with

egalitarianism to the right to engage in civic activism.[22] Like McDougall and Kagan,

McCarthy believes that America began as an ideologically imbedded society. She defines

this philanthropic behavior as "that segment of social activity that encompasses the

giving of time and money for public benefit."[23] From her perspective, it is not the actor's

motivations that are necessary, but rather the results.

By focusing upon specific themes, McCarthy shows the importance of

understanding civil society in America. Among the ideas that stand out are the voluntary

sphere, the market, and the relationships between the government and society. An

examination of U.S. political figures, such as Duff Green, reveals how civil society and

the federal and local governments influenced one another. Green made it his mission in

life to "maintain the rights of people."[24] This sense to preserve the rights of people, a

sentiment shared by more than just Green, led some Americans to join in filibustering

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[21] Louis A. Perez Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1998), p. 96.

[22] Kathleen D. McCarthy, *American Creed: Philanthropy and the Rise of Civil Society, 1700–1865* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 24.

[23] Ibid., p. 202.

[24] W. Stephen Belko, *The Invincible Duff Green: Whig of the West* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006), p. 72.

expeditions. During these expeditions fueled not only by ideological and psychological desires, but romanticism, as well, men participated in militia attacks on nations they felt threatened American liberty abroad.[25] The line that separated the public and private spheres remained continuously blurred. Civil society has never been in some Golden Age state where it operated entirely independent from the state. The real strength of civil society laid in the proliferation of associations in America that allowed for the promotion of regional political interests and values.

Upon closer examination, American foreign policy does not hold a simple history of mere isolationism. It is highly complex, made up of geopolitical struggles, both within and outside of the United States. From private and the professional U.S. military to merchant ships and Christian missionaries, the American people have been propelled by their philosophical and political ideology to extend past their national boundaries.

Philosophical Ideology, International Law, & Legitimacy

The motivations for humanitarian aid are never a white and black affair, despite a human desire for it to be otherwise. If a citizen of the state becomes involved in a humanitarian endeavor, such as volunteering at a soup kitchen, society views that action as altruistic in nature. The same is not always true, if instead of the individual volunteering his or her assets, it was the federal government. Society becomes split while deciding what the prime stimulus is for the government to become involved in a humanitarian matter; even more so when the government uses the professional military to carry out that humanitarian aid. Guiding this split are two core concepts, realism and idealism. A realist would assess regime relief as having roots in national self-interests.

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[25] Robert E. May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), p. 112.

An idealist would evaluate that same government support as merely a reaction to the need

to help others during their time of misfortune. The realization of this split is far from new

for the academic world. From Michael W. Doyle to Kenneth R. Rizer, scholars have

sought to find the primary motivator that drives governments to intervene during

moments of humanitarian crises. Unfortunately, there is no universal answer that fits

neatly into all available data. Rather, self-interests and civil society's ideas of morality

force governments to commit resources—such as militaries—during these moments of

calamities.

      In 2008, George P. Fletcher and Jens David Ohlin released *Defending Humanity*

When Force is Justified and Why out into the academic world. Fletcher, one of the

leading scholars in the field of torts and criminal law, and Ohlin, a criminal and

international law expert at the Cornell University Law School, tackles one of the most

important and controversial questions ever asked: When is war justified? Though their

book revolves around one of the most debatable questions ever, Fletcher and Ohlin

naturally extend their question to include justifications for the use of militaries for

humanitarian missions. With their extensive credentials, these are two men who have

become authorities in contemporary international relations.

      Militaries exist for one primary reason, to ensure the continuation of the regime in

the presence of a threat, both domestic and foreign. At the core, Fletcher and Ohlin build

the assertion of three proposals central to the study of the use of force in the global

theater around one fundamental idea, self-defense. According to these two scholars,

governments not only have the right to use force to repel overt attacks on their soil, but

they may also launch preemptive strikes. Preemptive strikes require legitimacy in order to

justify them before the international community. Nations need justification at the international level as a way to reduce the chances of damaging a relation with a third party. Fletcher and Ohlin articulate no defined parameters but subject, "that imminence must be something broader than troops crossing the border, but something narrower than mere preparations for war such as strategic planning."[26] It is this principle of self-defense that helps justify military action between nations. A concept where there exists such a thing as preemptive self-defense so long as "either a threatened use of force was imminent or not."[27]

The entire question behind their book is controversial, but how they have applied the principles of self-defense to humanitarianism may prove to be not only highly provocative for years to come, but innovative as well. Governments have the right to use force in order to provide assistance to other governments who face an imminent threat. They can also extend that use of force to aid what they term "nations" within other countries. This concept of nations, the authors stated, "…as opposed to the more cabined notion of internationally recognized states, refers to groups of peoples defined by ethnicity, religion, and/or culture."[28] While the use of militaries for humanitarian missions is a highly debated topic among scholars and politicians, most nations and civil societies do agree that peoples hold the inalienable right of self-defense. Although they may lack legal personalities under international law, the principle of self-defense gives governments some semblance of legitimacy not only to intervene on behalf of

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[26] George P. Fletcher and Jens David Ohlin, *Defending Humanity: When Force is Justified and Why* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 159.

[27] Joel C. Gaydos and George A. Luz, "Military Participation in Emergency Humanitarian Assistance," *Disasters* 18, no. 1 (1994): pp. 51–52.

[28] Fletcher and Ohlin, *When Defending Humanity*, p. 138.

beleaguered governments, but also on behalf of nations within them. For example, when the U.S. intervened on behalf of Kosovo, its actions were justified because, within Serbia, the Albanian Kosovar community could be defined as a distinct nation facing possible annihilation.[29]

While, in theory, the principle of self-defense can be used legitimately by a government to intervene on the behalf of a battered nation with the use of force, Fletcher and Ohlin's efforts to expand this concept only shows how little the debate on military humanitarian missions has moved toward a definitive conclusion. The authors do demonstrate how this action can be subject to persecution by other states, especially in instances where botched intelligence led to an incorrect assertion of the situation. The U.S. defense of Kosovo is a prime example on the use of force for a humanitarian cause. There is no accepted metric in the international community that assesses when the use of force becomes justified to defend these "nations of victims" in their countries.[30] Unfortunately for Fletcher and Ohlin, their argument demonstrates how it becomes increasingly difficult to police international behavior as the context in which force is either justified or excused becomes more subjective. Given how governments and civil societies can have widely divergent views on the legitimacy of military humanitarian intervention and assistance, it is unlikely that a consensus can be gained to differentiate between aggression and defense on humanitarian grounds. Despite whatever limitations *Defending Humanity* contains, the book does prod both the reader and the international community to rethink when coercion becomes justifiable.

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[29] Alynna J. Lyon and Chris J. Dolan, "American Humanitarian Intervention: Toward a Theory of Coevolution," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3, no. 1 (2007): pp. 62–63.

[30] Joshua James Kassner, *Rwanda and the Moral Obligation of Humanitarian Intervention* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), p. 207.

When governments deploy militaries, some level of justification or legitimacy must exist. A point Fletcher and Ohlin continually made in respect to self-defense. In that regard, these two authors are building their argument off the work of other scholars, such as Martha Finnemore. Research into the political and social theory of legitimacy, in regards to the use of force, has been a central pillar of both international law and military studies for decades. Recently Fletcher, Ohlin, and Finnemore, representatives of a new group of scholars, have begun to examine the concept of legitimacy in a slightly different light. Finnemore, a constructivist scholar of international relations, has examined recent changes in military interventions, not in terms of technology, but rather on the concept of legitimacy. While she is not entirely successful in identifying long-term changes in norms, she does break new ground on showing the link between purpose and state power.

Research revolves around five basic questions: who, why, where, when, and how. Finnemore, as a constructivist, instead focuses on the how or the how possible. In *The Purpose of Intervention*, she investigates how states have come to different beliefs on what creates legitimacy for the use of force (military intervention). She makes the argument that "notions about order have become increasingly legalized and rationalized," the reasoning behind interventions has changed dramatically.[31] For instance, countries must be wary of using war as their primary tool for political gain as other states may react quickly and with great force, posing a threat to the continuation of their regime. As a result, war has become less valued than it would have been viewed merely a century ago.

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[31] Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 22.

For these individuals or political entities, war has become increasingly difficult to legitimize before the eyes of the international community.[32]

Regarding changes in warfare and the use of professional militaries, Finnemore indicates that the dominant argument in security studies would expect any changes in the use of force to be the outcome of physical factors such as variations in the balance of power between states or in offensive-defensive balance. In fact, as Finnemore points out, what has not changed is the number of weapons or defense systems a state possesses.[33] Rather, what has changed is the states' understanding in how power exists within the international community and legal system. This change in outlook toward action still makes states the primary actors and their continued existence paramount. Finnemore theorizes that countries have embraced particular reasoning for interventions while rejecting others.[34] It is this attempt to account for universal behavior that makes this piece of scholarship a significant contribution to the literature. Finnemore comes to the conclusion that there are three cases (reasoning's) that account for interventionist behavior. They are:

- Intervention for debt collection;
- Humanitarian, multilateral military interventions; and
- Intervention because of threats to international peace and security.[35]

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[32] Sarah Kenyon Lischer, "Humanitarian Aid is Not a Military Business," *Christian Science Monitor* 95, no. 97 (2003): p. 9.

[33] Finnemore, *Purpose of Intervention*, p. 2.

[34] Nellie Bristol, "Military Incursions into Aid Work Anger Humanitarian Groups," *The Lancet* 367, no. 9508 (2006): pp. 384–6, http://www.thelancet.com/pdfs/journals/lancet/PIIS0140-6736(06)68122-1.pdf.

[35] Kathy Chen, "American Troops Leave Haiti," *The Wall Street Journal*, May 31, 2010. http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748703406604575278893118288392.

War always contains a level of uncertainty and mystery. Why politicians, citizens, or generals nudge a country into escalating an event where the use of force is required, or at least be seen as the only viable option is never merely a black and white affair. While it will likely always remain questionable as to whether or not military interventions can indeed be called humanitarian, what remains true is a fundamental human desire to help others in their time of need. As long as citizens volunteer, with no incentive for themselves, to assist one another, civil society will treat this social or moral desire as a responsibility of the state. As scholars, such as Finnemore have shown, even the purest of intentions carries with them the political desires of the state. Unfortunately, for both humanity and nations, there is no universal answer that fits neatly into the data. Rather, to uncover the motivations that push states to expand military resources on humanitarian missions, scholars must focus their research on a nations' self-interests and civil society's ideas of morality in order to understand why countries act as they do during these moments.

19th Century Military Humanitarianism

At its most basic core, humanitarianism is merely a desire of one individual to help out another. This desire often overlaps with others, be they political or economic in nature. Since the creation of the United Nations (U.N.) in 1945, the U.S., along with other nation-states, has become extensively involved in global humanitarian efforts. It is also worth mentioning that non-government organizations (NGOs) also share in these efforts, in some form. Humanitarianism is not only providing medical aid and supplies to those in need, it can involve the use of force. When a state decides to use force, this humanitarian effort can be defined as a humanitarian intervention. These efforts walk a fine line. Stray

too far one way or the other and humanitarian intervention can turn into the mere invasion of one country by another. By examining humanitarian interventionism in this light, the U.S. finds its history in this field becomes much older. In order to provide some measure of sustained humanitarianism, governments must have the backing of civil society. In the early nineteenth century, the U.S. found this initial support in the form of antislavery and anti-British sentiments.

In November of 2006, the first full-length book written about the U.S. Africa Squadron, a naval squadron that operated in and around the western coast of Africa, found its way into the academic world. Donald L. Canney, the author of this milestone and a respected naval historian, set out not to tell how this squadron failed at its mission, but why. *Africa Squadron: The U.S. Navy and the Slave Trade, 1842–1861* not only covers a long neglected history of the U.S. Navy, but helps to demonstrate how humanitarian efforts can involve the U.S. military. As it stands now, Canney is the leading expert on the U.S. African Squadron.

The Atlantic slave trade has received a considerable amount of attention from historians to sociologists. While all of these scholars have contributed significantly to this field, they have all tended to dismiss the efforts of the U.S. Africa Squadron in curbing the slave trade between the years 1819 and 1861. Even Canney has dismissed a noteworthy aspect of the Squadron by merely glancing over its early history. Only within the last year have some scholars begun to link the Africa Squadron with humanitarianism. Despite this fact, even these new scholars have failed to connect this squadron with a larger overarching theme of humanitarianism that has proven prevalent throughout the history of the U.S. military. The approval of the U.S. Africa Squadron by Congress marks

the beginning point for the use of the professional U.S. military in foreign humanitarian matters. Although Canney neglects to address this point, he does help to close a significant gap in U.S. naval history.

Although this scholarship neglects to contribute any groundbreaking view of slavery or humanitarianism, Canney does provide an excellent chronicle of the activities of the Squadron. Canney mainly focuses on the Squadron after the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842, a moment where this Atlantic squadron received the much-needed federal funding that was necessary to accomplish its mission.[36] It is from the perspectives of its officers around which Canney crafts his narrative. This approach not only helps to personalize each tale told, but helps to explain some of the actions performed by the Squadron as a collective and individualistically. It is this methodology that makes his book unique.[37] Canney also challenges long-held beliefs that the ineffectiveness of the Africa Squadron to end the illicit slave trade stemmed from the Southern roots of its commanders.

Though Canney may focus on the squadron between 1842 and 1861, he does try to provide a short analysis on the early anti-slave trade history of America. He contributes much of the international effort to stem the slave trade with the negative publicity that stemmed from other navies, such as the Royal British Navy, capturing American slavers.[38] Although Congress formed the African Slave Trade Patrol in 1819, Canney makes the argument that the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1841 makes the African Squadron unique in American naval history. Canney's focus on a two-decade

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[36] Walter Dean Myers, *USS Constellation: Pride of the American Navy* (New York: Holiday House, 2004), p. 142.

[37] Canney, *African Squadron*, p. xiii.

[38] Ibid., p. 24.

period allows him to focus on his claim that the ineffectiveness of the squadron stemmed

from the pittance granted to them by Congress in regards to funding.

In addition to focusing on an individualistic social narrative, the author also

examines the Africa Squadron from an economic-political viewpoint. Unlike many

scholars who have credited the failures of the patrol on the part of Southern commanders,

Canney argues that the squadron proved unsuccessful due to burdens placed upon it by

naval officers from the mainland.[39] In addition to holding the responsibility to capture

pirates and slavers, the Africa Squadron also had to protect U.S. commercial interests.

This combination of duties distracted the already pitiful amount of commanders in the

small naval force, thus leading to their reduced effectiveness in deterring the slave trade.

Every commander made some contribution to the slave trade patrol, and even

though Canney focused on a multitude of senior officers, Matthew Perry appears to be

the most significant leader of the group. Working with the ACS as a naval officer, Perry

helped to found Liberia, a potential haven for former slaves. He notes that when

commanders gained access to steam vessels, notably near the end of the patrol's life, their

effectiveness at capturing the ever elusive slave ships improved considerably.[40]

Unfortunately, he neglects to mention how ships, such as the U.S.S. Macedonia,

contributed to humanitarian efforts outside of the patrol's existence during the Great

Famine in Ireland. Even with the neglect to establish U.S. military humanitarianism with

the African Slave Trade Patrol, Canney provides a valuable resource for a subject in

American history that has gone neglected in the scholarly world for decades on end.

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[39] Ibid., p. 39.

[40] Ibid., p. 201.

Scholars who have research interests in global African history have begun to expand upon the importance Western colonies in Africa made toward ending the slave trade. Bronwen Everill, a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow at King's College London, stands among these contributors with her book *Abolition and Empire in Sierra Leone and Liberia*. With renewed interest in the reexamination of the Atlantic slave trade, Everill's scholarship comes at an opportune time, a moment in which her scholarship may draw the interests of those outside of her chosen field and specialty.

In terms of classifying Everill's approach to the Atlantic abolition movement, it is best to view it in the light of the new imperial history approach. Having been popularized in recent years by scholars just as Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, this method takes the concepts of both empire and colony and places them into a single analytical field.[41] By intersecting this area with aspects of identity politics, Everill pursues how ideas of race, gender, and class influenced the transnational interactions of nation-states.

While the rather broad topic of antislavery colonization is not new, Everill argues that the entanglements and competition between Sierra Leone and Liberia have mostly been neglected—despite their geographical and political proximity. Her central argument for reexamining this nineteenth century history finds its basis not only upon the importance of each settlement, but their impact on metropolitan politics found in their motherlands. It is because neither fits neatly into the traditional imperial concept framework that Everill states, "Sierra Leone has frequently been treated as an anomaly, while Liberia is generally rejected outright."[42] Though her interests do not extend into

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[41] Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, eds. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 21.

[42] Everill, *Abolition and Empire*, p. 7.

examining U.S. military humanitarianism throughout the nineteenth century, the questions posed by her book show a need for a greater understanding of humanitarian intervention.

Even if Everill's approach falls into the new imperials approach, it should be noted that she shaped much of her narrative around the communication between the individuals from the colonies and their imperialist founders. Not content with merely demonstrating how the public opinion formed by abolitionists impacted the political and social aspects that existed between the U.S. and Liberia, Everill explores how the economic interests of the colonizer impacted the colony. By examining the antislavery movement in economic terms, she explains how Sierra Leone and Liberia, through interaction with one another, served as tools in fracturing consensus and intensifying competition amid the antislavery networks.[43]

While this scholastic work focuses primarily on the relationship between the colonizer and the colony, Everill readily demonstrates the complexity of the subject and how it quickly touches upon a number of areas relevant to historians. It marks a growing trend occurring in historical literature based not only on the topic of humanitarianism, but of imperialism and Africa. Everill steps away from the tradition of merely examining white, elite adventurers, and brings the focus to the settlers.

In the Quentin Tarantino film, *Django Unchained*, the Germany bounty hunter, Dr. King Schulze, utters to the enslaved Django, "On one hand I despise slavery, on the other hand I need your help, if you're not in a position to refuse, all the better."[44]

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[43] Eric Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), p. 66.

[44] *Django Unchained*, directed by Quentin Tarantino (Los Angeles: The Weinstein Company and Columbia Pictures, 2013), DVD.

Establishing the differences between 'humanitarian' and 'imperial' should mean clarifying the contradictions and reestablishing the vivid details of the past. Everill accomplishes this explanation, and in the process reveals "the ideological, nationalistic, and practical forces that precluded international co-operation" on a seemingly universal moral imperative to end not only the slave trade, but slavery.[45]

While some scholars attempt to break the traditional molds that have taken hold of military humanitarianism and imperialism, others while not breaking tradition aid these scholars by creating new bibliographies in their works. While this point may seem trite, historians depend upon not only their research abilities, but of others in their shared discipline. One of these contributors is Joseph G. Dawson III. A history professor, Dawson took advantage of the innovative new U.S. frontier military studies that appeared during the latter half of the twentieth century and wrote *The late 19th century U.S. Army, 1865-1898: a research guide*. Having specialized on the American military in the nineteenth century, Dawson felt it necessary to compile a simple, yet highly useful research guide based on the new study. This scholarship does not concern itself with the foreign humanitarian behavior that exists in the U.S. military between 1865 and 1898. Rather, it is interested in exposing researchers, students, and teachers to new thesis theories and points of view. Exposure to any new literature, no matter the scale, can revolutionize any field of research and alter how scholars as a whole view a subject.

Following the Civil War, the U.S. military (namely the Army and Marine Corps) experienced an economic low point in its history; an experience that lasted decades until the onset of the Spanish-American War of 1898. During this period, the military found

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[45] Everill, *Abolition and Empire*, p. 180.

itself forced to work within the constraints of limited funding, inadequate equipment, and a severely reduced force. Nevertheless, Congress and the public still held high expectations for the military to carry out its duties. These responsibilities included coastal defense, strike breaking, overseas protection of American citizens and goods, and garrison duty in the South during the Reconstruction Era. In addition, American settlers viewed the Native Americans in the West as a threat as they claimed new territories. This meant the military had to continue its age-old obligation of protecting the frontier for American settlers. Many of these tasks have not disappeared in the present. The U.S. Army Core of Engineers (USACE) still performs many of the functions today that it had over a century ago, such as repairing navigation channels.[46]

Granting this compilation does not shed new light on American military history in terms of analysis, Dawson does manage to identify the primary military sources of this period in American history. This accomplishment will aid any scholar interested in either this era or subject matter. In addition to his preface, which lists the "top fifty secondary sources," he categorizes source materials according to nine major topical sections that encompass secondary sources, government documents, published primary sources, and the location of important manuscript collections.[47] Unfortunately, his extensive list of sources does omit many of the overlooked missions the U.S. military undertook during this time, such as the 1868 Operation Columbia.

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[46] James D'Ambrosio, "U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Completes Jones Inlet Project," *US Army Corps of Engineers-New York District*, March 13, 2014, http://www.nan.usace.army.mil/Media/NewsStories/StoryArticleView/tabid/5250/Article/22435/us-army-corps-of-engineers-completes-jones-inlet-project.aspx.

[47] Joseph G. Dawson III, *The Late 19th Century U.S. Army, 1865–1898: A Research Guide* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), p. xi.

Dawson provides several introductory essays to the major sections, all of which flow into the lists of sources fluidly and help provide a discussion to the general topics. Among these discussions are the major schools of thought concerning whether the officer corps was moving toward professionalism and how isolated the military was from American society. His concise annotations on major works, such as those by Robert M. Utley and Samuel P. Huntington, are of immense value to any student or scholar beginning to study this age. Unfortunately, this is not the same case for less significant works. In addition, he neglects to reference source locations for Edwin McMasters Stanton's personal papers. Considering Stanton served as Secretary of War from January 20, 1862 until May 28, 1868, it would have befitted Dawson to include the papers location. Despite these issues, Dawson's work proves to be a well-balanced source of references to this period in the U.S. army's history. Taken as a whole, it provides an excellent departure point for understanding the difficulties the army faced as it attempted to execute its multifaceted missions following the Civil War in American society.

While an examination of the Atlantic slave trade reveals the American military's nineteenth century involvement in humanitarian affairs, alone, it is not enough to show a consistent involvement in those affairs. Despite scholar's efforts to expand beyond the abolition of the slave trade and the complex political situations created by nation-states and the groups within, their research has remained relatively stagnant. This stagnation or neglect is an opportunity for scholars. It creates an environment that depends upon better research, a dependency upon the inclusion of diverse resources. James Tertius de Kay, a naval historian and published author of children's books, overcame this stagnation within his field of study, predominantly nineteenth century American naval history. While not

overly concerned with the U.S. Navy's humanitarian efforts, his scholarly-reviewed research found in the *Chronicles of the frigate Macedonian, 1809-1922* provides yet another example of American military FHA.

Between 1845 and 1849, Ireland experienced the Great Famine, a period in which one million died and another million emigrated from the island. In terms of percentage, this equates to between 20% and 25%.[48] During this time of hardship, the U.S. Navy became a participant in providing humanitarian assistance to the Irish and Scots through the use of two ships, the USS *Macedonian* and USS *Jamestown*.[49] The *Chronicles of the frigate Macedonian, 1809-1922* come to house this tale, but it does not represent the heart of the book. Like most nineteenth century military historians, the dedicated focus on either personnel or warships come at the cost of larger patterns, in de Kay's case, this means FHA. The book chronicles the warship Macedonian, and the personalities who found themselves a part of it, from the time the ship was planned to the eventual destruction of its last timber. The first third of the book explains the ship's service in the Royal Navy and its eventual capture by the American Navy during the War of 1812.[50] The remainder of de Kay's research reveals the ship's intimate history with FHA. From its inception into the U.S. navy in the first half of the nineteenth century to 1875, the Macedonian delivered supplies to those who were in desperate need of them. It also protected American economic interests and joined in the abolitionists fight against the Atlantic Slave Trade.

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[48] Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Great Hunger: Ireland 1845-1849* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 214.

[49] Crosby Forbes, *Massachusetts Help*, p. 59.

[50] James Tertius de Kay, *Chronicles of the Frigate Macedonian, 1809-1922* (New York: Norton, 1995), p. 238.

Figure 2.   Painting of USS Jamestown by Ted Walker showing the return of the naval vessel to Boston Harbor after carrying supplies to Ireland. Taken from http://irishboston.blogspot.com/2010/05/may-16-1847-uss-jamestown-returns-to.html

Aside from the critical moments in the ship's history, which contains archival research, this book is based mainly on an assortment of secondary accounts, an issue that can plague any research. Despite the entertaining and novel-like manner in which de Kay wrote, much of his story is, in fact, a stitching together of other's research. The *Chronicles of the Frigate Macedonian, 1809–1922* stands as both a valuable research tool in the historiography of the subject, as well as, a singular location for information on the Macedonian.

It is important to remember that humanitarianism is merely a desire of one individual to help out another regardless of motivation. To label a military action or mission as humanitarian will inevitably lead to an argument; to make the suggestion that American military FHA began in the early nineteenth century possibly more so. With virtually no literature and research dedicated to American military FHA in this period, it begs to ask whether it exists or not. Although scholars have not devoted their attention to

this particular topic, they have helped to lay down a foundation for the idea. From the philosophical viewpoint of antislavery, the U.S. military slowly set sail toward the ocean with the humanitarian winds filling its sails.

Concentration on 1950s Forward

With vague definitions given by both scholars and governments, military humanitarian operations can be a delicate and frustrating subject to discuss. Unfortunately, much of the discussion revolves around whether these activities are a legitimate use of the military. In order to adequately trace back the history on U.S. military humanitarianism, it is essential to understand how scholars have defined it since the beginning of the Cold War. Although concerned with defining how and when to intervene, scholars have attempted to create a precise definition of what constitutes modern military humanitarian intervention that reveals a history dating back to the early nineteenth century. An attempt that has created the following description: humanitarian intervention is "military intervention across state borders for humanitarian purposes."[51]

Between groups of scholars, it is often debated as to when the American military began to pursue foreign humanitarianism. For some academics, the Spanish-American War of 1898 marks the beginning, and for others the Berlin Airlift following World War II provides the mark. Regardless of how correct either group is in the matter, both historians and political scientists find the post-World War II era contains some of the most well recorded examples of American foreign policy. All of these illustrations

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[51] Alexander Moseley and Richard Norman. "Introduction," in *Human Rights and Military Intervention*, edited by Alexander Moseley and Richard Norman (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2002), p. 2.

prominently feature the use of armed forces intervening in the Third World.[52] Some

scholars, such as Glenn J. Antizzo, have gone so far as to make a list of rules, containing

fifteen points, which he believes the U.S. should meet prior to deciding to intervene

overseas militarily. Akin to Clausewitz's admonitions, Antizzo includes such goals as

active support from the public, military, and government, an avoidance of multilateral

situations, and a willingness to use all powers necessary to accomplish the goal of the

intervention.[53] Lists of criteria, such as Antizzo's, can hold a multitude of importance, of

which the most important aspect may be the defined parameters for intervention.

     While scholars have ignored the larger history of the American military regarding

foreign humanitarian assistance (FHA), their research has helped to pave the way for a

deeper history to become unraveled and told. Foreign policy experts such as Richard N.

Haass have come to see the post-cold war world as synonymous with military

interventions, regional violence, and ethnic violence.[54] The collapse of multinational-

states such as the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia brought nationalism to the forefront of

global politics.[55] In addition, the growing influence of non-governmental organizations

(NGOs) has complicated the political situations in the post-Cold War order. Haass and

scholars have produced an immense contribution to the academic and political worlds by

carefully explaining how the changing sociopolitical landscape leads to changes in

military intervention techniques. As the collapse of the Soviet Union led to greater U.S.

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[52] James Kurth, "Humanitarian Intervention After Iraq: Legal Ideals vs. Military Realities," *Orbis* 50, no. 1 (2007): pp. 87–88.

[53] Glenn J. Antizzo, *U.S. Military Intervention in the Post-Cold War Era: How to Win America's Wars in the Twenty-First Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010), p. 30.

[54] Chris Seiple, *The U.S. Military/NGO Relationship in Humanitarian Interventions* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: Peacekeeping Institute, Center for Strategic Leadership, U.S. Army College), p. 37.

[55] Richard N. Haass, *Intervention: The Use of American Military Force in the Post-Cold War World* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1994), pp. 2–3.

intervention globally, so too did the eventual collapse of the Spanish Empire in the nineteenth century. The emergence of multiple new world governments created a period of instability that when combined with the American belief in Manifest Destiny and the need to defend American liberty abroad resulted in a similar period of military interventionism.

Ultimately, while Alexander Moseley and his fellow contributors create yet another foggy definition of humanitarian intervention, their primary concern is with presenting a different ideological and methodological point of view. An interpretation that the academic and political communities can adopt when examining military intervention. During their research, these scholars produced six specific questions in which to present their point of view. These six questions are:

1. Are there genuinely universal human rights?
2. Is military action a morally acceptable form of intervention?
3. Can military intervention be justified selectively, or must it be consistently undertaken either in all comparable case or in none?
4. Is military intervention in defence of human rights an illegitimate violation of the sovereignty of nation states?
5. If the traditional picture of an international order based on sovereign nation state is questionable, what alternative conception of the international order might be preferable?
6. Are there, then, other universal human values which might be invoked to justify humanitarian intervention?[56]

The last question in particular suggests an interesting and somewhat provocative opening-up of what constitutes the wider values such as esthetic and cultural ones that are potentially worth defending with military force.

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[56] Moseley and Norman, "Introduction," p. 8.

Aside from providing a clearer definition of humanitarian intervention, writers such as Andrew Natsios argue that the legitimacy of military intervention is a moot point. The United States holds a legitimate interest in leading the response to disasters, both natural and manmade.[57] Providing aid to nations during their time of need, especially during natural disasters, stands to fulfill American civil society's need to assist their fellow man, as well as protect American liberty abroad. In the 2005 Pakistan earthquake, U.S. military forces provided aid to the Pakistani government and people. While issues will always occur during these operations, such as the potential hoarding of supplies, the American government saw this as an opportunity to help stabilize Pakistan during a time of crisis.[58] This opportunity promoted the American need to defend its liberty by stabilizing an ally of the United States. It also demonstrates how the U.S. Navy has been equipped to handle both wartime and humanitarian missions depending on the current situation. By being equipped to handle both situations, each at one end of the spectrum for levels of conflict, the Navy justifies both its existence and present size.[59] A justification that can be seen made by both branches of the military, the Navy and the Army, in the early nineteenth century as they fought to hold onto their funding.

Wars are complex events that prove difficult to label clearly. However, how nations and their leaders fight wars allows for their assessment as either moral or immoral to occur. In *The Situational Ethics of Statecraft*, Robert Jackson attempts to analyze a leader's ability to conduct a moral, ethical war and his ability to judge a situation

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[57] Andrew S. Natsios, *U.S. Foreign Policy and the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Humanitarian Relief in Complex Emergencies* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997), p. 34.

[58] Andrew Wilder, "Aid and Stability in Pakistan: Lessons from the 2005 Earthquake Response," *Disasters* 34, no. s3 (2010): pp. S407–408.

[59] James J. Wirtz, "Introduction," in *Naval Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Operations: Stability from the Sea*, edited by James J. Wirtz and Jeffrey A. Larsen (Hobroken: Taylor & Francis, 2008), pp. 3–4.

consciously. He defines ethics of statecraft as a "task to bring ethical questions into contact with real situations."[60] This assessment of statecraft can be applied to situations outside of war when the use of military forces occurs, including but not limited to humanitarian operations both domestic and foreign. During domestic crises such as Hurricane Katrina or student protests, leaders must be able to judge a situation consciously and understand if the deployment of troops is necessary and how to use them effectively if they are. During instances such as Hurricane Katrina, it is important for the president to have the moral conviction to send in national troops as early as the situation deems it appropriate. A moment in time that a leader must not only be able to see but willing to seize even if it means stepping upon the toes of others to achieve.

When a military intervenes, whether it is on its soil or that of other nations, it is never a black and white affair. Militaries exist within a gray zone. That is their existence cannot be placed in pure terms of good or bad. They exist for one primary reason, to protect their nation's citizens and its constitution. Though they exist for that chief reason, a sense of order and infrastructure they bring with them wherever they go means leaders will find new reasons to justify their existence and the expenditure to maintain them. Although scholars often explore events that occur within their lifetime, or close to it, the definitions they create for concepts such as humanitarian intervention often expand the histories of the subjects they research. Although concerned with defining how and when to intervene, scholars have created a definition, although still vague, of what constitutes modern military humanitarian intervention that reveals a history dating back to the early nineteenth century.

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[60] Robert H. Jackson, "The Situational Ethics of Statecraft," in *Ethics and Statecraft: The Moral Dimension of International Affairs*, 2nd ed., edited by Cathal J. Nolan (Westport, CT: Praegar, 2004.), p. 18.

CHAPTER TWO: BEHIND THE SCENES

By understanding the notions and desires that have guided successive generations

of American patriots and politicians, history holds the possibility of uncovering new

kernels of knowledge previously overlooked. Since 1835, American scholars and

European political thinkers, such as Alexis de Tocqueville, have been fascinated by the

early Puritan settlers. Men and women who risked everything on the belief that a

newfound and seemingly uncivilized land could offer a better life. This narrative of

Puritans, and later of the Age of Enlightenment, have helped to create a belief that

Americans are inherently different from their European counterparts. A mere credence

which gave rise to the nation and people who believed, despite any of their hypocrisies,

that the world could be made better for all of humanity. This seemingly simple notion

would provide growth to political organizations such as the American Colonization

Society and local abolitionists such as Abigail Adams. These various societies, despite

slaveholder's typical domination of national politics, military officers, of both northern

and southern heritage, would come to embody the altruistic ideologies that harken back to

early American settlers.

Analysis of 19th Century Altruistic/Abolitionist Ideologies

The United States is a nation founded upon both aggressive expansionism and an

overarching ideology of civilization, a basis that helped to give birth to a civil society

imbued with egalitarian ideas that linked American liberty with the right to engage in

public activism. Taken from the European Age of Enlightenment, groups of Americans, such as the abolitionists, took both their beliefs in civil activism and their altruism to help form the foundation for humanitarianism in American foreign policy. With a new democracy born from the philosophies of John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, and others, the United States quickly became an interventionist state whose political and economic desires mixed with their civic activism.

Altruism has held many definitions since Auguste Comte, a sociologist and philosopher of science, first coined the term in the mid-nineteenth century. Perhaps the most well-known explanation is that altruism is the principle or practice of concern for the welfare of others. While this definition is modest, it makes the concept of altruism too broadly defined without allowing for knowledge of the two sub-types of altruism. These two subtypes are vested interests and reciprocal altruism.

Vested interests altruism is as simple as it sounds. If an individual's allies, friends, or similar social in-groups either suffer or disappear, said person is likely to experience the same fate, as well.[61] It is in the long-term interest of the individual to undertake noble actions, and this may include an extreme deed such as self-sacrifice. When the in-group is threatened by a hostile out-group, vested interests may guide an individual to choose the group over oneself. In addition, pure altruistic acts may make members of the in-group more cooperative and may lead to reciprocal altruism.

Reciprocal altruism falls into two categories: direct and indirect. Direct reciprocity is a tit-for-tat strategy, in which one selfless act begets another direct charitable act. It promotes cooperation between individuals or organizations. A

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[61] J. David Van Dyken and Michael J. Wade, "Origins of Altruism Diversity II: Runaway Coevolution of Altruistic Strategies via 'Reciprocal Niche Construction,'" *Evolution* 66, no. 8 (2012): p. 2498.

consequence of this philanthropic approach is that people are only more likely to be cooperative if they are interacting with the same altruistic person again in the future. This level of interaction also increases as levels of communications do. Greater communication between two parties can lead to a gradual building of trust that may allow one party to express a need for more extensive help.[62] An example within the military would be the Navy's willingness to help fight fires on foreign soil. During these moments of crises, the regional ruler or governor may communicate a need for aid that the U.S. Navy sees as an opportunity to both strengthen ties with the local people and provide support with its resources. Indirect reciprocity, on the other hand, lacks personal connection and relationship and instead is built upon the reputation of an individual. If an individual holds a good reputation for reciprocity, there is a higher chance they may receive help from others at no direct cost to them.

American altruism holds a complicated history, especially in concerns to its origin. In *Democracy in America*, Tocqueville wrote, "I think I can see the whole destiny of America contained in the first Puritan who landed on those shores."[63] Following in Tocqueville's predilection has led some scholars to name John Winthrop as the first American Puritan because he led the first large wave of migrant Puritans to the New World. This assumption may be wrong; a stronger candidate is Roger Williams. Williams, banished by Winthrop from the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and founder of Providence and the Rhode Island Colony, holds the key to understanding the United

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[62] Robert L. Trivers, "The Evolution of Reciprocal Altruism," *The Quarterly Review of Biology* 46, no. 1 (1971): p. 51.

[63] Alexis de Tocqueville, "Indirect Influence That Religious Beliefs Exert on Political Society in the United States," Democracy in America, ed. and trans. by Harvey C. Mansfield and Delba Winthrop (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 279.

States and the American people found within the nation. Upset over Winthrop's "city upon a hill," Williams found his banishment to be both a curse and a blessing. Forced out of the Massachusetts Bay in January of 1636, Williams most likely would not have survived the winter on his own. Fortunately, his previous altruistic relationship with the Native Americans of the region led to his seemingly unlikely survival. Of the experience, he wrote,

> Boast not, proud English, of thy birth and blood,
> Thy brother Indian is by birth as good.
> Of one blood God made him and thee and all,
> As wise, as fair, as strong, as personal.
>
> By nature, wrath's his portion, thine no more,
> Till grace his soul and thine restore.
> Make sure thy second birth, else thou shalt see
> Heaven open to Indians wild, but shut to thee.[64]

Aside from his egalitarian relationship with the native population, an important aspect Williams carried with him laid within his Baptist religion.

Despite being a distinct minority religion in seventeenth-century New England, they, along with other sectarian Protestants, went on to become a majority in the American religious culture by the nineteenth century. Seymour Martin Lipset, a political sociologist, made the remark, "we are the only North Atlantic society whose predominant religious tradition is sectarian rather than an established church."[65] This enormously

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[64] Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language of America* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973), pp. 54–55.

[65] Robert N. Bellah, "Is there a Common American Culture?," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 66, no. 3 (1998): p. 617.

important detail about American culture helps to provide a historical foundation, in part, as to why society appears to be so hospitable to the ideology of multiculturalism.

Though many Americans expectations now fundamentally include a sense of fairness and decency, especially in a multicultural nation, this expectation once existed as a desire. A longing born from the flames of religious persecution, enslavement, and gender and political inequality. A yearning that gave rise to ideas and beliefs that every man should be born free and with the knowledge that they have liberty. From these flames emerged movements like abolitionism.

At its most fundamental roots, abolitionism was a historical movement meant to end the African slave trade and liberate slaves. According to James McPherson, a historian, an abolitionist was an individual "who before the Civil War had agitated for the immediate, unconditional, and total abolition of slavery in the United States."[66] This strict definition of abolitionism excludes antislavery activists, such as Abraham Lincoln, who called for the gradual ending of slavery. Although abolitionists did not represent the majority of the American population, both prior to and after the American Revolution, they played a pivotal role in using the U.S. military for foreign humanitarian assistance.

Often abolitionism is traced backed to the eighteenth century in America, when, during the First Great Awakening, abolitionism became a part of the evangelical and revitalization movement. Prior to this awakening though, the abolition movement against slavery holds much older roots in North America. In the seventeenth century, several British colonists, such as Roger Williams, emerged to challenge what they perceived to be an immoral and illegal system. These individuals, who supported some concept of

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[66] James M. McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy: From Reconstruction to the NAACP* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), p. 4.

abolitionism, found legal ways to oppose the institution of slavery openly within their

colony. From Pennsylvania to Georgia, the likes of James Edward Oglethorpe and others

banned slavery on humanistic grounds.[67] Upon earning its freedom from England in 1783

at the end of the American Revolutionary War, the newly independent nation known as

the United States of America would slowly pass antislavery legislation. These laws

would not only bring an end to not only slavery in mostly northern states, but the U.S.'s

legal participation in the Atlantic slave trade as well.

In 1787, delegates at the U.S. Constitutional Convention held heated debates over

slavery. This convention produced an agreement that provided for the protection of the

international slave trade for twenty years, when in 1808 the United States criminalized

the African Slave Trade.[68] This twenty-year period allowed each state to pass laws that

either abolished or severely limited the buying and selling of slaves on the international

market. Prior to the 1808 ban, President Thomas Jefferson declared in 1806 that the

nation needed to "withdraw the citizens of the United States from all further participation

in those violations of human rights...which the morality, the reputation, and the best of

our country have long been eager to proscribe."[69] The criminalization of the international

slave trade reduced over ninety percent in the volume of slaves brought into the United

States. Though the Atlantic Slave Trade had been made illegal, abolitionists still found

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[67] The charter of Georgia, written in part by James Edward Oglethorpe, banned slavery outright in 1732. Though Georgia would later become a slave state in the southern portion of the United States, Oglethorpe's sentiments held within the original charter would live on not only in other abolitionists, but in the Clapham Sect, as well. For more information on Oglethorpe, see David Lee Russell, *Oglethorpe and Colonial Georgia: A History, 1733–1783* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2006).

[68] "An Act to Prohibit the Importation of Slaves into any Port or Place Within the Jurisdiction of the United States, From and After the First Day of January, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eight," Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library, Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library, Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/sl004.asp.

[69] "Thomas Jefferson: Sixth Annual Message to Congress," Yale law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/jeffmes6.asp.

themselves confronted by a myriad of problems. Besides an active domestic slave trade to handle, they also needed to find a solution as to how deal with a freed people.

From the seventeenth century through the nineteenth century, Americans, both before and after the Revolutionary War, found ways to help the enslaved. These solutions ranged from advocating individual acts of manumission to leading groups of armed men on raids with the goal of liberating as many men, women, and children as possible. Advocate groups, such as the Quakers or Moravians, managed to persuade copious amounts of slaveholders in the Upper South to free their slaves after 1776. Of all the property owners to free their slaves in acts of manumission, Robert Carter III of Virginia stands out as the most notable. In 1791, he released more than 450 people, the most slaves ever freed by an American.[70] Others, such as John Brown in 1859, would use acts of terrorism in their quest to end slavery. David S. Reynolds, an American historian, credits Brown as the man "who killed slavery, sparked the civil war, and seeded civil rights."[71]

While many groups eventually called for the abolishment of slavery, the Quakers, a Christian-based group also known as the Society of Friends, became the first in the New World. In 1688, Germantown Quakers wrote a petition against slavery that was unusually clear and forceful in its argument against the institution. It helped to light the spirit that led to the end of slavery not only in the Society of Friends (1776), but in Pennsylvania (1780), as well.[72] While groups such as the Quakers may not have

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[70] Andrew Levy, *The First Emancipator: Slavery, Religion, and the Quiet Revolution of Robert Carter* (New York: Random House, 2005), p. xi.

[71] David S. Reynolds, *John Brown, Abolitionist: The Man Who Killed Slavery, Sparked the Civil War, and Seeded Civil Rights* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), p. 309.

[72] David Brion Davis, "Slavery and Emancipation in Western Culture," Yale University, http://www.yale.edu/glc/aces/germantown.htm.

advocated the use of military force in regards to slavery, future actions of its members would help to establish the use of the federal army for foreign humanitarian assistance. Their support to emigrate freed slaves back to Africa would lead to other abolitionists calling for the U.S. Navy to support these ships as they made the perilous journey back to their ancestral homeland.

The Quaker's hardline stance against slavery also meant they represented but one end of the political spectrum. Those who opposed abolition would work just as hard in order to maintain the institution of slavery, as well as attempt to expand it if possible. As decades passed in the United States, these stances would not only become more ingrained in the lives of Americans, but eventually lead to the Civil War. In this war, Americans, fighting one another over political and social ideologies, would decide the fate of all those enslaved in the United States.

Continuing the tradition set by the Quakers, political abolitionists proved to hold some amount of political influence in both slavery and military foreign humanitarianism from the early founding's of various North American English colonies through the American Civil War. Aside from playing a role in the Pequot War in which he protested the enslavement of captives, Roger Williams also helped to create the first law abolishing African slavery in 1652. Instead of allowing slavery to take place in the providence of Rhode Island, Williams abolished slavery and replaced it with a system of indentured servitude.[73] While he intended the bondage to act similar to that found in Europe, with a limit indentured servitude of no more than ten years, his law proved futile. Not only was it never enforced in Rhode Island, as the demand for cheap labor prevailed, the future

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[73] "Unfollowed Abolishment of Slavery in 1652 Twist to Rhody's Past," War Wick Beacon, http://warwickonline.com/stories/Unfollowed-abolishment-of-slavery-in-1652-twist-to-Rhodys-past,43815?print=1.

American state became a corner of the "triangular trade."[74] Sugar and molasses from

Rhode Island went to the Caribbean where it became rum. From there it went to West

Africa in exchange for slaves and then back to Rhode Island as the process repeated itself

over and over.

Politically charged abolitionists in the New World did not end at Williams.

Centuries after his forgotten 1652 slavery ban, others, such as Thomas Jefferson,

Abraham Lincoln, and Henry B. Stanton would carry the fight for abolition forward. In

the case of Jefferson and his later predecessor James Monroe, the U.S. Navy would find

itself fighting pirates in the Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean Sea for economic,

political, and humanitarian reasons.

The politics within a nation, often driven by economic and social ideologies, drive

militaries to participate in foreign humanitarian causes. Founded upon both aggressive

expansion and an overarching ideology of civilization, the United States began as a

nation imbued with egalitarian views that linked a strong sense of liberty with the right to

engage in civic activism. Emerging liberal nineteenth century notions, born from the

philosophies of Locke, Hobbes, and others mixed with economic desires that drove

Americans to expand beyond their mainland. These diverse desires led to Americans

expanding their sense of altruistic aid to others throughout the globe and establishing

American military FHA in the nineteenth century.

The Southern Impact

At the end of the day, the U.S. Africa Squadron proved inefficient at capturing

slavers. This apparent ineptitude has led some scholars, such as Peter Mendy, to question

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[74] "Slavery and the Slave Trade in Rhode Island," The John Carter Brown Library, 2014,
http://www.brown.edu/Facilities/John_Carter_Brown_Library/jcbexhibit/Pages/exhibSlavery.html.

the diligence of southern naval commanders in the squadron. This line of thinking, then, places the entirety of the blame on the pro-slavery attitude the commanders may have carried with them. In this regard, statistics developed by J. Scott Harmon in his research on the Navy and the slave trade help to reveal a fuller truth. Harmon's analysis included seventy-one officers, who hailed from the North, South, and border states, and which included the West Indies and Brazil squadrons.[75] He concluded that,

> 40.7 percent of the Southern officers, 25 percent of border state officers, and 46.8 percent of Northern state officers made captures, and that the average of all three was 40.7 percent—the same as that for southern officers alone. Also in terms of percentage of captures per officer, the Southern officers were more efficient at .85 per officer, as opposed to .75 for Northern officers.[76]

John N. Maffitt, a southern naval officer, held the highest capture rate for slavers in any of the squadrons. Stationed aboard the *Dolphin* in the West Indies from 1858 to 1861, Maffitt captured five slavers.[77] During the Civil War, this same man would become the commander of the *Florida*, a Confederate cruiser. Given these statistics, it does not appear blame for the squadron's inefficiency can be placed squarely across the board on the naval officers of the ships, or even on the unit commanders.

Therefore, if the officers are not to blame, then the incompetence of the squadron lies within the tools—i.e., sailing ships instead of steamers and a lack of more appropriately placed squadron depots. This obligation, then falls higher up than that of a squadron commander. In the nineteenth century, there existed but one superior in the Navy Department, the secretary of Navy himself.

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[75] Canney, *African Squadron*, p. 224.

[76] Warren S. Howard, *American Slavers and the Federal Law, 1837–1862* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 219–23.

[77] Canney, *African Squadron*, p. 224

Since the squadrons began in 1819, the commanders and flag officers of the ships consistently reiterated the need to rectify those two issues. During the first decade, secretaries promised these commanders the addition of steamers, a promise never carried through. It is important to note that, on occasion, these secretaries of Navy wrote of these needs in their annual reports. In general, many of these requests were for Congressional appropriations to build small vessels and steamers. However, by the Mexican-American War in the 1840s, not only did the Navy possess a number of steamers, but they had proven themselves immensely useful in various combat operations. Until the end of their operation in 1861, the Africa Squadron never bore witness to one.

As a matter of fact, every naval squadron held a demand for the small steamers. There stood only one man who determined the priorities in a ship's assignment, the Secretary of Navy. With the continuation of inadequate vessels and supplies, the Africa Squadron found itself near or at the bottom of the secretary's list.

Of all the squadrons that existed at the point in time, the Africa Squadron "was the only one founded with a specific, congressional mandated mission."[78] Not only was it the only group required to maintain a quasi-blockade on a foreign soil, it was also the only unit whose objective never changed. Other naval squadron's objectives were in a state of constant flux according to whichever port city they arrived in during their peacetime circuits.

Of course, there is the argument of the high cost required to maintain steamers in foreign stations. However, the Navy did manage to sustain steamers in other foreign stations, and these units did not hold the obligation of apprehending criminals. The

[78] Canney, *African Squadron*, p. 225

problem did not lie in adding ships to the Navy's inventory to use them off Africa. The problem lay in reassigning available vessels that not only satisfied the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842 but met the demands the Navy faced elsewhere.

As for the locations of the squadron bases, it is important to know that serious discussions over relocating the depots occurred off and on during the existence of the unit. Furthermore, after the preliminary health issues, especially in 1843-44, an unhealthy climate became less and less of a factor for the western coast of Africa. For other nations, primarily the British Empire, health issues did not prevent the establishment of an extensive network of depot facilities along the coast of the continent. In fact, when the American Navy finally moved one of their depots in 1859, health issues were never mentioned in any report. As for the cost of the stations, the actual warehouse structures located at St. Paul de Loando only cost the Navy $800. The only remaining costs came from leasing and the moving of materials from Porto Praya to Loando.[79]

Concerning the secretaries of the Navy during this era, of the eighteen who held the office during this period, ten were from the slaveholding states of North Carolina, Maryland, and Virginia. These Southern secretaries controlled the Navy for thirty of the forty-two years the squadron existed.[80] The few Northerner's who held the office, such as David Henshaw and George Bancroft, did not hold the office long enough to make any significant impact on policy.

In general, these secretaries, regardless of where they come from, simply neglected the Africa Squadron. Aside from the initial instructions given to the first

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[79] Canney, *African Squadron*, p. 226.

[80] United States Department of the Navy, "Secretaries of the Navy: From 1798 to the present," U.S. Navy Data, http://www.navy.mil/navydata/people/secnav/secnavs.html.

commander, Matthew Perry, the Secretaries of Navy participated in very little correspondence with the commanding officers. Those first orders were repeated nearly verbatim to each successive flag officer.[81] As time passed, and the Webster-Ashburton Treaty occurred, the secretaries, beginning with Abel Upshur, inverted the mission of the unit. Where emphasis once existed on the suppression of the slave trade, it slowly shifted to trade and commerce protection. In fact, historians, such as Mark T. Haggard, have made the argument that by 1842, the fleet appeared to have existed merely as a means to protect American merchantmen from the British.[82] Lastly, the secretaries, early on, emphasized the strong need for the group to patrol the northwest African coast. This area of Africa, arguably held a lesser number of slavers than other portions of the African coastal region. Had the commanding officers within the squadron not strayed from that directive, the group would have achieved even less.

It would be foolish to think that the secretaries of the Navy bore the sole responsibility for obstructing the suppression of the slave trade. Many southern public officials, such as consul-generals, did not purposely set out to aid slavers. Instead, their mixed feelings toward slavery and hatred of the British led them down a path of necessary evil. As a consul-general in Cuba, Nicholas Trist became one of many who believed that the institution of slavery had to exist, despite it being a "blight on the democratic society of the United States."[83] Like Thomas Jefferson, Trist personally opposed slavery, but he held the practice to be humane. By enslaving dark-skinned Africans and placing them under the firm hand of a white Christian male, they delivered

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[81] Canney, *African Squadron*, p. 226.

[82] Mark T. Haggard, "Punishing Our Own Rascals: Great Britain, the United States, and the Right to Search During the Era of Slave Trade Suppression" (Master's Thesis, Boise State University, 2013), p. 78.

[83] Ibid., p. 49.

them from a life of paganism.[84] As long as dark-skinned Africans lacked the supposed intelligence and morality of their light-skinned counterparts, Trist, and others like him, would allow their humanitarian and anti-British beliefs to guide their actions. An outcome that would produce support for domestic slavery, while at the same time creating opposition to the international slave trade.

If his feelings toward slavery could be called mixed, Trist's hatred toward the British was nothing but clear. As an American nationalist, he not only came to resent the British, but assumed their every action threatened American sovereignty. Although the British claimed to be suppressing the Atlantic slave trade, Trist, along with the American government felt they had overstepped their rights under the Law of Nations. In one of his reports, Trist stated that the British suppression of the slave trade was merely "mock humanitarianism."[85] These feelings and beliefs led Trist to form a relationship with the Spanish Captain-General of Cuba, a known criminal who profited from every slave he allowed to disembark from Havana.[86] Despite Trist's great reluctance to pry into the cargo manifests of the ships he signed-off on, he did succeed in curbing direct American participation in the slave trade. His hatred toward the British pushed him to suggest stricter legal requirements that made it more difficult for slavers to gain access to American ships. He also became a proponent for the United States to use its own Navy to suppress the trade in an effort to prevent the British from assuming a greater degree of authority over American ships.[87]

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[84] Ibid., pp. 49–50.

[85] Ibid., p. 49.

[86] Howard, *American Slavers*, p. 36.

[87] Ibid., p. 36.

The United States has always had a complicated relationship with slavery, a relationship the Africa Squadron shows in its entirety. While southern politics may have hampered the success by the United States to suppress the Atlantic slave trade, individuals who came from that region proved to be unexpected allies. Naval captains, such as Maffitt, who later served in the Confederate navy, became a shining example as he captured the greatest number of slavers. While the South may have held a strong grasp on the national stage of politics, it did not, and could not, control every southerner. Individuals from this area, such as Maffitt and Trist, demonstrate how even those who believed in slavery in America could find justification to help any man, woman, or child regardless of race.

Types of Foreign Humanitarianism

Since the end of World War II, academics such as David Scheffer and James Pattison have demonstrated the United States military's participation in humanitarian assistance and intervention missions. A topic scholars continue to argue is whether or not it is the place of the military to be actively used in humanitarian crises. While this argument ensues, it is important to understand not only what humanitarian assistance is in general, but what it encompasses, as well. By understanding how the United States uses its military to pursue humanitarian objectives in the present, it becomes easier to define and extend beyond the end of World War II or the Spanish-American War of 1898.

Humanitarian aid has been defined by scholars countless times and from these explanations have emerged basic principles. In particular, humanitarian assistance is governed by codes of humanity, impartiality, and independence. It is intended to act as short-term support, but difficulties can arise in defining when the aftermath of an

emergency ends, and other types of assistance begin. This difficulty is especially true in periods of prolonged vulnerability. Traditionally, humanitarian responses include, but are not limited to:

- Emergency food aid (short-term distribution and supplemental programs)
- Material relief services and assistance (medicines, shelter, food, etc…)
- Support and protection services, relief coordination (logistics, communications, and coordination)
- Rehabilitation and reconstruction (repairing pre-existing infrastructure)
- And, disaster prevention and preparedness.

The U.S. military is one of the few organizations in the history of the United States that has held the ability to be deployed rapidly in order to carry out humanitarian assistance, domestically or globally.

The classic example of U.S. military FHA is the Berlin airlift during the Berlin Blockade. Considered one of the first major international crises of the Cold War, the United States and its western allies organized an airlift to carry supplies to the people of West Berlin.[88] The Soviet Union had blocked all ground access to West Berlin for the Western Allies beginning in June of 1948. The aim of this blockade for the Soviets was to gain a higher level of control over all of Berlin, making the entire city dependent upon the Soviet government for food, fuel, and aid. For nearly one year, the beleaguered Berliners of West Berlin came to depend upon the airlift. Not only did it eventually force the Soviets to lift the blockade in May 1949, but demonstrated to the world that the U.S. military could be used to make a difference through FHA.

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[88] "R.H. Hillenkoetter to Harry S. Truman, June 9, 1948. President's Secretary's Files, Truman Papers," Harry S. Truman Library & Museum, http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/berlin_airlift/large/documents/index.php?documentdate=1948-06-09&documentid=15-1&studycollectionid=Berlin&pagenumber=1.

For the last sixty-six years, the modern history of U.S. military FHA has continued to grow, and with it what humanitarian assistance encompasses for the military. From airlifts to tsunamis and fires, the U.S., as well as other nations, have come to expect military action after moments of crisis. On March 11, 2012, a 9.0 magnitude earthquake struck the nation of Japan. This earthquake not only led to a tsunami, but the subsequent earthquake damage led to cooling system failures in the Fukushima Dai-Ichi nuclear plant. Over 19,000 victims were either lost or reported missing.[89] In response, President Barack Obama, the American Commander-in-Chief, initiated Operation Tomodachi, the single, largest bilateral operation with Japan ever. This act entailed the deployment of "24,000 Department of Defense (DoD) personnel, 190 aircraft, and 24 Navy ships supporting humanitarian and disaster relief efforts."[90] Americans are often quick to offer up some form of altruistic aid. This instinct dates back prior to the existence of the United States, when Americans belonged to the British or other European empires. For the U.S. military, this use of its resources also holds an older date than the twentieth century.

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[89] Karen Parrish, "U.S. leaders recall Japan disasters, relief efforts," *American Forces Press Service*, March 11, 2012, http://www.army.mil/article/75490/U_S__leaders_recall_Japan_disasters__relief_efforts/.

[90] Ibid.

Figure 3.   U.S. armed force member looking at destruction of 9.0 magnitude earthquake in Sendai, Japan. Taken from http://www.nbr.org/research/activity.aspx?id=121

The Berlin Airlift and Operation Tomodachi represent but one part of modern FHA for the U.S. military. For Americans, as well as much of the West, humanitarian assistance has often included humanitarian interventions, as well as peacekeeping. While these practices both date back to pre-Cold War eras, understanding the current use of both helps in dating their histories. Quite simply, peacekeeping is the act of creating conditions that favor a long-lasting peace. Humanitarian intervention, which often includes peacekeeping, is the act of using military force against another state when the primary declared objective is ending human rights violations being "perpetrated by the state in which it is directed."[91]

The intervention of one state by another on humanitarian grounds has been in discussion of public international law since the nineteenth century. Possibly the first example of this action can be seen in the Greek War of Independence that occurred in the

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[91] Marko Marjanovic, "Is Humanitarian War the Exception?," *Mises Daily*, April 4, 2011, http://mises.org/daily/5160/Is-Humanitarian-War-the-Exception.

first half of the century. In 1827, Great Britain, Russia, and France decisively intervened upon the behalf of Greek freedom fighters helping to secure Greek independence from the Ottoman Empire.[92] For modern United States history, the first case of humanitarian intervention is seen in the Spanish-American War of 1898. Similar to the Greek War of Independence, many Americans came to see the Spanish as a source of human rights violation on the island, with their use of concentration camps. The valiant Cuban people needed help from a protectorate state. In addition, any American citizen who came near Spanish possession in the Caribbean may be in danger of losing both their liberty and lives to a tyrannical empire.[93] This need to protect both their citizens abroad, as well as fellow North Americans, comes to help demonstrate the way in which the United States had come to view its role in the world by 1898. A vision held by longer historical roots.

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[92] "Treaty Between Great Britain, France, and Russia, for the Pacification of Greece. (London) July 6, 1827," in Modern History Sourcebook: The Treaty of London for Greek Independence, July 6, 1827, excerpts, ed. Paul Halsall, Fordham University, 1998, http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1827gktreaty.asp.

[93] James Gordon Bennett, "Main Destroyed in Havana Harbor," *The San Francisco Call*, February 16, 1898, Library of Congress, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1898-02-16/ed-1/seq-1/.

Figure 4.   Victims of the Spanish reconcentration camps. Taken from http://spanishamericanwar.info/causes.htm

While the United States has involved itself in many examples of humanitarian intervention since the Spanish-America War, one of the most recent examples is the 2011 military intervention in Libya. Codenamed Operation Unified Protector was not only multilateral but demonstrated how these acts of intervention can be limited to blockades. Concerned that Muammar Gaddafi, the then-current leader of Libya, had conducted airstrikes against Libyan rebels during the Libya civil war, members of the United Nations, including the United States, passed Security Council Resolution 1973. The intent of this resolution was to create "an immediate ceasefire in Libya, including an end to the current attacks against civilians, which it said might constitute crimes against humanity ... imposing a ban on all flights in the country's airspace — a no-fly zone — and tightened sanctions on the Qadhafi regime and its supporters."[94] Human rights

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[94] United Nations Security Council, "Security Council Approves 'No-Fly Zone' over Libya, Authorizing 'All Necessary Measures' to Protect Civilians, by Vote of 10 in Favour with 5 Abstentions," United

violations have continued to act as a source spurring on American involvement. Like providing humanitarian assistance, this use of U.S. military resources holds an older history than that of the late nineteenth century.

Sometimes, in order to understand the history of the United States, it is first easier to come to understand the present. For American's involvement in FHA, especially that of the military's, this is true. Understanding not only how Americans have used military resources in FHA, but why as well reveals a part of American civil society's character that can be seen dating back to the eighteenth century. Though the past may lie forgotten in the present, its roots are always visible.

Analysis of Modern Federal Legislation

The military's role in the United States has not existed without definition of its role. Since 1956, Title 10 of the United States Code has outlined the role of the armed forces and provided the legal basis for the missions, roles, and organization of each service, as well as the Department of Defense. In addition, Title 22 of the U.S. Code has also helped to outline the role of foreign relations and intercourse. When examined together, these two titles show the validity required to have the military conduct FHA.

<u>U.S.C. Title 10 & 22</u>

Aside from defining the general role of the armed forces in the United States, Title 10 includes five subtitles. Each of these subtitles deals with a separate component of the armed service and are: (A) General Military Law, (B) Army, (C) Navy and Marine Corps, (D) Air Force, and (E) Reserve Components. Title 22, on the other hand, contains eighty-six chapters, including multiple subchapters and topics range from *Cuban*

Nations press release, March 17, 2011,
http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2011/sc10200.doc.htm#Resolution.

Democracy to *Foreign Wars, War Materials, and Neutrality*. These two titles are not only

necessary and important function of government regarding the provision of security, but

are the foundation for U.S. national security and foreign policy. Together these titles

govern national security, U.S. armed forces, Department of State, and public diplomacy

efforts. The United States Code is intricate, expansive, and dynamic. Continually finding

parts of it amended, repealed, and reviewed as necessary. By understanding how these

titles of the U.S. Code work together, it is easier to understand how the federal

government has come to deploy modern military resources.

While every aspect of Title 10 is necessary, in regards to FHA, Chapter 20 is

paramount. Chapter 20, entitled *Humanitarian and Other Assistance*, details how the

armed forces are to handle situations from international disaster assistance to the training

of foreign personnel. Most importantly, Chapter 20 "authorizes US Armed Forces to

provide humanitarian and other assistance alongside authorized military operations under

the proscription of the Secretary of Defense."[95] For instance, Section 402 of Chapter 20

deals with the transportation of humanitarian relief supplies to foreign countries. While

the current Title 10 is an amalgamation of Title 10 and Title 34 (both existing as separate

titles prior to 1956), its historical basis can be seen in events such as the Berlin Airlift or

the 1847 Ireland foodstuffs aid.

While Title 10, Chapter 20 of the U.S.C. may outline the armed forces role in

humanitarian matters, Chapter 9, Subchapter I (*War Materials*) of Title 22 provides

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[95] U.S. Government Printing Office, "Chapter 20—Humanitarian and Other Assistance," U.S. Office of the Law Revision Counsel,
http://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml;jsessionid=C4F4D2333717018A4330BF16C506257B?req=granuleid%3AUSC-prelim-title10-chapter20&saved=%7CZ3JhbnVsZWlkOlVTQy1wcmVsaW0tdGl0bGUxMC1zZWN0aW9uNDAx%7C%7C%7C0%7Cfalse%7Cprelim&edition=prelim.

relevant definitions that concern international relations. Section 408a of the subchapter states, "The term "United States" as used in this Act includes the Canal Zone and all territory and waters, continental or insular, subject to the jurisdiction of the United States."[96] This defined definition of the United States, in terms of authority, helps to set clear boundaries as to where the U.S. may stop the illegal exportation of war materials while not interfering with foreign trade. Preventing the illegal exportation of war materials, precisely using military resources, can be viewed as a humanitarian action. By not allowing human-rights violation states from receiving war materials, among others, the Title 22, Chapter 9 is helping the U.S. to carry out FHA that may prevent the need for further exertion of national resources. Aside from the potential to conserve valuable resources, Title 22 holds a historical connection like Title 10, as well.

One of the most significant historical connections that exist between either Title 10 or 22 is the protection of citizens abroad. While this particular connection can be easily seen in Title 22, Chapter 23 (*Protection to Naturalized Citizens Abroad*), both titles still provide for the protection of citizens abroad in some form. This protection can come about from FHA as previously stated in Title 10, Chapter 20, Section 408. When the U.S. trains foreign personnel, rather it is from nation rebuilding or altruistic intentions, both states benefit from assisting one another. Although the United States has not always received benefits from FHA, the armed forces have developed doctrine and technique publications, built upon a long history of humanitarian action, that guide modern FHA operations.

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[96] U.S. Government Printing Office, "Title 22—Foreign Relations and Intercouse," GPO, http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/USCODE-2010-title22/html/USCODE-2010-title22.htm.

From its first steps as a free nation, the United States stumbled toward granting freedom to all. Although the citizens of this free state held biases, the society they had created held the inherent belief that, "…all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."[97] This belief, along with expansionistic tendency's, would launch many Americans to confront the wrongs of the world, injustices such as slavery, inequality, and threats to self-liberty. These strong beliefs and confrontational tendencies would eventually lead to the development of legislation that governed the role of these military assistance operations.

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[97] "Declaration of Independence," The National Archives and Records Administration, http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.html.

CHAPTER THREE: 19TH CENTURY MILITARY FOREIGN HUMANITARIANISM

Suppression of the Atlantic Slave Trade

<u>1819 African Slave Trade Patrol</u>

The year 1819 marks both the creation of the United States African Slave Trade Patrol and the involvement of the American military in foreign humanitarianism, neither events were born from spontaneous action. Indeed, the first attempt to suppress the importation of slaves into the new nation can be traced to the writing of the Constitution in 1787. Prior to this momentous occasion, the Articles of Confederation, the United States first constitution, only approached the matter with concern to fugitive slaves. The ordinance in this first constitution allowed unclaimed slaves to gain their freedom so long as they were captured at sea and below the high-water mark.[98] The high-water mark represents the highest reached point by a body of water over land.

Those attending the Constitutional Convention did not attempt to feign ignorance for the fact that slavery had become nearly sacrosanct within the southern states. In the era prior to the invention of the cotton gin, many American politicians agreed that slavery represented a necessary evil, which would gradually disappear due to economic pressures. With that premise in mind, slaveholding representatives were loath to object to any northern desires to create a particular target-date for the abolishment of the trade itself. Eventually, both sides reached a compromise, whereby 1808 became the set date

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[98] W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America*, *1638–1870* (New York: Longmans, 1896), p. 51, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/17700/17700-h/17700-h.htm.

for the end of the legal importation of "such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit."[99] It is noteworthy to include that by 1788, all the states south to, and including, Virginia had outright banned the trade.[100] Also, striking is the fact that this particular bill at the Constitutional Convention was the world's first anti-slave trade legislation. Its date of entry into force only fell one year after Parliament banned the slave trade throughout the British Empire.

During the interval, the slave trade continued to flourish throughout the United States, including the illegal transportation into states that passed their legislative bans on the trade. When combined with the trepidation caused by the violent slave revolt in Haiti, this illicit activity prompted increased agitation for greater regulations on various aspects of slavery. Among the most prominent of voices in this choir were the Quakers and Benjamin Franklin. In 1794, as a result of this, a new slave-trade law provided for heavy financial fines, as well as forfeiture of all vessels involved in the slave trade to any foreign nation. Quite naturally, any American or foreign citizen either fitting or preparing a ship for such trade or even transporting persons "for the purpose of selling them as slaves" found themselves in violation of this statute.[101] Unfortunately, this piece of

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[99] "The Constitution of the United States: A Transcription," U.S. National Archives, http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/print_friendly.html?page=constitution_transcript_content.html&title=The+Constitution+of+the+United+States%3A+A+Transcription. The entire constitutional clause reads: "The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person."

[100] "An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade," HMS Surprise, http://www.pdavis.nl/Legis_06.htm.

[101] "An Act to Prohibit the Carrying on the Slave Trade from the United States to any Foreign Place or Country," Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/sl001.asp. The full text reads: "And be it further enacted, That if any citizen or citizens of the United States shall, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, take on board, receive or transport any such persons, as above described, in this act, for the purpose of selling them as slaves, as adores said, he or they shall forfeit and pay, for each and every person, so received on board, transported, or sold as aforesaid, the sum of two hundred dollars, to be recovered in any court of the United

legislation held a significant flaw. With the absence of any enforcement mechanism, this law relied upon individuals to be willing to bring charges against their fellow man.

By 1800, Congress proved able to remedy this situation with a piece of legislation that not only added imprisonment to monetary penalties, but authorized the American Navy to seize the ships as prizes. In addition, it also made liable for persecution any individual who held any interest, "direct or indirect," in the slaving voyage.[102] Unfortunately, like its predecessor, this piece of legislation neglected to address the disposition of slaves who found themselves freed during the enforcement of the law.

The Quasi-War with France, an undeclared war fought mainly at sea between 1798 and 1800, helped to provide the first venue for the U.S. Navy to enforce anti-slave trade legislation. Early on, the Navy had merely served to funnel information to the U.S. Treasury Department on ships they suspected participated in the trade. The Treasury Department initially held the responsibility for the prevention of smuggling. This duty made them the default government agency responsible for the suppression of the slave trade within the boundaries of the United States, via its harbors and coastlines. The Treasury's Revenue Marine proved to be the department's means in upholding this responsibility. However, the severe limitations of the force drastically reduced their efficacy. Never numbering greater than seventeen ships at its war peak in 1801, and with none any larger than a topsail schooner, Congress naturally looked toward the American navy as a solution.[103]

States pro per to try the same; the one moiety thereof to the use of the United States, and the other moiety to the use of such person or persons, who shall sue for and prosecute the same."

[102] Du Bois, *Suppression*, p. 84.

[103] Horatio Davis Smith, *Early History of the United States Revenue Marine Service or (United States Revenue Cutter Service), 1789–1849*, ed. Elliot Snow (Washington, DC: U.S. Coast Guard, 1989), pp. 18–19, https://www.uscg.mil/history/articles/USRCS1789-1849.pdf.

For example, in mid-1799, the current Secretary of the Treasury, Oliver Wolcott, wrote the customs collector in Boston: "…Captain Decatur of the Navy during his late cruise near Cuba, met with the Brig *Dolphin* of Boston William White Master with 140 or 150 slaves for sale procured on the coast of Africa."[104] Wolcott preceded to direct the collector to "take requisite measures to enforce the law."[105] The following year, in April 1800, the secretary of the Navy sent the treasury secretary a short list. This parchment contained a list of suspected slavers who had successfully returned from Cuba to Philadelphia.[106] Despite any attempt to stem the slave trade, the Treasury Department proved most useful at cataloging the Navy's reports of suspected slavers.

During all of this, the U.S. Consul in Paramaribo, Surinam, felt compelled to write of the attractions of the trade in the Spanish West Indies. In his letters, he wrote, "It is well known that the Spanish Governors in the W.I. will admit any Neutral to land almost any cargo in their Ports—if the vessel brings 4 or 5 slaves. The profits of their trade is so alluring…few people in Trade would scruple or hesitate to adopt such a plan to gain admittance to a Spanish Port."[107] Furthermore, he opined that the "criminality of it

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[104] Oliver Wolcott, "Letter, Wolcott to Benjamin Lincoln, June 10, 1799," in *Naval Documents related to the Quasi-War between the United States and France, Volume III, Part 3 of 4, Naval Operations from April to July 1799*, edited by the U.S. Government Printing Office (Bolton Landing, NY: American Naval Records Society, 2011), p. 323, http://www.ibiblio.org/anrs/docs/E/E3/nd_quasiwar_v03p03.pdf.

[105] Ibid., p. 323.

[106] Benjamin Stoddert, "Letter, Secretary of the Navy to Secretary of the Treasury, April 18, 1800," in *Naval Documents related to the Quasi-War between the United States and France, Volume IV,* edited by the U.S. Government Printing Office (Bolton Landing, NY: American Naval Records Society, 2011), p. 104, http://www.ibiblio.org/anrs/docs/E/E3/nd_quasiwar_v04.pdf.

[107] Turell Tufts, "Letter, Turell Tufts to Secretary of State, January 1800," in *Naval Documents related to the Quasi-War between the United States and France, Volume V,* edited by the U.S. Government Printing Office (Bolton Landing, NY: American Naval Records Society, 2011), pp. 156–157, http://www.ibiblio.org/anrs/docs/E/E3/nd_quasiwar_v05.pdf.

consists exclusively in the inhuman treatment of the Slaves" and likened it to transporting an "Irishmen…and selling him for a season."[108]

Having gained the ability to capture vessels in 1800, the Navy did not hesitate to use this newly found strength. It quickly began to seize any vessel suspected of slavery and sent them in for judgment. Lieutenant William Maley, the commander of the U.S. schooner *Experiment*, holds the honor of capturing the first slave-trading ship. While patrolling waters off of Cuba, Maley captured the sloop *Betsey*, a slave ship under the command of Captain Bateman Munro of Charleston. Aboard the ship, Maley found eighty-five slaves, all from Rio Pongo, Africa.[109]

The capture of *Betsy* set off an uproar back in the States. Samuel Hodgson, a military intendant, wrote to former Secretary of State Timothy Pickering, "Captain Maley has arrived, he has acquit himself so as to meet the applause of all his last act the capture of a vessel from Charleston…with eighty five slaves…" Hodgson then went on to raise the issue of disposition for the recently freedman, "…to be sold they cannot, both Constitution and Law forbid this—what then is to be done—liberated where they are or indeed any where else they cannot be for no Government would allow it—the only alternative is to return them to their own Country…will it make the condition of the slaves any better? But Maley has done right in making the capture…a great indignation is already excited against the monsters that planned the voyage…"[110] Shortly thereafter, the

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[108] Ibid., p. 157.

[109] William Maley, "Journal Extract," in *Naval Documents related to the Quasi-War between the United States and France, Volume VI,* edited by the U.S. Government Printing Office (Bolton Landing, NY: American Naval Records Society, 2011), pp. 85–86, http://www.ibiblio.org/anrs/docs/E/E3/nd_quasiwar_v06.pdf.

[110] Samuel Hodgson, "Letter, Samuel Hodgson to Pickering, July 10, 1800," in *Naval Documents related to the Quasi-War between the United States and France, Volume VI,* edited by the U.S. Government Printing

ship itself was not only condemned but sold at Charleston in October of that same year.[111]

Despite the Navy's newfound ability to involve itself directly in matters involving both economic and humanitarian concerns, it found its success in stemming the slave trade short lived. By March of 1807, Congress had successfully passed the final piece of legislation that allowed for the enforcement of the 1808 slave trade ban. In addition to imprisonment, fines, and the forfeiture of any vessels involved, Congressional members included an additional $800 per slave fine that applied to any individual who purchased illicit freed slaves. In terms of enforcement, Congress authorized the President "to cause any of the armed vessels of the United States to be manned and employed" against American vessels trading in slaves on the high seas.[112] It also approved the use of prize money, an additional incentive for both the Navy and Revenue Marines. However, Congress did not direct the Navy to institute any enforcement unit solely for the purpose of antislavery.

Severe penalties, an official ban on the trade, and prize money had little effect over the next decade. Some of the reasons for this occurrence are apparent. First, although the Navy had early success against slavers, the end of the Quasi-War with France and President Thomas Jefferson's blue-water fleet had forced them to exist on minimal appropriations. This level of funding was despite the growing threat of another war with the British Empire. In fact, the Navy did not see an authorization for a new

Office (Bolton Landing, NY: American Naval Records Society, 2011), pp. 133–34, http://www.ibiblio.org/anrs/docs/E/E3/nd_quasiwar_v06.pdf.

[111] "Sales Account," in *Naval Documents related to the Quasi-War between the United States and France, Volume VII,* edited by the U.S. Government Printing Office (Bolton Landing, NY: American Naval Records Society, 2011), p. 429, http://www.ibiblio.org/anrs/docs/E/E3/nd_quasiwar_v07.pdf.

[112] Don E. Fehrenbacher, *The Slaveholding Republic* (London: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 144–47.

vessel until January 1813…months after war had already broken out. Second, a war with Great Britain now meant that the Navy became forced to spend what little resources it had on the enemy, rather than trade violators. Third, after 1813, the Navy found itself—along with much of the sea-borne trade—blockaded in American ports. Eventually, as hostilities with the British ended, the Navy once again began to sail beyond the boundaries of the North American coastline. Settling into what would become the major cruising stations for the foreseeable future: the Eastern Pacific, West Indies, and Mediterranean squadrons.

By 1811, the secretary of the Navy had begun to note the connection between the growing piratical elements in the crumbling Spanish Empire and the illegal slave trade. Still unable to handle these issues in a direct and consistent manner, the Navy continued to use an ad-hoc squadron to pursue slavers. As the illicit slave trade continued to thrive, and the uncertainty of the legal method of disposition of recaptured slaves continued, Congress looked to strengthen the 1807 anti-slave trade legislation. In 1819, Congress not only strengthened the 1807 law by authorizing the Navy to cruise along the African coast suppressing the trade, but placed recaptured slaves in federal custody instead of the state. The most radical element of the law provided the president with the authorization to "make such regulations and arrangements…for the…removal beyond the limits of the United States, of all such negroes, mulattoes or persons of colour, as may be delivered and brought within their jurisdiction."[113] Furthermore, Congress not only appointed an agent in Africa to deal with the freed slaves, but appropriated $100,000 to help enforce the law.

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[113] Du Bois, *Suppression*, pp. 120–21.

Not only did this legislation stand as an improvement for recaptured slaves, but the moneys appropriated for the enforcement of the act meant for the first time in the American military's history they had a dedicated unit against the slave trade. From 1819 forward, the United States military would be involved in some manner of foreign humanitarian assistance.

The American Colonization Society (ACS) (The Founding of Liberia)

The year 1819 signaled a new phase for both the U.S. military, as well as the struggle to end the slave trade. The provision for "the removal (of freedmen) beyond the limits of the United States" and the appointment of an Agent in Africa to help facilitate their resettlement all pointed to the eventual settlement of Liberia.[114] Indeed, amongst the many sponsors of the 1819 law stood Charles F. Mercer, who was not only an outspoken opponent of the Atlantic Slave Trade, but led the American Colonization Society.[115]

Established in Washington, D.C., the ACS[116] found support among prominent Americans, such as Thomas Jefferson, John Tyler, Francis Scott Key, Daniel Webster, and Henry Clay. Although the society's stated goal was always the resettlement of freed blacks in Africa, the motivations of the society were mixed. For some members, the relocation of freed blacks to Africa became a solution that meant correcting centuries worth of injustice wrought upon American slaves. Others believed that free blacks represented a threat to society and feared the potential for violence as seen in the Haitian Revolution. The removal of freed blacks meant the threat no longer existed. A third

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[114] "The Act of 1819," New York Public Library, The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, http://abolition.nypl.org/content/docs/text/Act_of_1819.pdf.

[115] Judd Scott Harmond, "Suppress and Protect: The United States Navy, the African Slave Trade, and Maritime Commerce, 1794–1862" (Ph.D. Dissertation, College of William and Mary, 1977), p. 89.

[116] The full name of the American Colonization Society is 'The Society for the Colonization of Free People of Color of America.'

motivation held religious ties, with some members wishing to combine the creation of a Christian colony in Africa with a strong, zealous thrust. Finally, as an active suppression of the trade continued, the controversial issue surrounding the disposition of freedmen grew. Anti-abolitionists felt that if they continued to be set free by the federal government and allowed to remain within the states, a dangerous precedent could be set. Emancipation could gain ground. It is also important to note that many members of the ACS feared releasing free blacks back into Africa without institutional support. Without this care, these freedmen would most likely end up enslaved once again. Thus, the founding of a quasi-colony seemed to meet the needs of both.[117] Furthermore, the founding of such an entity would also mean the placement of an active American antislavery (and antislavery trade) settlement along the western coast of Africa. An arrangement that would complement the British colony of Sierra Leone, which had been founded as an antislavery settlement and appeared to hold some measure of success in its mission.

By default, the honor of carrying out the provisions of the 1819 law fell upon the U.S. Navy. Before the Navy could carry out its newfound humanitarian role, President James Monroe and his cabinet discussed the $100,000 funding. Vice-president of the ACS and Secretary of the Treasury, William H. Crawford, advocated turning over the entire amount to the Society. Among his supporters stood the Secretary of the Navy Smith Thompson, who felt the United States desperately needed to assert its sovereignty in the world. Despite the strong objection of the Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, the ACS received the full amount allotted by the appropriation. The federally assigned

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[117] Harold D. Nelson, *Liberia, A Country Study* (Washington, DC: The Studies, 1984), pp. 8–9.

agent in Africa was to oversee the complete disbursement of the funds. During the 1820s, the ACS used the funds to not only transport freed slaves to Africa, but also to build, and in part, sustain the fledgling colony of Liberia. For its part, and until the 1840s, the Navy received very little funding for its stated responsibility, although they were expected to shepherd and support the society as they created a growing presence in Africa.[118] In fact, in December 1819, Monroe announced that two ships—one designated as a naval escort—carrying agents of the Society along with a group of settlers would set sail for Africa. The men aboard these ships would make the preliminary arrangements required for creating a station that would receive freed blacks.[119]

The naval vessel was none other than the frigate *Cyane*, a prized frigate captured during the War of 1812. Under the command of Captain Edward Trenchard, the *Cyane* escorted the brig *Elizabeth* to Africa. Within, eighty-eight freed blacks eagerly awaited to begin new lives. Upon their arrival in West Africa, a small group disembarked on Sherbro Island, just southeast of Freetown, Sierra Leone. The initial settlement location proved to be a poor choice. Aside from proving to be a swampy area with malaria, the native population harassed and threatened the poor group of interlopers. At this time, the ACS had not yet gained legal possession of the land in which they wished to settle. In this task, the U.S. Navy proved to be an invaluable resource. Reverend Samuel Bacon, the group's leader, asked Trenchard not only to survey the coastal region, but to "enquire whether the natives would be willing to dispose of a tract of land" to be used for a

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[118] Harmond, "Suppress and Protect," pp. 91–92.

[119] Fehrenbacher, *The Slaveholding Republic*, p. 154.

colony.[120] Captain Trenchard quickly agreed to this request and left his Midshipmen John S. Townshend, as well as a small contingent of his crew, to assist the colonists as they began to construct their community. Thus marked the U.S. military's growing relationship with FHA, one which would grow and change as years gave way to decades.

As Trenchard and his remaining crew began to sail along the African coast, the most unexpected moment occurred; a moment that brought about unforeseen rewards to the small group of men. Just to the east of Sierra Leone off the Gallinas River, the *Cyane* chanced upon a small fleet of slavers and immediately gave chase. The frigate quickly over gained the little fleet and, in total, captured nine ships. As momentous an occasion it proved to be, the accomplishment was mixed. Of the nine vessels, four were not only American ships but flew the Spanish flag. The remaining were either of Spanish origin or undetermined nationality. Having liberated the slaves aboard, Trenchard either sent the ships to New York as prizes or destroyed them.[121] There are no records detailing a trial for the Americans caught aboard the slave ships.

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[120] Samuel Eliot Morison, *"Old Bruin:" Commodore Matthew C. Perry, 1794–1858: The American Naval Officer who helped found Liberia, hunted pirates in the West Indies, practiced Diplomacy with the Sultan of Turk and the King of Two Sicilies; Commanded the Gulf Squadron in the Mexican War, promoted the steam navy and the shell gun, and conducted the naval expedition which opened Japan* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1967), pp. 62–64.
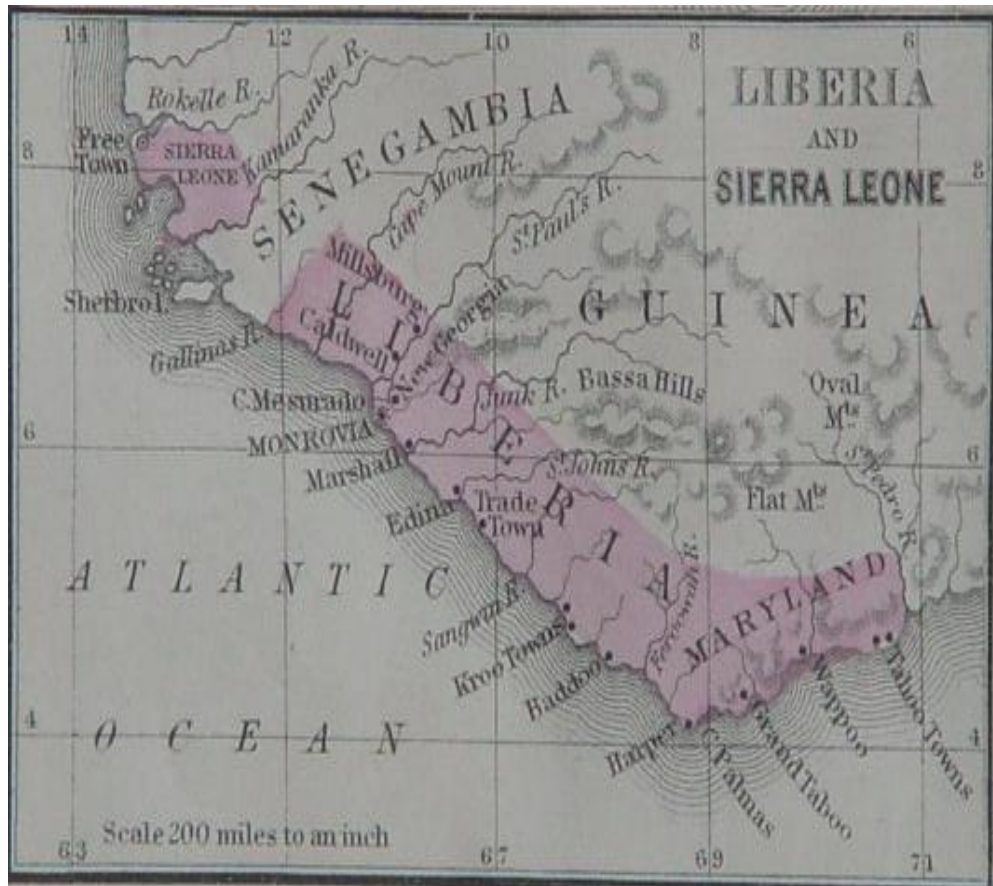
[121] Ibid., pp. 65–66.

Figure 5. "Liberia." Liberia Past and Present.

Knowing that time may not be in his favor, Trenchard pushed forward hoping soon to find a suitable location for the colony. As the *Cyane* arrived at Cape Mesurado, east of Sherbro, the crew aboard hailed the site as "the most elligable situation for a settlement"—according to Matthew Calbraith Perry, Trenchard's lieutenant.[122] Perry, who would later come to command the first Africa Squadron, quickly took measures to secure the legal possession of the land for the settlement through a meeting with the local chieftains. Upon the success of the mission, the *Cyane* returned to Sherbro.

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[122] Ibid., pp. 67–68.
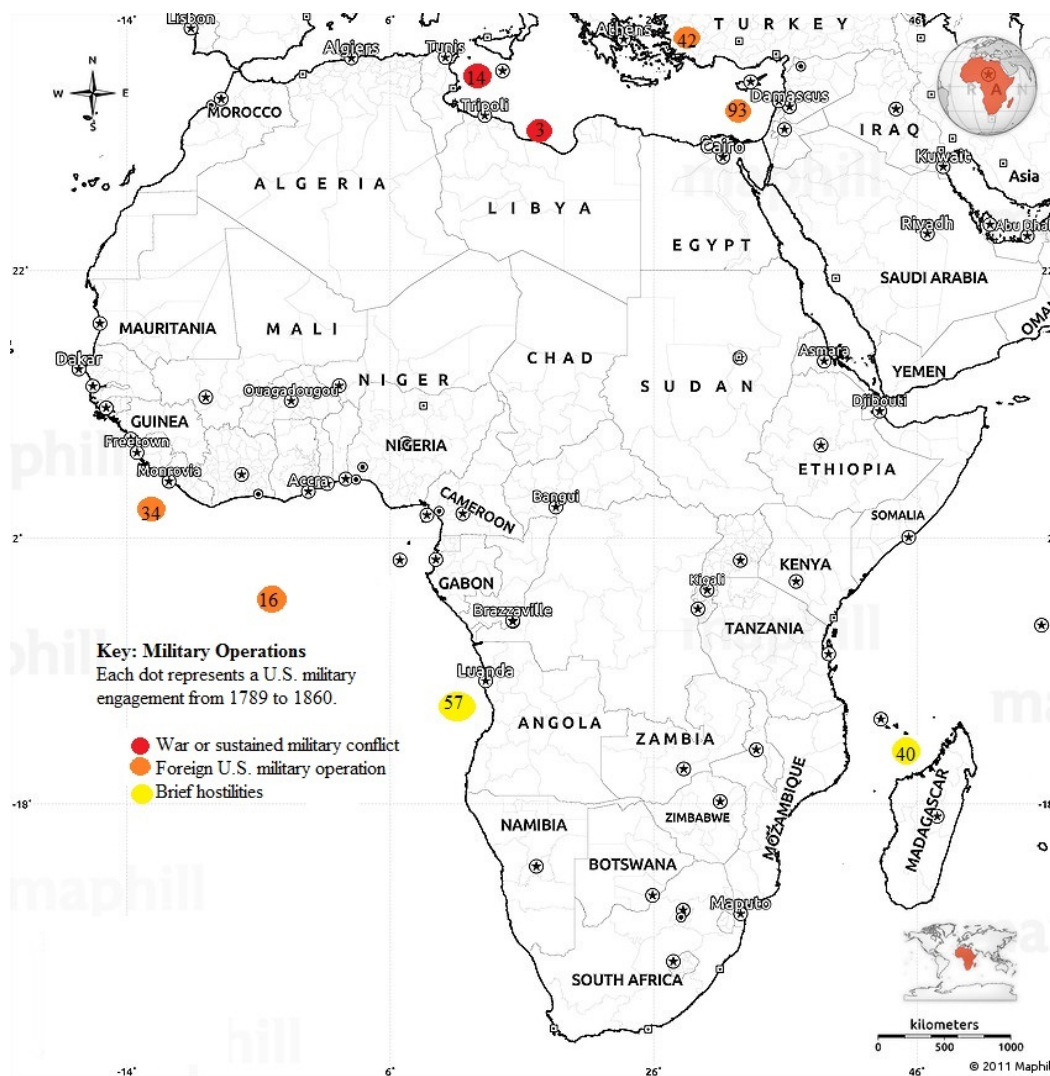
Figure 6. "U.S. Military Engagements in Africa and the Mediterranean, 1789-1860." Blank map from Maphill.

From Sherbro Island, the *Cyane* ventured out toward the Cape Verde Islands with the *Hornet* and *USS John Adams* in tow. Upon their return to the African coast, and despite portions of the group succumbing to fever and scurvy on board, the three vessels managed to capture two more slavers. Although neither ships carried slaves, as the *Hornet* returned to Cuban waters in 1821, she managed to catch *Le Pensee*, a ship

carrying over two-hundred slaves. The captain of the hornet sent *Le Pensee* and her company to await trial in New Orleans.[123]

Upon Trenchard's return to Sherbo, he found the tiny settlement plagued by diseases and the rainy season. Of the eighty-eight original African settlers, twenty-six perished while only one ACS leader remained alive. Additionally, the entire naval crew Trenchard had left behind had also succumbed to the diseases. The colonists who remained retreated to the safety of Sierra Leone, while the *Cyane* returned back to Washington in December 1820.[124]

A mere six months later and aboard the new schooner *Shark*, Perry, now commander of his vessel, departed from Washington with Reverend Eli Ayers, the new American representative for the Sherbro colony. At Sierra Leone, Perry and Ayers were joined by the U.S. schooner *Alligator*, under the command of Robert F. Stockton, who took the opportunity to escort Ayers to Cape Mesurado, present-day Monrovia. Upon their arrival at Cape Mesurado, Stockton and Ayers ventured twenty miles inland to finalize negotiations for the land with the local chiefs. Initially, the native Africans objected to the intrusions into their lands, and accused the two men of "kidnapping Africans" and "destroying the slave trade"—accusations that rather contradict one another.[125] Through the use of shrewd diplomacy—at one point involving the threat of a cocked pistol—Stockton managed to persuade the most powerful native leader, King Peter, to turn over the land in exchange for a variety of trade goods valued at a few hundred dollars. Shortly thereafter, the *Shark* and the *Alligator* escorted the remaining

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[123] Harmond, "Suppress and Protect," p. 103.

[124] Nelson, *Liberia,* p. 10.

[125] Fehrenbacher, *The Slaveholding Republic*, p. 154.

fifty-two colonists from Sherbro to Cape Mesurado. With the Sherbro debacle now behind them, the U.S. Navy had accomplished one portion of their humanitarian-filled mission. They had assisted the ACS in laying down the beginnings of a solid foundation for an antislavery colony, a land that would make up most of present-day Liberia.[126]

With the *Shark* now patrolling the waters of western Africa, many slave traders in the area began to give up the use of the American flag. Instead, they began to favor the French flag in their efforts to continue their illicit trade. Despite Perry's endeavors to curtail the slave trade, he could not overstep his bounds and violate the rights of another sovereign European nation. Shortly after beginning his patrols in Africa with the *Shark*, Perry stopped two slavers. The first being the schooner *Ys*, which belonged to the governor of Guadalupe, held trade goods suitable for exchanging for slaves. With the ships papers all in order, however, Perry was obliged to release the *Ys*.

On a calm day, the *Shark* encountered the second vessel: a French schooner named *Caroline*, who was merely three days out of Cape Mount (south of the Gallinas River). For six hours Perry gave chase to the *Caroline*, until finally, his quarry surrendered and raised the French colors. Not yet ready to reveal the ship's American heritage, Perry gave the order to hoist the Spanish colors and sent three officers, along with a small crew, to board the French vessel. W.F. Lynch, one of Perry's midshipmen, wrote:

> The overpowering smell and the sight presented by her slave deck, can never be obliterated from the memory. In a space of about 15 by 40 feet, and four feet high, between decks, 164 negroes, men, women, and children, were promiscuously confined. In sleeping they were made to dovetail, each one drawn up to the shortest span, and the children obliged to lie upon the full grown. They were all naked, and to protect from vermin not a hair was permitted to grow upon their

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[126] Nelson, *Liberia,* p. 10.

persons. Their bodies were so emaciated, and their black skins were so shrunk upon the facial bones, that in their torpor, they resembled so many Egyptian mummies half-awakened to life. A pint of water and a half pint of rice each, was their daily allowance, which is reduced if the passage be prolonged. The passage is performed in from fifty to seventy days. I never saw the sympathies of men more deeply moved than were those of our crew. Immediately after taking possession…we hoisted up a cask of water, and some bread and beef, and gave each poor slave a long drink and a hearty meal.[127]

Unfortunately, as the *Caroline's* papers proved to be in order, in addition to France yet having signed an international treaty against the slave trade, Perry reluctantly released her. However, prior to so doing, Perry, determined to quench his moral outrage, persuaded the *Caroline*'s commanding officer sign a pledge to "abjure the slave trade forever."[128]

The Webster-Ashburton Treaty and the Continued Growth of U.S. Military FHA

Despite the U.S. Navy's valiant attempts to curb slavery, by 1839, growing evidence signaled that instead of dying, the slave trade was flourishing. Combined with the traumatic events of 1839 in which slaves violently revolted aboard a slave ship in American waters, the United States began to feel greater pressure toward aiding the international antislavery movement. The American government, for the first time, dispatched two naval vessels to the west coasts of Africa in order to maintain a constant patrol. Though the patrol may have been a token move, renewed diplomatic efforts by the British forced the United States to come to the negotiating table with serious intentions.

Negotiations between both nations would result in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842, also known as the Treaty of Washington. Although the treaty failed to find

[127] Peter Duignan and Clarence Clendenen, *The United States and the African Slave Trade, 1619–1862*, (Standford: Standford University Press, 1963), pp. 28–29.

[128] Fehrenbacher, *The Slaveholding Republic*, p. 155.

solutions to the issues on the impressment of seaman or the Right of Search, Article VII

of the document called for each nation to "…maintain on the coast of Africa a sufficient

squadron to enforce separately and respectively, the laws, rights and obligations of the

two countries."[129] Each group, composed of vessels carrying a collective of eighty guns,

would patrol independently of one another, though they would act in cooperation. On

August 10, 1842, President Tyler signed the agreement and ten days later the Senate

ratified it, despite the opposition of James Buchanan and Thomas Hart Benton over

territorial and property issues.[130] The Webster-Ashburton Treaty would set in motion the

official creation of the Africa Squadron by the Navy.

The ships sent to Africa would be required to watch a coast of roughly three

thousand miles. Although funding increased following the signing of the Treaty of

Washington, Perry and other U.S. naval commanders found their resources kept at

minimal levels and would have to contend with the African climate. The intensity and

duration of the temperatures, as well as the humidity, would come to color every aspect

of the Navy's job patrolling that region of the world. Despite any well-intentioned

motivations of the Africa Patrol, many U.S. seamen would come to dread their

assignment.

While humanitarian missions may always have the noblest of intentions, often

political and economic factors interject reinterpretations of the original purpose. These

reinterpretations are not inherently dangerous for humanitarian purposes and can help to

expand the resources available. By the 1850s, U.S. trade with Africa had grown to more

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[129] "British-American Diplomacy, The Webster-Ashburton Treaty," Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/br-1842.asp.

[130] Du Bois, *Suppression*, p. 147.

than 40,000 tons per year.[131] In order to understand the significance of this number,

context is required. In 1827, the U.S. traded 4,700 tons worth of goods with various

African entities.[132] With the increase in American merchant ships in African waters, the

Navy began to reinterpret the original anti-slave trade mandate of both 1819 and 1842 to

include its traditional protection of mercantile interests. As exports to Africa began to

either equal or surpass those to both individual European and Latin American nations—

such as Holland and Puerto Rico—the American government's interest in the Africa

Patrol grew. In addition, incidents between British and American vessels decreased as

slavers and pirates chose to fly new colors with a permanent U.S. squadron now stationed

in Africa. Commanders, such as Perry, would come to find new rewards in Africa,

rewards that brought both prestige and a sense of moral accomplishment.

Matthew Perry, the younger brother of Oliver Hazard Perry, the Hero of the Battle

of Lake Erie in the War of 1812, came from a notable naval family. Having served in the

Navy since 1812, he appeared to be a natural choice to lead the Africa Squadron. In fact,

the day Perry received his appointment as the flag officer[133] of the unit, his enthusiasm

for the assignment reflected in his writings to Captain Isaac.[134] His previous experience

in Africa meant he knew full well the miserable climate conditions that awaited him.

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[131] W. E. F. Ward, *The Royal Navy and the Slavers: The Suppression of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969), p. 146.

[132] Various goods bought from Africa included, but are not limited to: gold, ivory, hides, coffee, hardwoods, dyestuffs, and palm oil. More information can be found in Donald L. Canney, *Africa Squadron the U.S. Navy and the Slave Trade, 1842–1861* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2006).

[133] "Flag Officer" was the official designation for a squadron leader in the pre-Civil War Navy. This was a position and not a rank, and the holder would simply drop the title when relieved of duty. This terminology was necessary, as prior to the Civil War the rank of Admiral did not exist. During this era, only three ranks existed: lieutenant, commander, and captain. More information can be found in Donald L. Canney, *Africa Squadron the U.S. Navy and the Slave Trade, 1842–1861* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2006).

[134] Matthew C. Perry, "Letter from M.C. Perry to Isaac Mayo, March 10, 1843," in *Perry Letterbooks*, National Archives, M206.

Believing himself to be one of the Navy's reformers and forward thinkers of the era, as well as a liberal of the time, Perry may have solicited the assignment. He may also have held a proprietary interest as well. Members of his family, including Perry, had long been associated with the ACS and supported its aims. When the *Cyane* left port escorting the first freed blacks to Africa in 1820, Perry had volunteered his services.[135] Upon his arrival at Cape Palmas, just southwest of Monrovia, on October 19, Perry sent letters to local evangelists requesting information. He needed data not only on the local inhabitants, but as to the state of the slave trade in their areas.[136] Information gained from missionaries would later be used to help assist in combating the slave trade in and around the Atlantic Ocean.

While patrolling the coastline, Perry visited the Maryland colony, which had been founded in 1827, and with aims similar to those of the Monrovia settlement. By 1838, the western coast of Africa would be home to three other colonies supported by the ACS and other colonization societies in the United States. All of which would eventually become the nation of Liberia.[137] Meeting with the leaders of Monrovia and other dignitaries, Perry preceded to Sinou (present day Greensville) in hopes of settling a dispute with the Fishman. A local tribe who had previously been acting as a middleman in the slave trade and whose enterprise had begun to falter due to the interference and influence of the Liberians. In addition, Perry had to make inquiries into the death of two American crewman from the schooner *Edward Burley*.[138]

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[135] Morison, *"Old Bruin,"* pp. 61–64.

[136] Matthew C. Perry, "Letter various…October 30, 1843," in *Perry Letterbooks*, National Archives, M206.

[137] Nelson, *Liberia,* p. 15.

[138] Morison, *"Old Bruin,"* pp. 171–72.

Perry's approach to negotiations with the Fishman appears eerily similar to a scene that would unfold in Japan ten years later. One of Perry's crewman, Purser Horatio Bridge, wrote of the event:

> At 9 A.M., thirteen boats left the different ships, armed, and having about seventy-five marines on board, besides the sailors. Entering the river, with flags flying and muskets glittering, the boats lay their oars until all were in a line, and then pulled at once for the beach, as if about to charge a hostile battery. The manoeuvre…seemed to give great satisfaction to some thirty colonists and fifty naked natives…assembled on the beach. The officers and marines were landed, and formed in line…The music then struck up, while the Commodore and Governor Roberts stept ashore, and the whole detachment marched to the palaver-house.[139]

Although this spectacle may seem rather overdoing it on Perry's part, it left no doubt about his point. The U.S. Navy, now in force, was present in Africa and Liberians and their anti-slave aims were special objects of its purview.

Up until the slave trade suppression law of 1819, the American naval forces efforts against the slave trade had been confined to only the Western Hemisphere on an ad hoc basis. With the ratification of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty and the founding of the American freedmen colonies along the west coast of Africa, seeing a hoisted American flag did not mean its misuse by slavers. With the pressure on two fronts, from the abolitionists at home and the British abroad, the Navy developed an intimate relationship with foreign humanitarian action that continues to this day.

The Navy Continues to Fight Piracy Today

Since the early nineteenth century, the American people have sought to protect their rights to liberty, and at times those of foreign citizens. Using all available resources, the U.S. Navy continues to battle the humanitarian crisis brought about by pirates. These

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[139] Quoted in Morison, *"Old Bruin,"* p. 172.

crises can involve the enslavement of free men, women, and children, the theft of medical

supplies and other aid, and the loss of trade goods. Like the valiant naval commanders of

yore, Vice Admiral Robert Moeller of the U.S. Africa Command continues the long

tradition of patrolling the African coastlines. Challenging any and all pirates who

continue to pose a significant threat.[140] Instead of relying upon wooden schooners and

frigates, a vast increase in both available resources and technology has, since 2009,

allowed for the use of sophisticated armed drones. During October of that year, the

drones seized three ships within a single week's time off the lawless coast of East

Africa.[141] While the United States may have grown and evolved since 1819, the

American people have not lost their sense of moral responsibility and the U.S. military

has not lost its role in international humanitarian actions.

<h2 align="center">A Tradition of Humanitarian Assistance</h2>

<u>The U.S. Government and the Great Famine</u>

> "This is no fancy picture; but, if we are to credit the terrible accounts which reach
> us from that theatre of misery and wretchedness, is one of daily occurrence.
> Indeed, no imagination can conceive no tongue express no pencil paint the horrors
> of the scenes which are there daily exhibited." Senator Henry Clay, 1847.[142]

Between 1845 and 1852, Ireland experienced the horrors of mass starvation,

disease, and emigration: a harsh period that historians labeled as the Great Famine or the

Irish Potato Famine. A third of its population became solely reliant upon the potato.

When the potato blight struck this valuable and cheap crop, nearly a quarter of Ireland's

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[140] The Associated Press, "U.S. Deploys Drones Against Somali Pirates," *CBS News*, October 24, 2009, national edition, http://www.cbsnews.com/news/us-deploys-drones-against-somali-pirates/.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Epes Sargent, *The Life and Public Service of Henry Clay: Down to 1848*, ed. Horace Greeley (San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft & Co., 1860), https://archive.org/details/lifepublicservic00sarg2.

population either died or emigrated to other nations.[143] Despite the racism the Irish faced

in these countries, such as the United States, these famine-stricken people found a source

of charity and hope, no matter how small it may have been. Within the United States,

politicians such as Clay fought against the prejudice in hopes of guiding the charitable

nature of the American people. In total, one hundred and eighteen vessels made the

journey from the eastern shores of the U.S. to Ireland carrying with them relief goods:

products whose value amounted to $545,145.[144] When combined with relief donations

that came directly from friends and relatives to the victims of the famine, the numbers are

estimated in the millions of dollars. Though over one hundred and fifty years have

passed, many Irish and Americans continue to be aware of the generosity that had been

provided by private organizations. Unfortunately, far more are less familiar with the role

the American government played.

Despite knowing of the hardships faced by Irish men, women, and children, the

decision to use resources toward relief efforts did not come quickly from the American

government. From the spring of 1846 to the late winter of 1848, the United States waged

war against the independent nation of Mexico. A war in which American territory would

expand to the Pacific coast and the political aftermath would further raise the issue of

slavery within the United States. So on February 8, 1847, a weighty debate occurred

when Congressman Washington Hunt presented an Irish relief measure to his fellow

colleges; a discussion that held the lives of people in its hands. Hunt believed that of all

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[143] Christine Kinealy, *This Great Calamity: The Irish Famine, 1845–52* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1994), p. 357.

[144] Timothy J. Sarbaugh, "'Charity begins at Home' The United States government & Irish Famine Relief 1845–1849,"*History Ireland*, http://www.historyireland.com/18th-19th-century-history/charity-begins-at-home-the-united-states-government-irish-famine-relief-1845-1849/.

the nations in the world, the United States stood alone as the best country to send aid to people beset by a blight.[145] Like Clay, Hunt drew upon the charitable past of the young nation in order to garner support for his cause.

In 1812, the city of Caracas, Venezuela had been stricken by an earthquake that caused sizeable damage. The Navy's capability and resources, meager as they may have been, placed them in a unique position that allowed President James Madison and the American people to call upon them. That same year at the approval by both Houses of Congress, Madison managed to appropriate over $50,000 to use as an aid toward Caracas.[146] With this support and the availability of naval resources, Madison provided humanitarian assistance to a foreign city in crisis. Assisting Hunt with the attempt to provide humanitarian relief to Ireland stood Senator John C. Crittenden of Kentucky. He insisted that Caracas merely represented a partial calamity, while famine-stricken Ireland epitomized a national catastrophe, yet the American government had not come to their aid. Crittenden and Hunt held firm to their argument, continuing that, even without the historical precedent, the U.S. constitution did not prohibit the charity. In his last final moral appeal to his fellow members, Crittenden declared, "Can you imagine any moral spectacle more sublime than that of one nation holding out that hand which if full of plenty to the suffering people of another country?"[147]

Crittenden and Hunt's proposed Irish aid bill would suffer from arguments made by those both for and against the bill. Ultimately, the bill would die in the House, but not

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[145] Ibid.

[146] Henry Lee, "To James Madison from Henry Lee, 24 April 1812," U.S. National Archives, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/03-04-02-0367.

[147] Timothy J. Sarbaugh, "The Spirit of Manifest Destiny: The American Government and Famine Ireland, 1845-1849," in *Fleeing the Famine: North America and Irish Refugees, 1845–1851*, ed. Margaret M. Mulrooney (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), p. 50.

before it sparked a new piece of legislation that combined the capabilities of both

governments and private entities in a common goal to help Ireland. George DeKay of

New Jersey and Robert Forbes of Boston, along with Senator John Fairfield, would prove

instrumental in interjecting naval resources into yet another foreign humanitarian

mission.
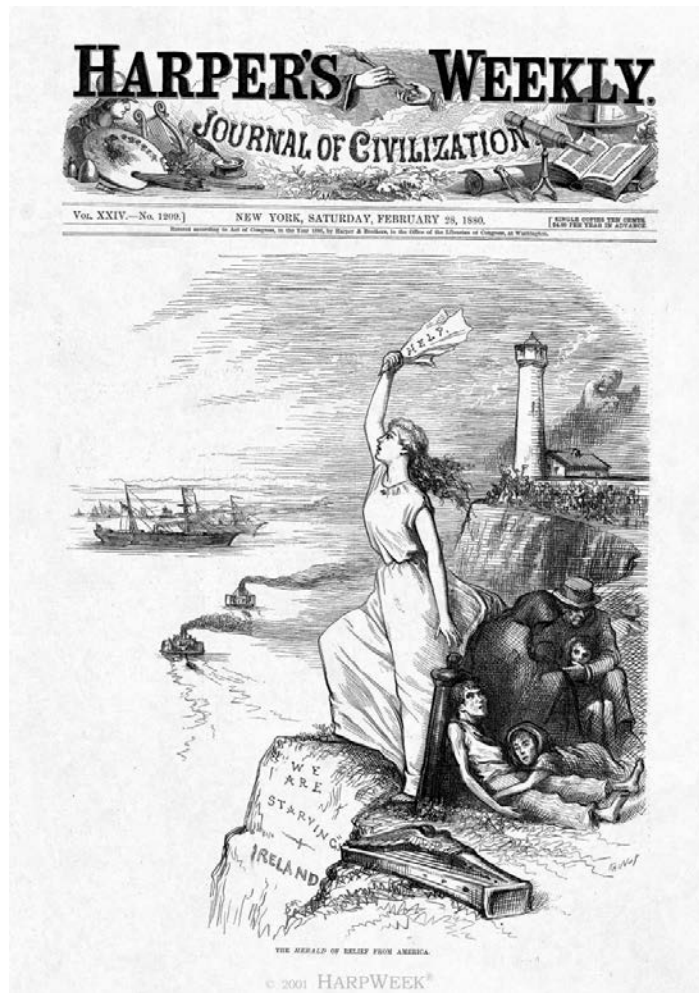
Figure 7.   Drawing of "The Herald of Relief from America" by Thomas Nast.
Taken from the New York Times,
http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/harp/0228.html

As congress debated the Crittenden bill, a lone man walked the streets of

downtown New York seeking an answer to a question that had plagued him for months

now. How could he, De Kay, help the poor, starving Irish in their time of need? As he

wondered between the various shipping offices, he could not help but notice the frigate

Macedonian, an old, wooden craft belonging to the U.S. Navy. Circumstances and the

pressing need for immediate action spurred De Kay to ask a seemingly impossible

request: could he have loan of a naval vessel.

Having written letters to a few well-placed friends in Washington, De Kay soon

received a surprising but encouraging response. Although President Polk had ultimately

declined to support the proposed Irish aid bill, going so far as to threaten to veto it, he

appeared eager to send a national response to the humanitarian crisis. Given that the

Mexican-American already preoccupied the United States, the president felt it

inadvisable to have the Navy provide direct assistance.[148] De Kay's request solved this

issue. The *Macedonian* would be temporarily loaned to De Kay's relief organization and

manned by a volunteer crew, made up of mostly civilians. This solution allowed for the

United States to provide a charitable gesture while, at the same time, it took no resources

away from the war effort. On March 3rd, 1847, Congress approved the plan stating in a

Congressional Resolution:

> Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of
> America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Navy be, and he is
> hereby, authorized to place at the disposal of Captain George C. De Kay, of New
> Jersey, the United States ship Macedonian, for the purpose of transporting to the
> famishing poor of Ireland and Scotland such contributions as may be made for
> their relief; and that the said Secretary be also authorized to place at the disposal
> of Captain Robert B. Forbes, of Boston, the United States sloop-of-war the
> Jamestown, for the like purpose; or, if the Secretary shall be of the opinion that

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[148] James K. Polk, *The Diary of James K. Polk: During His Presidency, 1845 to 1849*, ed. Milo Milton
Quaife (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1910), https://archive.org/details/diaryofjameskpol00polk.

the public interest will be better subserved thereby, he is authorized to despatch said vessels upon the service aforesaid as public ships.[149]

Although not as directly involved as in the fight against the international slave trade, once again the Navy had a role to play in foreign humanitarian assistance.

While scholars continue to debate and criticize the outcome of American support for the Great Famine, the point remains that the Federal government worked with, to some degree, private individuals to provide relief to Ireland. The Secretary of the Navy, William Learned Marcy, wrote in his annual report:

> The two ships were placed at the disposal of the experienced navigators named in the joint resolution, respectively, and each having performed his mission of charity, has been returned in satisfactory condition. The sublime spectacle has been presented to the world, of our people in a spirit of Christian benevolence, relieving the suffering of the subjects of a mighty foreign power, which the vast resources of that great empire could not avert, and of our country, while engaged in a foreign war [Mexican War], furnishing from its surplus products the means of feeding famishing nations abroad.[150]

This act of charity, on behalf of the American people, government, and military did not fail to take notice in Ireland. Twenty years later, Captain Forbes of the *Jamestown* ventured back to Ireland. During his visit, he met young men and women who had been named Jamestown and Macedonian in honor of the U.S. Navy ships that had saved their

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[149] United States Department of State, *The statutes at large of the United States of America, from [the organization of the government in 1789] to 1963, concurrent resolutions of the two houses of Congress and recent treaties, conventions, and executive proclamations* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 207.

[150] United States Department of the Navy, *Report of the Secretary of the Navy, Being Part of the Message and Documents Communicated to the Two House of Congress at the Beginning of the First Session of the Thirtieth Congress* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1847), p. 954.

parents from starvation.[151] This moment would not be the last the Navy played a role in providing relief to the poor and starving in Ireland.

In 1879, Ireland again experienced another famine, known as either the Irish famine of 1879 or the mini-famine. Unlike the Great Famine, this smaller famine did not lead to mass deaths, but rather caused hunger due to changes in food production technology. Although not as severe as the previous famine, the U.S. Navy once again found itself being used as a humanitarian tool. The only difference lying at this time is how direct the Navy and the federal government approached the matter. In his letter to the vice-president of the United States, Secretary of the Navy R.W. Thompson wrote:

> Hon. WILLIAM A. WHEELER,
>
> Vice-President of the United States:
>
> Sir: I have the honor to inform the Senate that in obedience to the act approved February 25, 1880, I caused the United States ship Constellation to be fitted out for the purpose of transporting from New York to Ireland such supplies as were donated by the liberal-minded citizens of that city to the starving people of that country. That vessel, under the command of Commander Edward E. Potter, left New York on the 30th day of March, and has just returned.
>
> The Constellation reached the port of Queenstown on the 20th day of April, and delivered the supplies to the proper authorities at that city, whereupon they were immediately distributed to those in need of them.
>
> The authorities and people were impressed in an extraordinary degree by the fact that the Government of the United States had fitted out a national vessel upon this mission of benevolence, and demonstrated their gratitude by continued acts of courtesy and kindness to the officers in charge. The Government of Great Britain, through its minister plenipotentiary to the United States, has also expressed its high appreciation of this act of international comity. Evidences of these are herewith inclosed.
>
> The act of Congress contained an indefinite appropriation of "any sum of money" I might consider necessary for the purposes of this expedition. But I have the honor to inform the Senate that I have not drawn from the Treasury a single dollar

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[151] "Potato Famine of 1847: The US Navy's Role in Humanitarian Assistance to the Irish and Scots," Naval History and Heritage Command, http://www.history.navy.mil/research/library/online-reading-room/title-list-alphabetically/p/potato-famine-of-1847.html.

for the purpose, having paid the whole expense out of the ordinary appropriations for the support of the Navy for the present fiscal year.

    Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

<div align="center">R. W. THOMPSON,</div>

<div align="center">Secretary of the Navy.[152]</div>

    Like the troubled people who continued to demonstrate their gratitude toward the officers aboard the *Constellation*, the U.S. military continues to provide relief aid to citizens of foreign nations. From the Berlin Airlift beginning in 1948 to the 2010 Operation Unified Response in Haiti, the federal government continues to use the military and its resources to spread American charity throughout the globe.

<div align="center">**Continued Pattern of Foreign Humanitarianism** [153]</div>

Naval Operations: 1868 Uruguay

    One action alone, no matter its length of time, does not establish a consistent pattern of behavior. Although the American military committed resources to ending the Atlantic slave trade, this action is but one small part of their humanitarian efforts. From fighting fires in Asia to providing relief aid in Ireland, the U.S. Army and Navy embodied the American spirit. Always ready to defend the rights and beliefs of its fatherland, while ever willing to help the downtrodden in their time of need, as resources allowed.

    For much of the nineteenth century, revolution and revolutionary intrigue fed many crises throughout much of South America. Always aware of its neighbors to the

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[152] Richard W. Thompson, "Report of the Commander of the Relief-Ship Constellation,"dippam (Documenting Ireland: Parliament, People and Migration), http://www.dippam.ac.uk/ied/records/45074.transcript.

[153] Additional information, including maps and tables, on U.S. military FHA operations can be found in the appendix located at the end of Part III.

South, the United States maintained an ever vigilant eye on the chaos as South Americans fought one another and Europe for control of their destiny. A destiny that the United States felt fell under its sway of influence as political policies, such as the Monroe Doctrine, continued from one president and congress to the next. When the United States signed the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842, this had set aside naval resources for the purpose of helping to abolish the Atlantic slave trade. Although this had established the eventual Africa Squadron, this commitment of resources eventually led to the creation of several other units that patrolled the waters of the Caribbean Sea, as well as Central and South America. The primary concerns of these squadrons were the apprehension of slave traders and the protection of American commerce. Although, their proximity to chaotic states created moments of FHA, all of which defined a new role for their services.

When U.S. military forces landed ashore in Uruguay, the people of a revolutionary-ridden country had been afforded ten comparatively tranquil years under the governorship of General Flores. Despite this small accordance of peace, the American Navy once again found itself intervening during a humanitarian crisis. In 1868, armed warships from six different foreign countries anchored in the harbor of Montevideo and landed troops on behalf of General Flores. These foreign war vessels represented the nations of Spain, Great Britain, France, Brazil, Italy, and the United States.
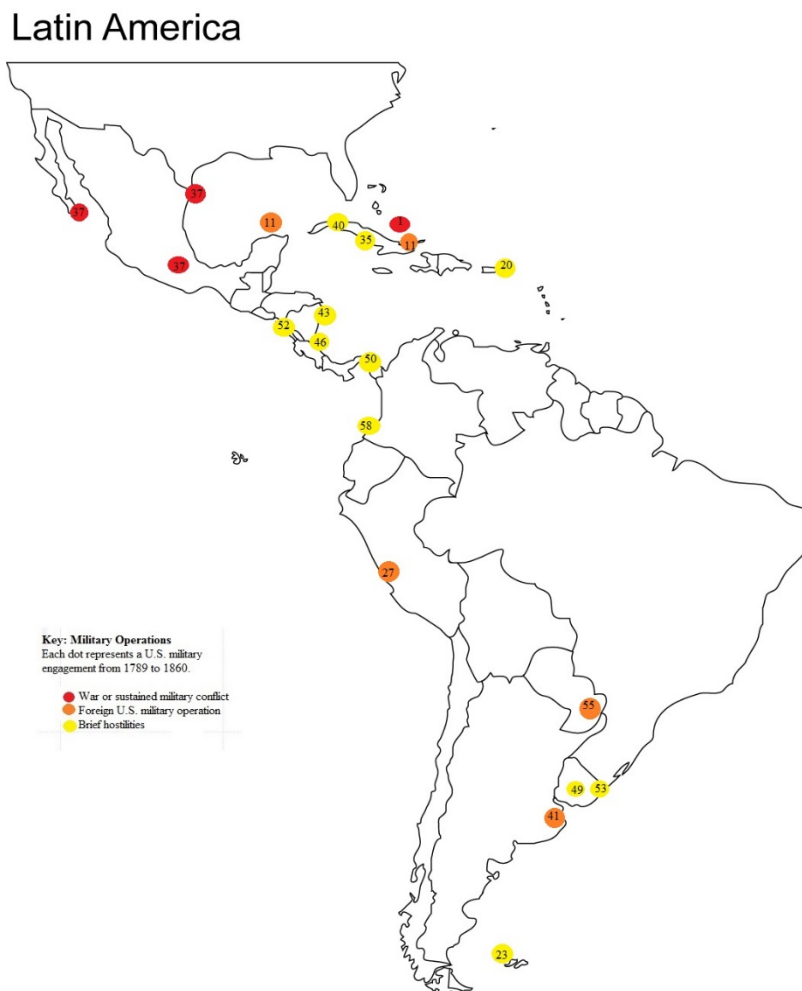
Latin America

Figure 8. **"U.S. Military Engagements in the Americas, 1789–1860." Blank map taken from Maphill.**

As the governor of Uruguay, General Flores had placed his son, Colonel Fortunio

Flores, in command of the Battalion de Libertad, a unit that stood as the regular guard of

Montevideo. After ten short years of peace, Colonel Flores's influence over the city

guard and political desires began to crumble. The once loyal Battalion de Libertad turned

against constituted authority and rose up in armed revolt against the Governor.[154] Fearing

for his safety, as well as the safety of those loyal to him and the foreign residents residing

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[154] Ellsworth, *One Hundred Eighty Landings*, p. 162.

in Montevideo, General Flores made a desperate plea to the American Consul, James D.

Long, a plea Long quickly communicated to Rear Admiral Charles H. Davis of the U.S.

Navy, the man in command of the South Atlantic squadron harbored just off the coast of

Montevideo.

Though Davis's squadron was limited to his flagship *Guerriere* and the four

accompanying ships named *Quinnebaug, Shamokin, Kansas,* and *Wasp*, he proved to be a

man of quick action. On the 6th of February, Davis received Long's communication, soon

after, the nearby British Admiral sent a letter suggesting participation in a multilateral

landing in the city.[155] At that moment, only two outcomes existed: he either assisted in

the landing or held his troops back. No matter the outcome, Davis now held the lives of

civilians in his hands. Having considered the matter, he made the only decision he could.

Shortly after, U.S. troops landed in Montevideo in cooperation with other foreign forces

present.

At 5:50 a.m. on February 7th, Second Lieutenant R.R. Neil led fifteen marines and

thirty sailors onto the shores of Montevideo.[156] Upon prior agreement between the

various commanders of each respective foreign vessel, Rear Admiral Amilcare

Anguissola, commander of the Italian squadron, assumed direct control over the

combined landed forces then present in the harbor of Montevideo. This action took place

in consequence to his seniority.

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[155] United States Congress House of Representatives, *Executive Documents Printed by Order of The House of Representatives During the Third Session of the Fortieth Congress* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1869), p. 258.

[156] United States Department of the Navy, *Report of the Secretary of the Navy, Being Part of the Message and Documents Communicated to the Two House of Congress at the Beginning of the First Session of the Fortieth Congress* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1868), p. XVI.

The following noon, on February 8th, Anguissola ordered all troops to return to their respective ships upon receiving a letter from Governor Flores stating all difficulties had ceased to exist. Fortunately, the uprising had held little to no political significance, and the death count remained low. Lieutenant Neil and his troop's presence had helped to prevent any potential harm to General Flore's loyalists and foreign residents of the city by standing as an impromptu security force to the 70,000 inhabitants of Montevideo.[157] In his report, Admiral Davis wrote:

> The predominance of foreign interests here (Montevideo), and in the large cities of the Argentine Republic, will probably render it expedient at no distant period, to confer upon them a permanent defence against these frequent insurrections or revolts, very few of which possess any color of a motive, such as would justify resistance of legal authority.[158]

By the 19th of February, Davis would once again land troops in Montevideo at the request of the American Consulate and the President of the Republic following the assassination of General Flores.

From the nineteenth century forward, Latin America would become a continual site for American involvement and intervention. Whether it is a location for trade, humanitarian intervention, or leisure, the American people would keep an ever watchful eye on their neighbors to the south.

Naval Operations: 1873 Colombia

In July 1810, Colombia declared its independence from Spain. Having maintained its independence barely more than three decades prior, the United States stood as the first foreign government to recognize Colombia's independence. For nearly four decades, the

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[157] Ibid., pp. XVI–XVII.

[158] Ellsworth, *One Hundred Eighty Landings*, p. 163.

new nation of Colombia and her people experience tranquility and stability. In 1858, Colombia began its descent into unrest and revolution as different factions began to fight for control, factions that placed the lives of not only Colombian's at risk, but foreigners and their property as well. Revolutions always create humanitarian crises, moments that can allow the foreign nations to exert the logistical capabilities of their militaries to provide aid and security, if needed.

As hostilities again broke out in the first half of 1873 over the possession of Panama, the U.S. South Pacific squadron, led by Rear Admiral Charles Steedman, arrived on May 7th in the bay of Panama. Like Davis, Steedman faced a decision that held the potential for both economic and humanitarian disaster. With the state of Panama in crisis and political leaders in Colombia unable to provide security to its residents, Steedman answered the request of the American Consulate and residents of Panama by dispatching First Lieutenant Henry J. Bishop. Unlike in Uruguay, the U.S. Navy faced this situation alone. Knowing full well the difficulties and dangers that existed for the foreign residents of Panama and his soldiers, Steedman sent with Bishop a force of forty-four marines, 160 sailors, and four pieces of artillery.[159] The conflicting factions in Panama avoided the rapid response security force. As the hostilities began to subside by May 12th, Davis recalled his troops.[160] Unfortunately, this hostility in Panama would become routine, leading to many more moments where the residents called for humanitarian action.

Days turned to weeks, weeks to months, but eventually the tranquility that the state of Panama had found following May 12th once again gave way to the political

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[159] United States Department of the Navy, *Report of the Secretary of the Navy, Being Part of the Message and Documents Communicated to the Two House of Congress at the Beginning of the First Session of the Forty-Third Congress* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1873), p. 261.

[160] Ellsworth, *One Hundred Eighty Landings*, p. 47.

instability found in the United States of Colombia. On early September, the thousands of

foreign residents cried out for some semblance of safety, of security. Different political

factions within the states of Colombia had resumed their fight for power over the

region.[161] Captain Albert G. Clary, the commander of the *U.S.S. Benicia*, arrived first at

the scene. Admiral Steedman, with his flagship the *Pensacola*, arrived shortly thereafter.

Upon his arrival on the 18th, Steedman hurriedly consulted with the American Consul.

Believing the conditions had escalated into a humanitarian crises, the diplomat urged

Steedman to land an armed force once again upon the shores of Panama.[162] Members of

the various factions had come to blame the foreigners for the chaotic state Colombia now

faced. This belief had already led to the death and destruction of some foreign citizens

and their property in the State of Panama. The American Consul believed that, as in May,

the solution to the growing humanitarian crisis laid in a show of force. The Colombian's

lack of safety precautions for foreign residents had Steedman in agreement with the

Consul.

Knowing the situation may call for a prolonged stay ashore, Steedman kept his

men ashore until, four days later on the 22nd, Rear Admiral John J. Almy arrived, and he

turned over command. Steedman acquainted Almy with the local conditions and the

American Consul's advice. Having looked into the matter himself, Admiral Almy

ordered a landing force of one-hundred marines and sailors, along with two howitzers,

the following day.[163] Within a matter of days, Almy proceeded to send a greater number

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[161] United States Department of the Navy, *Report of the Secretary of the Navy... Forty-Third Congress*, p. 261.

[162] Ibid., p. 261–262.

[163] Ellsworth, *One Hundred Eighty Landings*, p. 47.

of troops ashore in order to reinforce those who had first landed. By the end of September, the humanitarian crisis present in Panama appeared to have passed its climax.

As September ended, and October began, President Niera of the State of Panama, escorted by the American Ambassador, met with Admiral Almy aboard his vessel.[164] Three days later, Almy started to withdraw his troops from Panama. By the 9th of October, Almy had completely ceased all ground operations in the country. Although he had withdrawn all of his troops, Admiral Almy remained in the harbor until October 24th, while the *Benicia* did not depart until December 14th.[165] Having already once committed resources to protecting American interests and foreign residents in Panama, Almy felt the delicate political situation present in the United States of Colombia required a prolonged American presence in Panama. This presence helped to bring an immediate sense of stability to the region of Panama it inhabited. As nations around the globe continued to exhibit disruptive internal behavior, the U.S. Navy, sent to protect American interests aboard, would find itself continuing a decades-old tradition of performing foreign humanitarian aid in the process.

Naval Operations: 1882 Egypt

The need for humanitarian aid arises for many different reasons: famine, political instability, and war name merely a few of them. In 1882, Egyptian and Sudanese forces under Colonel Ahmed 'Urabi clashed against the might of the Imperial British Empire creating a moment in human history known as the Anglo-Egyptian War. The outcome of which produced a humanitarian crisis the United States could not freely ignore.

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[164] Ibid., p. 48.

[165] Ibid., p. 48.

As European nations continued to conquer and divide the known world amongst themselves, chaos sprang forth. Disorder, hate, and anarchy gave rise to armed militants. Many of whom merely saw themselves as patriots attempting to break the shackles that an alien power had either already placed upon them or appeared to be about to place. In 1878, Arhmed 'Urabi, an Egyptian army officer, mutinied and began a coup against the Khedive of Egypt and Sudan. Among his reasons and concerns, 'Urabi held a grievance over disparities in pay between Europeans and Egyptians.[166] As 'Urabi led a revolt against the Khedive, the British and French Empires lent their support in terms of both military aid and political notices. By 1882, the situation in Egypt had begun to spiral quickly out of control. On May 20th, British and French warships sat anchored off the coast of Alexandria, waiting for the right moment to strike. Nearly three weeks later on June 11th, Colonel 'Urabi's control over the city began to slip. An anti-Christian riot spread through portions of the city, leading to the deaths of fifty Europeans. As 'Urabi ordered his troops to put down the riot, any European who could find a way to flee the city did so as 'Urabi's forces began to fortify the town.[167] On July 11th, British warships began a ten and one-half hour bombardment of Alexandria, a bombardment of which Rear Admiral Reginald F. Nicholson of the American Navy bore witness.

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[166] "Bombardment of Alexandria 1882," Old Mersey Times, http://www.old-merseytimes.co.uk/Alexandria.html.

[167] Ibid.

**Figure 9.   Photography of the bazaar in Alexandria after the bombardment.
Taken from the American Univeristy in Cario,
http://digitalcollections.aucegypt.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/p15795coll9/id/160**

Having taken notice of the activity in and around Egypt, the United States had

sent Nicholson to observe conditions, and if necessary take any action deemed necessary

to protect American interests. On June 27th, Nicholson arrived off the coast of Alexandria

with his flagship, the *Lancaster*, and within two weeks the *Quinnebaug* (July 1st) and

Nipsic (July 12th) came in tow.[168] By the time the *Nipsic* arrived in Alexandria, the

British bombardment of the city had ended, but the consequences of the action had only

just begun.

Prior to the shelling, 'Urabi's control over the city could be described as tenuous,

at best. After the barrage, the city slipped into a state of complete chaos: fire, pillage,

murder, and rapine occurred throughout the city. Just as before the bombardment,

foreigners again found themselves to be subject to these outrages. As Admiral Nicholson

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[168] Ellsworth, *One Hundred Eighty Landings*, p. 75.

observed these transgressions take place, he came to a decision; for humanity's sake, he

deployed troops into Alexandria in order to stem the mayhem that now ran abundantly.[169]

After having consulted with the British Admiral, Beauchamp Seymour, Nicholson issued

orders for a landing party. A small group of seventy-three men, made up of both officers

and soldiers, quickly descended from the three American ships toward the shore of

Alexandria. Their mission was to assist in restoring order, prevent further destruction,

combat the fires raging through the city, re-establish the American consulate, and "look

after American interests in general."[170] Although the British bombarded the city and

assisted the citizens of Alexandria in escaping the depths of anarchy, the U.S. Marines

arrived first into the city to help provide humanitarian aid. The British followed closely

behind in their footsteps, bringing with them a force of nearly four thousand. Other

foreign nations in the immediate area proved just as quick.

Aside from providing emergency services for the city, Nicholson made available

his ships to refugees. Immediately following the severe bombardment, the *Lancaster,*

Quinnebaug, and *Nipsic* became temporary shelters and acted as such for some time

thereafter.[171] Both Egyptian citizens and foreign residents proved quick in taking

Nicholson up on his offer for men, women, and children of all walks of life taking

residence aboard the American vessels. Conditions within the city improved so rapidly

that all U.S. sailors who went ashore returned to their respective ships by the 15th. Five

days later, Admiral Nicholson ordered the return of all marines except for a small detail

from the *Quinnebaug*, who, under the command of Lieutenant Denny, remained in

[169] Ibid., p. 75.

[170] Ibid., p. 75.

[171] Ibid., p. 75.

Alexandria until the 24th. Both the *Lancaster* and *Nipsic* departed on the 20th of July while the *Quinnebaug* remained until the 29th of August.[172] Unable to ignore a city beset during a moment of crisis, Nicholson and those under his command continued an American tradition, a tradition of using military resources to provide various forms of humanitarian aid.

Since the nineteenth century, the U.S. has used its military to help provide aid to nations ravaged by war, disease, and weather. While all U.S. action taken abroad inherently holds American interests as a top priority, Americans have also held dear to themselves a belief in American morality. From allowing Egyptians and foreign residents to take shelter aboard their naval vessels to the typhoon aid provided to the Philippines following Typhoon Haiyan in 2013, the American people and their government continue to use their military resources to provide humanitarian assistance on a global scale.

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[172] Ibid., p. 75.

CONCLUSION

By 1898, the United States military had become involved in dozens of
humanitarian crises that ranged from fighting fires to providing temporary security. Many
of these instances occurred during the height of a humanitarian crisis and required quick
decisions by military officers and, at times, American consuls. Though often rarer, the
legislative branch of the American government proved capable of creating distinct pieces
of legislation that led to the Navy's direct and indirect involvement in FHA. The Act of
1819 not only strengthened the Navy's ability to protect American interests abroad, but
expanded both its logistical capabilities and created a dedicated unit whose
responsibilities included suppressing the Atlantic slave trade.[173] In addition, as famines
struck various portions of the world, such as Ireland, the U.S. military would continue to
form relationships with NGOs. These associations allowed for the temporary lending of
military equipment and materials for humanitarian purposes.[174] Seventy years before the
Spanish-American War, the professional military in America would come to find its role
to be ever growing. Though they fought numerous battles against foreign nations and
fellow Americans, their ever growing capability lent to their ability to become a
multifaceted tool.

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[173] "Anti-Slave Trade Act of 1819," Federal Judicial Center,
http://www.fjc.gov/history/home.nsf/page/tu_amistad_doc_12.html.

[174] Christine Kinealy, "International Relief Efforts During the Famine," *Irish America*, August/September
2009, http://irishamerica.com/2009/08/international-relief-efforts-during-the-famine/.

The U.S. military's real contribution to foreign humanitarian assistance was their consistency in providing aid to foreign peoples and nations without demanding requests in return. The United States did not create the concept of humanitarian aid nor was it alone in using its military to provide support. Before the Act of 1819, the British Empire had not only begun to ban slavery within its boundaries, but had founded an African settlement, Sierra Leone: a freedman colony where it transported free slaves and established a squadron with the express purpose of suppressing the Atlantic slave trade. So while the United States should not receive credit for establishing the trend of using one's military in humanitarian endeavors, the U.S. military's ties to FHA begin as early as its counterparts in Europe. Though the United States stood as a newborn nation amongst its aging European counterparts, the country's willingness to quickly assert its hard-earned independence led to numerous global encounters. Other nations did not always show the fiery and, at times, rash spirit during moments of turbulence, and those who suffered at these moments took notice. As a young nation, the United States provided this sense of spirit. Despite the national politics that Southerners dominated, naval officers, from the north or the south, attempted to perform their duties to the best of their ability. The need to help their fellow man in their times of crises, while present to the situation, became one of their responsibilities.

With a growing demand from the American populace to right the wrongs committed by the seemingly inept and corrupt Spanish Empire, the United States did not land its troops on foreign soil in 1898 in the name of humanitarianism for the first time. No, decades of prior experience and tradition landed alongside those troops, the same tradition of a fiery spirit that had seen American troops land in the Caribbean and China

in 1866, or in Alexandria in 1882. Eventually, this practice would lead to Congress actively shaping the Department of Defense's role in humanitarian operations through a broad range of authorities contained in the Armed Services (Title 10 U.S. Code) and Foreign Relations and Intercourse (Title 22 U.S. Code) statutes, and through annual legislation. In addition, each branch of the military would develop more defined and official doctrines in response to this ever-increasing humanitarian role. As Americans continue to venture forth on the path of humanism, they bring with them both history and a sense of tradition. 1898 and 1948 are both important years for the U.S. military regarding foreign humanitarian assistance, but neither mark a beginning point. Instead, they remain as links in a pattern of American behavior nearly as old as the nation.

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APPENDIX

U.S. Military Engagements, 1789–2011

Table A.1   Chronological List of U.S. Military Foreign Humanitarian Assistance

Date	Location	Type of Activity
19th century		
1812	Venezuela	Disaster (Earthquake) Relief
March 3, 1819–Present	Africa, Americas, Asia	Slave Trade Patrol
February 12, 1825	St. Thomas, VI	Fire Fighting
Fall 1831/ January 1832	Falkland Islands	Evacuation
October 1833	Argentina	Police Support
June 6, 1851	Johanna Island	Police Activities
February 5, 1852	Nicaragua	Fire Fighting
September 11, 1853	China	Police Support
May 23–27, 1870	Colombia	Police Activities
April 30, 1866	Caribbean	Police Support
August 9, 1866	China	Fire Fighting
February 7–27, 1868	Uruguay	Police Support, Relief Aid
June 25, 1873	Peru	Fire Fighting
July 12–August 29, 1882	Egypt	Police Support, Relief Aid
April 1884	Arctic	Rescue
Feb 8, 1890	Japan	Fire Fighting
July 2, 1891	Bering Sea	Environmental Law Enforcement
March 4, 1895	Trinidad	Fire Fighting
April 25–August 12, 1898	Cuba, Puerto Rico, Philippines, Guam	Liberation Campaign

20th/21st Centuries		
March 1904	Korea	Evacuation
January 17, 1907	Jamaica	Disaster (Earthquake) Relief
September 5, 1913	Mexico	Evacuation
October 12, 1920	Dominican Republic	Fire Fighting
September, 1930	Dominican Republic	Disaster (Hurricane) Relief
March 31, 1931	Nicaragua	Disaster (Earthquake) Relief
August 20–30, 1939	Tientsin, China	Disaster (Flood) Relief
November 1946–47	China	Relief Aid
March 1948	China	Fire Fighting
June 1948–May 1949	West Berlin	Relief Aid
1952-Present	Micronesia	Relief Aid
August 14–19, 1953	Greece	Disaster (Earthquake) Relief
October 13–19, 1954	Haiti	Disaster (Flood) Relief
October 2–13, 1955	Mexico	Disaster (Flood) Relief
October 16, 1957	Spain	Disaster (Flood) Relief
January, 1958	Ceylon	Disaster (Flood) Relief
April 28, 1958	Morocco	Disaster (Earthquake) Relief
August 14–20, 1959	Taiwan	Disaster (Flood) Relief
February 29, 1960	Morocco	Disaster (Earthquake) Relief
June 26–July 15, 1960	Chile	Disaster (Earthquake) Relief
November–December, 1960	Haiti	Disaster (Flood) Relief
January 20, 1961	Congo	Relief Aid

May 20, 1961	Turkey	Disaster (Earthquake) Relief
November 1–17, 1961	British Honduras	Disaster (Hurricane) Relief
November 20, 1962	Guam	Disaster (Typhoon) Relief
May 8, 1963	Haiti	Evacuation
October 20, 1963	Haiti	Disaster (Hurricane) Relief
Summer 1964	Peru	Medical Aid
August–September, 1964	Haiti, Dom. Rep.	Disaster (Hurricane) Relief
September 14–30, 1964	Vietnam	Disaster (Typhoon) Relief
November 10–23, 1964	Vietnam	Disaster (Typhoon) Relief
April 27, 1965	Dom. Rep.	Evacuation
October 14–16, 1966	Mexico	Disaster (Hurricane) Relief
June 12–22, 1970	Peru	Disaster (Earthquake) Relief
September 14–23, 1970	Philippines	Disaster (Typhoon) Relief
October 21–25, 1970	S. Vietnam	Disaster (Typhoon) Relief
October 1970	S. Vietnam	Disaster (Typhoon) Relief
July, 1972	Philippines	Disaster (Typhoon) Relief
March, 1973	Tunisia	Disaster (Flood) Relief
December, 1973	Tunisia	Disaster (Flood) Relief
July 22, 1974	Cyprus	Evacuation
August, 1974	Philippines	Disaster (Flood) Relief
April 12, 1975	Cambodia	Evacuation
April 29, 1975	S. Vietnam	Evacuation
June/July, 1976	Lebanon	Evacuation
September, 1979	Caribbean	Disaster (Hurricane) Relief

October 12, 1980	Algeria	Disaster (Earthquake) Relief
June 24, 1982	Lebanon	Evacuation
August–September, 1982	Lebanon	Evacuation
September, 1982	Lebanon	Peace Support
February 21–24. 1983	Lebanon	Disaster (Snow Storm) Relief
July 18, 1990	Philippines	Disaster (Earthquake) Relief
May 25, 1990	Liberia	Evacuation
January 2, 1991	Somalia	Evacuation
April–October, 1991	N. Iraq	Disaster Relief
May, 1991	Bangladesh	Disaster Relief
June, 1991	Philippines	Disaster Relief
April 13, 1992	Italy	Disaster Relief
May–June, 1992	Micronesia	Disaster Relief
July, 1992	Iceland	Search and Rescue
July 1992 (continuing)	Bosnia	Relief Aid
August 1992–February 1993	Somalia	Relief Aid
August–September, 1992	Guam	Disaster (Typhoon) Relief
December 1992–May 1993	Somalia	Relief Aid
August 1993	Tunisia	Fire Fighting
June 2005	Pakistan	Disaster (Earthquake) Relief
August 2008	Georgia	Relief Aid
January 2011	Nicaragua	Relief Aid
March 2011	Japan	Disaster (Earthquake) Relief
April 2011	Afghanistan	Disaster (Mudslide) Relief

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